

## Cohen's Corner, 25 November 2012

Dr. Eliot A. Cohen, Director

As most of you know, I had a personal first this past year: working on a presidential campaign. I am still mulling over the experience, and may indeed write it up in a different venue, but thought I might share some thoughts more directly to the Strategic Studies community.

I have always tried to keep politics (in the immediate, partisan sense) out of the classroom. For much of my time at SAIS I belonged to no political party, although for a variety of reasons this changed after I left government service in January 2009. When the Romney campaign contacted me over a year ago I agreed to sign on as a special adviser on foreign and defense policy.

It was both a frustrating and a rewarding experience. Political campaigns are, by their nature, highly tactical, improvisational, and in

some ways rather chaotic. In 2012 the central issue was bound to be the economy, which left rather little time for foreign policy. Governor Romney's campaign was, as these things go, well organized, but even so its policy component was small, and often at the mercy of events.

My role was largely that of an advisor on substance, and occasionally that of a surrogate. In the last month of the campaign I worked mainly on transition issues: the law now provides for the quiet opening of a transition office with government-provided office spaces and security clearances even before the election. That is all to the good, because the barely two months from election to inauguration are nowhere near enough time to put together a government.

In late October, therefore, I was delving into *(continued on page 9)*

## ISR 2012: Battle of Britain

Marco Calderon (MA12)

For those who have never heard of a staff ride, the event may not sound like much more than a glorified, school-sanctioned role-playing event. For students at SAIS, the International Staff Ride is the crux of the Strategic Studies Department's offerings. Participants sacrifice their Spring Break to travel abroad and study a historical campaign in detail and on the same grounds on which the battles themselves were fought. As one of two Quartermasters, or directors, of this year's International Staff Ride, I was privileged to be able to see our trip evolve from its on-paper iterations all the way through to the final presentations in downtown London on the banks of the Thames.

This year's International Staff Ride was incredible in all respects. From the planning to the execution, we experienced only hard work and dedication from our team members and participants alike. For as much as we can plan interesting sites and events, the content of a staff ride is ultimately student-driven. The presentations constitute the vast majority of our day-to-day scheduled activities and thus student participation is integral to main-

taining interest throughout the trip. We had some fantastic student presentations, ranging from impassioned discussions as the Prime Minister of a falling France (Raven Bukowski [MA12] as Paul Reynaud) to somber reports of London under the threat of the Luftwaffe (Sean Creehan [MA12] as Edward R. Murrow). Complementing these presentations was a variety of incredible guest speakers, including former WWII Spitfire Pilots (Mr. Rodney Scrase) and the former head of the

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## SSR 2012: Stonewall Jackson's 1862 Shenandoah Campaign

Kimberly Pucher (MA13) & Meredith Hollowell (MA13)

This past year's Spring Staff Ride was of Stonewall Jackson's 1862 Shenandoah Valley Campaign on its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Our 50 odd students, professors and distinguished visitor followed what had been a three month long campaign, by Jackson's men, over the course of two days. We travelled throughout Virginia in the Shenandoah Valley, spanning from Winchester to Port Republic. Stonewall Jackson's 1862 Shenandoah Valley Campaign is considered one of the most brilliant in modern military history. Outnumbered, and at times, facing three Union armies, Jackson diverted critical Union resources from their drive to attack Richmond; thereby upsetting the Union goal of taking the Confederate capital and bringing a quick end to the Civil War. Instead, over approximately three

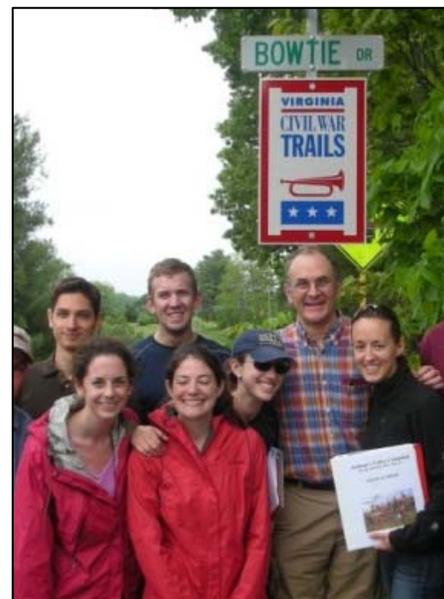
Exploring Stonewall  
Jackson's Shenandoah  
Campaign on its 150th  
Anniversary

months Jackson fought a series of engagements that created a grand diversion.

