MODERN WAR INSTITUTE
INSTITUTE
AT WEST POINT

USMA CLASS OF 2006
WAR STUDIES CONFERENCE

COERCION & COMPETITION:
HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN IMPOSE COSTS AND
DISRUPT ADVERSARIES WITHOUT RESORTING TO WAR

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
NOVEMBER 4, 2020

CONTENTS

WELCOME TO THE USMA CLASS OF 2006

WAR STUDIES CONFERENCE

On behalf of Lt. Gen. Darryl Williams, the superintendent of the United States Military Academy, it is my honor to welcome you to West Point. This is our fourth iteration of the Class of 2006 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 bring together a diverse group of leading thinkers for creative and critical discussion about pressing problems facing American national security. The title of this year's conference is "Coercion and Competition: How the United States can impose costs and disrupt adversaries without resorting to war."

Scholars and practitioners alike agree that the United States must increasingly focus on the specter of great power competition. While the last two decades focused on counterinsurgency and nonstate actors, the most dangerous threats now come from increasingly powerful and revisionist states. The 2018 National Defense Strategy makes this abundantly clear. Contemporary threats come not only from global powerhouses like Russia and China, but from regional powers like North Korea and Iran.

Yet it is also clear that the future of great power competition will not necessarily resemble that of earlier periods. Our adversaries are engaging us in new domains and through asymmetric strategies. Gray zone and information warfare, cyber operations, and international law and institutions all create new opportunities and arenas for great power competition to play out. In addition, the uncertainty of these new environments makes it all the more important to find ways to compete without escalation to open war, which would undoubtedly have unthinkable costs.

While the COVID-19 pandemic has required this year's conference to take on a different, virtual look, we are no less excited about the group of experts joining us for this conversation about the future of American security. Our panelists include some of the most impressive and influential voices from a variety of disciplines, including subject matter experts, foreign area specialists, and national security practitioners. We are grateful for the generous support of the Class of 2006. Thank you for joining us for our fourth annual War Studies Conference.

Patrick V Howell

Patrick V. Howell
PhD COL, EN
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 fifty thousand 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 twenty-first-century Army.

AGENDA

Panel 1: Confronting Iran
10:00–11:15
Dr. Christopher Bolan
Dr. Anthony H. Cordesman
Dr. Ariane M. Tabatabai
Dr. Sanam Vakil
Moderator: Dr. Nakissa Jahanbani

Panel 2: Confronting North Korea
11:30–12:45
Dr. Rupal Mehta
Mr. Ankit Panda
Dr. John S. Park
The Honorable Susan Thornton
Moderator: Dr. Michael Poznansky

Panel 3: Confronting Russia
1:00–2:15
Dr. Thomas Graham
Ms. Nina Jankowicz
Dr. Alexander Lanoszka
Dr. Cynthia Roberts
Moderator: Dr. Thomas Sherlock

Panel 4: Confronting China
2:30–3:45
Ms. Elaine K. Dezenski
Dr. David M. Finkelstein
Dr. Sheena Chestnut Greitens
Dr. Joshua Shifrinson
Moderator: Mr. Ali Wyne

Panel 5: Conclusion: Addressing Diverse Challenges
4:00–5:15
Col. Stephanie Ahern, PhD
Dr. Emma Ashford
Dr. Michael C. Horowitz
Dr. Nadia Schadlow
Moderator: Col. Patrick Howell, PhD

PARTICIPANT BIOS

Col. Stephanie Ahern, PhD

Col. Stephanie Ahern is the director of concepts for Futures and Concepts Center, Army Futures Command. She has served in overseas US Army Corps of Engineer assignments in Germany, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. After becoming an Army strategist, she taught international relations at the US Military Academy (2005–08), spending summers with the Center for Army Lessons Learned in Baghdad (2006) and the State Department's Political-Military Bureau (2007). Subsequently, she was a Council on Foreign Relations international affairs fellow at the Treasury Department (2008–09); lead author of the Army Campaign Plan in Headquarters, Department of the Army G-3/5/7, Pentagon (2010–11); strategic planner and special assistant to the executive director at Arlington National Cemetery (2011–13); senior Army advisor for strategy in the Strategy & Force Development Office, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Pentagon (2013–16); director for strategic planning at the National Security Council, where she served as one of four authors of the 2017 National Security Strategy (2017–19); and the Secretary of the Army's Initiative Group chief at the Pentagon (2019–2020). She was an assistant adjunct professor in the Master of Science in Foreign Service (2011–16) and Security Studies Programs (2014 and 2015) at Georgetown University. She has a BS in engineering management from the US Military Academy, a Master of Strategic Studies from the US Army War College, and a master's degree and PhD in political science from the University of Notre Dame.

