

# CAITLIN TALMADGE, PH.D.

Associate Professor of Security Studies, Georgetown University  
Senior Non-Resident Fellow in Foreign Policy, The Brookings Institution  
Research Affiliate, Security Studies Program, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Series Editor, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs, Cornell University Press

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## ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

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### GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Associate Professor of Security Studies, The Walsh School of Foreign Service, 2018-present  
Concentration Chair, Military Operations, Security Studies Program, 2018-present

### THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 2011-2018  
Member, Institute for Security & Conflict Studies

## EDUCATION

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### THE MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

*Ph.D.*, Political Science, 2011  
Member, Security Studies Program

### HARVARD COLLEGE

*A.B., summa cum laude*, Government, 2003  
Phi Beta Kappa, 2002

## BOOKS & MONOGRAPH

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2021. *U.S. Defense Politics: The Origins of Security Policy*, fourth edition, with Harvey Sapolsky and Eugene Gholz (Routledge). Previous editions: 2008, 2014, 2017.

2015. *The Dictator's Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes* (Cornell University Press).  
Winner of the 2017 Best Book Award, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association  
Named *Foreign Affairs'* 2016 Best Book in Security  
Reviewed in *Foreign Affairs*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, H-Diplo International Security Studies Forum Roundtable

2006. *U.S. Defense Mobilization in the Aftermath of a Nuclear Terrorist Attack* (Cambridge, MA: The Long Term Strategy Project).

## PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES & CHAPTERS

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2022. "Then What? Assessing the Military Implications of Chinese Control of Taiwan," with Brendan Rittenhouse Green, *International Security* (forthcoming, summer issue).

2022. “Deterrence in the Emerging Nuclear Era,” in *The Delicate Balance of Terror*, eds. Vipin Narang and Scott Sagan (Cornell University Press, forthcoming).
2021. “The U.S.-China Nuclear Relationship: Why Competition Is Likely to Intensify,” in *Global China: Assessing China’s Growing Role in the World*, eds., Tarun Chhabra, Rush Doshi, Ryan Haas, Emilie Kimball, (Washington, DC: Brookings Press).
2019. “Emerging Technology and Intra-war Escalation Risks: Evidence from the Cold War, Implications for Today,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 42(6): 864-887.
- Reprinted in: *Emerging Technologies and International Stability*, eds. Todd Sechser, Neil Narang, and Caitlin Talmadge (Routledge, forthcoming 2022).
2019. “Emerging Technologies and Strategic Stability,” with Todd Sechser and Neil Narang, *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42(6): 727-735.
- Reprinted in: *Emerging Technologies and International Stability*, eds. Todd Sechser, Neil Narang, and Caitlin Talmadge (Routledge, forthcoming 2022).
2018. “Civil-Military Pathologies and Defeat in War: Tests Using New Data,” with Vipin Narang, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(7): 1379-1405.
2017. “Would China Go Nuclear? Assessing the Risk of Chinese Nuclear Escalation in a Conventional War with the United States,” *International Security* 40(4): 50-92.
2017. “Too Much of a Good Thing? Conventional Military Effectiveness and the Danger of Nuclear Escalation,” in *The Sword’s Other Edge: Trade-offs in Military Effectiveness*, ed. Daniel Reiter (Cambridge University Press).
2016. “Different Threats, Different Militaries: Explaining Organizational Practices in Authoritarian Armies,” *Security Studies* 25(1), spring: 111-141.
2016. “The Future of U.S. Force Posture in the Gulf: The Case for a Residual Forward Presence,” in *Crude Strategy: Rethinking the U.S. Military Commitment to Defend Persian Gulf Oil*, edited by Charles Glaser and Rose Kelanic (Georgetown University Press).
2016. “When War Helps Civil-Military Relations: Prolonged Interstate Conflict and the Reduced Risk of Coup Attempts,” with Varun Piplani, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(8): 1368-1394.
2014. “Hegemony, Force Posture, and the Provision of Public Goods: The Once and Future Role of Outside Powers in Securing Persian Gulf Oil,” with Joshua Rovner, *Security Studies* 23(3), fall: 548-581.
2013. “The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War,” *Security Studies* 22(2), spring: 180-221.
2008. “Closing Time: Assessing Possible Outcomes of U.S.-Iranian Conflict in the Strait of Hormuz,” *International Security* 33(1), summer: 82-117.

