

EARLY WARNING

April 2017

FIELD TRIP: HAWAII



Report by Reid Pauly, graduate student

Over Spring Break, SSP military fellows led 14 graduate students on a field trip to United States Pacific Command in Hawaii. Each day was devoted to a different Service—Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines—highlighting the missions each train to perform, the capabilities they possess in theater, and the threats they perceive to American interests in the region. At USPACOM Headquarters, substantive sessions included an Operations brief, a thorough analysis of maritime law with JAG lawyers, and a detailed assessment of Theater Security Cooperation efforts. Further substantive discussions with MARFORPAC (Marines), PACFLT (Navy), USARPAC (Army), and PACAF (Air Force) provided additional perspective. The graduate students asked incisive questions of briefers and pushed senior officers to go off script and critically assess American strategy in the Western Pacific. Word spread quickly of the presence of the inquisitive MIT delegation and many backbenchers came to listen in on subsequent discussions. Overall, students emerged from the briefings with a good sense of American military operations in the Pacific, though little consensus that

those operations were always backed by the right strategy. The research will have to continue back in Cambridge.

In addition to strategy briefings, students had the opportunity to see some military hardware up close, including an Arleigh Burke-class DDG destroyer (USS Halsey), an MV-22 Osprey, an AH-64 Apache helicopter, and an F-16 Fighting Falcon. The trip would also not have been complete without a visit to the USS Arizona Memorial and the USS Missouri at Pearl Harbor.

Trip supervisors Roger Peterson and Joli Divon Saraf allowed for some leisure time at the beach, while the military fellows preferred to sniff out the Mai Tais. On the final night, the group celebrated a successful trip at a luau.

January IAP Contemporary Military Topic Series

The five military fellows presented a variety of different seminars for the public in January during MIT's Independent Activities Period.

Navy Commander **Bob Holmes (Navy)** discussed the art and science of electronic warfare (EW) and the Navy's newest EA-18G "Growler." Bob recently commanded Electronic Attack Squadron 132 and provide dan unclassified presentation pertaining to EW, Growler capabilities & Navy equities within the Dept. of Defense. He recapped the highlights of a recent deployment and showed a motivational video shot from the cockpit.

Eric Gilbert (Air Force) invited Air Force Captain John Boyd who discussed his mastery in tactical flying blossomed into a demonstration of expertise at the operational & strategic levels of warfare, paving the way for his famous Observe, Orient, Decide and Act (OODA) Loop. The OODA Loop is widely used today in business, athletic and military strategies, yet many fail to understand its significance in representing future conflict and the next generation of warfare.

Joe Vongs (Army) presented a seminar which examined some of the basic tenets of Sun Tzu, the author of *The Art of War*. Lessons learned from Sun Tzu were analyzed through the perspective of a military advisor to an Iraqi Intelligence officer from 2008-2009. Embedded in the seminar, Vongs also discussed decision making in grey environments.

Joe Vongs (Army) also presented jointly with **Dan Coleman (Marine Corps)** on the United States government's wide range of available capabilities in the event of a crisis, domestic or overseas. The US military has units trained to respond to a range of possible scenarios on short notice. This seminar provided an overview of capabilities from the Army

and the Marine Corps, offering insight into these units, how they are organized, trained, and prepared to respond during times of crisis.

Shawn Creamer (Army) presented an overview of the 4 theater-level commands operating in So. Korea: Combined Forces Command; U.S. Forces Korea; UN Command; & the ROK Joint Chiefs of Staff. Creamer covered their respective responsibilities, authorities, & communication channels, as well as their interrelationships & how the 4 commands influence and facilitate decisionmaking during crisis & contingencies on the Korean peninsula.

WHERE WE SPOKE

Fiona Cunningham, graduate student

“Seizing the Initiative or Controlling Escalation? China’s Changing Approach to Cyber Deterrence,” *International Studies Association Annual Meeting*, Baltimore, MD, February 22, 2017.

Stacie Goddard, Research Affiliate

Spoke at the University of Minnesota International Relations Colloquium, the International Studies Association, and a workshop at the Norwegian Institute of International Relations.