Dr. Emma Ashford

Emma Ashford is a senior fellow with the New American Engagement Initiative in the Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security, which focuses on challenging the prevailing assumptions governing US foreign policy and seeks to develop effective solutions that preserve America's security and prosperity. Her work focuses on questions of grand strategy, international security, and the future of US foreign policy. She has expertise in the politics of Russia, Europe, and the Middle East. Previously, she was a research fellow in defense and foreign policy at the Cato Institute, where she founded and cohosted the *Power Problems* podcast. Her long-form writing has been featured in publications such as *Foreign Affairs*, the *Texas National Security Review*, and *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, and her opinion writing has been featured in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Vox*, *The National Interest*, and *War on the Rocks,* among others. Ashford writes a biweekly column, "It's Debatable," for *Foreign Policy*, and is a regular contributor to Inkstick. She is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and holds a PhD in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia.

Dr. Christopher Bolan

Dr. Chris Bolan is professor of Middle East security studies at the Strategic Studies Institute of the US Army War College, where he researches, publishes, and teaches graduate-level courses on US national security, foreign policy, and the Middle East. He served as a foreign policy advisor on Middle East and South Asia affairs for Vice Presidents Gore and Cheney from 1997 to 2003. He is a retired US Army colonel with overseas tours in Korea, Egypt, Jordan, and Tunisia. He holds a PhD in international relations and Master of Arts degree in Arab Studies from Georgetown University. He is also a senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute—a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization devoted to "bringing the insights of scholarship to bear on the foreign policy and national security challenges facing the United States."

Dr. Anthony H. Cordesman

Anthony H. Cordesman is the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at CSIS. During his time at CSIS, Cordesman has been director of the Gulf Net Assessment Project and the Gulf in Transition Study, as well as principal investigator of the CSIS Homeland Defense Project. He has led studies on national missile defense, asymmetric warfare and weapons of mass destruction, and critical infrastructure protection. He directed the CSIS Middle East Net Assessment Project and codirected the CSIS Strategic Energy Initiative. He is the author of a wide range of studies on US security policy, energy policy, and Middle East policy and has served as a consultant to the Departments of State and Defense during the Afghan and Iraq wars. He served as part of Gen. Stanley McChrystal's civilian advisory group during the formation of a new strategy in Afghanistan and has since acted as a consultant to various elements of the US military and NATO. Cordesman formerly served as national security assistant to Senator John McCain of the Senate Armed Services Committee, as director of intelligence assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and as civilian assistant to the deputy secretary of defense. He directed the analysis of the lessons of the October War for the secretary of defense in 1974, coordinating US military, intelligence, and civilian analysis of the conflict. He has served in numerous other government positions, including at the Department of State and on the NATO International Staff. Cordesman also served as director of policy and planning for resource applications at the Department of Energy. He has had numerous foreign assignments as well—including posts in Lebanon, Egypt, and Iran—and has worked extensively in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. He has been awarded the Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal, is a former adjunct professor of national security studies at Georgetown University, and has twice been a Wilson fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian. Cordesman is the author of more than fifty books, including a four-volume series on the lessons of modern war.

