
FOURTH ANNUAL TEXAS NATIONAL SECURITY FORUM

ALLIANCES AND PARTNERSHIPS IN AMERICAN NATIONAL SECURITY

ETTER-HARBIN ALUMNI CENTER
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
OCTOBER 12, 2017

8:30 AM - 8:45 AM

Welcome by William Inboden, Executive Director of the Clements Center for National Security, and Robert Chesney, Director of the Robert Strauss Center for International Security and Law

8:45 AM - 10:00 AM □ **Panel One: Defense Perspectives**

Moderator: Aaron O'Connell, Clements Center and Department of History



Aaron O'Connell is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin and Faculty Fellow at the Clements Center. Previously, he served as Director for Defense Policy & Strategy on the National Security Council at the White House, where he worked on a range of national security matters including security cooperation and assistance, defense matters in Africa, significant military exercises, landmine and cluster munitions policy, and high-technology matters affecting the national defense, such as autonomy in weapon systems.

Dr. O'Connell is also the author of *Underdogs: The Making of the Modern Marine Corps*, which explores how the Marine Corps rose from relative unpopularity to become the most prestigious armed service in the United States. He is also the editor of *Our Latest Longest War: Losing Hearts and Minds in Afghanistan*, which is a critical account of U.S. efforts in Afghanistan since 2001. He has also authored a number of articles and book chapters on military affairs and the representations of the military in U.S. popular culture in the 20th century. His commentary has appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. He is a 22-year veteran of the U.S. Marine Corps.

Lt. Gen. Douglas Lute, former United States Permanent Representative to NATO



Ambassador Douglas Lute is the former United States Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council, NATO's standing political body. Appointed by President Obama, he assumed the Brussels-based post in 2013 and served until 2017. During this period he was instrumental in designing and implementing the 28-nation Alliance's responses to the most severe security challenges in Europe since the end of the Cold War.

A career Army officer, in 2010 Lute retired from active duty as a lieutenant general after 35 years of service. In 2007 President Bush named him Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor to coordinate the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2009 he was the senior

White House official retained by President Obama and his focus on the National Security Council staff shifted to South Asia. Across these two Administrations, he served a total of six years in the White House.

Before being assigned to the White House, General Lute served as Director of Operations (J3) on the Joint Staff, overseeing U.S. military operations worldwide. From 2004 to 2006, he was Director of Operations for the United States Central Command, with responsibility for U.S. military operations in 25 countries across the Middle East, Eastern Africa and Central Asia, in which over 200,000 U.S. troops operated.

Through his military-diplomatic career, he received numerous honors and awards, including three awards of the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Grand Officer of the Order of Merit for the Italian Republic, and the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit for the Federal Republic of Germany.

General Lute holds degrees from the United States Military Academy at West Point and the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a charter member of the Flag Officer Advisory Group of the United States Institute of Peace.

Kori Schake, former Director for Defense Strategy on the National Security Council



Dr. Kori Schake is a distinguished research fellow at the Hoover Institution. She is the editor, with Jim Mattis, of the book *Warriors and Citizens: American Views of Our Military*. She teaches "Thinking About War" at Stanford, is a contributing editor at *The Atlantic*, and also writes for *War on the Rocks* and *Foreign Policy*. Her history of the Anglo-American hegemonic transition is forthcoming (2017) from Harvard University Press.

She has served in various policy roles including at the White House for the National Security Council, at the Department of Defense for the Office of the Secretary, and Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the State Department for the Policy Planning Staff. During the 2008 presidential election, she was Senior Policy Advisor on the McCain-Palin campaign.

She has been profiled in publications ranging from national news to popular culture including the *Los Angeles Times*, *Politico*, and *Vogue Magazine*. Her recent publications include: *Republican Foreign Policy After Trump* (Survival, Fall 2016), *National Security Challenges for the Next President* (Orbis, Winter 2017), *Will Washington Abandon the Order?* (Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2017).

