

## **STEPHEN D. BIDDLE**

Columbia University  
School of International and Public Affairs  
Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies  
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### **Positions Held**

- 2018- Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs  
Professor of International and Public Affairs
- 2012-2018 The George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs  
Professor of Political Science and International Affairs
- 2009-2012 Council on Foreign Relations  
Roger Hertog Senior Fellow for Defense Policy
- 2006-2009 Council on Foreign Relations  
Senior Fellow for Defense Policy
- 2006 U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute  
Elihu Root Chair of Military Studies
- 2001-2005 U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute  
Associate Professor of National Security Studies
- 1998-2002 The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science
- 1987-97 Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA),  
Research Staff Member
- 1985-87 Center for Science and International Affairs (CSIA), Harvard University,  
Predoctoral Research Fellow
- 1986 Office of National Security Programs, J. F. Kennedy School of Government,  
Researcher
- 1984-86 John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University,  
Teaching Assistant
- 1983-87 IDA, Strategy, Forces and Resources Division,  
Consultant
- 1980-83 IDA, International Security Assessment Division,  
Research Assistant

### **Education**

- Harvard University, PhD, Public Policy, 1992  
Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, MPP, 1985  
Harvard College, A.B., Magna cum Laude, Fine Arts, 1981

## **Honors**

U.S. Army Commander's Award for Public Service, awarded in Baghdad, Iraq, 2007

U.S. Army Superior Civilian Service Medal, 2006

Council on Foreign Relations Ross Book Award Silver Medal, 2005

Huntington Prize, 2005 (for the best book in national security studies, awarded by the Harvard University Olin Institute)

Koopman Prize, 2005 (for the best publication in military operations research, awarded by the Institute for Operations Research and the Management Sciences)

Madigan Book Award, 2005 (for the best book published by a member of the faculty at the US Army War College)

U.S. Army Superior Civilian Service Medal, 2003

Best Paper, Working Group 1, Military Operations Research Society 2002 Annual Meeting

Charles Robson Award for Excellence in Graduate Instruction, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001

Rist Prize, 2000 (for best paper presented in response to the annual Military Operations Research Society call for papers)

Smith Richardson Foundation Junior Faculty Fellowship, 1999

Impact Prize, 1999, Military Operations Research Society

Barchi Prize, 1997 (for best paper presented at the Military Operations Research Society 1996 Annual Meeting)

Best Paper, Working Group 14, Military Operations Research Society 1997 Annual Meeting

Harvard-MacArthur Fellow, 1985-87

Kennedy Fellow in International Security Affairs, 1984-85

Phi Beta Kappa, 1981

National Merit Scholar, 1977-81

## **Other Professional Activities**

Adjunct Senior Fellow for Defense Policy, Council on Foreign Relations, 2012-

Co-Director, Columbia University Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS), with Prof. Richard Betts (Columbia), 1997-

Adjunct Associate Professor, Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs, 2005-2012

Member, Defense Policy Board, US Department of Defense, 2009-2011

Strategist, Afghanistan "Directed Telescopes" governance reform campaign planning team, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) Headquarters, Kabul, Afghanistan, June-July 2010

Strategist, Iraq Joint Campaign Plan Assessment Team, US Forces Iraq (USF-I) Headquarters, Baghdad, Iraq, November 2010

Strategist, Initial Strategic Assessment Team, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) Headquarters, Kabul, Afghanistan, June-July 2009

Senior Consultant, US Central Command (CENTCOM) Joint Strategic Assessment Team, Washington DC, November 2008-February 2009

Strategist, Joint Strategic Assessment Team, Multinational Force Iraq (MNF-I) Headquarters, Baghdad, Iraq, March-April 2007

Editorial Board Member, *International Security*, 2009-

Editorial Board Member, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2010-

Editorial Board Member, *Security Studies*, 2005-

President, APSA Committee on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (CAMOS), 2003-2006

Member, Senior Advisory Group on Homeland Security, US Department of Defense 2004-5

U.S. Representative to NATO Panel 7 Research Study Group 18, Stable Defense, 1992-5

## **Teaching**

Conduct of War (Columbia University U6334)

Theory and practice of military strategy, operations, and tactics in land, air, and maritime warfare. Logistics, command and control, military uses of space, strategic interaction and strategic integration. Emphasis on tradeoffs and their resolution in critical military choices. (Graduate)

Methods for Defense Analysis (Columbia University U6285, GWU IAFF 6186)

Methodologies for quantitative defense policy analysis. Major developments in aggregate and disaggregate combat modeling; selection of appropriate metrics, models, and scenarios; emphasis on research design, problem formulation, and their importance for analytical findings. (Graduate)

Military Technology Assessment (Columbia University U6344, GWU IAFF 6186)

Survey of the basic technologies of conventional warfare, with applications for defense program analysis. Sensor systems, propulsion, armor and armor penetration, stealth; emphasis on the concept of design tradeoffs and measure-countermeasure dynamics. (Graduate)

Strategic Studies (GWU PSC 8489)

Field seminar covering the political science literature on the conduct of war. The Clausewitzian model of war; civil-military relations; military effectiveness and net assessment; military doctrine and its determinants; combat motivation; intelligence and surprise; grand strategy; strategic bombing, nuclear strategy, and proliferation; counterinsurgency and civil war; terrorism and counterterrorism; offense-defense theory; cyber warfare; theories of revolutionary change in war. (Graduate)

Theory of War (GWU IAFF 3180/PSC 2990, UNC Poli 150)

Examines the nature, purposes, and conduct of war. Introduces the study of strategy and its relationship to politics; treats major strategic variants for continental warfare,

maritime conflict, strategic bombing, insurgency/counterinsurgency, and nuclear war. (Undergraduate)

National Security and Defense Policy (UNC Poli 149)

Introduction to security studies. War causation, deterrence, compellence, stability, arms control, collective security, regimes. U.S. national security setting and policy, including attention to contemporary debates and crises. (Undergraduate and Graduate)

Theories of International Relations (UNC Poli 240)

Graduate introduction to the central issues and major theoretical developments in the field of international relations, focusing on security issues. (Graduate)

International Relations and World Politics (UNC Poli 86)

The analysis of politics among nations. Emphasis on the use of theory to understand cases and inform policy making. (Undergraduate)

## PUBLICATIONS

### Book

*Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Winner of the 2005 Council on Foreign Relations Ross Award Silver Medal, the 2005 Huntington Prize, the 2005 Koopman Prize, and the 2005 Madigan Book Award.

### Articles

“The Determinants of Nonstate Military Methods,” *Pacific Review*, Vol. 31, No. 6 (2018), pp. 714-739.

“Afghanistan: Peace Prospects at the Abyss,” *The American Interest*, September 13, 2018

Co-author (with Julia MacDonald and Ryan Baker), “Small Footprint, Small Payoff: The Military Utility of Security Force Assistance,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Winter 2018), pp. 89-142.

“Building Security Forces and Stabilizing Nations: The Problem of Agency,” *Daedalus*, Vol. 146, No. 4 (Fall 2017), pp. 126-138.

Co-author (with Ivan Oelrich), “Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: Chinese Antiaccess/Area Denial, U.S. AirSea Battle, and Command of the Commons in East Asia,” *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Summer 2016), pp. 7-48.

“Afghanistan’s Legacy: Emerging Lessons of an Ongoing War,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Summer 2014), pp. 73-86.

“Ending the War in Afghanistan: How to Avoid Failure on the Installment Plan,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2013, pp. 49-58.

Co-author (with Jeffrey Friedman and Jacob Shapiro), "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 7-40.

reprinted in: Celeste Ward Gventer, David Martin Jones and M.L.R. Smith, eds., *The New Counterinsurgency Era in Critical Perspective* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2014), pp. 201-231.

Co-author (with Jeffrey Friedman and Stephen Long), "Civil War Intervention and the Problem of Iraq," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (March 2012), pp. 85-98.

"The Difference Two Years Make," *The American Interest*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (September/October 2011), pp. 40-49.

Co-author (with Fotini Christia and J Alex Thier), "Defining Success in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 4 (July/August 2010), pp. 48-60.

"Is There a Middle Way? The Problem with Half Measures in Afghanistan," *The New Republic*, Vol. 240, No. 20 (November 4, 2009), pp. 28-31.

"Is it Worth It? The Difficult Case for War in Afghanistan," *The American Interest*, Vol. IV, No. 6 (July/August 2009), pp. 4-11.

Co-author (with Michael O'Hanlon and Kenneth Pollack), "How to Leave a Stable Iraq: Building on Progress," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 5 (September/October 2008), pp. 40-58.

"Patient Stabilized?" *The National Interest*, March/April 2008, pp. 19-25

"Military Strategy: An Introduction," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. XL, No. 3 (July 2007), pp. 461-6.

"Speed Kills: Reevaluating the Role of Speed, Precision, and Situation Awareness in the Fall of Saddam," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (February 2007), pp. 3-46.

"Defining Victory and Defeat in Iraq," *The National Interest*, No. 86, November/December 2006, pp. 12-15.

"Biddle Replies" in "What to Do in Iraq: A Roundtable," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (July/August 2006), pp. 165-169.

"Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon: The Perils of Refighting Vietnam in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 2 (March/April 2006), pp. 2-14.

"Allies, Air Power, and Modern Warfare," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Winter 2005-6), pp. 161-176.

"Military Power: A Reply," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3, June 2005, pp. 453-469.

Co-author (with Stephen Long), "Democracy and Military Effectiveness: A Deeper Look," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (August 2004), pp. 525-46.

“Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 2 (March/April 2003), pp. 31-46.

reprinted in: Paul J. Bolt, Damon V. Coletta, and Collins G. Shackelford, Jr., eds., *American Defense Policy* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp. 371-377.

Co-author (with Michael Fischerkeller and Wade Hinkle), “The Interaction of Skill and Technology in Combat,” *Military Operations Research*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2002), pp. 39-56. (Won 2000 Rist Prize, Military Operations Research Society)

“Rebuilding the Foundations of Offense-Defense Theory,” *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (August 2001), pp. 741-774.