Kelly Greenhill, Research Affiliate

“True Lies: Threat Conflation and the 2003 Invasion of Iraq,” *International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Meeting*, Baltimore, MD, February 2017.

“Do What You Say, or Else: Shaming and Taming in International Politics (with J. Busby),” *International Studies Association Annual Meeting*, Baltimore, MD, February, 2017.

“Extra-factual Information in Historical Perspective,” *Combatting Fake News: An Agenda for Research and Action*, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, MA, February 2017.

Chaired and participated in the roundtable honoring the 2017 ISSS Distinguished Scholar, Barry Posen, ISA Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD, February 2017.

Greg Koblentz, Alum '04

Greg Koblentz chaired and served as the discussant on a panel on Chemical, Biological, and Nuclear Terrorism at the 2017 ISA Conference in Baltimore, MD on February 25.

Peter Krause, Alum '11

“Forced Migration and Refugees: ISIS and Syria,” Weston High School, March 29, 2017.

“Know Thy Enemy: Education About Terrorism Improves Social Attitudes Toward Terrorists,” International Studies Association Conference, February 24, 2017.

[Reaction to President Trumps’ Airstrikes in Syria](#), NBC-Boston, April 7, 2017.

Alan Kuperman, Alum '02

“Why the R2P Backfires (And How to Fix It),” *R2P Conference*, MacMillan Center, Yale University, February 16-17, 2017; and Cambridge University, UK, February 9, 2017.

Marika Landau-Wells, graduate student

Marika Landau-Wells presented two papers at ISA this year:

- "High Stakes and Low Bars: International Recognition of Governments during Civil War"
- "Bringing the First Image Back In: An Exposition of Threat-Heuristic Theory"

Jennifer M. Lind, Alum '04

Jennifer M. Lind presented “Is Nationalism Rising in Japan?” at the Centre d’études et de recherches internationales, Université de Montréal, March 24, 2017.

Jennifer M. Lind was a panelist for “U.S. National Security Policy Under Donald Trump,” at the Council on Foreign Relations, Washington DC, March 2017.

Jennifer M. Lind was a panelist for “Alliance Policies in a Changing Asia: Regional Security Partners and Britain,” at Chatham House, London, January 31, 2017.

Andrew Miller, graduate student

“State versus Syndicate: Civilian Compliance in Contested Territory,” *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, February 24, 2017.

“Treaty Compliance through Assurance: Evidence from the International Criminal Court,” *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, February 25, 2017.

Rachel Esplin Odell, graduate student

Rachel Odell presented “Maritime Hegemony and the Fiction of the Free Sea: Explaining States' Claims to Maritime Jurisdiction” in a Junior Scholar Symposium at the International Studies Association Annual Conference held in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 23, 2017.

Barry Posen, Faculty

Barry Posen gave a talk, “Restraint and the New Administration,” to the Strategy Discussion Group in Washington DC on January 23.

Barry Posen presented a Work in Progress Seminar, *A Multipolar World and the Management of Civil War*, at the Kluge Center, Library of Congress on February 2. This same talk was presented at The Responsibility to Protect conference held at Yale University on March 16-17.

Barry Posen presented a keynote address on his book, “Restraint-A New Foundation for US Grand Strategy,” at the Conference on Grand Strategy held at Yale University, March 30-31.

Joshua Rovner, Alum '08

“Two Kinds of Catastrophe: Nuclear Weapons and Conventional War in Asia,” *International Studies Association*, Baltimore, MD, February 2017; and American University, School of International Service, January 2017.

“Does the Internet Need a Hegemon?” University of Pittsburgh, GSPIA, January 2017.

Richard Samuels, Faculty

Delivered the Bradley Richardson Memorial Lecture at Ohio State University on the topic of “Japanese Foreign and Security Policy,” February, 2017.

Spoke at Middlebury College on the security and energy policy consequences of the March 2011 triple catastrophe in northeastern Japan, February, 2017.

“Japanese Technonationalism Viewed through the ‘Wayback Machine,’” Presented to the conference on “The U.S.-Japan Bilateral Economic Relationship: Past, Present, and Future,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, March 2017.