Some highlights of our particular trip included a tour of the Grand Caverns Grotto, which was a tourist site for soldiers fighting during the Civil War. We also visited the first statue in the United States erected and dedicated to unknown soldiers killed in battle, at Mt. Hebron Cemetery. The staff ride began at Stonewall Jackson's Headquarters in Winchester, VA where our own Stonewall Jackson was able to give his speech in his personal study sitting at his desk. We were also fortunate to have Mr. Tom Donnelly (MIPP 94) with us, who had himself served as a Quartermaster for the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1862. He shared a unique perspective on the Confederate command structure as observed through the eyes of Stonewall Jackson's Adjutant, Sandy Pendleton.

*Below (left to right):* SSR 2012 participants Colin Machado (MA12), Kelly Johnson (MA13), Marco Calderon (MA12), Jen Hill (MA12), Kimberly Pucher (MA13), Prof. Cohen, and Meredith Hollowell (MA13) at Artillery Ridge on the Cross Keys Battlefield in the Shenandoah Valley . (

*Photo Courtesy of Kimberly Pucher, MA13)*



*Above:* SSR 2012 participants in the Grand Caverns near Port Republic Battle Field in Shenandoah Valley. During the Civil War and the "Valley Campaign" the cave was visited by both Confederate and Union soldiers. There are over 200 verified civil war signatures in the cave. (Photo Courtesy of Jed Talvacchia, MA14)

Below (left to right): Dining-In 2012 participants Jed Talvacchia (MA14), Katherine Forshay (MA13), Jen Hill (MA12), Kimberly Pucher (MA13), Chris Tucker (MA14), Jackie Schay (MA13), Kelly Johnson (MA13) and Monica Kang (MA13).  
(Photo Courtesy of Monica Kang)



Below (left to right): Meghan Cumpston (MA13) with Professors McLaughlin and Cohen.  
(Photo Courtesy of Kimberly Pucher)



## Faculty, Students, Military & Alumni Enjoy the Dining-In 2012

Stephanie Papa (MA13)

In an entertaining and educational end to the 2011-2012 academic year, the students of the Strategic Studies Program hosted the annual Dining-In at Hotel Monaco on Sunday, April 29, 2012. In attendance were first- and second-year students, faculty, staff, distinguished military guests, and alumni. The 2012 Dining-In Committee was led by second-year student Brittany Andrews.

The program began with a presentation of the colors, performed by a U.S. Army Color Guard. President of the Mess and Assistant Director of the Strategic Studies Program, Colonel Thomas Keaney, gave a brief history of the Dining-In tradition and began the toasts. Second years Major Raven Bukowski (MA12) and Bryan Schell (MA12) hosted the program as Madam Vice and MC, respectively. Revealing music and dance skills that could rival professionals, Bukowski and Schell performed a song (to the tune of *New York, New York*) that celebrated and paid tribute to the Strategic Studies

Program. Entertainment throughout the dinner included a series of short films that parodied students' sometimes fanatical devotion to staff rides.

Next came the most daunting portion of the program: the presentation of the grog. Seventeen students placed a variety of ingredients into the formidable mixture, including a term paper graded by Professor Cohen and "mud" from the Quigley at Quantico. First-year Jonathan Welch (MA13) and second-year Susan Kim (MA12) continued the

"...I ate some organic, hexane-free veggie burger made of tofu and soymilk.

program with the "Parading of the Beef," demonstrating that "no bastard ever won a war by eating veggie burgers for his country. He won it by making the other poor dumb bastard eat veggie burgers for his country." They concluded the ceremony by reminding everyone that "thirty years from now, when you're sitting around your fireside with your grandson on your knee and he asks you, "What did you eat at the Strategic Studies Dining-In?" you won't have to say, "Well... I ate some organic,

hexane-free veggie burger made of tofu and soymilk."

As the entree was being served, Madam Vice and the MC led the group in a Jeopardy-style game of "Bored of Strategy," in which each table competed in a series of questions pertaining to Strategic Studies faculty, lessons, and trivia. Next, first-years Meredith Hollowell (MA13) and Stephanie Papa (MA13) delivered an ambitious proposal for the 2013 International Staff Ride: Lord of the Rings, The Battle for Middle Earth. While the prospect of traveling to Mordor seemed promising at the time, the casting of Professor Cohen as Aragorn, Professor Keaney as Elrond, and Professor McLaughlin as Gandalf the wizard turned out to give faculty an unfair advantage, and thus the department chose Vietnam instead.