Co-author (with the JCISS Study Group), “The Risks of a Networked Military,” *Orbis*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter 2000), pp. 127-44

Co-author (with Wade Hinkle and Michael Fischerkeller), “Skill and Technology in Modern Warfare,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, No. 22 (Summer 1999), pp. 18-27

“The Past as Prologue: Assessing Theories of Future Warfare,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Fall 1998), pp. 1-74

reprinted in: H.W. Brands, ed., *The Use of Force After the Cold War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000)

Co-author (with Julia Klare, Johnathan Wallis and Ivan Oelrich), “Controlling Antipersonnel Landmines,” *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Dec. 1998), pp. 27-71

“The Gulf Debate Redux: Why Skill and Technology are the Right Answer,” *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 163-174

“Victory Misunderstood: What the Gulf War Tells Us About the Future of Conflict,” *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 139-179 (Won 1996 Barchi Prize, Military Operations Research Society)

Co-author (with Robert Zirkle), “Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Warfare in the Developing World,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (June 1996), pp. 171-212

“Offense, Defense, and the End of the Cold War: Criteria for an Appropriate Balance,” *Defense Analysis*, Vol.11, No.1, 1995, pp. 65-74

“The European Conventional Balance: A Reinterpretation of the Debate,” *Survival*, March-April 1988, pp. 99-121

also published as: “The European Conventional Balance Debate: A Reinterpretation,” in W. Thomas Wander, ed., *Nuclear and Conventional Forces in Europe: Implications for Security and Arms Control* (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1987), pp.25-57

### **Chapters, Edited Volumes**

“Policy Implications for the United States,” in David Lake and Eli Berman, eds., *Proxy Wars: Suppressing Violence through Local Agents* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), pp. 264-287

“Theory and Practice of Continental Warfare,” in John Baylis, James J. Wirtz, and Colin S. Gray, eds., *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, fifth edition (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 247-264

Co-author (with Peter Feaver), “Assessing Strategic Choices in the War on Terror,” in Beth Bailey and Richard Immerman, eds., *Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan* (New York: NYU Press, 2015), pp. 99-123 (revised and updated version of the chapter in James Burk, ed., *How 9/11 Changed Our Ways of War*, below).

“Assessing the Islamic State Threat,” in Jon B. Alterman, ed., *Rocky Harbors: Taking Stock of the Middle East in 2015* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2015), chapter five.

Co-author (with Peter Feaver), “Assessing Strategic Choices in the War on Terror,” in James Burk, ed., *How 9/11 Changed Our Ways of War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 27-55.

“Lessons Learned in Afghanistan and Iraq,” in Seyom Brown and Robert H. Scales, eds., *U.S. Policy in Afghanistan and Iraq: Lessons and Legacies* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2012), pp. 89-98.

“Military Effectiveness,” in Robert Denemark et al., eds., *The International Studies Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 5139-5156.

Co-author (with Michael O’Hanlon and Kenneth Pollack), “The Evolution of Iraq Strategy,” in Richard N. Haass and Martin Indyk, eds., *Restoring the Balance: A Middle East Strategy for the Next President* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2008), pp. 27-58

“Iraq, Afghanistan, and American Military Transformation,” in James Wirtz, Eliot Cohen and John Baylis, eds., *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) – also 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2010.

“Explaining Military Outcomes,” in Risa A. Brooks and Elizabeth A. Stanley, eds., *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 207-227

“Toppling the Taliban in Afghanistan,” in Jan Engstrom, ed., *Understanding Victory and Defeat in Contemporary War* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 187-205

“Land Warfare: Theory and Practice,” in James Wirtz, Eliot Cohen and John Baylis, eds., *Strategy in the Contemporary World* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 91-112

“Technology, Civil-Military Relations and Warfare in Southern Asia,” in Eric Arnett, ed., *Military Capacity and the Risk of War: China, India, Pakistan and Iran* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 317-345

“Explaining the Loss-Exchange Ratio in the Gulf War,” in Hans W. Hofmann and Heinz Schelle, eds., *33 Jahre militärische Systemanalyse [33 Years of Military Systems Analysis]* (Munich: Universität der Bundeswehr, 1996), pp. 59-78

“Tactical Level Stability Hypotheses and Tests,” in Reiner K. Huber and Rudolf Avenhaus, eds., *Models for Security Policy in the Post-Cold War Era* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996), pp. 107-115

"U.S. Forces in Europe," in Charles F. Hermann, ed., *American Defense Annual, 1994* (New York: Lexington Books, 1994), pp. 85-104

"Recent Trends in Armor, Infantry and Artillery Technology: Developments and Implications," in W. Thomas Wander, ed., *The Diffusion of Advanced Weaponry* (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1994)

"Offense-Defense Balance, Force-to-Space Ratios, and Defense Effectiveness," in J. Philip Rogers, ed., *The Future of European Security: The Pursuit of Peace in an Era of Revolutionary Change* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), pp. 82-6

Co-author, "Criteria, Modelling Approaches and Analysis Requirements," in Reiner Huber, ed., *Military Stability* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990), pp. 259-270

Co-editor (with Peter D. Feaver), *Battlefield Nuclear Weapons: Issues and Options* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989)

and chapter author, "Can Conventional Forces Substitute for Battlefield Nuclear Weapons?" pp. 67-96

### **Congressional Testimony, White House Briefings**

"Evaluating U.S. Options for Iraq," Testimony Before the House Armed Services Committee, Hearing on "Security Situation in Iraq and Syria: U.S. Policy Options and Implications for the Region," 2nd Session, 113th Congress, July 29, 2014

"Assessing Options for Iraq," (with Caitlin Talmadge), Memorandum for National Security Advisor Susan Rice and Deputy National Security Advisor Antony Blinken, June 23, 2014

"War Termination in Afghanistan," Testimony Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa & Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, United States House of Representatives, Hearing on "After the Withdrawal: The Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan," First Session, 113th Congress, Oct. 29, 2013

"Assessing the Case for Striking Syria," Testimony Before the Committee on Homeland Security, United States House of Representatives, Hearing on "Crisis in Syria: Implications for Homeland Security," First Session, 113th Congress, September 10, 2013

"Long Term Goals for Afghanistan and Their Near Term Implications," Testimony Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Hearings on "Steps Needed for a Successful 2014 Transition in Afghanistan," First Session, 112th Congress, May 10, 2011

"Assessing U.S. Options for Afghanistan," Testimony Before the Committee on Armed Services, United States House of Representatives, First Session, 111th Congress, October 14, 2009

"Assessing the Case for War in Afghanistan," Testimony Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, First Session, 111th Congress, September 16, 2009

"Afghanistan, Iraq, and U.S. Strategy in 2009," Testimony Before the Committee on Armed Services, United States House of Representatives, First Session, 111th Congress, February 12, 2009

"Stabilizing Iraq from the Bottom Up," Testimony Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Second Session, 110th Congress, April 2, 2008

“Iraq After the Surge,” Testimony Before the Committee on Armed Services Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee, United States House of Representatives, Second Session, 110th Congress, January 23, 2008

“Evaluating Options for Partial Withdrawals from Iraq,” Testimony Before the House Armed Services Committee Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations in *Alternatives for Iraq, Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundred Tenth Congress, First Session, July 25, 2007*

“Recommendations Regarding US Strategy in Iraq,” Presentation to the President and Vice President of the United States, The White House, December 11, 2006

“Iraq and the Future of Warfare,” Testimony Before the House Armed Services Committee in *Operation Iraqi Freedom: An Outside Perspective, Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, First Session, October 2003*

"Gorbachev, Force Structure and the Defense Budget," Testimony Before the Defense Policy Panel of the House Armed Services Committee in *U.S. Defense Budgets in a Changing Threat Environment, Hearings Before the Defense Policy Panel of the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundred First Congress, First Session, HASC No.101-39, (Wash., D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 1990), pp. 2-25*

"What Does Conventional Stability Mean, What Would a Stable Posture Look Like, and How Can Arms Control or Force Improvements Help Us Get There?" Testimony Before the Defense Policy Panel of the House Armed Services Committee in *Defining Stability in the European Theatre, Hearings Before the Defense Policy Panel of the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, Second Session, HASC No. 100-104, (Wash., D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 1989), pp. 107-132*

### **Op-Eds, Published Correspondence, Reviews, Online publications**

Stephen Biddle, Julia Macdonald and Ryan Baker, “The Trump administration wants to send more military advisers to Afghanistan. Good luck with that.” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage blog, 15 May 2017 ([https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/15/the-trump-administration-wants-to-send-more-military-advisers-to-afghanistan-heres-why-that-rarely-works/?utm\\_term=.94bbf4db0ed0](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/15/the-trump-administration-wants-to-send-more-military-advisers-to-afghanistan-heres-why-that-rarely-works/?utm_term=.94bbf4db0ed0))

Stephen Biddle and Ivan Oelrich, “Correspondence: Future Warfare in the Western Pacific,” *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Spring 2017), pp. 202-213.

“Trump’s Appetite for Risk Spells Trouble for US National Security,” *Fortune Magazine*, April 7, 2017 (<http://fortune.com/2017/04/07/trump-syria-airstrikes/>)

Co-author (with Jacob Shapiro), “The Problem With Vows to ‘Defeat’ the Islamic State,” *Atlantic Monthly* blog, August 21, 2016

“Afghanistan Needs a Settlement, Not Another Troop-Withdrawal Deadline,” *Defense One*, June 7, 2016

Co-author (with Jacob Shapiro), “America Can’t Do Much About ISIS,” *Atlantic Monthly* blog, April 20, 2016

Co-author (with Jacob Shapiro), “Here’s why we can only contain the Islamic State, not bomb it back to the Stone Age,” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage blog, December 1, 2015

“Stop Putting Afghanistan on a Deadline,” *Defense One*, March 24, 2015

Co-author (with Ivan Oelrich), “Why the Ukraine Separatists Screwed Up: Badly Organized Insurgents Can’t Master Complex Weapon Systems,” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage blog, July 21, 2014

Co-author (with Jeffrey Friedman and Jacob Shapiro), “Authors’ Response to H-Diplo | ISSF Article Review, 2013: 4,” 22 May 2013

Co-author (with Michael O’Hanlon), “Hamid Karzai, Confused by the U.S.,” *Washington Post*, March 29, 2013

Co-author (with Jeffrey Friedman and Jacob Shapiro), “Correspondence: Assessing the Synergy Thesis in Iraq,” *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Spring 2013), pp. 173–198

“Running Out of Time for Afghan Governance Reform: How Little Can We Live With?” *Foreign Affairs* online, December 16, 2011

“Learning To Live With Insecurity In A Post 9/11 World,” *Business Insider*, August 30, 2011

“Reconsidering the Afghan War,” in “The War on Terror After Osama bin Laden,” *Room for Debate: A Running Commentary on the News*, *New York Times* online, May 3, 2011

“How Much Should U.S. Policy Change?” *Boston Globe*, May 3, 2011

Co-author (with Michael O’Hanlon), “U.S. Progress in Afghanistan Easier for Soldiers to See than Civilians,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 5, 2011

“When Interests Diverge,” in “Is There an Obama Doctrine?” *Room for Debate: A Running Commentary on the News*, *New York Times* online, March 30, 2011

Co-author (with Michael O’Hanlon), “Slogging it Out in Afghanistan,” *Washington Times*, March 25, 2011

“The Libya Dilemma: The Limits of Airpower,” *Washington Post*, March 25, 2011

“War by Other Means,” *foreignpolicy.com*, September 27, 2010

“Lessons from the Balkans,” in “Getting the Troops Out of Iraq,” *Room for Debate: A Running Commentary on the News*, *New York Times* online, August 2, 2010

“How to Manage Karzai,” *Washington Post*, May 10, 2010

“A Tale of Two Convoys,” *International Herald Tribune*, March 9, 2010 (and *nytimes.com*, March 8, 2010)

“Unfinished Business in Iraq,” *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich Security Conference Supplement, February 5, 2010

“Using Sticks,” in *Room for Debate: A Running Commentary on the News*, *New York Times* online, November 2, 2009

“Peacekeeping, Not Training,” in *Room for Debate: A Running Commentary on the News*, *New York Times* online, July 30, 2009

“Funding the U.S. Counterinsurgency Wars,” *cfr.org*, June 19, 2009

Co-author (with Michael O’Hanlon and Kenneth Pollack), “Not Quite Ready to Go Home,” *New York Times*, August 5, 2008, p. 19.