Jayita Sarkar, CIS Security Studies Fellow, 2016-17

“Incongruities in the Indian Nuclear Narrative,” *New Nuclear Imaginaries conference* at Harvard University’s Program on Science, Technology and Society, April 6-7, 2017.

“The Stakeholders Inside: Explaining India’s Relationship with Israel and France,” with Nicolas Barel, Leiden University, *International Studies Association*, Baltimore, MD, February 2017.

Joshua Shifrinson, Alum ‘13

Joshua Shifrinson presented to the Tobin Project’s workshop on threat assessment and nuclear proliferation.

Joel Sokolsky, Research Affiliate

On February 17, Joel Sokolsky testified before the Canadian House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence on the Royal Canadian Navy and Naval Readiness.

On March 21, Joel Sokolsky spoke at the National Defense University in Washington D.C. on: "Schoolhouses and COCOMs: Educating and Cultivating the American-led International Fraternity of the Uniform."

Caitlin Talmadge, Alum ‘11

“Nuclear First Use” panel at Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference, March 2017

Jim Walsh, Faculty

[“Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump: Is it Time for Our Dealmaker in Chief to Talk with North Korea?”](#) Fox News. 12 March, 2017.

Jim Walsh also presented talks to the following list of institutions and organizations (select list):

Issues on Iran/Iran Nonproliferation Regime/Iran Nuclear Deal

World Affairs Council of the Charlotte Board & Community Leaders, January, 2017

UNC Charlotte, January 2017

Atlantic Council, January, 2017

AAAS, February, 2017

Testimony before House Oversight Committee, April, 2017

On North Korea

Center for Arms Control and Disarmament, March, 2017

20 Members of US House and Senate, March, 2017

Korea Economic Institute, April, 2017

Jim Walsh also gave talks at MIT Lincoln Labs on the Nuclear Weapon's agenda for the Next Four Years and on Cross-domain deterrence & Sanctions at the University of California, Berkeley.

Tim Wolters, Alum '04

"Sparks and Arcs: The U.S. Navy's Adoption of Radio, 1899-1914," at the Naval Research Laboratory in Washington, D.C.

"The Birth, Near Death, and Revival of the American Military Institute and Its Quarterly Journal, 1933-1968," at the Society for Military History's annual conference in Jacksonville, Florida.

WHAT WE WROTE

Boaz Atzili, Alum '06

Boaz Atzili and Burak Kadercan, "Territorial Designs and International Politics: the Diverging Constitution of Space and Boundaries," *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2017: 115-130.

David T. Burbach, Alum '03

David T. Burbach, "Gaining Trust While Losing Wars: Confidence in the U.S. Military After Iraq and Afghanistan," *Orbis*, vol. 61, no. 2, pp. 154-171.

Matthew Cancian, graduate student

Matthew Cancian, "[Culture Wars](#)," *Modern War Institute at West Point*, February 1, 2017.

Matthew Cancian, "[FM 3-24-2.0? Why US Counterinsurgency Doctrine Needs and Update](#)," *Modern War Institute at West Point*, February 21, 2017.

Matthew Cancian, "[Building Partner Capacity with the Peshmerga](#)," *Modern War Institute at West Point*, March 15, 2017.

Stacie Goddard, Research Affiliate

Stacie Goddard, "Hiding in Plain Sight? The Not-So-Secret Constructivism of Relationalism," Symposium for *International Studies Quarterly*

Robert Haffa, Alum '82

Robert Haffa, "Defense Decisions for the Trump Administration" Spring 2017, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*.

Eric Heginbotham, Faculty

Eric Heginbotham, *China's Evolving Nuclear Deterrent: Major Drivers and Issues for the United States*, lead author, RAND Report, 2017.

Eric Heginbotham and Richard J. Samuels, "[Smartening Up Japan's Defenses](#)," *Nikkei Asian Review* (web), January 26, 2017.

Jessica Karnis, Alum '06

Jessica Karnis, "Ford-Class Aircraft Carrier: Follow-On Ships Need More Frequent and Accurate Cost Estimates to Avoid Pitfalls of Lead Ship", *Government Accountability Office*, March 1, 2017.