Ms. Elaine K. Dezenski

Elaine K. Dezenski serves on the board of advisors of the Center on Economic and Financial Power at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. Bringing more than twenty years of senior-level experience in public, private, and international organizations, she is an internationally recognized expert and thought leader in security policy, with special expertise in anticorruption, security, and risk management. She is founder and managing partner of LumiRisk, LLC, an international risk advisory practice. She also holds advisory roles with RAND Corporation and the Financial Integrity Network and serves on the board of Integrity Initiatives International, a nongovernmental organization fighting grand corruption. From 2017 to 2018, she served as a senior fellow at the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs at Yale University, where she is the Mars Lecturer of Business Ethics in Yale's Program on Ethics, Politics, and Economics. In 2020, she was appointed to the Export-Import Bank of the United States' new Chairman's Council on China Competition. As senior director and head of the World Economic Forum's Partnering Against Corruption Initiative from 2012 to 2015, Ms. Dezenski was responsible for growing the leading global private sector–driven anticorruption initiative. From 2010 to 2012, she launched the Forum's Risk Response Network, a global platform for addressing a broad range of macro-level risks and their implications for business and society. Previous positions include senior-level political and career positions at the US Department of Homeland Security (2002–2006), where she served as deputy and acting assistant secretary for policy from 2004 to 2006. She also served as managing director of the Global Security Initiative at Interpol, as senior vice president at Cross Match Technologies, and in various managerial roles at Siemens Corporation. She holds an MA in public policy from Georgetown University and a BA in international relations from Wheaton College, Massachusetts.

Dr. David M. Finkelstein

David M. Finkelstein is a vice president at the Center for Naval Analyses—a federally funded research and development center. He also serves as the director of CNA's China & Indo-Pacific Security Affairs Division.. Finkelstein received a PhD in Chinese and Japanese history from Princeton University and studied Mandarin at Nankai University in Tianjin, China. He served as a consultant and contributing author to the *The National Geographic Atlas of China,* and regularly leads seminars at the State Department's Foreign Service Institute and the US Army War College. A retired US Army officer, he is a graduate of the United States Military Academy, the US Army Command and General Staff College, the US Army War College, the US Army Foreign Area Officer Course at the JFK Center for Military Assistance and Unconventional Warfare, and the US Army Airborne School. His edited volumes include *Chinese Warfighting: The PLA Experi-*

ence Since 1949; *China's Revolution in Doctrinal Affairs: Developments in the Operational Art of the People's Liberation Army*; *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea*; and *China's Leadership in the 21st Century: The Rise of the Fourth Generation*. His historical monograph, *From Abandonment to Salvation: Washington's Taiwan Dilemma, 1949–50*, was lauded in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. His most recent article is "The US Army in the Pacific: Legacies and Challenges" (*Parameters,* Autumn 2020).

Dr. Thomas Graham

Thomas E. Graham is a distinguished fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is also currently a senior advisor at Kissinger Associates, Inc., where he focuses on Russian and Eurasian affairs. He is a cofounder of the Russian, East European, and Eurasian studies program at Yale University and sits on its faculty steering committee. He is also a research fellow at the MacMillan Center at Yale, where he teaches a course on US-Russian relations. Graham was special assistant to the president and senior director for Russia on the National Security Council staff from 2004 to 2007, during which he managed a White House-Kremlin strategic dialogue. He was director for Russian affairs on the staff from 2002 to 2004. Graham was a lecturer in global affairs and political science at Yale University from 2011 to 2019, teaching courses on US-Russian relations and Russian foreign policy, as well as cybersecurity and counterterrorism. He was a foreign service officer for fourteen years. His assignments included two tours of duty at the US embassy in Moscow in the late Soviet period and in the middle of the 1990s during which he served as head of the political internal unit and acting political counselor. Between tours in Moscow, he worked on Russian and Soviet affairs on the policy planning staff at the US Department of State and as a policy assistant in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy. Graham serves on the Kennan council of the Kennan Institute of the Wilson Center and on the advisory board of Russia Matters, a project of the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs with the goal of enhancing the understanding of Russia among policymakers and the interested public. He also serves on the editorial board of the *US-Canada Journal* of the USA-Canada Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Graham holds a BA in Russian studies from Yale University and an MA in history and a PhD in political science from Harvard University.