“Review Symposium: The New US Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual as Political Science and Political Praxis,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 2008), pp. 347-350.

“Iraq: Can We Guard What We’ve Gained?” *Washington Post*, December 9, 2007, p. B7

“The Iraq Data Debate: Civilian Casualties from 2006 to 2007,” with Jeffrey Friedman, *cfr.org*, 25 September 2007

“Violence by the Numbers in Iraq: Sound Data or Shaky Statistics? An Online Debate with Stephen Biddle and Larry Korb,” *cfr.org*, September 25 to October 1, 2007

“Go Deep or Get Out,” *Washington Post*, July 11, 2007

“Hard Bargaining,” *Boston Globe*, June 3, 2007

“Not a Sign of Success,” *Guardian* (UK) online, February 21, 2007

“Teuer und halbherzig,” [“Expensive and Halfhearted”] *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, February 12, 2007

“A Gamble at Long Odds,” *The National Interest Online*, January 12, 2007

“There is no Middle Ground,” *Guardian* (UK) online, December 8, 2006

“Heading for the Exit,” *Foreign Affairs online*, December 7, 2006

Co-author (with Ray Takeyh), “The Limits of Force: The Iraq Syndrome will haunt America,” *International Herald Tribune*, August 16, 2006

“Responses to ‘What to Do in Iraq,’” *Foreign Affairs online*, July 17, 2006

“No, it's not Vietnam. This one's a civil war,” *International Herald Tribune*, March 3, 2006

Review of Michael Evans, *The Continental School of Strategy: The Past, Present, and Future of Land Warfare* (Duntroon, Australia: Land Warfare Studies Centre, 2004) in *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (February 2006), pp. 172-4

Review of *The Diffusion of Military Technology and Ideas*, Emily Goldman and Leslie Eliason, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003) in *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (September 2004), p. 632

“The New Way of War? Debating the Kosovo Model,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 3 (May/June 2002), pp. 138-144.

“Future War Up Close: Enemy Can Limit Value of Deep Strike,” *Defense News*, October 8-14, 2001, p. 11

“Learning the (Wrong) Lessons From the Gulf War,” *The Wall Street Journal*, September 3, 1997, p. A20

“Why You Can’t Get A Lot for A Little,” Review of Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win: Airpower and Coercion in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), in *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 41 (May 1997), pp. 113-116

Co-author (with Julia Klare), "Military Utility and the Control of Landmines," *UN Institute for Disarmament Research Newsletter*, No.28/29, December 1994/May 1995, pp. 22-24

“Downsizing the Military,” Review of Michael O’Hanlon, *Defense Planning for the Late 1990s* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1995), in *Issues in Science and Technology*, Summer 1996, pp. 79-82

"Time to Ask the Right Questions: The Conventional Balance Debate Likely to Miss the Mark," *Defense News*, February 15, 1988, p. 24

### **Work in Progress**

*The Changing Face of Warfare: Guerrillas, Warlords, Militias, and Mercenaries in Future Battle* (funded by the Smith Richardson Foundation; book manuscript in draft)

“Military Effectiveness and Naval Warfare” (funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, article in draft)

## **MONOGRAPHS, REPORTS**

“Salvaging Governance Reform in Afghanistan,” Council on Foreign Relations Policy Innovation Memorandum No. 16, April 2012

Co-author, *Iraq Joint Campaign Plan Assessment Team Report*, US Forces Iraq (USF-I) Headquarters, Baghdad, Iraq, November 2010

“The U.S. and Afghanistan: Next Steps,” *Aspen Institute Congressional Program*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (May 31-June 6, 2010), pp. 17-22

Co-author, *COMISAF Initial Strategic Assessment Team Report*, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) Headquarters, Kabul, Afghanistan, August 2009

*Reversal in Iraq*, Council on Foreign Relations Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 2, Washington, D.C., May 2009

Project Director, *The 2006 Lebanon Campaign and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy*, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, September 2008

Co-author, *Joint Strategic Assessment Team Report*, Multinational Force Iraq (MNF-I) Headquarters, Baghdad, Iraq, April 2007

*American Grand Strategy After 9/11: An Assessment*, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, April 2005

“Special Forces and the Future of Warfare,” in H. H. Gaffney, ed., *The Changing Nature of Warfare: Papers Submitted for the National Intelligence Council’s Global Trends 2020 Project* (Alexandria, VA: Center for Naval Analyses, 2004), CIM D0010476.A1

Project Director, *Toppling Saddam: Iraq and American Military Transformation*, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, April 2004

*Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy*, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, November 2002

*War Aims and War Termination*, Defeating Terrorism Strategic Issue Analysis, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, October 2001

reprinted in: Daniel J. Kaufman, Jay M. Parker and Patrick V. Howell, eds., *Through Alternative Lenses* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003).

Co-author, *Beyond Firepower: Including Skill and Operational Sophistication in Combat Modeling*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-3477

Co-author, *The Sources of Coercive Leverage*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-3384, February 1998

Co-author, *The Frequency and Nature of U.S. Military Operations*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA D-2109, February 1998

Co-author, *Military Coercion in Bosnia: A Case Study*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA D-2982, January 1998 (*Won 1997 Best Paper, Working Group 14, Military Operations Research Society*)

Also published in: *Papers from the 65th Annual Symposium of the Military Operations Research Society* (Alexandria, VA: MORS, 1998)

“Explaining the Coalition Loss Rate in the Gulf War,” in *Papers from the 64th Annual Symposium of the Military Operations Research Society* (Alexandria, VA: MORS, 1997)

*Commentary on “Victory Misunderstood,”* Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA D-2014, September, 1997

Project Director, *Landmine Arms Control*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-3001, May, 1996

Project Director, *Missions, Threats and Tasks for Long Range Planning*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA D-1536, December 1995

Co-author, *Stable Defense*, NATO Defense Research Group Technical Report AC/243(Panel 7)TR/5, April 1995

*Revolutionary Change in Warfare*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-3123, September 1995

Project Director, *The Military Utility of Landmines: Implications for Arms Control*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA D-1559, June, 1994

Project Director, *New Approaches to Planning for Emerging Long Term Threats*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-2896, 2 Vols., December, 1993

Project Director, *Stabilizing and Destabilizing Conventional Weapons*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-2548, September, 1991

Project Director, *Defense at Low Force Levels: The Effect of Force to Space Ratios on Conventional Combat Dynamics*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-2380, Aug. 1991

*The State of Knowledge on the Determinants of Offensiveness and Defensiveness in Conventional Ground Forces*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-2295, October, 1989

Co-author, *The Battlefield of the Future*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-2194, January, 1989

*How to Think About Conventional-Nuclear Substitution*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-1884, Vol. 1, January 1986; Vol. 2, May 1986

Co-author, *Robust Operational Concepts*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-1802, 2 Vols., September 1985

Co-author, *Assessing the Core Military Values of NATO's Theater Nuclear Forces*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-1693, March 1985

Co-author, *A Methodology for Assessing the Core Military Values of NATO's Theater Nuclear Forces*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-1724, June 1984

*Targeting for Effectiveness Degradation on the Chemical Battlefield*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-1729, September 1983

*The Chemical Attrition Potential: A Static Assessment Methodology for Chemical Weapons*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-1675, April 1983

Co-author, *Net Assessment Methodologies and Critical Data Elements for Strategic and Theater Force Comparisons for Total Force Capability Assessment (TFCA)*, Interim Report, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-1615, January 1982

Co-author, *Analysis of U.S. Antitank Trends*, Institute for Defense Analyses, IDA P-1519, April 1981

### **PRESENTED PAPERS, BRIEFINGS, AND INVITED LECTURES (SELECTED)**

“Afghanistan: Can This War End Well?” lecture to the Tucson Council on Foreign Relations, Tucson AZ, 3/19/19 (150 people in attendance)

“Understanding the U.S. Experience in Iraq and Afghanistan, presentation to the Pat Tillman Foundation Annual Meeting, New York, 2/16/19

“Security Force Assistance,” presentation to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences/Stanford/Peking University Workshop on Weak States, Beijing, 10/20/18

“The Way Forward in Afghanistan,” presentation to the Council on Foreign Relations Congressional Senior Staff Roundtable, The Capitol, Washington DC, 6/8/18

“Anti-Access/Area Denial Capability and European Security,” Defense Policy Roundtable presentation, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington DC, 4/16/18

“Security Force Assistance as a Response to the Challenge of Weak States,” panel presentation, USIP/American Academy of Arts and Sciences Panel on Weak States and Western Policy Responses, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington DC, 4/13/18

“Security Force Assistance as a Response to the Challenge of Weak States,” briefing to the National Security Council staff, Eisenhower Executive Office Building, Washington DC, 4/13/18

“US Policy and Strategy for Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria,” briefing for House Armed Services Committee staff, Rayburn House Office Building, 3/7/18

“U.S. Policy and Strategy for Syria and ISIS,” lecture, Mount Holyoke College political science department, South Hadley MA, 2/23/18

“Security Force Assistance,” panel presentation, The Joint Staff, The Pentagon, 1/23/18

“Security Force Assistance,” panel presentation at American Academy of Arts and Sciences Congressional Roundtable, The Capitol, 1/23/18

“Proxy Warfare,” lecture to Le Cercle, Washington, DC, 12/9/17

“US Strategy and Policy for Afghanistan,” panel presentation, George Washington University Panel on the War in Afghanistan, Lindner Commons, 11/28/17

“Cause and Effect in the Iraq Surge,” presentation to the Iraq Surge Tenth Anniversary Symposium, George Washington University, 11/7/17

“Security Force Assistance,” presentation to the Council on Foreign Relations Congressional Staff Roundtable, The Capitol, 10/13/17

“US Strategy and Policy for Afghanistan,” Cato Institute, Washington DC, 10/10/17

“Transformation Theory and Recent Combat Experience,” lecture to the Japanese Ministry of Defense National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo, 8/24/17

“Explaining the Coalition Loss Rate in Operation Desert Storm,” lecture to the Japanese Ministry of Defense National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo, 8/23/17

“Future Warfare in the Western Pacific,” lecture to the Japanese Ministry of Defense National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo, 8/22/17

“Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle,” lecture to the Royal Netherlands Army Annual “Tulip Time” Conference on the Future of Warfare, Amsterdam, 4/3/17

“Small Footprint, Small Payoff: The Military Effectiveness of Security Force Assistance,” lecture, Indiana University, 3/31/17

“U.S. Policy and Strategy for the War Against ISIS,” lecture, George Mason University, 3/28/17

“Assessing Anti-Access, Area Denial Technology and its Implications for Baltic Security,” lecture to the Baltic Defense College, Tartu Estonia, 3/16/17

“Responding to Real but Limited Threats to U.S. Interests,” lecture to the Dallas World Affairs Council, Dallas TX, 2/3/17 (130 people in attendance)