Alan Kuperman, Alum '02

Alan Kuperman, "[Proper Response to an Amoral President](#)," *Huffington Post*, January 20, 2017

Peter Krause, Alum '11

Peter Krause, *Rebel Power: Why National Movements Compete, Fight, and Win* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs, April 2017).

Peter Krause, "Know Thy Enemy: Education About Terrorism Improves Social Attitudes Toward Terrorists," with Jordan Theriault and Liane Young, *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, Vol. 146, No. 3 (March 2017), pp. 305-317.

Joseph O'Mahoney, Stanton Fellow, 2016-17

Joseph O'Mahoney, "Trump says that spoils belong to the victor. That's an invitation to more war", *Monkey Cage at The Washington Post*, 1 February 2017.

Joseph O'Mahoney, "Making The Real: Rhetorical Adduction and the Bangladesh Liberation War", *International Organization*, Online Firstview

Barry Posen, Faculty

Barry Posen, "[Syria Showdown: Will Trump be Pressured into Putting Turkey First, America Second?](#)" *The National Interest*, March 16, 2017.

Jeremy Pressman, Alum '02

Jeremy Pressman's chapter "US Policy after the Uprisings: Alliances, Democracy, and Force" appears in Mark L. Haas and David W. Lesch, eds., *The Arab Spring: The Hope and Reality of the Uprisings*, second edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2017).

Joshua Rovner, Alum '08

Joshua Rovner, "[A How-To Guide for Investigating the President.](#)" *Dallas Morning News*, February 17, 2017.

Joshua Rovner, "[Donald Trump and the Future of Intelligence.](#)" *Lawfare*, January 8, 2017

Joshua Rovner, "[Policy Roundtable 1-7: Russia and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.](#)" *H-Diplo/ISSF*, March 2017

Richard Samuels, Faculty

Mike M. Mochizuki and Richard J. Samuels, "Japan's Energy Security: Strategic Discourse and Domestic Politics," chapter in Mike M. Mochizuki and Deepa Ollapally (eds.), *Energy Security in Asia and Eurasia* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Eric Heginbotham and Richard J. Samuels, "[Smartening Up Japan's Defenses.](#)" *Nikkei Asian Review* (web), January 26, 2017.

Jayita Sarkar, Security Studies Fellow, 2016-17

Jayita Sarkar, "Managing Nuclear Risk in South Asia: An Indian Response," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Global Forum Feature, vol. 73, no. 1 (2017), pp. 59-61.

Caitlin Talmadge, Alum '11

Caitlin Talmadge, "Trump's Military Budget Minus a Plan," *New York Times* opinion/editorial, March 6.

Caitlin Talmadge with Vipin Narang, "Civil-Military Pathologies and Defeat in War: Tests Using New Data," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* (forthcoming).

Brian D. Taylor, Alum '98

Brian D. Taylor, "The Russian Siloviki & Political Change," *Daedalus*, Vol. 146, No. 2 (Spring, 2017). Special Issue: Russia Beyond Putin.

Jim Walsh, Faculty

Jim Walsh, "Are Sanctions on North Korea Having an Impact? Perspectives from Washington and Cambridge," *Washington: Korea Economic Institute*, 2017, pp. 1-26.

Jim Walsh, "Assessing the Iran Deal," Written Testimony. Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security, U.S. House of Representatives. April 5, 2017, pp. 1-12.

Jim Walsh, "[Will Trump's America be a Nation of Ugly Self-Interest and Ignorance?](#)" *USA Today*. 29, January, 2017.

Jim Walsh with Thomas Pickering, "[Guess Who We Don't Talk About These Days? Iran.](#)" *Viewpoint, Charlotte Observer*, 15 January, 2017.

David Weinberg, Alum '12

David Weinberg, "Al Qaeda's Alleged 'Representative in Syria' Previously Freed from US Custody in Afghanistan," *Long War Journal*, March 26, 2017.

David Weinberg, "Qatar and Terror Finance - Part II: Private Funders of al-Qaeda in Syria," *Foundation for Defense of Democracies monograph*, January 18, 2017.

NOTES FROM ALL OVER

Boaz Atzili, Alum '06

Boaz Atzili was a guest editor for a special volume of the journal *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2017: Territorial Designs (with Burak Kadercan).