The program concluded with a presentation of gifts to thank the faculty for a fantastic year, and recognition of student special contributors to the Strategic Studies Program. It will be difficult to top the 2012 Dining-In, but 2013 Committee Leads Morgan Hitzig (MA13) and Meredith Hollowell (MA13) are surely up to the task.

*Below:* Strategic Studies students at one of two trips to Quantico, the Ethical Decision Making Field Exercise at the Basic School. Students were educated on tactical ethical decision making issues and participated in training missions in the field for approximately 24 hours. This photo was taken after students had been trained on how to walk in different formations and communicate via hand signals. (Photo Courtesy of Lisa Frumin, MA13)



## The Quantico Trips

Jon Welch (MA13)

In an effort to provide students with the opportunity to experience for just 24 hours what Marines go through in training, thanks to the Marines in the Strategic Studies Department, SAIS students have been given the opportunity to attend two very different trips to Quantico.

The first trip, known as the Wharton/SAIS Quantico Leadership Venture, takes place twice a year. This venture provides an introduction to the selection and training processes for Marine Corps officers. The intent of the trip is to give future leaders, both in the policy and business worlds, a firsthand look into military training. In 24 hours at the USMC Officer Candidates School, students experience a typical day in the life of a candidate, including a night in the barracks and a trip through the famed "Quigley", a legendary water obstacle course that includes

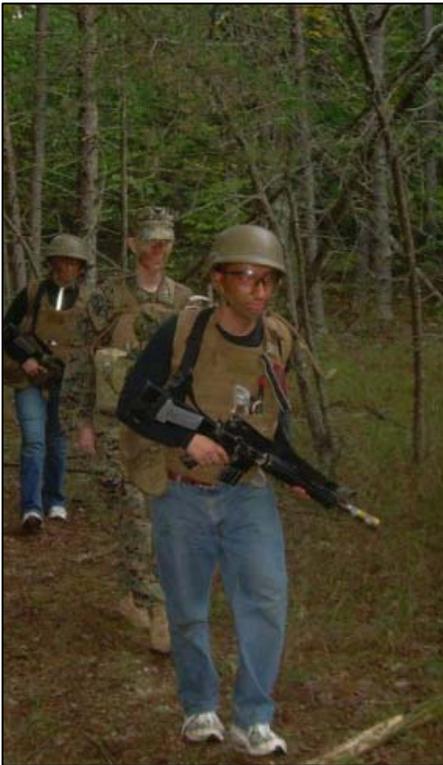
4-foot cement culverts submerged in swamp water. Ultimately, students leave Quantico OCS with a better appreciation for the rigor that goes into training Marines.

The second trip, which has only recently been made available to SAIS, is known as the Ethical Decision Making Field Exercise. The trip most recently took place on 4-5 October, when 15 SAIS students, mostly from Strategic Studies, deployed to Marine Corps Base Quantico for an unforgettable experience. They spent the first day attending classes on everything from how to apply camouflage face paint, to casualty evacuation, to basic tactics. After a brief opportunity to rehearse tactical movements in the tree line, they returned to the classroom for an intel update and mission tasking. They learned about the complex human terrain of their area of operations and the limitations of their rules of engagement. The SAIS squad moved out after

nightfall and set up a patrol base. Shortly after establishing security, an explosion rocked the patrol base. Upon investigation they found that an IED had detonated nearby wounding the critical Prime Minister of Centralia and his entire family. Students began treating the casualties and providing security. The SAIS squad leader took charge and tried to organize a CASEVAC to an LZ over a kilometer away, she quickly realized that saving everyone was not an option. To call this first event chaotic would be a gross understatement. The following day students executed a variety of other "ethical decision making" scenarios designed to test their ability to act decisively and in determining the least worst option. This was only the second iteration of the event, which was organized by a former instructor at The Basic School. The primary goal of the exercise was to expose future policy makers to the complexity of challenges faced by tactical decision makers in the field.

Below: Jeff Fox (MA14) on a training mission in the field with a team in the Ethical Decision Making Field Exercise at the Basic School.

(Photo Courtesy of Lisa Frumin, MA13)



## The Strategic Studies Experience in Bologna

Steve Farole (MA13)

For SAIS students who spend two years in Washington, I imagine the word “Bologna” conjure up a mixture of feelings, as they picture their classmates enjoying *la dolce vita* while Washington students struggle to balance coursework with full-time internships. In one sense, these stereotypes are true: Washington is hectic and students here have competing demands on their time, while the Bologna life moves at a slower pace, affording students time to develop a refined palette for *pignoletto*.