“The Long-Run Military Prognosis in the Western Pacific,” presentation to the Council on Foreign Relations Congressional Senior Staff Roundtable, The Capitol, 12/9/16 (74 staffers in attendance)

“US Strategy for the Middle East and ISIL,” lecture to the Harvard National and International Security program, Cambridge MA, 12/6/16

“The Military Effectiveness of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces,” panel presentation to the National Defense University seminar on Afghan National Defense and Security Forces: Prospects, Opportunities, and Vulnerabilities, Washington D.C., 11/29/16

“Afghanistan: Policy and Strategy for the New Administration,” public lecture, Lindner Commons, George Washington University, Washington D.C., 11/9/16 (over 100 people in attendance)

“Future Warfare in the Western Pacific,” lecture to the Harvard University seminar on The Economics of National Security, Cambridge MA, 10/25/16

“How Nonstate Actors Fight,” panel presentation to the Japan Association for International Relations annual meeting, Tokyo, 10/15/16

“Threats in the 2030 Operating Environment,” panel presentation to the Association of the U.S. Army annual meeting, Washington D.C., 10/5/16

“Conceptual Foundations for Coalition Strategy in Iraq and Syria,” keynote address to the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) Coalition Planning Conference, Tampa, 5/31/16 (270 CENTCOM planners in attendance, with outbrief to CENTCOM Commanding General Joseph Votel on 6/3/16)

“The Effectiveness of U.S. Security Force Assistance in Afghanistan,” presentation to the U.S. Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research and The National Intelligence Council Conference on “Assessing the Performance of Afghan National Security Forces,” Department of State, Washington D.C., 5/12/16

“U.S. Strategy for Syria, Iraq, and the Islamic State,” lecture to the Minnesota Military Appreciation Fund Annual Dinner, Minneapolis MN, 5/3/16 (450 people in attendance)

“Afghanistan: How Does This End and What Have We Learned?” lecture to the Tucson Committee on Foreign Relations, Tucson AZ, 4/26/16 (150 people in attendance)

“U.S. Strategy and Policy for Syria, Iraq, and the Islamic State,” lecture to the Johns Hopkins University Advanced Physics Lab (APL) series on “Rethinking National Security,” 4/7/16

“US Strategy for Syria, Iraq, and the Islamic State,” lecture to the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs, 2/25/16

“Building Partner Capacity,” presentation to CFR Congressional Senior Staff Roundtable (97 staffers in attendance), The Capitol, 12/11/15

“Future Warfare in the Western Pacific,” lecture to the Center for a New American Security, Washington DC, 12/10/15

“U.S. Strategy for the War against the Islamic State,” public lecture, GW Lindner Commons, Washington DC, 12/7/15

“Small Footprint, Small Payoff: Assessing the Military Utility of Security Force Assistance,” lecture to the University of Michigan Ford School of Public Policy, Ann Arbor, 11/2/15

“Afghanistan Revisited,” presentation to the Pacific Council on International Policy, Los Angeles, via conference call, 10/29/15

“Terrorism Studies and the Press,” roundtable presentation to the Bath University workshop on Terrorism Studies and the Press, National Press Club DC, 10/26/15

“Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: From Command of the Commons to Spheres of Influence,” panel presentation, GW/Carnegie Conference on China Nuclear Issues, Washington DC, 9/11/15

“Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: From Command of the Commons to Spheres of Influence,” paper presented to the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 9/6/15

“Scholarly Evaluation of Recent U.S. Wars,” roundtable presentation to the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 9/4/15

“Lessons from a Decade of War: What Worked - and What Didn't - in Iraq and Afghanistan,” CFR Congressional Senior Staff Roundtable, with Jacob Shapiro from Princeton, Eli Berman from UCSD, and Joseph Felter from Stanford, Rayburn House Office Building, 4/17/15 (70 Congressional Staff attended)

“The Determinants of Nonstate Military Methods,” lecture to the RAND Insurgency Board, 12/10/14

“US Strategy vs. ISIL,” lecture to the Harvard National and International Security program, Cambridge MA, 12/4/14

“US Strategy for Countering ISIL,” presentation to the CFR Congressional Senior Staff Roundtable Series, Dirksen Senate Office Building, 11/14/14 (105 staffers attended)

“Assessing Iraq Options,” CFR Congressional Program for Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and Senate Armed Services Committee staff, Hart Senate Office Building, 6/18/14

“Assessing Iraq Options,” CFR Congressional Program Senior Staff Briefing, Rayburn House Office Building, 6/18/14

“What to Do About Iraq,” Council on Foreign Relations conference call panel, together with Meghan O’Sullivan and Max Boot, with Richard Haass moderating (350 members phoned in), 6/18/14

“Strategy and Policy for the War in Afghanistan,” presentation to the Council on Foreign Relations National Program Annual Conference, New York, 6/13/14

“The Wars of 9-11,” lecture to the Foreign Policy Research Institute's Butcher History Institute for Teachers on “America and Modern War: The American Military Post-Vietnam,” Cantigny IL, 4/27/14

“National Security on a Budget: Drones or Boots?” lecture to the Dallas World Affairs Council, Dallas TX, 3/28/14

“The Future of America’s Engagement in Afghanistan,” presentation to Aspen Institute Congressional Breakfast series, The Capitol, 3/27/14 (22 members in attendance, Senate and House, Democrat and Republican)

“Ending the War in Afghanistan,” lecture to US SIGAR (Special Inspector General for Afghan Reconstruction) staff, Crystal City VA, 2/10/14

“How Nonstate Actors Fight,” lecture, Duke University, 1/31/14

“Policy and Strategy for the War in Afghanistan,” lecture to the Harvard/GW U.S.-Russia Security Program, 11/13/13

“The War in Afghanistan,” lecture to the Temple University Center for the Study of Armed Force and Diplomacy conference on Afghanistan and Iraq, Philadelphia, 10/4/13

“The Way Forward for NATO in Afghanistan,” presentation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Luxembourg, 5/19/13

“The U.S. Endgame in Afghanistan,” presentation to the U.S. Department of Defense Pakistan-Afghanistan Federation Forum, The Pentagon, 5/10/13

“Observations on the State of the Campaign in Afghanistan,” briefing to General Joseph Dunford, USMC, Commanding General, International Security Assistance Force, ISAF Headquarters, Kabul Afghanistan, 3/16/13 (with Michele Flournoy, Ronald Neumann, Michael O’Hanlon and Anthony Cordesman)

“Prospects for Transition in Afghanistan,” briefing to U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee Staff, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington DC, 3/5/13

“Policy Relevance Best Practices at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Columbia University Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy,” presentation to the Carnegie Foundation Conference on Building Bridges Between the Ivory Tower and the Beltway, University of Texas, 2/28/13

“US Engagement in Afghanistan,” presentation to CFR Congress and US Foreign Policy program Congressional Senior Staff Roundtable, The Capitol, 2/22/13

“How do Nonstate Actors Fight? Explaining the Military Choices of Guerillas, Warlords, Militias and Mercenaries,” presented to:

- University of Chicago Program on International Security Policy, Chicago IL, 2/19/13
- United States Defense Intelligence Agency, Joint Base Anacostia-Bolling, 6/5/12
- Harvard University Program on Global Society and Security, Cambridge MA, 10/11/11
- Princeton University Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton NJ, 3/3/11

“Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle,” lecture to the Croatian Army War College, Zagreb Croatia, 1/9/13

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” lecture to the Harvard University National and International Security program, 11/29/12

“Shifting Security in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India,” lecture to the National Defense University Near East and South Asia Center, Washington DC, 10/31/12

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” lecture to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, 10/6/12

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” lecture to the Harvard University National and International Security program, 8/16/12

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented at the American Security Project, Washington DC, 6/12/12

“Testing the Surge: Why did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007,” presented to the University of Texas at Austin LBJ School conference on “Reassessing Counterinsurgency,” 6/8/12

“Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle,” lecture, Harvard University, 4/3/12

“The Future of the American Military,” CFR National Program luncheon presentation, Boston, 4/3/12

“Studying Mars, Up Close: Field Work in Strategic Studies,” panel presentation, International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, 4/1/12

“American Strategy and Tactics in Iraq and Afghanistan,” lecture, Swedish National Defense College, Stockholm, 3/1/12

“The War in Afghanistan: Conduct and Prognosis,” lecture to the Princeton University Indo-U.S. Forum of Parliamentarians, Princeton NJ, 2/7/12

“Afghanistan after the Bonn Conference,” lecture to the Aspen Institute/Konrad Adenauer Stiftung 2012 Aspen European Strategy Forum, Berlin, 1/10/12

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan: A Report from the Field,” lecture to the University of Delaware Department of Political Science, 12/2/11

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” lecture to the Harvard University US-Russia Security program, 11/29/11

“Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?” (co-authored with Jeffrey Friedman and Jacob Shapiro) presented to:

- George Washington University Institute for Security and Conflict Studies (ISCS) seminar series, 11/28/11
- MIT Defense and Arms Control Program, 10/5/11 (Jeffrey Friedman, presenter)

“The Transition in Afghanistan: A View from the Theater,” CFR NYC Roundtable, 11/21/11

“Assessing Strategic Choices in the War on Terror,” (co-authored with Peter Feaver), presented to the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society Annual Meeting, Chicago, 10/21/11

“The War in Afghanistan: Ten Years Later,” CFR National Program dinner seminar, Chicago, 10/20/11

“Counterinsurgency Theory and Practice in Iraq and Afghanistan,” presented to the George Washington University National Security Studies Program, 10/20/11

“The War in Afghanistan: Ten Years Later,” CFR National Program breakfast seminar, Boston MA, 10/11/11

“Dilemmas of Afghan Policy,” presented to the National Defense University Near East and South Asia Center meeting for regional diplomats on “How Washington Works,” at CFR DC, 10/6/11

“The Future of Military Force in World Politics,” lecture to the EADS Management Retreat, Goldegg Austria, 9/1/11

“Governance Reform in Afghanistan,” lecture to the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e.V. (DGAP, German Council on Foreign Relations), Munich, 8/30/11

“American Domestic Politics and the War in Afghanistan,” lecture to the Brandenburgisches Institut für Gesellschaft und Sicherheit gGmbH (BIGS, Brandenburg Institute for Society and Security), with response by AMB Michael Steiner, German Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, Berlin, 8/30/11

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” lecture to the Harvard National Security Program, 8/23/11

“Counterinsurgency in Iraq and Afghanistan,” lecture to the 13th Asia Pacific Program for Senior Military Officers (APPSMO), S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, 8/7/11

“Reassessing America’s Engagement in Afghanistan in the Wake of Osama bin Laden’s Death,” panel presentation at the Center for American Progress, 5/24/11

"Strategy, Policy, and the War in Afghanistan," Ira C. Eaker Memorial Lecture, U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, 5/5/11

“The Future of Warfare,” presentation at CFR Term Member Meeting, DC, 4/27/11

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented at Dickinson College, 2/17/11

“Acceptable End States in Afghanistan and Implications for Governance Reform,” presented to U.S. Special Operations Command, Tampa FL, 2/2/11