Troy Thomas, former Senior Director for Defense Policy and Strategy on the National Security Council



Troy Thomas is an Associate Director with The Boston Consulting Group (BCG) where he helps public and private sector clients unlock their potential and achieve lasting improvements in organizational performance.

Prior to joining BCG, Troy served in the White House (2013-2017) on the National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Senior Director for Defense Policy, and Director for Strategic Planning. Troy directly advised the President on top national security priorities and led government-wide processes to develop and implement the 2015 National Security Strategy, as well as policies for nuclear modernization, space security, missile defense and emerging technologies.

Prior to working in the White House, Troy was senior advisor to Chairmen of Joint Chiefs of Staff and Director of the Chairman's Action Group for General Martin Dempsey. In this role, Troy informed and advanced the strategic vision of the nation's senior military officer by managing the Chairman's global relationships and strategic communications, involving over 22 Congressional hearings and engagements with over 50 foreign leaders in more than 30 countries.

Troy retired from the Air Force as a Colonel after 24 years, having led military units in multiple operations with service throughout Asia and the Middle East. He also designed and commanded an Air Force squadron that supported global intelligence and cyber missions in partnership with the National Security Agency.

Troy holds a Bachelor of Science from the United States Air Force Academy as well as advanced degrees in Government (The University of Texas), Organizational Management (George Washington University), Operational Studies (USMC School of Advanced Warfighting), and National Security Strategy (National War College). He is the author of numerous books and articles on international relations and organizational leadership.

Gen. Mark Welsh, former Chief of Staff of the Air Force



Mark A. Welsh III became Dean of the Bush School in August 2016, after retiring from the United States Air Force. Welsh, who was born in San Antonio, earned a Bachelor of Science degree from the U.S. Air Force Academy, a Master of Science degree in Computer Resource Management from Webster University, and graduated from the Army Command and General Staff College, the Air War College, and the National War College. He was a fellow of Seminar XXI at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a fellow of the National Security Studies Program of Syracuse University and Johns Hopkins University, a fellow of Ukrainian Security Studies at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, a fellow of the Pinnacle Course of the National Defense University, and a graduate of the General Manager

Program at the Harvard Business School. During his long military career, he received numerous awards and decorations, including the Defense Distinguished Service Medal with oak leaf cluster, Distinguished Service Medal with oak leaf cluster, Defense Superior Service Medal with oak leaf cluster, the Legion of Merit with oak leaf cluster, and the Distinguished Flying Cross with oak leaf cluster.

Welsh became the 20th Chief of Staff of the Air Force in August 2012, serving as the senior uniformed Air Force officer responsible for the organization, training and equipping of 664,000 active-duty, Guard, Reserve, and civilian forces serving in the United States and overseas. As a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he and other service chiefs functioned as military advisers to the Secretary of Defense, National Security Council, and the President. His most recent previous post was Commander of the U.S. Air Forces in Europe and Commander of NATO's Air Command, Ramstein Air Base, Germany. He also served as Associate Director of Military Affairs at the Central Intelligence Agency, and as Commandant of the United States Air Force Academy.

Moderator: Fred Burton, Chief Security Officer, Stratfor



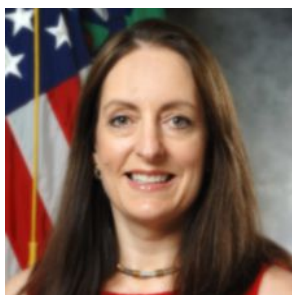
Fred Burton is one of the world's foremost authorities on security and terrorism. As chief security officer at Stratfor, a geopolitical intelligence platform headquartered in Austin, Texas, he oversees analysis of global security developments and consults with clients on security-related issues affecting their business assets or personal safety. He also guides the firm's coverage of situations involving terrorism, hostages, hijackings, and plane crashes. Before joining Stratfor, Mr. Burton was a counterterrorism agent with the U.S. State Department from 1985 to 1999.

During his 14-year career, Mr. Burton was involved in many high-profile investigations including the search for Ramzi Yousef, mastermind of the first World Trade Center bombing, resulting in his arrest, the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the killing of Rabbi Meir Kahane and al Qaeda's New York City bombing plots before 9/11, and the Libyan-backed terrorist attacks against diplomats in Sanaa and Khartoum.