2005. “Striking a Balance: the Lessons of U.S.-Russian Nuclear Materials Security Cooperation,” *Non-Proliferation Review* 12(1): 1-35.

## **WORK IN PROGRESS**

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*Risky Business: Nuclear Escalation Dangers in World Politics*, with Brendan Rittenhouse Green, draft book manuscript.

“When Actions Speak Louder than Words: Adversary Perceptions of Nuclear No First Use,” with Vipin Narang and Lisa Michelini, under review.

“The Meaning of China’s Nuclear Modernization: What Three Theories of Nuclear Politics Can Tell Us,” with Joshua Rovner, under review.

“When the Strong Suffer What They Must: Asymmetric Alliances, Cohesion Costs, and Nuclear Escalation Risk,” with Brendan Rittenhouse Green, draft paper.

“The Causes and Consequences of Nuclear Command and Control,” with Vipin Narang, research project.

## **ADDITIONAL SCHOLARLY WRITING**

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2021. “Why China Wants More and Better Nukes,” *Foreign Affairs Snapshot*, November 19, with Abraham Denmark.

2021. “Introduction to Roundtable Review of Brendan Green’s *The Revolution that Failed: Nuclear Competition, Arms Control, and the Cold War*,” H-Diplo Roundtable, November 9.

2021. “Don’t Sink the Nuclear Submarine Deal: The Benefits of AUKUS Outweigh the Proliferation Risks,” *Foreign Affairs Snapshot*, September 27.

2021. “The U.S.-China Nuclear Relationship: Growing Escalation Risks and Implications for the Future,” Testimony to the U.S.-China Economic & Security Review Commission, June 10.

2021. “The Strategic Implications of Chinese Control of Taiwan,” report to the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, May 31.

2020. “The Predictable Hazards of Unpredictability: Why Madman Behavior Doesn’t Work,” *The Washington Quarterly* (fall), with Samuel Seitz.

2018. “Beijing’s Nuclear Option,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December.

2017. Review of Jasen Castillo, *Endurance and War: The National Sources of Military Cohesion*, H-Diplo Roundtable, January 3.

2016. Response to Reviews of *The Dictator’s Army: Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes*, H-Diplo Roundtable, July 18.

2014. “Less Is More: The Future of the American Military in the Persian Gulf,” *Washington Quarterly*, 37(3), with Joshua Rovner.
2009. “Costs and Difficulties of Blocking the Strait of Hormuz,” correspondence with William D. O’Neil, *International Security* 33(3), winter: 182-88.
2007. “Deterring a Nuclear 9/11,” *Washington Quarterly* 30(2): 21-34.
2006. “Transforming the Pentagon: McNamara, Rumsfeld, and the Politics of Change,” *Breakthroughs* 15(1): 12-20.
2002. “The Restrained Hegemon: the Political Limits of U.S. Military Power,” *Harvard International Review*, Fall 2002.

### **SELECTED POPULAR WRITING**

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2022. “What Putin’s Nuclear Threats Mean for the U.S.,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 3.
2022. “The Ukraine Crisis Is Now a Nuclear Crisis,” The Monkey Cage blog at the *Washington Post*, February 27.
2022. “Implications of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine,” post on Brookings blog, Order from Chaos, February 25.
2021. “Impressions and conclusions from President Biden’s first international trip,” post on Brookings blog, Order from Chaos, June 18.
2020. “The nomination of Gen. Lloyd Austin,” post on Brookings blog, Order from Chaos, December 10.
2020. “Is Trump hurting the military? Using the military as a political prop may have these three consequences,” The Monkey Cage blog at *The Washington Post*, with Elizabeth Saunders, Alice Hunt Friend, and Alex Downes, June 2.
2020. “The U.S.-Iran crisis has calmed down—but things won’t ever go back to how they were before,” The Monkey Cage blog at *The Washington Post*, with Christopher Clary, January 12.
2020. “Was it risky for the U.S. to take public responsibility for killing Soleimani?” The Monkey Cage blog at *The Washington Post*, January 3.
2019. “Are nuclear weapons keeping the India-Pakistan crisis from escalating—or making it more dangerous?” The Monkey Cage blog at *The Washington Post*, March 5.
2017. “Trump’s Military Budget Minus a Plan,” *New York Times* opinion/editorial, March 6.
2016. “Battlefield Effectiveness in Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of North Korea,” proceedings of South Korean Army Research Institute Army Power Forum, Sogang University, June 21.