Dr. Sheena Chestnut Greitens

Sheena Chestnut Greitens is an associate professor at the LBJ School, as well as a faculty fellow with the Clements Center for National Security and a distinguished scholar with the Strauss Center for International Security and Law. Her work focuses on East Asia, American national security, and authoritarian politics and foreign policy. She is also a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, an adjunct fellow with the Korea Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, an associate in research at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University, and a member of the Digital Freedom Forum at the Center for a New American Security. From January 2015 to August 2020, Dr. Greitens was an assistant professor of political science at the University of Missouri, and codirector of the University's Institute for Korean Studies. Her work on China and North Korea has appeared in academic journals and edited volumes in English, Chinese, and Korean and in major media outlets. She has also previously testified to Congress on security issues in the Indo-Pacific. Her first book, *Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence* (Cambridge, 2016), received the 2017 Best Book Award from both the International Studies Association and the Comparative Democratization section of the American Political Science Association. In 2017–18, Dr. Greitens served as the first lady of Missouri, where she helped lead the state's 2017 trade mission to China and South Korea, and successfully advocated for major legislative and administrative reforms to Missouri's policies on foster care, adoption, and child abuse prevention. She holds a doctorate from Harvard University; an MPhil from Oxford University, where she studied as a Marshall Scholar; and a bachelor's degree from Stanford University.

Dr. Michael C. Horowitz

Michael C. Horowitz is director of Perry World House and Richard Perry Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics*, and the coauthor of *Why Leaders Fight*. He won the 2017 Karl Deutsch Award given by the International Studies Association for early career contributions to the fields of international relations and peace research. He has published in a wide array of peer-reviewed journals and popular outlets. His research interests include the intersection of emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence and robotics with global politics, military innovation, the role of leaders in international politics, and geopolitical forecasting methodology. He previously worked for the Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy. He is affiliated with the Center for a New American Security, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Professor Horowitz received his PhD in government from Harvard University and his BA in political science from Emory University.

Colonel Patrick Howell, PhD

Col. Patrick Howell the director of the Modern War Institute at West Point. He is a career engineer officer and a strategic/operational planner and is currently a Chief of Staff of the Army Advanced Strategic Plans & Policy Program fellow. He has served in a variety of conventional and special operations assignments and has conducted deployments to Afghanistan, Iraq, and East Africa. He has graduated from several military courses including Ranger School and the School of Advanced Military Studies. Patrick previously served as the lead strategic planner at the Joint Special Operations Command, battalion commander, and assistant professor of international relations in the Department of Social Sciences at the US Military Academy. He has taught courses in international relations, comparative politics, politics and government of Europe, and Central European security studies. He has a bachelor's degree in international relations from the US Military Academy, Master of Arts in Law & Diplomacy from the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Master of Military Arts & Science from the School of Advanced Military Studies, and PhD in political science from Duke University.

Dr. Nakissa Jahanbani

Nakissa Jahanbani is an instructor and researcher at the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. She studies political violence, focusing on questions of state-proxy relationships, specifically Iran's network of proxies. Her dissertation explores related state-proxy questions through regression and network analysis. She has published in *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, *PS: Political Science*, and the *Journal of Political Science Education*. She is fluent in Persian and is learning Arabic. She was an ICPSR Clifford C. Clogg Scholarship recipient and later a teaching assistant in the same program.

Ms. Nina Jankowicz

Nina Jankowicz studies the intersection of democracy and technology in Central and Eastern Europe. She is the author of *How To Lose the Information War: Russia, Fake News, and the Future of Conflict* (Bloomsbury/IBTauris). Ms. Jankowicz has advised the Ukrainian government on strategic communications under the auspices of a Fulbright-Clinton Public Policy Fellowship. Her writing has been published by the *New York Times,* the *Washington Post, The Atlantic*, and others. She is a frequent television and radio commentator on disinformation and Russian and Eastern European affairs. Prior to her Fulbright grant in Ukraine, Ms. Jankowicz managed democracy assistance programs to Russia and Belarus at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. She received her MA in Russian, Eurasian, and East European studies from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, and her BA from Bryn Mawr College.