Mr. Burton was deputy chief of counterterrorism at the Diplomatic Security Service, where he was in charge of preventing and investigating attacks against diplomatic personnel and facilities. While a Stratfor analyst, he was appointed to the Border Security Council and served as the Assistant Director for Intelligence & Counterterrorism at the Texas Department of Public Safety.

Mr. Burton is the author of three books, including the best-selling memoir, *GHOST: Confessions of a Counterterrorism Agent*, in which he tells the story of his role in the fight against the burgeoning terrorist threat in the 1980s and beyond. His second book, *Chasing Shadows: A Special Agent's Lifelong Hunt to Bring a Cold War Assassin to Justice*, follows his 35-year quest to solve the case of an Israeli diplomat assassinated in Mr. Burton's childhood neighborhood. His latest book, *Under Fire: The Untold Story of the Attack in Benghazi*, is a *New York Times* best-seller and provides the first detailed account of the infamous assault in Libya in September, 2012.

Leslie Ireland, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Intelligence and Analysis



Leslie Ireland is the former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Intelligence and Analysis. She joined Treasury in 2010 after 25 years at CIA where she specialized in Iran, the Middle East and WMD. Ms. Ireland retired in November 2016 after more than 31 years in the Intelligence Community.

Ms. Ireland is on the Board of Directors of Citigroup, the leading global bank, where she brings her perspective on money laundering, cybersecurity, and global risk issues. She is on the Board of Directors of the Stimson Center, a non-partisan policy research center working to resolve the world's greatest threats to security and prosperity. Ms. Ireland is also the Vice-Chairperson of the Intelligence and National Security Alliance (INSA) Financial Threats Council. The mission of the Council is to provide a deeper understanding of the broad range of financial threats faced by organizations in the public and private sectors, and to strengthen public-private cooperation and information sharing to mitigate threats and develop solutions.

At Treasury, Ms. Ireland was responsible for leading analysis of key financial vulnerabilities of foreign threats to U.S. national security, e.g., Iran's nuclear program, North Korean finance networks; foreign cyber threats to the U.S. financial sector, and foreign investment in the U.S. Ms. Ireland was also responsible for expanding the infrastructure needed to protect Treasury's national security information and established Treasury's first Insider Threat Program. Concurrent in her role as Assistant Secretary at Treasury, Ms. Ireland was appointed by the Director of National Intelligence to serve as the first National Intelligence Manager for Threat Finance. In that role she served as the principal advisor to the DNI on threat

finance and was responsible for overseeing the intelligence process regarding the use of financial information to combat the wide range of U.S. national security threats. Ms. Ireland also created and chaired the DNI Financial Sector Advisory Board (FSAB).

Prior to joining the Treasury Department, from 2008-2010, Ms. Ireland served as daily intelligence briefer to President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama. As the first DNI Iran Mission Manager from 2005-2008, she served as the principal advisor to the DNI on Iran and was responsible for overseeing the intelligence process on Iran for the entire U.S. government. She held a range of other assignments at CIA, including Executive Assistant to Director of Central Intelligence Porter Goss, and Executive Assistant to Deputy Director of Central Intelligence/Acting Director of Central Intelligence John McLaughlin, and was detailed to the Office of the Secretary of Defense as Country Director for Iran and Kuwait.

Ms. Ireland is the recipient of the Alexander Hamilton Award, the highest award bestowed by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Intelligence Community Seal Medallion, personally awarded by the DNI, the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal (2016 and 2008), and the CIA Intelligence Commendation Medal. She is a graduate of Franklin and Marshall College and Georgetown University.

Marcel Lettre, former Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence



Marcel Lettre served eight years in the Pentagon under four Secretaries of Defense, most recently as Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence (USDI), the top intelligence advisor to the Secretary of Defense and the top defense advisor to the Director of National Intelligence.