2016. “Why Victory in Mosul Won’t Solve America’s Iraq Conundrum,” Lawfare blog post, with Joshua Rovner, April 10.
2016. “Preventing Nuclear Escalation in U.S.-China Conflict,” U.S.-China Nuclear Project Policy Brief, GW Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, February.
2015. “U.S. Perspectives on the Future of Asian Security,” in *Next Generation Perspectives on the Future of Asian Security*, ed. Aaron Friedberg (Washington, DC: The German Marshall Fund Asia Policy Papers Series), with Zack Cooper, September 18.
2015. “Why the U.S. (Still) Can’t Train the Iraqi Army,” The Monkey Cage blog at the *Washington Post*, with Austin Long, September 22.
2015. “The U.S. Leaked Its War Plan in Iraq. Why?” The Monkey Cage blog at the *Washington Post*, with Joshua Rovner, February 27.
2014. “What Would a New U.S. Military Look Like?” *New York Times* Room for Debate, July 14.
2014. “Why the Iraqi Army Collapsed (and what can be done about it),” The Monkey Cage Blog at the *Washington Post*, with Keren Fraiman and Austin Long, June 13.
2013. “The U.S.-Japan Alliance in a Time of Transition,” with Sheena Chestnut Greitens, German Marshall Fund Policy Brief, July.
2012. “Iran’s Dangerous Bluster over the Strait of Hormuz,” The Monkey Cage Blog at the *Washington Post*, January 5.
2011. “What Defense Cuts?” *Politico*, with Benjamin H. Friedman, Sept. 19.
2010. “Under the Radar Rapprochement: Turkey and Iraqi Kurds,” *ForeignPolicy.Com*, with Mara Karlin, June 24.
2009. “Winning in Afghanistan: It’s Not About Us,” *Christian Science Monitor*, October 1.
2006. “War on Terror Bloats Defense Bill,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 4, with Benjamin Friedman.
2006. “The QDR: Pentagon Should Put Money Where Its Mouth Is,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 10, with Benjamin Friedman.
2005. “Don’t Count on Merkel to Defrost U.S.-German Relations,” *European Voice*, September 1.

## **FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, & AWARDS**

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### ***External***

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| 2022      | Kissinger Chair, Kluge Center, Library of Congress                     |
| 2021-2    | Smith Richardson Foundation grant (with Brendan Green and Daryl Press) |
| 2020-2021 | Defense Threat Reduction Agency contract (with Brendan Green)          |
| 2017-2018 | Carnegie Corporation grant (with Todd Sechser and Neil Narang)         |

2016-2018 Smith Richardson Junior Faculty Fellow  
 2016-2018 Carnegie Corporation grant (with GW colleagues)  
 2015-2018 Minerva Initiative grant, Department of Defense (with GW colleagues)  
 2014-15 Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow, The Council on Foreign Relations  
 2013-15 Carnegie Corporation grant (with GW colleagues)  
 2009-2010 APSA Centennial Center Visiting Scholar and Bryce Grant  
 2009 Smith Richardson Foundation World Politics & Statecraft Fellow  
 2008-2009 Brookings Pre-Doctoral Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies  
 2007-2008 Olin Institute Pre-doctoral Fellow  
 2005 German Marshall Fund Manfred Wörner Fellow

***Internal***

2020 Georgetown University Senior Faculty Fellowship  
 2017 GW Early Career Scholar Award  
 2015 Elliott School Faculty Research Fund Grant  
 2014 GW Facilitating Fund Grant  
 2012 Policy Research Scholar, GW Institute of Public Policy  
 2011 Elliott School Faculty Research Fund Grant  
 2011 GW Institute for Security and Conflict Studies Grant  
 2009 MIT Center for International Studies Grant for Summer Research  
 2008 MIT Center for International Studies Grant for Summer Research  
 2008 Harvard University Certificate of Distinction in Undergraduate Teaching  
 2002 Harvard Institute of Politics Directors' Internship Grant  
 1999-2003 John Harvard Scholarship  
 1999-2000 Harvard College Detur Prize

**INVITED TALKS & WORKSHOPS**

2022: Lincoln Laboratory (scheduled); Center for Strategic and International Studies, U.S.-U.K.-France Track 1.5 Nuclear Dialogue; (scheduled); Center for Strategic and International Studies, U.S.-Japan Track 2 Nuclear Dialogue (scheduled); Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Seminar XXI (scheduled); Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Frankel Seminar for Congress (scheduled); Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Future of Arms Control; Princeton University, Center for International Security Studies; University of Virginia, Project on Strategic Stability Evaluation