Dr. Alexander Lanoszka

Dr. Alexander Lanoszka is an assistant professor of international relations at the University of Waterloo. His research agenda encompasses international security, alliance politics, and theories of war, with special focus on Central and Northeastern Europe. He sits on the editorial board of the journal *Contemporary Security Policy* and is an honorary fellow at City, University of London, where he previously taught prior to coming to Waterloo. He held fellowships at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Dartmouth College upon finishing his PhD at Princeton University. He has published articles in such journals as *International Security*, *International Affairs*, *Security Studies*, and *The Nonproliferation Review*. His book *Atomic Assurance: The Alliance Politics of Nuclear Proliferation* (with Cornell University Press) examines how alliances can best deter, and reverse, efforts at nuclear proliferation by states that receive security guarantors from the United States. He also has a Strategic Studies Institute monograph (coauthored with Michael A. Hunzeker) that focuses on how the US Army can contribute to the defense of the Baltic region against external aggression. His research has taken him around the world to conduct interviews and to collect archival materials.

Dr. Rupal Mehta

Dr. Rupal N. Mehta is an associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Previously, she was Stanton Nuclear Security Postdoctoral Fellow in the Belfer Center's International Security Program and Project on Managing the Atom at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Her research interests lie in international security and conflict, with a specialization in nuclear nonproliferation/counterproliferation, extended deterrence, nuclear latency, force structure, and deterrence and coercion strategy. Dr. Mehta's first book, *Delaying Doomsday: The Politics of Nuclear Reversal* (Oxford University Press, 2020) explores the conditions under which states that have started nuclear weapons programs stop their pursuit. Her work has appeared or is forthcoming in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution, International Studies Quarterly,* the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, and *The Washington Quarterly*, and her commentary has been published in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *War on the Rocks*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and the *Washington Post*'s Monkey Cage. She received a PhD and MA in political science from the University of California, San Diego and a BA in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.

Mr. Ankit Panda

Ankit Panda is the Stanton Senior Fellow in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. An expert on the Asia-Pacific region, his research interests include nuclear strategy, arms control, missile defense, nonproliferation, emerging technologies, and US extended deterrence. He is the author of *Kim Jong Un and the Bomb: Survival and Deterrence in North Korea* (Hurst Publishers/Oxford University Press, 2020). Panda was previously an adjunct senior fellow in the Defense Posture Project at the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) and a member of the 2019 FAS International Study Group on North Korea Policy. He has consulted for the United Nations in New York and Geneva on nonproliferation and disarmament matters, and has testified on security topics related to South Korea and Japan before the congressionally chartered US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Panda was a Korea Society Kim Koo Fellow, a German Marshall Fund Young Strategist, an International Institute for Strategic Studies Shangri-La Dialogue Young Leader, and a Carnegie Council on Ethics in International Affairs New Leader. He has worked at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs. A widely published writer, Panda's work has appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, the *Diplomat*, *The Atlantic*, the *New Republic*, the *South China Morning Post*, *War on the Rocks*, *Politico*, and the *National Interest*. Panda has also published in scholarly journals, including *Survival*, *The Washington Quarterly*, and *India Review*, and he has contributed to the IISS Asia-Pacific Regional Security Assessment and Strategic Survey. He is editor-at-large at the *Diplomat*, where he hosts the *Asia Geopolitics* podcast, and a contributing editor at *War on the Rocks*.

Dr. John S. Park

Dr. John Park is director of the Korea Project and adjunct lecturer in public policy at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center. He is also a faculty affiliate with the Project on Managing the Atom. Dr. Park's core research projects focus on the political economy of the Korean Peninsula, nuclear proliferation, economic statecraft, Asian trade negotiations, and North Korean cyber activities. Dr. Park was the 2012–2013 Stanton Nuclear Security Junior Faculty Fellow at MIT's Security Studies Program. He previously directed Northeast Asia Track 1.5 dialogues at the US Institute of Peace in Washington, DC. He advises Northeast Asia policy-focused officials in the US government. Dr. Park worked at Goldman Sachs, where he specialized in US military privatization financing projects. He earlier worked in Goldman Sachs' M&A Advisory Group in Hong Kong and The Boston Consulting Group's Financial Services Practice in Seoul. Dr. Park is a commentator on Asian geopolitical issues on CNN, BBC, CNBC, Fox Business, Fox