Yet, a year in Bologna offers more than just an opportunity to experience Italian cuisine. The Bologna Center allowed my classmates and me to see global issues from a European perspective, not just inside the classroom but in our daily lives. Through the Center’s lecture series, we met European academics, politicians, and practitioners con-

fronting global and regional security, economic, and development issues. With the euro’s future in doubt, we experienced crisis first-hand through plummeting exchange rates, protests in Bologna’s streets, and conversations with our Greek classmates, who worried over whether they would have the funds to join us in Washington should Greece default on its debts.

As in Washington, the Strategic Studies experience in Bologna is largely driven by a tight-knit student community. Students organized a Defence and Intelligence club that hosted a film series, trivia night, and career trek to NATO Headquarters in Brussels, as well as dinners with adjunct professors and visiting lecturers. We returned to Washington with a tight bond, unique perspective on global issues, and enthusiasm to join the Washington Strategic Studies community. And great taste in wine.

## National & International Dimensions of Cyber Security

Sarita Subbarao (MA13)

New to the SAIS Strategic Studies Department this fall is the course, *National and International Dimensions of Cyber Security*, taught by Adjunct Professor Forrest Hare. He is Colonel Hare, USAF, during his day job at the National Security Agency. He has designed the course to provide students with an understanding of what encompasses the cyberspace domain and how

traditional security theories may apply to cyber security, using case studies when available and relevant.

Professor Hare began by helping the students conceptualize and define cyberspace as a domain. He then discussed different schools of existing security theory, challenging the students to consider which theories may apply to the challenges of defining and addressing cyber threats. The students, using case studies, such as Estonia and Georgia, then examined the diverse perspectives that countries bring to domestic and international cyber security agendas, and how international organizations can work together to address their priorities.

Professor Hare has supplemented classroom teaching with cyber security technology and policy experts to serve as guest speakers. Examples of guests

include James Mulvenon, VP at Defense Group, Inc. who spoke as an expert on China’s cyber capabilities, and Martin Lindner, a principal engineer for Carnegie Mellon CERT, who gave the students a technology crash course. Most recently, the students participated in an informal tabletop exercise, during which they split into two groups: the United Kingdom and Argentina. In a hypothetical scenario in which the Argentinians attempted to wrest control of the Falkland Islands from the hands of the British, the students designed the cyber component of the larger strategy for the conflict.

This new course marries technical, theoretical, and real-world aspects of addressing security issues in cyberspace, and prepares the students to tackle what is arguably one of the critical challenges facing the United States and the world today.

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# Interview with Strategic Studies Adjunct Faculty Member & Counterinsurgency Expert Seth Jones

Yaniv Barzilai (MA13)

Dr. Seth Jones is a senior political scientist at RAND and a new member of the Strategic Studies adjunct faculty. Dr. Jones has extensive experience studying and implementing counterinsurgency and is the author of *Hunting in the Shadows: the Pursuit of al Qaeda Since 9/11* and *In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan*, among others. In this edition of the Alumni Newsletter, we sit down with Dr. Jones to learn more about his class.

1. You are teaching a class on counterinsurgency (COIN). What is the purpose of this course, and how did you approach it in the classroom?

This course examines the dynamics of insurgency and counterinsurgency. It explored a wide range of questions such as: What is an insurgency? What causes insurgencies? How have insurgent strategies and tactics changed over time? How do insurgencies end? To help answer these questions, the course examines theoretical work on insurgency and counterinsurgency, as well as a range of case studies from the

French and British colonial efforts – to more recent cases in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Iraq. Since it is a seminar course, I approached the class by focusing on the readings and debating their policy implications. We integrated current insurgencies – such as those in Syria and Afghanistan – into class discussions and readings.

2. You are both a scholar of COIN and a practitioner of it, most recently as a senior advisor to the commanding general of U.S. Special Operations Forces in Afghanistan. How did your work implementing COIN in Afghanistan change your perspective of it?

It is one thing to read about insurgency and counterinsurgency, as well as to write books and articles. But it is quite another to be involved in them. I tried to pull from my own experience by highlighting the complexity and challenges in implementing counterinsurgency and insurgency strategies. For instance, the quality of the local government can significantly impact the outcome of counterinsurgency campaigns, as I experienced in Afghanistan. In addition, insurgencies can be

more violent and brutal than many people recognize.