Kelly M. Greenhill, Research Affiliate

A new, Italian edition of Greenhill's book, *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion and Foreign Policy* was published by military and political history publisher, *LEG Edizioni*. Interviews associated with the publication of the book appeared in Italian media outlets *La Stampa*; *Quotidiano Nazionale*; and *Panorama*.

Laura Holgate, Alum '90

In January, Laura Holgate resigned from her post as US Ambassador to the International Atomic Energy Agency and other international organizations in Vienna, Austria and returned to her home in Arlington, VA. Since then, she has become a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School, and a Senior Visitor at the Institute for International Science and Technology Policy at the Elliott School of Public Policy. In February, She spoke on a panel on US-Russia cooperation at the Nuclear Deterrence Summit in Washington, DC. In March, she co-authored an article for the Foreign Policy "Shadow Government" blog on preserving funding for the IAEA.

Reid Pauly, graduate student

Reid Pauly will be a pre-doctoral fellow at Harvard's Belfer Center during the 2017-18 academic year.

Jeremy Pressman, Alum, '02

After counting the size and locations of the Women's March in January, Jeremy Pressman co-founded and co-directs, with Erica Chenoweth, the Crowd Counting Consortium to count protests and demonstrations in the United States. You may visit crowdcounting.org or see summary updates in the Monkey Cage.

Sara Plana, graduate student & Tim McDonnell, graduate student

Sara Plana and Tim McDonnell were chosen to attend Bridging the Gap's New Era Foreign Policy (NEFP) Conference in Washington, DC this March. The NEFP Conference brings together select PhD students in international relations and comparative politics from across the

country to discuss contemporary challenges in American foreign policy and how scholars can contribute through policy-relevant research.

Jayita Sarkar, CIS Security Studies Fellow, 2016-17

Jayita Sarkar will be receiving a grant from the Stanton Foundation to develop and teach a new undergraduate course on nuclear politics at Boston University in AY 2017-18, where she will be joining as a tenure-track faculty in the fall of 2017.

Joel Sokolsky, Research Affiliate

Joel Sokolsky is a part of a Canadian Department of National Defence-funded research project on the future of the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD).

David Weinberg, Alum '12

David Weinberg was quoted by Jeremy Diamond and Jim Sciutto, "Trump, Saudis Hit Reset Button," *CNN*, March 17, 2017.

David Weinberg was quoted by Mirren Gidda, "Why the Gulf States and Jordan are Carrying Out Mass Executions," *Newsweek*, March 10, 2017.

David Weinberg was quoted by Akbar Shahid Ahmed, "Donald Trump Has Already Picked His Favorite Muslims: The President's Team Has Only Nice Things to Say About Egypt, Jordan, and the UAE," March 6, 2017.

AWARDS & SCHOLARSHIPS

Mark Bell, Alum '16

Mark Bell was awarded a Stanton Foundation grant to develop a new undergraduate course on nuclear weapons at the University of Minnesota - a news story about the award is here: <https://cla.umn.edu/polisci/news-events/news/professor-mark-bell-awarded-stanton-foundation-grant>

Stacie Goddard, Research Affiliate

Stacie Goddard is a part of a group who received funding from the Norwegian Research Council for the project "Evaluating Power Political Repertoires (EPOS)."

Mayumi Fukushima, graduate student

won the Smith Richardson Foundation World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship.
<http://web.mit.edu/polisci/news/2017/smith-richardson-2017.html>

Andrew Miller, graduate student

Andrew Miller received the following grants and fellowships: the Project Launch Grant, Global Religion Research Initiative, Notre Dame; Research Seed Grant, GOV/LAB, MIT; and a Summer Study Fellowship from the Center for International Security at MIT.

Reid Pauly, graduate student

Reid Pauly was awarded a Smith Richardson World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship.

Barry Posen, Faculty

Barry Posen was awarded the ISA International Security Studies Section 2017 Distinguished Scholar Award on February 24, 2017.

Joshua Shifrinson, Alum '13

Joshua Shifrinson's 2016 *International Security* article awarded the Best Article Award from the Diplomatic Studies Section of the International Studies Association.

Joshua Shifrinson received a Policy Engagement Fellowship from the Bridging the Gap Project.