News, and Bloomberg TV. He also advises institutional investors on geopolitical risk in Asia-Pacific markets. Dr. Park's key publications include: "Stopping North Korea, Inc.: Sanctions Effectiveness and Unintended Consequences," (MIT Security Studies Program, 2016, coauthored with Jim Walsh); "The Key to the North Korean Targeted Sanctions Puzzle" in *The Washington Quarterly* (Fall 2014); "Assessing the Role of Security Assurances in Dealing with North Korea" in *Security Assurances and Nuclear Nonproliferation* (Stanford University Press, 2012); "North Korea, Inc.: Gaining Insights into North Korean Regime Stability from Recent Commercial Activities" (USIP Working Paper, May 2009); and "North Korea's Nuclear Policy Behavior: Deterrence and Leverage" in *The Long Shadow: Nuclear Weapons and Security in 21st Century Asia* (Stanford University Press, 2008). His current research focuses on the North Korean regime's accumulated learning in evading sanctions. Dr. Park received his MPhil and PhD from the University of Cambridge. He completed his predoctoral and postdoctoral training at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center. Dr. Park has testified on North Korea before the Senate Banking Committee and the House Financial Services Committee.

Dr. Michael Poznansky

Michael Poznansky is assistant professor of international affairs and intelligence studies in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh with a secondary appointment in the Department of Political Science. He is also a US Foreign Policy and International Security Fellow with the Dickey Center at Dartmouth College during the 2020–2021 academic year. Michael earned his PhD in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia and was previously a predoctoral research fellow with the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School. His research sits at the intersection of security and intelligence studies, with a particular focus on secrecy in world politics. Michael's first book, *In the Shadow of International Law: Secrecy and Regime Change in the Postwar World* (Oxford University Press, 2020), investigates why states frequently turn to covert action when overthrowing foreign governments. He has published in a number of peer-reviewed journals including the *American Journal of Political Science*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Interactions*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, *Journal of Peace Research*, and *Journal of Strategies Studies*. Michael has also written for a variety of policy-oriented outlets, including the Council on Foreign Relations' Net Politics blog, *Lawfare*, *Political Violence at a Glance*, the *Diplomat*, *War on the Rocks*, and the *Washington Post*.

Dr. Cynthia Roberts

Cynthia Roberts is a professor of political science at Hunter College, City University of New York, senior research scholar at the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, and adjunct professor at Columbia University. In 2019, with support from the Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship for Tenured International Relations Scholars, she worked as a policy adviser at the Joint Staff, Department of Defense in J-5, Strategy, Plans and Policy. Previously, Dr. Roberts was director of the Russian Area Studies Graduate Program at Hunter, served on the Executive Committee on Science, Arms Control, and National Security of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and held fellowships at the Brookings Institution and Stanford University. She is a full member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Professor Roberts's research spans the military and financial statecraft of major powers. Her most recent book, *The BRICS and Collective Financial Statecraft* (with L. Armijo and S. Katada) was published by Oxford in 2018 and a Chinese edition is forthcoming in 2020. She is also the author of "Russia and the European Union: The Sources and Limits of 'Special Relationships'" (2007) and numerous articles in scholarly and policy journals and reports on topics including blowback and escalation risks from the US weaponization of finance, Russian nuclear doctrine, great power competition, and the sources of the Soviet catastrophe in 1941. Professor Roberts received an MA, MPhil and PhD from Columbia University and a certificate from the Harriman Institute at Columbia.

Dr. Nadia Schadlow

Nadia Schadlow is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and a senior visiting fellow at MITRE. Dr. Schadlow was most recently US deputy national security advisor for strategy. Prior to joining the National Security Council, she was a senior program officer in the International Security and Foreign Policy Program of the Smith Richardson Foundation, where she helped identify strategic issues that warrant further attention from the US policy community. She served on the Defense Policy Board from September 2006 to June 2009 and is a full member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Her articles have appeared in *Parameters*, the *American Interest*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Philanthropy*, and several edited volumes. Dr. Schadlow holds a BA in government and Soviet studies from Cornell University and an MA and PhD from the John Hopkins Nitze School of Advanced International Studies.