3. What would you say the U.S. does well with COIN, and what is the weakest aspect of U.S. COIN efforts?

In some cases, such as Iraq, the United States has successfully evolved its counterinsurgency strategy. By 2006, for instance, the U.S. altered its approach from focusing only on building Iraqi national army and police forces, and began working with tribes and other local actors. Perhaps the most significant challenge, however, is the tendency of U.S. military and civilian officials to try to win a counterinsurgency campaign for local governments. Most counterinsurgency campaigns are won (or lost) by the competence (or incompetence) of local governments. External actors rarely win a counterinsurgency for locals.

4. Counterinsurgency has become a buzz word in the national security community since 9/11. How will a COIN capability remain relevant to U.S. national security after the United States

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## My Semester at CNN: A Strategic Studies Internship Experience

Morgan Hitzig (MA13)

A degree in Strategic Studies from SAIS carries weight within a wide variety of communities. As a second year MA student, I was determined to find an internship relating to defense to complement my academic interests with professional experience. I came across an internship posting for the newsgathering desk at CNN. With zero background in broadcast journalism, I was hesitant at first. Despite my reservations, I could not conceive of a better place to work during the 2012 election, so I joined CNN's National Security Unit as an intern in the Washington bureau.

Working with the National Security

team has afforded me a number of unforgettable opportunities, but I would like to share one experience in particular with the Strategic Studies community. In December, the USS Enterprise, known in Navy circles as "Big E", was the first nuclear powered aircraft carrier to retire. The National Security Unit decided to commemorate the ship's fifty-year history through a series of interviews with notable figures, who were once aboard the ship. I was able to interview Admiral James Winnefeld, currently the Vice Chairman of the

"...I was determined to find an internship related to defense to complement my academic interests with professional experience."

Joint Chiefs of Staff and former Captain of the USS Enterprise. On 9/11, Enterprise, with Admiral Winnefeld at the helm, became the first show of U.S.

force in the Middle East as it floated just off the Pakistani coast. Admiral Winnefeld spoke candidly about what it felt like to be "many, many thousands of miles away as [his] nation [was] being attacked by terrorists in a very devastating way." Working to produce a story from start to finish with a dedicated team of great reporters to narrate the Enterprise's history is one experience that makes me proud to have worked at CNN.

## Staff Rides—Now a Strategic Studies Institution

Professor Thomas Keane

In October, the Strategic Studies Program conducted our Fall Staff Ride, something you will find reported on elsewhere in this newsletter. As it unfolded I reflected on how these events have become such hallmarks of the program and their importance to it. When I speak with alumni, one of their first comments has to do with staff rides, recalling their own experiences, comparing notes with others, or asking about recent or future locations. When speaking to new or prospective students, staff rides are one of the first questions that arise. As no other single aspect of Strat Studies, staff rides serve as both a unique academic experience while at SAIS and a common bond among graduates. We on the faculty recognize their importance and make it our priority to build on this tradition, even as our student numbers increase. And, we'd like you to know how we're doing it.

The program conducts three staff rides a year, domestic excursions in the fall and spring, and an International Staff

Ride (ISR) during spring break. The Fall Staff Ride, run by second year students, serves to welcome students to the program—first year students or those arriving from Bologna—while the Spring Staff Ride, run by first year students, is the last Strategic Studies event of the year and is a send-off to the graduating students. Locations and wars for domestic staff rides vary, ranging from Trenton to Appomattox and places in between.

This fall it was Antietam; next spring it will be the War of 1812 in Washington and Baltimore. Even with more students, we are able to take all Strategic Studies students who apply and are willing to do the research and preparation. The group always includes a number of non-Strat students. Forty-five students took part in this fall's staff ride, close to the limit of the number of presentations to fit into two days.

The ISR conducted in March necessarily has to limit the number involved—

forty students. We base student selection on their applications, including answering essay questions on the topic. A proportionate share of the slots goes to first year students, since the next year's quartermasters will come from their numbers. And, though the cam-

campuses' spring breaks are not aligned, a small number of Bologna students are usually part of the group. In the end, we try to include the maximum number of students on an ISR for at least one

“When speaking to new or prospective students, staff rides are one of the first questions to arise.”

of their two years (single year for MIPPs).

Two aspects of staff rides strike me as important reflections of their value. Perhaps you remember them. First, the fear and anticipation evident in a student on his or her first presentation; this is after all a performance in front of classmates, not just a recitation before a professor. Second, the sense of camaraderie and cooperation among the students in setting up tents, cooking meals, or loading buses. In these and other ways, the students introduce themselves and show who they are in many more ways than is possible inside a classroom. Thanks to the quartermasters and their staffs, past, present, and future, and to the alumni for their contributions for making the staff rides possible.