In this job, he oversaw \$17 billion in military intelligence funding and 110,000 personnel across nine intelligence agencies and organizations. He was responsible for growing international partnerships; pushing to deliver near-term results in support of current military operations, and investing in technological innovation to preserve America's military superiority in intelligence, cyber, space and other critical capabilities.

Marcel previously served as an advisor to Secretaries of Defense Bob Gates and Chuck Hagel, and as Deputy Chief of Staff to Leon Panetta. For his Pentagon service, he was on three occasions awarded the Defense Distinguished Public Service Medal, the Defense Department's highest civilian award.

Prior to joining the Department of Defense in 2009, Marcel served as Senior National Security Advisor to the Senate Minority and Majority Leader from 2005 to 2009 and on the staff of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence from 2002 to 2005. In these roles, he handled defense and intelligence-related legislation and supported efforts to improve intelligence capabilities after 9/11 and during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Marcel is currently the Vice President of National Security at Lockheed Martin Corporation.

John McLaughlin, former Acting Director of Central Intelligence



John E. McLaughlin is the Distinguished Practitioner in Residence at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

Mr. McLaughlin served as Acting Director of Central Intelligence from July to September 2004 and as Deputy Director of Central Intelligence from October 2000 to July 2004. He was a U.S. Army Officer in the 1960s, with service in Vietnam. He comments on foreign affairs in various media and writes frequently on intelligence and foreign affairs in a variety of publications, including a biweekly column at www.ozy.com. He is an MSNBC National Security Analyst.

During his CIA service, Mr. McLaughlin worked on nearly every part of the world and supervised work on analysis, clandestine operations, and technology. He is the recipient of numerous awards, including the National Security Medal, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He serves on the Board of Trustees at the Noblis Corporation. He chairs the CIA Officers Memorial Foundation, which supports CIA families who have lost a parent in the line of duty.

David Shedd, former Acting Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency



David R. Shedd served in the U.S. government in a wide variety of national security and intelligence positions for nearly 33 years. In August 2014, he was named Acting Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency following four years of service as Deputy Director. Until January 2015, he led the Defense Intelligence Enterprise workforce comprising more than 16,500 military and civilian employees worldwide.

From May 2007 to August 2010, Mr. Shedd served as the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) Deputy Director for Policy, Plans and Requirements. Prior to that, Mr. Shedd served in a number of capacities in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, National Security Council, Central Intelligence Agency, and in U.S. embassies overseas.

Since leaving the federal government in February 2015, Mr. Shedd has been serving as a Heritage Foundation Distinguished Fellow and is an Adjunct Professor teaching the history of the National Security Act of 1947 and its relationship to intelligence at Patrick Henry College. He works as an independent national security consultant, serves on several corporate Boards, and is actively supporting several Missions/NGOs such as Justice & Mercy International and Samaritan's Purse.

12:15 PM - 1:30 PM □ Keynote Remarks by The Hon. Michael Pompeo

Introduction by Dr. Gregory Fenves, President of The University of Texas at Austin

Dr. Gregory Fenves, President of The University of Texas at Austin



Greg Fenves began his appointment as president of The University of Texas at Austin on June 3, 2015. Previously, he served the university as executive vice president and provost. He is a member of the National Academy of Engineering, the highest national honor awarded to engineers in the United States, and holds the Cockrell Family Chair in Engineering #15 at UT Austin. Bringing a career of teaching, research and administrative experience to his new position, Fenves' accomplishments included defining strategic academic goals and priorities to advance excellence, streamlining operations for more cost effectiveness, focusing on continuing UT Austin's leadership in transforming undergraduate education, and the launch of the Dell Medical School.