2021: Sejong Institute, U.S.-South Korea-China Track 2 Nuclear Dialogue; Center for Strategic and International Studies, U.S.-Japan Track 2 Nuclear Dialogue; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Seminar XXI; University of Oslo, Nuclear Project Seminar; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Security Studies Program; University of Chicago, Workshop on International Politics; Texas A&M University, Bush School; U.S. Strategic Command, Deterrence Symposium; The Naval War College, Faculty Seminar; Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Center for Global Security Research; The Naval War College, Conference on the Maritime Strategy of the 1980s; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Seminar XXI; Defense Threat Reduction Agency

2020: The RAND Corporation, Arroyo Center; American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Workshop on Future of Deterrence; Center for Strategic and International Studies, Track 2 Trilateral Nuclear Dialogue; Harvard University, Grand Strategy, Security, and Statecraft

Speaker Series; Harvard University, Project on Managing the Atom; Yale University, MacMillan International Relations Seminar Series

2019: George Washington University, Conference on Alliances in Asia; Stanford University, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Workshop on Future of Deterrence; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Workshop on U.S.-China Arms Control; U.S. Naval War College, Workshop on Contemporary Air Campaigns; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Panel on New Technologies and Nuclear Risk; University of Pennsylvania, Workshop on U.S.-China Relations; American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Workshop on Future of Deterrence; Council on Foreign Relations, Panel on Arms Races and Arms Control; Center for Strategic and International Studies, Project on Nuclear Issues; Georgetown University Security Studies Program, Conference on Nuclear Weapons; Wilson Center, U.S.-China Nuclear Roundtable

2018: University of Pennsylvania, Browne Center; Brookings Institution, Foreign Policy Roundtable; Massachusetts Institute of Technology Seminar XXI; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Workshop on Strategic Stability

2017: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Seminar XXI; Council on Foreign Relations, McCloy Roundtable on Setting the National Security Agenda; Massachusetts Institute of Technology Frankel Congressional Seminar on Nuclear Security; Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference

2016: Georgetown University, International Theory and Research Seminar; University of Chicago, Program on International Security Policy; National Intelligence Council, U.S. Department of State Analytic Exchange; Yale University, Conference on Conflict and Cooperation in the Nuclear Age; Sogang University of South Korea, Army Research Institute Army Power Forum; Georgia Institute of Technology and the University of Virginia, Project on Strategic Stability Evaluation, Workshop on Emerging Technologies; Council on Foreign Relations, Workshop on Oil Price Volatility; Northwestern University, Buffett Institute for Global Studies; Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States; Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Workshop on U.S. Extended Deterrence

2015: Southern Methodist University, Tower Center for Political Studies; China Institute of International Studies, China-U.S. Young Scholars Dialogue; University of Maryland, Department of Government Doctoral Research Methods Seminar; Yale University, Workshop on Reconsidering the Role of Regime Type in International Relations; Massachusetts Institute of Technology Lincoln Laboratories, External Speaker Series; U.S. Strategic Command, Deterrence Symposium; Bruno Kessler Foundation, Workshop on Military Effectiveness

2014: U.S. Air War College, External Speaker Series

2013: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Security Studies Program Speaker Series; Princeton University, Research Program in International Security; U.S. Naval War College, Current Strategy Forum; Williams College, Undergraduate Summer Foreign Policy Institute

2012: University of Chicago, Program on International Security Policy; University of Texas at Austin LBJ School of Public Affairs, Strauss Center Speaker Series; U.S. Chief of Naval Operations Strategic Studies Group; Duke University & the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Conference on Civil-Military Relations

2009: Harvard University, National Security Studies Program; U.S. Department of Defense, Combatting Terrorism Fellowship Program

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE & ASSOCIATION**

*Series Editor*, Cornell Studies in Security Affairs, Cornell University Press, 2021-present

*Advisory Panelist*, Stanton Foundation Former Fellows Funding Project, 2021-present

*Associate Editor*, *International Security*, 2020-present

*Editorial Board Member*, *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2017-present), *Washington Quarterly* (2021-present)

*Associate Editor*, International Security Studies Forum, H-Diplo, 2016-2022

*Book Manuscript Workshops*, Yale University, September 2015; GW, September 2016, May 2018; Georgetown 2021; University of Pennsylvania 2021; Johns Hopkins SAIS 2022; University of California San Diego 2022 (scheduled)