Dr. Thomas Sherlock

Thomas Sherlock is a professor of political science at the United States Military Academy, where he teaches courses in post-Soviet politics, comparative politics, and international security. He received his doctoral degree in political science from Columbia University. His current and previous executive positions at West Point and in the Department of Social Sciences include: director, Student Conference on US Affairs (SCUSA); director of research; director of comparative politics; and chair of the Academic Research Council. Dr. Sherlock is the author or coauthor of three books and the coeditor of three volumes of SCUSA conference papers. He has also published numerous scholarly articles in the United States and Russia and has served as a consultant or project manager for the Carnegie Council, the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Open Society Foundations, and EUROCLIO (The Netherlands), among other organizations and institutions. Dr. Sherlock has supervised numerous large-sample public opinion surveys in Russia and the Baltic states as well as two dozen focus group sessions in Moscow. He is the recipient of recent grants from the Minerva Initiative and the Kennan Institute, Wilson Center. His current research focuses on the evolution of elite and mass political culture in Russia.

Dr. Joshua Shifrinson

Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson's teaching and research interests focus on the intersection of international security and diplomatic history, particularly the rise and fall of great powers and the origins of grand strategy. He has special expertise in great power politics since 1945 and US engagement in Europe and Asia. Shifrinson's first book, *Rising Titans, Falling Giants: How Great Powers Exploit Power Shifts* (Cornell University Press, 2018), builds on archival research focused on US and Soviet foreign policy after 1945 to explain why some rising states challenge and prey upon declining great powers, while others seek to support and cooperate with declining states. He has additional related projects on US grand strategy, the durability of NATO, US relations with its allies during and after the Cold War, and the rise of China. His work has appeared with *International Security*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Foreign Affairs*, and other venues. His next major project examines American foreign policy in the 1990s and early 2000s to explain how great powers try to stop challengers from emerging. Shifrinson earned a BA from Brandeis University and a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The recipient of fellowships from the Dickey Center, the Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, and the Belfer Center, Shifrinson was an assistant professor of government at Texas A&M University prior to joining Pardee. At Boston University, he teaches classes on international relations theory, US grand strategy, alliance politics, and security studies.

Dr. Ariane M. Tabatabai

Dr. Ariane M. Tabatabai is the Middle East fellow at the Alliance for Securing Democracy at the German Marshall Fund of the United States and an adjunct senior research scholar at the Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs. She is a Truman national security fellow and a Council on Foreign Relations term member. Prior to joining GMF, Tabatabai served as an associate political scientist at the RAND Corporation, the director of curriculum and a visiting assistant professor of security studies at the Georgetown University Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, and an international civilian consultant for NATO. Tabatabai was a postdoctoral fellow in the International Security Program and a Stanton nuclear security fellow in the International Security Program and the Project on Managing the Atom at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs where she was also an associate. She is the author of *No Conquest, No Defeat: Iran's National Security Strategy* (Oxford University Press) and the coauthor of *Triple Axis: Iran's Relations With Russia and China* (I.B.Tauris). She has published widely in academic, policy, and mainstream outlets, including *International Security*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *The Atlantic*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Foreign Policy*. Tabatabai holds a PhD in war studies from King's College London and is a native French and Persian speaker.

The Honorable Susan Thornton

Susan A. Thornton is a retired senior US diplomat with almost thirty years of experience with the US State Department in Eurasia and East Asia. She is currently a senior fellow and research scholar at the Paul Tsai China Center at Yale University Law School; director of the Forum on Asia-Pacific Security at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy; and a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Until July 2018, Thornton was acting assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs at the Department of State and led East Asia policymaking amid crises with North Korea, escalating trade tensions with China, and a fast-changing international environment. In previous State Department roles, she worked on US policy toward China, Korea, and the former Soviet Union and served in leadership positions at US embassies in Central Asia, Russia, the Caucasus, and China. Thornton received her master's degree in international relations from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and her bachelor's degree from Bowdoin College in economics and Russian. She serves on several nonprofit boards and speaks Mandarin and Russian.

Dr. Sanam Vakil

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