Prior to his role as executive vice president and provost, Fenves was appointed the eighth dean of the Cockrell School of Engineering at UT Austin in 2008. With more than 7,500 students and research expenditures exceeding \$160 million a year, the Cockrell School is a top-10 ranked engineering school. During his five-year leadership of the school, Fenves recruited 57 engineering faculty, bringing the total number of tenure/tenure-track faculty to 280. He helped increase the entrepreneurial and technology commercialization programs for students and faculty throughout UT Austin. Fenves led a capital campaign for the Cockrell School, in which the Cockrell School raised the largest amount, \$356 million, of any unit on campus in the \$3 billion Campaign for Texas. During his tenure, the book value of the endowment for the Cockrell School increased more than 30 percent. One of his major goals was to build the Engineering Education and Research Center (EERC), a \$310 million, 430,000-square-foot building dedicated to interdisciplinary research and hands-on student projects, which began construction in 2013 and is scheduled for completion in 2017. Fenves began his career as an assistant professor in the Department of Civil, Architectural and Environmental Engineering at the Cockrell School from 1984-87.

Before taking the deanship at UT Austin, Fenves served as chair of the Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering at the University of California, Berkeley from 2002 to 2007. He was on the faculty of UC Berkeley for more than 20 years, and he was a key contributor for the Pacific Earthquake Engineering Research Center, a multidisciplinary center funded by the National Science Foundation for a decade. In addition, he led a major industry-sponsored program to improve the seismic safety of utility and transportation systems. An internationally recognized structural engineer, Fenves' research focus is on computational simulation of structures subjected to earthquakes and technology for performance-based earthquake engineering. He led the development of one of the most widely used open-source software platforms in the civil engineering profession. He was one of the early civil engineering researchers to develop wireless sensor networks for assessing the structural health of buildings, bridges and infrastructure.

Stephen Slick, Director of the Intelligence Studies Project



Steve Slick is the inaugural Director of the Intelligence Studies Project. He retired in 2014 after 28 years as a member of CIA's clandestine service. Between 2005 and 2009, Steve served as a special assistant to the president and the Senior Director for Intelligence Programs and Reform on the staff of the National Security Council. He was previously the Director for Intelligence Programs at the NSC.

While serving at the White House, Steve participated in efforts to restructure and reform the intelligence community informed by recommendations of the commissions charged with investigating the 9/11 attacks and the flawed pre-war analysis of Iraq's unconventional weapons programs. These efforts included a series of executive orders on U.S. intelligence issued in August 2004, key provisions in the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, the administration's responses to recommendations by the "WMD Commission," as well as significant amendments to Executive Order 12333 that were approved by President George W. Bush in 2008. Steve completed five overseas tours as a CIA operations officer and manager, including service from 2009 to 2013 as the chief of station and director of national intelligence's representative in a Middle Eastern capital. His assignments at CIA Headquarters included service as an executive assistant to the deputy director of central intelligence and leading CIA's operations in the Balkans. Steve received CIA's Medal of Merit, Commendation Medal and other awards. Prior to joining CIA, Steve was a litigation associate at the law firm of Rawle and Henderson in Philadelphia. Steve received a B.A. from the Pennsylvania State University, J.D. from the UCLA School of Law, and Master in Public Policy from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

The Hon. Michael Pompeo, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency



Mike Pompeo was sworn in as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency on January 23, 2017. As Director, he manages intelligence collection, analysis, covert action, counterintelligence, and liaison relationships with foreign intelligence services.

Before becoming Director, Mr. Pompeo was serving in his fourth term as congressman from Kansas' 4th District. He served on the House Intelligence Committee as well as on the Energy and Commerce Committees. In 2014, Mr. Pompeo was also appointed to the House Select Benghazi Committee to investigate the tragic events in Benghazi, Libya.

Prior to his service in Congress, Mr. Pompeo founded Thayer Aerospace, where he served as CEO for more than a decade. He later became President of Sentry International, an oilfield equipment manufacturing, distribution, and service company.

Mr. Pompeo graduated first in his class at the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1986 and served as a cavalry officer patrolling the Iron Curtain before the fall of the Berlin Wall. He also served with the 2nd Squadron, 7th Cavalry in the U.S. Army's Fourth Infantry Division. After leaving active duty, Mr. Pompeo graduated from Harvard Law School, having been an editor of the Harvard Law Review.