Above: ISR 2012 participants in London, UK at the Battle of Britain memorial on the Thames Embankment.

(Photo Courtesy of Marco Calderon, MA12)

## FSR 2012: The 1862 Maryland Campaign

Katherine Forshay (MA13) & Meghan Cumpston (MA13)

A critical turning point in American history, the 1862 Maryland Campaign changed the course of the Civil War. This campaign included conflicts at Harpers Ferry, South Mountain, and Antietam, battles often described in superlatives: the surrender of Union troops at Harpers Ferry was the largest surrender of American forces until the Battle of Bataan in 1945; the Battle of Antietam, with almost 23,000 casualties, remains the bloodiest day in American History. While the repulsion of Lee's forces highlighted deep fissures in Union leadership, it also prevented foreign intervention in the War, turned the tide of public opinion in the

North, and provided President Lincoln an opportunity to release the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.

We were very grateful for the opportunity to serve as Quartermasters for the Fall Staff Ride in 2012. The Maryland Campaign provided an ideal case study to not only explore an important period in American history but also apply concepts central to Strategic Studies. Equally invaluable was the opportunity to bring the Strategic Studies Department together for a weekend with the twin goals: education and fostering camaraderie. We had a great time meeting both the first year and MIPP classes and were pleased the program inspired a new Strategic Studies Brewmaster.

*Below: Prof. Keaney and FSR 2012 quartermasters, Meghan Cumpston (MA13) (Photo Courtesy of Kimberly Pucher, MA13)*



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*Above: FSR 2012 participants at the Pry House in Keedysville, MD by the Antietam national Battlefield. Participants explored the Maryland Campaign of the Civil War, Participants which included conflicts at Harpers Ferry, South Mountain, and Antietam. (Photo Courtesy of Justin Sokolowski, MA13)*

# The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

## The Johns Hopkins University



Above: FSR 2012 participants at Poffenberger Farm in Sharpsburg, MD. Matt Williams (MA13), Prof. Keaney, Meghan Cumpston (MA13), Katherine Forshay (MA13), Dave Gordon (MA13), Mike Kulikowsky (MA14), Morgan Hitzig (MA13)  
(Photo Courtesy of Kimberly Pucher, MA13)

## ISR (continued)

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British Secret Intelligence Service at MI6 (Sir John Scarlett). We were able to visit some amazing locations during our time in England and managed to present atop the white cliffs of Dover unhindered by weather, deep underground in the command room of RAF Uxbridge, and in the RAF Chapel at Biggin Hill.

The trip was exhausting, entertaining, and supremely rewarding. The students enjoyed themselves immensely and we felt the entire endeavor was a resounding success. As both a participant and a leader in the staff ride, I have to extend my sincerest gratitude to the alumni and donors who keep this tradition alive. This sort of learning experience is unparalleled in academia and an invaluable teaching tool for illustrating the complex lessons of history in a manner completely unlike anything offered in a traditional classroom setting.

A fantastic ISR video made by my partner on the trip (the other Quartermaster), Joshua Richardson (MA12) – <http://youtu.be/tNX6KxWbG7U>.

## Cohen's Corner (continued)

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the history of the National Security Council staff and helping the campaign think through what a Romney NSC should look like – how it should be organized, what its first issues would likely be, what its style of operations should look like. The work was both deadly serious and curiously unreal.

Some students and alumni have asked whether I am deeply disappointed about the outcome of the election. Yes and no. I believe that Governor Romney would have made a good President, and having sunk a good deal of effort into the campaign, it would be very peculiar if I felt other than unhappy about the

outcome. On the other hand, from a purely personal point of view life will be considerably more pleasant than I could otherwise have expected – including an impending sabbatical sojourn in Bologna!

More to the point, though, the experience deepened some old friendships and brought me new ones; if there were scars associated with being part of a losing campaign, they are honorable and far from crippling; and perhaps most importantly, it taught me a great deal. I learned about another dimension of politics by being part of the rough and tumble of it. That strikes me as a rather SAIS kind of experience, and thus altogether worth the effort.

## COIN (continued)

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has withdrawn from Iraq and Afghanistan?

Insurgencies will continue to occur. Aggrieved groups will still attempt to overthrow regimes or secede from them, and governments will need to counter them. Like it or not, governments must continue to grapple with what works – and what doesn't – in insurgency and counterinsurgency warfare.

5. What advice would you give to SAIS students interested in pursuing work on COIN?

Take the class!