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented to the Foreign Policy Association of Harrisburg PA, 1/27/11

“Prospects in Afghanistan and American Strategic Choices,” presentation to the CFR McCloy Roundtable Series, NYC, 12/9/10

“Afghanistan,” presentation for the DC Corporate Program Executives Roundtable, DC, 12/8/10

“US Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented to the U.S. Army Concepts Analysis Agency, Ft. Belvoir, VA, 12/7/10

US Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented to the Harvard University US-Russia Security Program, Cambridge MA, 12/2/10

“Coalition Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented to the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Aussenpolitik (German Council on Foreign Relations), Munich, 11/11/10

“Strategies for the War on Terror -- Integrating Offense Overseas with Defensive Precautions at Home,” presented to the Brandenburgisches Institut für Gesellschaft und Sicherheit (Brandenburg Institute for Society and Security), Potsdam Germany, 11/11/10

“Reevaluating US Policy in Afghanistan and Pakistan,” presented to the Middle East Institute’s 64th Annual Conference, DC, 11/4/10 (broadcast on C-SPAN)

“Confronting the Hydra: The Changing Faces of Threats & Security,” presented to the World Affairs Councils of America's National Conference, “U.S. Foreign Policy, Into the Next Decade,” DC, 11/4/10

“Corruption and Governance in Afghanistan,” presented to the George Washington University Security Policy Forum, 11/2/10 (broadcast on C-SPAN)

“Strategy in the Middle East,” presented to the New America Foundation conference on “Cutting the Fuse on Terrorism,” Washington DC, 10/13/10

“Western War Aims and Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented to UK 3 Commando Brigade Commanders and Staff Study Week, Plymouth UK, 10/7/10

“Drawing Down in Iraq, Escalating in Afghanistan,” CFR National Program Dinner Roundtable, London, 10/6/10

“The Future of Warfare,” presented to the U.S. Army War College noontime lecture series, Carlisle PA, 9/23/10

“NATO in Crisis? Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented to the Princeton/RUSI Global Leadership Forum 2010, London, 9/17/10

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” presented to the combined Brigade Command Group and staffs, 1st and 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 4th Infantry Division (in preparation for their upcoming deployment to Afghanistan), Ft. Carson, CO, 6/14/10

“U.S. Strategy and Policy for Iraq,” presented to the U.S. 4th Infantry Division Command Group (in preparation for their upcoming deployment to Iraq), Ft. Carson, CO, 6/14/10

“The U.S. and Afghanistan: Next Steps,” presented to the Aspen Institute Congressional Program conference on “Political Islam: Policy Challenges for the Congress,” Tunis, Tunisia, 6/1/10

“The Outlook for U.S. Defense Policy,” presented to CFR Corporate Program workshop for Barclays Aerospace and Defense Group, DC, 5/10/10

“Iraq and Afghanistan: An Evaluation of U.S. Policies,” presented to the National Defense University Near East and South Asia Center (NESA), 4/26/10

“Iraq, the Way Forward: After the Election,” CFR Washington Program panel presentation, DC, 3/22/10

“Coalition Strategy in Afghanistan: A U.S. Perspective,” lecture to UK Army 16 Air Assault Brigade Study Week (in preparation for deployment), Colchester UK, 3/11/10

“U.S. Interests and Strategy in Afghanistan,” public lecture at Wilson College, Chambersburg PA, 2/25/10

“U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan: The Way Forward,” luncheon seminar presentation to the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (BCSIA), Harvard University, 2/17/10

“Western Strategy in Afghanistan,” lecture to the German Council on Foreign Relations (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Aussenpolitik), Berlin, 2/11/10

“Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Debate over the Future of the U.S. Military,” seminar presentation at the German Council on Foreign Relations (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Aussenpolitik), Berlin, 2/11/10

“Afghanistan in 2010: A Situation Report,” luncheon presentation to the CFR Roundtable Series on National Security Affairs, NYC, 1/26/10

- “U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan: The Way Forward,” panel presentation to the CFR Daughters and Sons Event, NYC, 12/16/09
- “Should the United States Fold, Hold, or Double Down in Afghanistan?” panel presentation at the CFR Annual Term Member Conference, NYC, 11/20/09
- “The Way Forward in Afghanistan,” keynote address to the US Military Academy at West Point Symposium on Irregular Warfare, West Point NY, 11/18/09
- “Lessons from the War in Iraq for Afghanistan,” luncheon presentation to the SMU Tower Center Conference on Lessons and Legacies of the Conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, Dallas, 11/17/09
- “U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” CFR National Program luncheon presentation, Dallas, 11/16/09
- “U.S. Interests in Afghanistan,” presentation to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace panel on “U.S. Afghan Strategy: The Big Questions,” DC, 11/9/09
- “U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” panel presentation to AEI conference on the war in Afghanistan, DC, 11/4/09
- “U.S. Policy Toward Afghanistan,” CFR National Program Dinner Roundtable, Chicago, 10/19/09
- “U.S. Policy Toward Afghanistan,” CFR National Program Luncheon Roundtable, Atlanta, 10/19/09
- “U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” presentation to CFR Board, NYC, 10/7/09
- “The Military Situation in Afghanistan,” presented to the Security Policy Forum and the Elliott School, George Washington panel on “The War in Afghanistan: Prospects and Challenges,” DC, 10/5/09
- “Assessing U.S. Policy Toward Afghanistan,” CFR Congressional Senior Staff Roundtable, The Capitol, 10/2/09
- “Assessing the Surge in Iraq,” lecture to the U.S. Air War College, Maxwell AFB, AL, 9/22/09
- “The Future of the U.S. Military in Afghanistan,” presentation to the Aspen Institute Congressional Breakfast series (attended by 28 Representatives and 5 Senators), The Capitol, Washington DC, 9/17/09
- “U.S. Strategy for Iraq and Afghanistan,” lecture to U.S. Army War College, 9/15/09
- “National Security Priorities: Afghanistan and Iraq,” CFR General Membership meeting panel presentation, DC, 9/8/09
- “US Strategy in Afghanistan,” presentation to CFR Congressional program session for Senate Armed Services Committee staff, Dirksen Senate Office Building, 8/5/09

“US Strategy in Afghanistan,” luncheon presentation to the CFR Harold Pratt Associates, NYC, 7/29/09

“Iraq and the Transition into Iraqi Hands,” presentation to the National Defense University NESACenter for Strategic Studies Senior Executive Seminar (General officers and senior Ministry civilians from the region), DC, 6/9/09

“Reversal in Iraq,” presentation to the CFR Congressional Senior Staff Roundtable, The Capitol, 6/8/09

“Assessing the Obama Administration Strategy for AF-PAK,” presented to the Oxford University Global Directions Project, Oxford UK, 5/27/09

“The War in Iraq: Where are we, How did we get here, and Where are we going?” presented to the Oxford University Changing Character of War Program, Oxford UK, 5/26/09

“Can we Win in Afghanistan?” presentation to the Columbia University Saltzman Institute Symposium on Afghanistan (April 23, 2009)

“Assessing the War in Afghanistan,” presentation to the Johns Hopkins University Security Studies Program (April 15, 2009)

“Potential Reversal in Iraq,” presentation to CFR Center for Preventive Action Contingency Roundtable Series, Washington DC (April 9, 2009)

“U.S. Strategy in Iraq and Afghanistan,” keynote address, Lone Star Security Forum (a consortium of the University of Texas at Austin, Texas A&M University, and Southern Methodist University), San Antonio TX (April 4, 2009)

“Iraq Strategy and the Middle East,” CFR National Program luncheon presentation, Dallas TX (April 2, 2009)

“Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan,” presentation to the CFR Congressional Staff Conference, Washington DC (March 23, 2009)

“Defense Policy Challenges for the Obama Administration,” Temple University Center for the Study of Force and Diplomacy (March 2, 2009)

“Iraq: What Next?” presented to the Univ. of Maryland Knight Center for Specialized Journalism conference on “The US Military: New President, New Outlook?” (Feb. 16 2009)

“The Foreign Policy Inbox of the New Administration: Iraq,” CFR General Meeting, Washington DC (Jan. 23, 2009)

“The Evolution of U.S. Strategy in Iraq and Afghanistan,” presented to CFR House Chiefs of Staff Luncheon Series, Rayburn House Office Building (Jan. 12, 2009)

“Afghanistan: Strategic Alternatives,” presented to the Foundation for the Defense of Democracy conference on “Afghanistan: Winning the War,” Washington DC (Dec. 4, 2008)

“Military Analysis in Academia and Think Tanks,” panel presentation, Intelligence Community Military Analyst Conference, Chantilly VA (Sept. 29, 2008)

“US Strategy in Iraq, Past, Present and Future,” public lecture, presented at:

- Cornell University (Sept. 25, 2008)
- Williams College (Oct. 6, 2008)
- Kings College London (Oct. 24, 2008)

“American Grand Strategy for the Long War,” presented to:

- UK Joint Services Staff College, Shrivenham (Oct. 27, 2008)
- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston (Aug. 31, 2008)

“Civil War Intervention and the Problem of Iraq” (co-authored with Jeffrey Friedman and Stephen Long), presented to the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston (August 29, 2008)

“Iraq: Where We’ve Been, Where We Are, Where We’re Going,” presented to the Cornell University Peace Studies Program and Department of Political Science (July 23, 2008)

“The Iraq Campaign,” presented to the Defense Department Senior Manager Course in National Security, George Washington University (April 17, 2008)

“The Prognosis for Iraq,” presented to the Emory University political science department, Atlanta (April 16, 2008)

“Iraq After the Surge,” CFR National Program Dinner presentation, Atlanta (April 16, 2008)

“Iraq and Campaign 2008,” presented to the CFR National Program panel on Foreign Policy and Campaign 2008, San Francisco (March 28, 2008)

“Teaching War Today,” roundtable presentation, International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco (March 26, 2008)

“Iraq Prognosis,” presented to the National Defense University Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA), Cosmos Club, Washington DC (March 24, 2008)

“Iraq After the Surge,” presented to the Santa Fe Institute public lecture series, Santa Fe, NM (March 20, 2008)

“Iraq: Reflections on the Surge and the Way Forward,” panel presentation, Heritage Foundation, Washington DC (January 8, 2008)

“A New Phase in Iraq?” CFR Congressional program seminar, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington DC (December 3, 2007)

“US Strategy in Iraq,” public lecture, University of California Berkeley (November 26, 2007)

“Military Progress in Iraq,” public lecture at George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs (November 16, 2007)

“US Strategy in Iraq,” public lecture at Michigan State University, (October 7, 2007)

“Options for Partial Withdrawal from Iraq,” lecture to the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (BCSIA), Harvard University (October 3, 2007)

“Iraq: What is the Endgame?” lecture to the Ambassadors’ Roundtable, Stamford World Affairs Forum, Stamford CT (September 19, 2007)

“Iraq: Immediate Realities, Future Possibilities,” presentation to Council on Foreign Relations Congress and US Foreign Policy Program, The Capitol, Washington DC (September 17, 2007)

“Assessing the Petraeus-Crocker Testimony on Iraq,” Council on Foreign Relations Term Member Dinner Presentation, Washington DC (September 10, 2007)