1:45 PM - 3:00 PM □ Panel Three: Diplomatic Perspectives

Moderator: Amb. Greg Engle, Robert Strauss Center for International Security and Law



Greg Engle is a retired Foreign Service Officer whose diplomatic career included assignments in Pakistan, Germany, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Malawi, South Africa, Iraq, Washington and Togo, where he was the U.S. ambassador. Prior to joining the Foreign Service in 1981, he was a Peace Corps Volunteer in South Korea. Following his retirement from the Foreign Service, he served as senior advisor to the Vice Provost for International Affairs and associate director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law at the University of Texas at Austin. He was the Peace Corps country director in Ethiopia from 2012 to 2014 and currently teaches a course on managing organizations overseas at the LBJ School of Public Affairs.

Elliott Abrams, former Deputy National Security Advisor



Elliott Abrams is Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C. He served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor in the Administration of President George W. Bush, where he supervised U.S. policy in the Middle East for the White House.

Mr. Abrams was educated at Harvard College, the London School of Economics, and Harvard Law School. After serving on the staffs of Sen. Henry M. Jackson and Daniel P. Moynihan, he was an Assistant Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration.

Mr. Abrams was president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C., from 1996 until joining the White House staff in June, 2001 as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director of the NSC for Democracy, Human Rights, and International Organizations. From December 2002 to February 2005, he served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director of the National Security Council for Near East and North African Affairs. He served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Global Democracy Strategy from February 2005 to January 2009, and in that capacity supervised both the Near East and North African Affairs, and the Democracy, Human Rights, and International Organizations directorates of the NSC.

Mr. Abrams is a member of the board of the National Endowment for Democracy. He teaches U.S. foreign policy at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. His latest book, *Realism and Democracy: American Foreign Policy After the Arab Spring*, was published in September 2017.

Paula Dobriansky, former Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs



Ambassador Paula J. Dobriansky is a foreign policy expert and former diplomat specializing in national security affairs. She is a Senior Fellow in the Future of Diplomacy Project at Harvard University's JFK Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and Vice Chair of the National Executive Committee, U.S. Water Partnership.

During more than 25 years in government, she held Senate confirmed, high level positions including Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs, Director of European and Soviet Affairs at the White House National Security Council, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, and Deputy Head of Delegation to the 1990 Copenhagen

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Among her primary accomplishments as Under Secretary of State (2001-2009), she established and led the U.S.-India, U.S.-China and U.S.-Brazil Global Issues Fora -- which advanced crucial work and international cooperation on environment, energy, narcotics/law enforcement, health, development and humanitarian issues. In February 2007, as the President's Special Envoy to Northern Ireland, Ambassador Dobriansky received the Secretary of State's highest honor, the Distinguished Service Medal, for her contribution to the historic devolution of power in Belfast.

From 1997 to 2001, Ambassador Dobriansky served as Senior Vice President and Director of the Washington Office of the Council on Foreign Relations and was the first George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies. During this time, she also served on the Presidentially-appointed U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.

She received a B.S.F.S. summa cum laude in International Politics from Georgetown University School of Foreign Service and a M.A. and Ph.D. in Soviet political/military affairs from Harvard University. A Fulbright-Hays Scholar, Ford and Rotary Foundation Fellow, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Ambassador Dobriansky has also received three Honorary Doctorates of Humane Letters, one Honorary Doctorate of Laws, and one Honorary Doctorate of International Affairs.



David J. Kramer joined Florida International University's Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs as a Senior Fellow in the Vaclav Havel Program for Human Rights and Diplomacy in May 2017. Before moving to Miami, Kramer had worked in Washington, D.C. for 24 years, most recently with The McCain Institute for International Leadership as Senior Director for Human Rights and Democracy. Before that, he served for four years as President of Freedom House. Prior to that, he was a Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

Kramer served eight years in the U.S. Department of State, including as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs (responsible for Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus affairs as well as regional non-proliferation issues), Professional Staff Member in the Secretary's Office of Policy Planning, and Senior Advisor to the Undersecretary for Global Affairs. He also was Executive Director of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy in Washington.