*Reviewer*, *American Political Science Review*, *International Security*, *International Organization*, *Security Studies*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Review of Policy Research*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *World Politics*, *Research & Politics*, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, The RAND Corporation

*Member*, American Political Science Association, International Studies Association, The Council on Foreign Relations (Term), Women in International Security, Tobin Project, GW Nuclear Security Working Group, Center for a New American Security Next Generation National Security Leaders, American-Israeli Academic Exchange, German Marshall Fund Young Strategists Forum, Project 2049 Delegation to Taiwan, China-U.S. Young Scholars Dialogue

*Media Appearances/Commentary*, CNN, MSNBC, C-SPAN, Good Morning America, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *Guardian*, *Economist*, *Atlantic*, *Bloomberg News*, *Business Insider*, *Asia Times*, *Newsweek*, *Axios*, others

## **OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

*Research Affiliate*, Security Studies Program, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2020-present

*Senior Non-Resident Fellow in Foreign Policy*, The Brookings Institution, 2018-present  
Research and write on national security topics, participate in public and private events.



*Volunteer Foreign Policy Advisor*, Pete for America Campaign, May 2019-March 2020.

Led campaign foreign policy advising on nuclear issues. Managed team of 10 experts to provide talking points, brief candidate, prepare for debates, assist with media, coordinate with other advisory teams.

*Research Associate*, MIT Seminar XXI Program, 2009-2011

Designed curriculum for executive education program bringing social science research to senior national security professionals. Supervised by Professor Robert Art of Brandeis.

*Research Assistant*, MIT Department of Political Science, 2004-2007

Conducted research and writing on U.S. military innovation, revolution in military affairs, defense acquisition for Professor Harvey Sapolsky and Professor Barry Posen.

*Analyst*, The Long-Term Strategy Project, summer 2006

Produced monograph for Department of Defense.

*Research Assistant*, The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2003-2004

Conducted research and writing on nuclear and conventional defense issues for Senior Fellow Michèle Flournoy. Helped plan scenario-based nuclear terrorism exercise in Brussels.

*Tutor*, various volunteer programs, Boston, MA, and Washington, DC, 1999-2001, 2003-2004, 2010.

Taught adults and children in local community each week in variety of subjects.

## **TEACHING**

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GOVT 060: International Relations (Georgetown undergraduate)

SEST 732: Nuclear Deterrence (Georgetown masters)

SEST 500: Theory and Practice of Security (Georgetown masters)

PSC 1003: Introduction to International Relations (GW undergraduate)

IAFF 6160: Defense Policy and Program Analysis (GW masters)

IAFF 6186: Nuclear Security (GW masters)

PSC 8489: Military Effectiveness (GW doctoral)

SWAMOS: Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy, Columbia and Cornell (20 graduate students and university faculty), annually 2014-present

## **ADVISING & UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

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Georgetown doctoral committees: Cole Livieratos (2021)

Georgetown undergraduate thesis advising: David Bernstein (2021), Joe Fox (2021)

Georgetown additional service: Georgetown University Dependent Care Working Group (2021), Security Studies Job Search Committees (2018-19, 2021), International Politics Field Chair (spring 2019), Military Operations Concentration Chair, Security Studies Program (2018-present)

GW doctoral committees: Kendrick Kuo (chair, 2021), Brian Radzinsky (2020), Ryan Baker (2020), Kenneth Vincent (outside reader, 2017), Jacquelyn Schneider (2017), Dorothy Ohl (2016), Inwook Kim (2015), Toby Dalton (outside reader, 2015)

GW undergraduate thesis or internship project advisees: Henry Eccles (2018), Andrew Falacci (2017), Sydney Erhardt (2016), John Greenwood (2015), Ari Masefski (2012)

GW committee work: International Relations Search (2011-12), Mentorship (2013-14), Department Chair Search (2015), International Relations General Exam (2015-2016), Graduate Academic Program Review (2016-17), Security Policy Studies Program Review (2016-17)

GW additional service: Admissions and Recruitment Outreach for Doctoral and MA Students (annually 2011-present), Elliott School Board of Advisors Speaker (2013, 2016), Political Science Graduate Student Orientation for Teaching Assistants (2015, 2016), Political Science Doctoral Student Mentorship (2015-16), Elliott School Introduction to International Affairs Guest Lecture (2016), Elliott School Public Panel on Foreign Policy Implications of the Election (2016), Elliott School Alumni Panel in New York (2016)

*Updated April 2022*