“Iraq Status Report,” Council on Foreign Relations Town Hall Meeting, Washington DC (September 10, 2007)

“What are the Stakes in Iraq, and What are the Consequences of the Several Ways the US Might Withdraw?” Roundtable presentation, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago (August 31, 2007)

“Reflections on the Iraq Study Group” Roundtable presentation, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago (August 30, 2007)

“Iraq strategy and prognosis,” presentation to The Washington Seminar Series of the Near East South Asia (NESAS) Center for Strategic Studies at the National Defense University, The Cosmos Club, Washington DC (June 27, 2007)

“Assessing Progress in Iraq,” Council on Foreign Relations Congressional Chief of Staff luncheon presentation, Washington DC (June 11, 2007)

“US Strategy in Iraq,” lecture to the University of Chicago Program in International Security Policy (May 23, 2007)

“Iraq, Afghanistan, and American Military Transformation,” briefing to the Bundeswehr Transformation Center, Berlin (May 16, 2007)

“Iraq: Implications for German Security Policy,” lunch seminar presentation, German Marshall Fund, Berlin (May 16, 2007)

“Options for Withdrawal: Can Americans Retreat from Iraq but Retain Influence?” presented to the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin (May 16, 2007)

“Iraq: Implications for German Security Policy,” briefing to German Ministry of Defense Policy Planning Staff, Berlin (May 15, 2007)

“New Security Challenges and Defense Policy Implications,” lecture, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin (May 15, 2007)

“Iraq, Afghanistan, and American Military Transformation,” C.V. Starr Memorial Lecture, American Academy in Berlin, Wannsee, Germany (May 14, 2007)

“Iraq Update,” Council on Foreign Relations Luncheon presentation (with Max Boot), New York (May 9, 2007)

Council on Foreign Relations Press Briefing on Iraq (with Max Boot), Washington DC (May 8, 2007)

“US Grand Strategy and the War in Iraq,” Pew Memorial Lecture, Grove City College, Grove City PA (May 3, 2007)

“Assessing the Surge,” Council on Foreign Relations Luncheon presentation, Washington DC (May 1, 2007)

“New Threats, New Capabilities?” presentation to the 2007 Carnegie Junior Fellows Conference, Washington DC, (April 25, 2007)

“US Strategy in Iraq,” Council on Foreign Relations Evangelical Roundtable presentation, Washington DC (March 6, 2007)

“Technology and War,” roundtable presentation, International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, (March 2, 2007)

“Iraq and the Middle East,” Council on Foreign Relations Religion and Foreign Policy Conference Call presentation (January 17, 2007)

“The Future of Private Armies,” Council on Foreign Relations Corporate Program Breakfast Presentation, Washington, DC, (December 19, 2006)

“Strike Technology in Afghanistan and Iraq: Implications for the Future of Warfare,” presented to the Stanley Foundation Conference on “Leveraging US Strength in an Uncertain World,” Washington, DC (December 7, 2006)

“US Strategy in Iraq,” Council on Foreign Relations Town Hall Meeting Presentation, Washington, DC (December 7, 2006)

“Iraq and American Grand Strategy,” presentation to the Naples Council on World Affairs, Ft. Myers, Florida (November 20, 2006)

“Defining Victory in Iraq,” presentation to the *National Interest* symposium on Iraq, Washington, DC (November 13, 2006)

“Major Combat in Iraq and Afghanistan: Implications for Defense Planning,” presented to the 2006 International Security Forum, Zurich, Switzerland (October 27, 2006)

“Options in Iraq,” Council on Foreign Relations/George Mason University Town Hall Meeting Presentation, (October 23, 2006)

“An Introduction to the Study of Strategy,” presented to the American Political Science Association 2006 Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, September 1, 2006

“Iraq Update,” Council on Foreign Relations Congress and US Foreign Policy Series, US Capitol (June 16, 2006)

“Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon,” presented to:

- Case Western Reserve University (February 1, 2006)
- Cornell University Peace Studies program (April 27, 2006)
- Johns Hopkins University Advanced Physics Lab seminar series on “Rethinking the Future Nature of Competition and Conflict,” Arlington VA (May 1, 2006)

“Speed Kills? Reassessing the Role of Speed, Precision and Situation Awareness in the Fall of Saddam,” presented to:

- MIT Defense and Arms Control Studies program (May 5, 2006)
- Johns Hopkins SAIS/SSI Conference on “U.S. Military Operations in Iraq: Planning, Combat, and Occupation,” Washington DC, (November 2, 2005)

Council on Foreign Relations Press Briefing for Turkish-speaking reporters, Washington DC (April 3, 2006)

“Following Up on Iraqization,” Council on Foreign Relations Roundtable Presentation, (April 19, 2006)

“Assessing Iraqization,” Council on Foreign Relations Luncheon presentation, Washington DC (March 20, 2006)

Acceptance speech, Harvard University Olin Institute Huntington Prize Award Dinner, Army-Navy Club, Washington DC (March 9, 2006)

Council on Foreign Relations Luncheon Panel on the Third Anniversary of the War in Iraq, New York City (March 1, 2006)

“Casualties and the Military,” presented to the Triangle Institute for Security Studies Conference on Casualties, Duke University (February 17, 2006)

Council on Foreign Relations Press Briefing on the Quadrennial Defense Review, Washington DC (February 8, 2006)

“Military Victory in the Information Age,” presented to the Conversations with History series, University of California Berkeley (January 27, 2006)

“The Privatization of War: Market Mechanisms in the Raising of Armies, Past, Present and Future,” presented to the American Political Science Association (APSA) annual meeting in Washington, DC. (September 4, 2005)

“Iraq and American Military Transformation: Major Combat in 2003 and its Implications for the Future,” presented to the International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Meeting, Honolulu, HI (March 3, 2005)

“Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle,” presented to:

- Institute for Defense Analyses, Alexandria, VA (Oct. 18, 2006)
- Secretary of Defense Corporate Fellows Program, Crystal City VA (July 10, 2006)
- RAND Corporation Arroyo Center, Washington DC (May 3, 2006)
- University of California Berkeley Department of Political Science (January 27, 2006)
- US Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey CA (January 26, 2006)
- Temple University Center for the Study of Force and Diplomacy (October 26, 2005)
- U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and TRADOC Analysis Command, Ft. Leavenworth KS (October 4, 2005)
- Australian Army Chief of Staff’s annual conference, Canberra, Australia (Sept. 22, 2005)
- U.S. Army TRADOC Analysis Command, White Sands Missile Range NM (June 14, 2005)
- RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California (June 2, 2005)
- Ohio State University Mershon Center speakers series (Feb. 2, 2005)
- U.S. Air War College faculty colloquium, Maxwell AFB (Jan. 12, 2005)
- New York Military Affairs Symposium (Oct. 29, 2004)
- Military Conflict Institute Annual Meeting, Alexandria VA (Oct. 28, 2004)
- Georgetown University Distinguished Lecturer Series (Oct. 27, 2004)
- George Washington University Eliot School of Public Affairs (Oct. 27, 2004)
- U.S. Army Military History Institute (Oct. 20, 2004)
- Texas A&M University, Bush School of Public Affairs (Sept. 8, 2004)
- University of Pennsylvania, Department of Political Science, March 19, 2002 (earlier version; presented as “Theories of Victory: Explaining Military Capability”)
- Harvard University, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, November 5, 2001 (earlier version; presented as “Theories of Victory: Explaining Military Capability”)
- Columbia University Department of Political Science/Institute of War and Peace Studies, February 16, 2000 (earlier version; presented as “Determinants of Military Capability”)

- Princeton University Department of Politics/Center for International Studies, October 8, 1999 (earlier version; presented as “Determinants of Military Capability”)
- University of Chicago Department of Political Science Program on International Security Policy Speakers Series, February 9, 1999 (earlier version; presented as “Technology and Armed Conflict in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century”)

“American Grand Strategy After 9-11,” keynote address to the Oxford University Conference on “100 Years of Geopolitics,” Oxford UK (March 22, 2004)

“Iraq and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy,” presented to:

- LTG Griffin, MG Melcher, US Army G8 (June 4, 2003)
- LTG Cody, US Army G3 (June 6, 2003)
- BG O’Neil, HQDA G3 (June 6, 2003)
- MG Huntoon, CMDT USAWC (Sept. 30, 2003)
- GEN Byrnes, CG TRADOC (Oct. 2, 2003)
- House Armed Services Committee, Hearing on Operation Iraqi Freedom: Outside Perspectives (Oct. 21, 2003)
- GEN Casey, VCSA (Nov. 20, 2003)
- BG(P) Ryan, DAMO-SSP (Jan. 22, 2004)
- Ft. Leavenworth School of Advanced Military Studies (Jan. 27, 2004)
- USMC School of Advanced Warfighting Studies, Quantico VA (June 1, 2004)
- US Army Center for Army Analysis, Ft. Belvoir VA (June 18, 2004)
- Ambassador Margaret McMillion, Deputy Commandant for International Affairs, USAWC (Sept. 23, 2004)

“American Grand Strategy in the War on Terrorism: Tradeoffs Between Risk and Payoff,” presented to LTG Griffin, MG Melcher, et al., HQDA/G8 offsite strategy conference, Williamsburg VA (August 16, 2003)

“Coping with Adaptive Enemies in Afghanistan and Iraq” presented to AUSA Long Beach conference on “Army C4/IT and Space Capabilities in War and Transformation,” Long Beach CA (May 30, 2003)

“Early Interpretations of Recent Combat Experience” presented to the Harvard University Carr Center Conference on Prospective Military Operations in Iraq, Washington D.C. (Jan. 22, 2003).