Before joining the U.S. Government, Kramer was a Senior Fellow at the Project for the New American Century, Associate Director of the Russian and Eurasian Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Assistant Director of Russian and Eurasian Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, all in Washington. Kramer has been an Adjunct Professor at the Elliott School for International Affairs at The George Washington University. He also is a member of the board of directors of the Halifax International Security Forum and a Member of the Advisory Council for the George W. Bush Presidential Center's Human Freedom Project.

3:15 PM - 4:30 PM □ Panel Four: International Financial Policy

Moderator: Robert Chesney, Director of the Robert Strauss Center for International Security and Law



Bobby Chesney is the Charles I. Francis Professor in Law and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs at the University of Texas School of Law. In addition, he is the Director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law, a University-wide research unit bridging across disciplines to improve understanding of international security issues.

In 2009, Professor Chesney served in the Justice Department in connection with the Detention Policy Task Force, a body tasked by the president with examining the legal and policy issues associated with the detention and trial of persons captured in combat or counterterrorism operations. He also previously served the Intelligence Community as an associate member of the Intelligence Science Board and as a member of the Advanced Technology Board.

In addition to his current positions at the University of Texas, he is a non-resident Senior Fellow of the Brookings Institution, a member of the American Law Institute, and a senior editor for the *Journal of National Security Law & Policy*, and a past chair of Section on National Security Law of the Association of American Law Schools (as well as of the AALS Section on New Law Teachers). He is a co-founder and contributor to *Lawfare*, the leading source for analysis, commentary, and news relating to law and national security.

Professor Chesney's scholarship focuses on U.S. national security policies and institutions, encompassing both domestic and international law issues. His upcoming projects include two books under contract with Oxford University Press, one examining post-9/11 legal controversies from a historical perspective and another concerning the evolving judicial role in national security affairs. Professor Chesney teaches the law school's core course in National Security Law, a first-year core course in Constitutional Law as well as a variety of upper-level seminars.

Professor Chesney clerked for the Honorable Lewis A. Kaplan of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York and the Honorable Robert D. Sack of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. He then

practiced with the firm Davis Polk & Wardwell in New York (litigation), before beginning his academic career with Wake Forest University School of Law. There he received a teacher of the year award from the student body in one year, and from the school's dean in another. In 2008 he came to the University of Texas School of Law as a visiting professor, and then joined UT on a permanent basis in 2009. He became the Associate Dean for Academic Affairs in 2011. Professor Chesney has taught a variety of courses over the years, including Constitutional Law, National Security Law, Evidence, Civil Procedure, and an array of security-related seminars.

Janice Gardner, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Intelligence and Analysis



Janice Bradley Gardner has held numerous senior level positions throughout the Intelligence Community over the past 30 years. During 2015-2016, she served as the first Chief of Digital Innovation in the CIA's Global Issues Mission Center. Prior to this position, she led the planning team that stood up the new Cyber Threat Intelligence Integration Center (CTIIC) in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

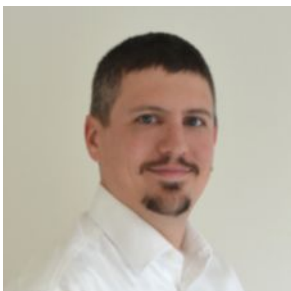
During 2014-2015, she served on a rotation to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence staff as a member of the collection review team, which conducted a survey of Intelligence Community collection activities in the wake of the Snowden media disclosures. From 2009 until 2014, she served as the chief of staff at the National Counterterrorism Center.

In 2005, Ms. Gardner was confirmed by the Senate as the first Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis (OIA) at the Department of the Treasury, where she was responsible for developing actionable intelligence on financial and other support networks for terrorist groups, proliferators, and other key national security threats. Prior to this position, she served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of OIA.

From 1999-2002, Ms. Gardner served as the Deputy Director of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (now known as the Open Source Enterprise). During 1996-1999, she served as the Chief of the East Asia Group in FBIS, including four overseas bureaus. In 1996, Ms. Gardner worked in the Office of the Vice President as special advisor for international affairs. Prior to this position, she was the Director of Central Intelligence's representative to the National Security Council and an executive assistant to the DCI's chief of staff.

Ms. Gardner began her career at the Central Intelligence Agency as an analyst on East Asian issues. She served as an Economics Officer in the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo during 1990-1992. From 1993 until 1995, she was the chief of the Persian Gulf Branch in the Office of Leadership Analysis.

Richard Nephew, former Principal Deputy Coordinator for Sanctions Policy at the Department of State



Richard Nephew is a Senior Research Scholar at the Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University's School for International and Public Affairs. He is also a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He assumed both of those roles in February 2015.

Prior to then, he served as Principal Deputy Coordinator for Sanctions Policy at the Department of State, a position he held since February 2013. Nephew also served as the lead sanctions expert for the U.S. team negotiating with Iran, starting with the private channel talks in August 2013. From May 2011 to January 2013, Nephew served as the Director for Iran on the National Security Council staff at the White House. Earlier in his career he served in the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation at the State Department and in the Office of Nonproliferation and International Security at the Department of Energy.

Samantha Ravich, former Deputy National Security Advisor to the Vice President



Dr. Samantha Ravich is a defense and intelligence policy and tech entrepreneur. She was the former Deputy National Security Advisor for Vice President Cheney and served in the White House for 5 and a half years as the Vice President's representative on Asian and Middle East Affairs, Counter-Terrorism, and Counter-Proliferation. Following her time at the White House, Ravich was the Republican Co-Chair of the Congressionally-mandated National Commission for Review of Research and Development Programs in the United States Intelligence Community.

Ravich is now a Managing Partner of A2P, a social data analytics and marketing firm, as well as the Principal Investigator on a research project on Cyber-Enabled Economic Warfare housed at FDD's Center for Sanctions and Illicit Finance. She is a non-executive Board member for the publicly listed firm DroneShield (ASX: DRO) and serves as an advisor to The Chertoff Group, Freedom Capital Investment Management, Kodak's Intellectual Property Solutions Division, and Scotts Miracle Gro. She received her Ph.D. in Policy Analysis from the RAND Graduate School and her MCP/BSE from the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School. Her book, *Marketization and Democracy: East Asian Experiences* (Cambridge University Press) is used as a basic textbook in international economics, political science, and Asian studies college courses. Ravich is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and an advisor to the U.S. Intelligence Community and the Department of Defense.

Ravich is a frequent keynote speaker on: What Corporate Boards need to know about Cyber Security and Warfare; The Longer-Term Trends in International Security; and the Future of Intelligence Collection and Analysis.

Juan Zarate, former Deputy National Security Advisor



Juan Zarate is the Chairman and Co-Founder of the Financial Integrity Network, the Chairman and Senior Counselor for the Foundation for Defense of Democracies' Center on Sanctions and Illicit Finance (CSIF), the Senior National Security Analyst for NBC News and MSNBC, and a Visiting Lecturer of Law at the Harvard Law School. Mr. Zarate served on the transition team for CIA Director Mike Pompeo.

Mr. Zarate served as the Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Combating Terrorism from 2005 to 2009, and was responsible for developing and implementing the U.S. Government's counterterrorism strategy and policies related to transnational security threats. Mr. Zarate was the first ever Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Terrorist Financing and Financial Crimes where he led domestic and international efforts to attack terrorist financing, the innovative use of Treasury's national security-related powers against rogue actors, and the global hunt for Saddam Hussein's assets. Mr. Zarate is a former federal prosecutor who served on terrorism prosecution teams prior to 9/11, including the investigation of the East Africa embassy bombings and the USS Cole attack. Mr. Zarate has earned numerous awards for his work, including the Treasury Medal.

Mr. Zarate sits on several boards, including HSBC's Financial System Vulnerabilities Committee (FSVC), the Vatican's Financial Information Authority (AIF), and the Board of Advisors to the Director of the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). He is a senior adviser to several technology companies and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

He is the author of *Treasury's War: The Unleashing of a New Era of Financial Warfare* (2013), *Forging Democracy* (1994), and a variety of articles.