“Afghanistan and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy,” presented to:

- LTG Griffin, US Army G8; BG Eickenberry, US Army G3 (May 15, 2002)
- MG Ivany, CMDT USAWC (May 31, 2002)
- LTG Brown, CG USASOC (June 4, 2002)

- GEN Keane, VCSA; LTG Noonan, US Army G2; LTG McKiernan, US Army G3; LTG Griffin, US Army G8; MG Wood, HQDA G3; BG(P) Melcher, HQDA G8/PA&E; BG Hunzeker, HQDA G8/PA&E (June 6, 2002)
- Mr. E.B. Vandiver, Dir. CAA; Mr. Vernon Bettencourt, US Army G3 Technical Advisor (June 10, 2002)
- GEN Meigs, CG USAREUR (June 11, 2002)
- LTG Riley, CG CAC (June 18, 2002)
- COL Douglas MacGregor, NDU (June 24, 2002)
- USAWC DDE First Resident Course Noontime Lecture Series (June 26)
- COL John Mulholland, CO 5SFG (July 2, 2002)
- GEN Shinseki, CSA (July 11, 2002)
- BG Brown, CG CMH (July 11, 2002)
- Hon. Thomas White, Secretary of the Army (July 29, 2002)
- MG Bond, HQDA G3 (July 29, 2002)
- GEN Abrams, CG TRADOC (July 31, 2002)
- BG Brown, CG CMH (Aug. 1, 2002)
- GEN Ellis, CG FORSCOM; MG Burns, FORSCOM G3; MG Donald, FORSCOM G1; BG Goedkoop, FORSCOM asst G3 (Aug. 21, 2002)
- RAND Corp. Afghanistan Lessons Learned delegation (Aug. 23, 2002)
- Dr. Christopher Lamb, DASD OSD/P (Aug. 26, 2002)
- US Army Operation Enduring Freedom Lessons Learned Conference, USAWC (Aug. 27, 2002)
- Mr. Andrew Marshall, Dir OSD/NA (Sept. 3, 2002)
- Dr. Andrew Hoehn, DASD OSD/S&R (Sept. 3, 2002)
- Hon. Stephen Cambone, Dir OSD/PA&E (Sept. 10, 2002)
- Institute for Defense Analyses noontime lecture series (Sept. 13, 2002)
- MG Huntoon, HQDA G3 (Sept. 16, 2002)
- LTG Cody, US Army G3; LTG Wald, USAF Ops Dep (Sept. 23, 2002)
- Council on Foreign Relations McCloy Roundtable, Washington DC (Sept. 24, 2002)
- US House of Representatives Army Caucus (Sept. 25, 2002)
- FORSCOM Commanders Conference (Oct. 3, 2002)
- USAWC Resident Class (Oct. 4)
- RAND Conference on Afghanistan Lessons Learned (Oct. 8)
- Army Operations Research Conference, AORS XLI (Oct. 16)
- LTG Craddock, Senior Military Advisor to the Secretary of Defense (Oct. 18, 2002)
- Heritage Foundation (Oct. 23)
- MG Van Winkle, US Army Corps of Engineers (Oct. 24, 2002)
- University of Chicago Program on International Security Policy (Nov. 12, 2002)
- Defense Writers Group Media Roundtable, The Pentagon (Nov. 14, 2002)
- Council on Foreign Relations McCloy Roundtable, New York (Nov. 19, 2002)

- Columbia University Institute for War and Peace Studies (Nov. 19, 2002)
- U.S. Military Academy West Point, faculty colloquium (Dec. 10, 2002)
- National Defense University (Dec. 19, 2002)
- Army-Air Force Warfighter Conference (Jan. 13, 2003)
- Johns Hopkins University Advanced Physics Laboratory (Jan. 31, 2003)
- US Army TRADOC Analysis Command, Ft. Leavenworth (Mar. 3, 2003)
- Army Heritage Foundation conference, Carlisle PA (Mar. 14, 2003)
- US Army Center for Army Analysis (April 8, 2003)
- US Army War College SSI Strategy Conference (April 10, 2003)
- Los Alamos National Laboratory/College of William and Mary workshop on the New Triad, Williamsburg VA (June 13, 2003)
- US Naval War College Current Strategy Forum (June 17, 2003)
- Georgetown University Security Studies Program Speakers Series on Terrorism and Counterterrorism (Oct. 22, 2003)
- U.S. Military Academy West Point, Bradley Seminar (GEN Barry McCaffrey, instr., Dec. 2, 2003)
- Stanford University Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) (March 4, 2004)
- University of Washington Department of Political Science (March 3, 2004)
- King's College London Department of War Studies (March 24, 2004)
- Los Alamos National Laboratory conference on "Confronting Terrorism: Regional Issues and Roles of Networks," Los Alamos NM (Jan. 21, 2005)
- MIT Lincoln Laboratory Defense Technology Seminar, Lexington MA (April 6, 2005)
- USMA West Point Bradley Seminar, GEN(R) Barry McCaffrey, instr. (April 28, 2005)
- Cornell University ALS 481, "Global Conflict and Terrorism," Prof. James Shanahan, instr. (May 2, 2005)

"Democratic Effectiveness? Reassessing the Claim that Democracies are More Effective in Battle" (co-authored with Stephen Long), presented to:

- Peace Science Association 2002 Annual Meeting, Tuscon AZ, November 2, 2002
- American Political Science Association 2002 Annual Meeting, Boston MA, September 1, 2002

"High Rollers: Predicting Risk Preference in Unstable Regimes" (co-authored with Marco Steenbergen and Norman Hurley), presented to:

- International Society of Political Psychology 2002 Annual Meeting, Berlin, July 16-19, 2002
- Military Operations Research Society 2002 Annual Meeting, Ft. Leavenworth, KS, June 18, 2002 (*Won Best Paper, WGI*)
- American Political Science Association 2000 Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 31, 2000

- Columbia University Department of Political Science/Institute of War and Peace Studies, February 16, 2000

“Long Term Foreign Policy Implications of the War on Terrorism,” presented to the Conference on Emerging Security Challenges, Duke University Center for Law, Ethics, and National Security, Durham NC, April 11, 2002

“Strategy in the War on Terrorism,” presented to the Triange Institute for Security Studies/Army War College Conference on Terrorism: Threat and Response, Chapel Hill NC, February 28, 2002

“Force Structure and Technology Alternatives,” presented to the Johns Hopkins SAIS/Army War College Conference on The Defense Transformation Debate: The American Military at the Dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Washington, D.C., October 5, 2001

“Technology in Modern Warfare: An Empirical Test,” presented to the American Political Science Association 2001 Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA September 1, 2001

Olin Lecture: “Did Bombing Win the War in Kosovo?” United States Military Academy, West Point, November 29, 2000

“Rebuilding the Foundations of Offense-Defense Theory” presented to the Harvard University Conference on Offense-Defense Theory: Retrospectives and Future Directions, John F. Kennedy School of Government, September 22, 2000

“Land Power: Theory and Practice” presented to the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School Department of National Security Affairs Workshop on Strategy in the Contemporary World, Monterey, CA, September 20, 2000

“Immaculate Warfare: Implications for U.S. National Security Policy” presented to the American Political Science Association 2000 Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 1, 2000

“Testing Offense-Defense Theory: The Second Battle of the Somme, March 21 to April 9, 1918,” presented to:

- Harvard University Conference on Offense-Defense Theory: Retrospectives and Future Directions, John F. Kennedy School of Government, September 22, 2000
- American Political Science Association 1999 Annual Meeting, Poster Session, Atlanta, GA, September 2, 1999

“Beyond Firepower: How Skill Affects Combat Outcomes,” (co-authored with Wade Hinkle and Michael Fischerkeller), presented to:

- U.S. Army Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, The Pentagon, February 2000
- U.S. Army Director of Strategy, Plans and Policy (DAMO-SS), The Pentagon, December 1999
- Director of U.S. Air Force Quadrennial Defense Review Planning, The Pentagon, November 1999

- U.S. Air Force Director of Strategic Planning (AF/XPX), The Pentagon, August 1999
- National Intelligence Officer for General Purpose Forces, Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, VA, March 1999
- U.S. Air Force Annual Conference on Wargame Development, Air University, Maxwell AFB, AL, February 1999
- Deputy Director, Program Analysis and Evaluation, Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD/PA&E), The Pentagon, February 1999
- Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Strategy), The Pentagon, Feb. 1999
- Defense Intelligence Officer for General Purpose Forces, Defense Intelligence Agency, Arlington, VA, February 1999
- U.S. Army Concepts Analysis Agency, Bethesda, MD, February 1999
- U.S. Army Warfare Analysis and Integration Center, The Pentagon, Jan. 1999
- U.S. Army Staff Officer Professional Development Lecture Series, The Pentagon, March 1998
- CIA Weapons Defense Analysis Group, Langley, VA, February 1998
- Secretary of Defense Strategic Studies Group, Rosslyn, VA, January 1998

“Modeling Skill, Technology, and Complexity in Combat Outcomes,” (co-authored with Wade Hinkle and Michael Fischerkeller), presented to:

- 67<sup>th</sup> Military Operations Research Society Symposium, West Point, NY, June 1999 (*Won 1999 Impact Prize, Military Operations Research Society*)
- Symposium on Warfare in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, University of South Carolina, August 1998
- Assistant Director for Force Structure, Resources & Assessments, Joint Staff J-8, The Pentagon, July 1998
- U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI, May 1998
- U.S. Army Modeling and Simulations Annual Workshop, Carlisle, PA, May 1998
- Swedish National Defense Research Establishment, March 1998
- CIA-IDA Annual Analytic Exchange, Alexandria, VA, February 1998
- U.S. Air Force Director of Strategic Planning (AF/XPX), The Pentagon, January 1998

“Recasting the Foundations of Offense-Defense Theory,” presented to the American Political Science Association 1998 Annual Meeting, Boston, September 4, 1998

“Controlling Antipersonnel Landmines,” presented to the Duke University Conference on Land Mines, May 2, 1998

“Net Assessment Theory and the Battle of 73 Easting,” presented to the MIT Department of Political Science, April 30, 1998

“Explaining the Coalition Loss Rate in the Gulf War,” presented to:

- U.S. Army Staff, General Officers “Quarterbacks Group,” The Pentagon, November 6, 1997

- Institute for Defense Analyses seminar series, Alex., VA, July 17, 1997
- 65th Military Operations Research Society Symposium, Prize Paper Session, Quantico, VA, June 10, 1997
- United States Military Academy faculty colloquium, West Point, May 12, 1997
- U.S. Army Asst. Vice Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Jay Garner, Brig. Gen. Rokosz, The Pentagon, April 30, 1997
- Maj. Gen. Ronald Adams, U.S. Army Staff, The Pentagon, April 30, 1997
- U.S. Army staff seminar, The Pentagon, April 30, 1997
- House Military Affairs Committee Staff, Washington, D.C., Jan. 30, 1997
- U.S. Army ODCSOPS, The Pentagon, October 7, 1996
- OSD/PA&E, Regional Assessments & Modeling Division, Rosslyn VA, October 4, 1996
- OSD/PA&E, The Pentagon, September 5, 1996
- 64th Military Operations Research Society Symposium, Ft. Leavenworth KS, June 20, 1996
- International Symposium in Honor of Prof. Dr. Reiner K. Huber, German Armed Forces University, Munich, FRG, November 14, 1995

“Assessing Theories of Future Warfare,” presented to:

- Texas A&M University, George Bush School of Government and Public Service Dedication Conference, September 9, 1997
- American Political Science Association 1997 Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 29, 1997
- International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Mar. 19, 1997
- Secretary of Defense Strategic Studies Group, Rosslyn, VA, Sept. 26, 1996
- University of California, Davis-OSD/Net Assessment-*Security Studies* Joint Conference on the Revolution in Military Affairs, Monterey, Calif., August 26, 1996

“The Effectiveness of Military Coercion in Bosnia” (coauthored with Wade Hinkle), presented to:

- U.S. Army Director of Strategy, Plans and Policy (DAMO-SS), The Pentagon, December 1999
- U.S. Air Force Kosovo Lessons Learned Project, The Pentagon, Nov. 1999
- National Intelligence Officer for General Purpose Forces, Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, VA, October 1999
- U.S. Army Center for Land Warfare, The Pentagon, March 1999
- U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif., February 1998
- 65th Military Operations Research Society Symposium, Quantico, VA, June 12, 1997
- U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI, May 2, 1997
- Director of Central Intelligence Interagency Balkans Task Force, Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, VA, April 15, 1997
- Department of Defense Bosnia Task Force, The Pentagon, March 5, 1997

- U.S. Department of State Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Amb. James Glassman and staff, Washington, D.C., February 18, 1997
- U.S. Mission to NATO, The Pentagon, October 23, 1996
- U.S. Department of State, Dayton History Project, Washington D.C., October 9, 1996
- Secretary of Defense Strategic Studies Group, Rosslyn, VA, Oct. 8, 1996
- U.S. Army ODCSOPS staff, The Pentagon, October 7, 1996
- OSD/SOLIC, The Pentagon, October 2, 1996

“Frequency of U.S. Military Operations” (co-authored with Wade Hinkle), presented to:

- OSD/S&R, The Pentagon, April 10, 1997
- The RAND Corporation, Washington, D.C., April 16, 1997

“Databases for Assessing Frequency of U.S. Military Operations,” presented to OSD/S&R, The Pentagon, March 17, 1997

“Coercion: A Framework for Analysis” (coauthored with Wade Hinkle), presented to:

- National Intelligence Officer for General Purpose Forces, Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, VA, October 1999
- Secretary of Defense Strategic Studies Group, Rosslyn, VA, March, 1998
- Defense Department Joint Warfare Analysis Center, February 20, 1997
- U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Amb. James Glassman and staff, Washington, D.C., February 19, 1997
- Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Strategy), The Pentagon, 1997
- RAND Corporation, Washington, D.C., 1997
- U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI, 1997
- Defense Department Conference on Contingency Operations, The Pentagon, June 27 1996

“Tradeoffs Between Air and Ground Forces,” presented to:

- OSD/S&R, The Pentagon, November 13, 1996, and January 7, 1997
- U.S. Air Force Air Staff Visiting Delegation, Alex., VA, February 23, 1995
- OSD/LRP, The Pentagon, January 31, 1995

“Modeling Skill-Technology Synergy in Regional Balance Assessment” (coauthored with Wade Hinkle), presented to:

- OSD/PA&E, Regional Assessments & Modeling Division, The Pentagon, October 22, 1996
- OSD/PA&E (TA&P), Rosslyn, VA October 4, 1996

“Tradeoffs Between Force Structure and Networked Information” (coauthored with Wade Hinkle), presented to Secretary of Defense Strategic Studies Group, Rosslyn, VA, October 8, 1996

“The Changing Nature of Warfare: Technology and Combat Outcomes at the End of the 20th Century,” presented to U.S. Army ODCSOPS, Alexandria, VA, July 31, 1996

“Analytical Support for Long Range Planning,” presented to The U.S. Air Force Office of Long Range Planning, The Pentagon, June 10, 1996

“Stable Defense” (co-authored with Torben Christensen, Sven Clausen, and Reiner K. Huber), presented to:

- OSD/TWP, The Pentagon, December 6, 1995
- NATO National Armaments Directors Representatives, NATO Headquarters, Brussels, Belgium, November 17, 1995
- NATO Symposium on Stable Defense, NATO Headquarters, Brussels, Belgium, June 12-14, 1995
- NATO Defense Research Group Panel 7 (Operations Research), Athens, Greece, June 14, 1994

“Tactical-level Tests of Military Stability Hypotheses,” presented to the German Armed Forces University Symposium on "Modeling and Analysis of Stability Problems in Multipolar International Systems," Munich, FRG, June 10, 1995

“Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Military Effectiveness in South Asia” (co-authored with Robert Zirkle), presented to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) symposium on Military Technology and Offensive Capability in South Asia, Stockholm, Sweden, September 21 - 25, 1995

“The Military Utility of Landmines: Implications for Arms Control” (co-authored with Julia Klare and Jason Rosenfeld), presented to:

- Radda Barnen (Swedish Save the Children) Symposium on Landmine Arms Control, Stockholm, January 24, 1995
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm, October 21, 1994

“IDA Research on Methods for Long Range Planning in the Defense Department,” presented to OJCS/J-4 staff, Alexandria, VA, November 9, 1994

"Offense, Defense, and the End of the Cold War: Criteria for an Appropriate Balance," presented to the Institute for Strategic Analyses (ISA) Conference on Offensive Airpower in the Post Cold War World, Bonn, FRG, February 22 - 27, 1994

“Operation Desert Storm: Why Did We Really Win?” presented to the MIT Political Science Department, Cambridge, MA, October 27, 1993

“The Military Value of Information,” presented to:

- U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, Office of the Chief Scientist, Alexandria, VA, October 19, 1993
- OSD/Net Assessment, The Pentagon, January 15, 1993
- OSD/TWP, The Pentagon, November 30, 1992

- Defense Department Conference on Innovation, Alexandria, VA, January 13, 1993

"Technology, Civil-Military Relations, and Warfare in the Developing World" (co-authored with Robert Zirkle), presented to:

- OSD/Net Assessment, The Pentagon, October 5, 1993
- American Political Science Association 1993 Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 3, 1993
- Ohio State University Mershon Center Conference on Civil-Military Relations, December 5, 1992

"Janus Data at IDA," presented to NATO AC/243 (Panel 7/RSG 18), Munich FRG, October 22, 1992

"Principles for the Use of Force," presented to U.S. House Armed Services Committee staff, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C., October 16, 1992

"Net Assessment of New Weapon Technologies" (co-authored with Robert Zirkle), presented to:

- OSD/PA&E, The Pentagon, September 22, 1992
- OSD/TWP, The Pentagon, March 10, 1992

"Recent Trends in Armor, Infantry and Artillery Technology: Developments and Implications," presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) Project on Advanced Weaponry in the Developing World, first international workshop meeting, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1992

"The Variable Force Employment Methodology as a Tool for Stability Research," presented to NATO AC/243 (Panel 7/RSG 18), NATO Headquarters, Brussels Belgium, May 26, 1992

"Determinants of Offensiveness and Defensiveness in Conventional Land Warfare," presented to:

- Los Alamos National Laboratory Center for National Security Studies Seminar Series, May 1, 1992
- Harvard University National Security Program, October 8, 1991
- International Symposium on "Conventional Stability in Europe: Prerequisites and Analysis Requirements," German Armed Forces University, Munich, FRG, 10-13 October, 1989

"Stabilizing and Destabilizing Weapons" (co-authored with David Gray and Sean Barnett), presented to:

- German Ministry of Defense Planning Staff, Bonn, FRG, April 22, 1991
- NATO Defense Research Group Panel 7 Exploratory Group Meeting on Stable Defenses, Munich, FRG, April 17, 1991
- OJCS/J-4 staff, The Pentagon, January 11, 1991

- OSD/TWP (Land Warfare Systems), The Pentagon, January 10, 1991
- Conventional Arms Negotiation Division staff, U.S. Army ODCSOPS, The Pentagon, January 10, 1991
- Chief, Conventional Arms Negotiation Division, U.S. Army ODCSOPS, The Pentagon, December 14, 1990
- Brig. Gen. Daniel W. Christman, U.S. Army ODCSOPS, The Pentagon, December 12, 1990
- OSD/PA&E, The Pentagon, December 11, 1990
- Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) Staff, Alexandria, VA, December 3, 1990
- British Ministry of Defense Operational Analysis Establishment (DOAE) Visiting Delegation, Alexandria, VA, November 28, 1990
- RAND Corporation Visiting Delegation (Dr. Milton Weiner, chair), Alexandria, VA, November 28, 1990
- OSD/TWP (Strategic Mobility Systems), The Pentagon, November 1, 1990
- OSD/ISP, The Pentagon, November 1, 1990
- OSD/Net Assessment, The Pentagon, October 11, 1990

"Conventional Conflict Analysis for a Changing World," presented to:

- OJCS/J-8 staff, The Pentagon, September 12, 1990
- Department of State, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, D.C., September 5, 1990
- Maj. Gen. John Robinson, OJCS/J8, Alexandria, VA, August 29, 1990

"Force-to-Space Ratios and Defense Effectiveness" (co-authored with David Gray), presented to:

- OSD/Net Assessment, The Pentagon, July 27, 1990
- British Ministry of Defense Operational Analysis Establishment (DOAE) Visiting Delegation, Alexandria, VA, May 16, 1990
- Institute for Defense Analyses Board of Trustees, Alexandria, VA, January 23, 1990
- University of Michigan Program for International Peace and Security Research, January 11, 1990

"Military Aspects of European Security Policy," Roundtable presentation to the Herbert Quandt Stiftung International Congress, "Quo Vadis Deutschland?" Berlin, FRG, May 10-11, 1990

"The Battlefield of the Future" (co-authored with Victor Utgoff), presented to:

- The Defense Nuclear Agency Symposium on the Implications of Advanced Conventional Weapons for Non-Strategic Nuclear Forces Requirements, Alexandria, VA, February 8, 1990
- Institute for Defense Analyses Board of Trustees, Alexandria, VA, October 31, 1989

- Center for Strategic and International Studies/Institute for Defense Analyses (CSIS/IDA) Conventional Arms Control Working Group, Alexandria, VA, February 13, 1989

"Gorbachev, Force Structure and the Defense Budget," Testimony Before the Defense Policy Panel of the House Armed Services Committee, Washington, D.C., May 16, 1989

"The Janus Simulation as a Tool for Developing Conventional Combat Theory," presented to the Janus Users Conference, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Livermore, CA, October 25, 1988

"Stability as an Objective for Conventional Arms Control," presented to the ORSA/TIMS (Operations Research Society of America/The Institute for Management Science) 26th Joint National Meeting, Denver, CO, October 24, 1988

"What Does Conventional Stability Mean, What Would a Stable Posture Look Like, and How Can Arms Control or Force Improvements Help Us Get There?" Testimony Before the Defense Policy Panel of the House Armed Services Committee, Wash., D.C., Oct. 7, 1988

"Conventional Combat Stability," presented to the Systems Science Seminar of the German Armed Forces University, Munich, FRG, May 6, 1988

"So What is the Conventional Balance in Europe, Anyway, and How Do We Know?" presented to:

- Cornell University European Security Study Group, Washington Workshop, at the Carnegie Endowment, Washington, D.C., February 3, 1988
- Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C., September 11, 1987
- Senator Carl Levin, Chairman, Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense, Washington, D.C., Aug. 5, 1987
- Senate Armed Services Committee Staff, Washington, D.C., July 27, 1987
- House Armed Services Committee Staff Visiting Delegation, Cambridge, MA, May 28, 1987
- Harvard University Center for International Affairs (CFIA) Research Seminar Series, Cambridge, MA, April 14, 1987
- Harvard University Center for Science and International Affairs (CSIA) Research Seminar Series, Cambridge, MA, February 25, 1987

"Inadvertent Escalation from Conventional Land Warfare in Europe to Theater Nuclear Exchanges," presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, February 15, 1987

"Conventional-Nuclear Trade-offs," presented to the IDA Symposium on Theater Nuclear Forces, Institute for Defense Analyses, Alexandria, VA, September 18, 1985

"The Chemical Attrition Potential: A Static Assessment Methodology for Chemical Weapons," presented to the Institute for Defense Analyses Board of Trustees, Alexandria, VA, February, 1983