
FIFTH ANNUAL TEXAS NATIONAL SECURITY FORUM

THE RETURN OF GREAT POWER COMPETITION

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



Bobby Chesney is the Director of the Robert Strauss Center for International Security and Law and the Charles I. Francis Professor in Law at the University of Texas School of Law. He also serves as Associate Dean for Academic Affairs at the School of Law.

Professor Chesney's scholarship concerns the legal architecture that regulates the U.S. government's national security policies, institutions and activities, with a particular emphasis on the disruptive impact of technological and strategic change over time. He teaches an array of courses including National Security Law, Constitutional Law, and the History of U.S. Counterterrorism Law and Policy (1970 to present). 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. He previously served as a member of the Director of National Intelligence's Advance Technology Board, and as an associate member of the Intelligence Science Board. In 2009, he served as an advisor to the President's Detention Policy Task Force, which was charged with developing long-term policy options in relation to the capture, detention, trial, or other disposition of persons in the context of combat and counterterrorism operations. He is graduated *magna cum laude* from both Harvard Law School and Texas Christian University.

William Inboden, *Executive Director of the Clements Center for National Security*



William Inboden is Executive Director and William Powers, Jr. Chair at the William P. Clements, Jr. Center for National Security at the University of Texas-Austin. He also serves as Associate Professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, Distinguished Scholar at the Strauss Center for International Security and Law, and Editor-in-Chief of the Texas National Security Review. Inboden's other current roles include Associate with the National Intelligence Council, Member of the CIA Director's Historical Review Panel, and Non-Resident Fellow with the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

Previously he served as Senior Director for Strategic Planning on the National Security Council at the White House, where he worked on a range of foreign policy issues including the National Security Strategy, strategic forecasting, democracy and governance, contingency planning, counter-radicalization, and multilateral institutions and initiatives. Inboden also worked at the Department of State as a Member of the Policy Planning Staff and a Special Advisor in the Office of International Religious Freedom. He has also served as Sr. Vice President of the Legatum Institute, and as a Civitas Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. He is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations as well as a contributing editor to Foreign Policy magazine, and his commentary has appeared in numerous outlets. He has lectured widely in academic and policy settings, testified before the U.S. House Armed Services Committee, and received numerous research and professional development fellowships. He is the author of Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment (Cambridge University Press). Professor Inboden has received multiple teaching awards. His current research includes a book project on the Reagan Administration's national security strategy and policy. Inboden received his Ph.D. and M.A. degrees in history from Yale University, and his A.B. in history from Stanford University.

PANEL ONE: WORLD ORDER

Antony Blinken, *Former Deputy Secretary of State*



Tony is Co-founder and Managing Partner of WestExec Advisors. Tony has held senior foreign policy positions in two administrations – including Deputy Secretary of State in the Obama Administration, the nation's number two diplomat. Tony helped to lead diplomacy in the fight against ISIL, the rebalance to Asia, and the global refugee crisis, while building bridges to the innovation community. Before that, Tony served as Assistant to the President and Principal Deputy National Security Advisor to President Obama. He chaired the Deputies Committee, the administration's principal forum for deliberating foreign policy. During the first Obama term, he was National Security Advisor to Vice President Biden. From 2002 to 2008, Tony served as Democratic Staff Director for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. From 1994 to 2001, he was a member of President Clinton's National Security Council staff. Tony is a contributing opinion writer for The New York Times and a global affairs analyst for CNN. He is the author of *Ally Versus Ally: America, Europe and the Siberian Pipeline Crisis*. He also serves as a managing director of the Penn Biden Center for Diplomacy and a distinguished scholar at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Tony received a French Baccalaureate degree in Paris. He is a graduate of Harvard College and Columbia Law School.

Eric Edelman, *Former Undersecretary of Defense for Policy*



Ambassador Eric S. Edelman retired as a Career Minister from the U.S. Foreign Service on May 1, 2009. He is currently Counselor at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments and the Roger Hertog Distinguished Practitioner in Residence at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. He was the Miller Center for Public Policy's James R. Schlesinger Professor for 2016 at the University of Virginia and is currently a non-resident fellow there. From 2009-2013 he was a senior associate of the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace. In 2010 he served on the Congress's Independent Panel to review the Quadrennial Defense Review and in 2013-2014 he served on the National Defense Panel. From 2017-2018 he chaired the National Defense Strategy Commission appointed by Congress to review the new National Defense Strategy. Edelman has served in senior positions at the Departments of State and Defense as well as the White House where he led organizations providing analysis, strategy, policy development, security services, trade advocacy, public outreach, citizen services and congressional relations. As the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (August 2005-January 2009) he oversaw strategy development as DoD's senior policy official with global responsibility for the nation's top defense priorities.

He served as U.S. Ambassador to the Republics of Finland and Turkey in the Clinton and Bush Administrations and was Principal Deputy Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs. In other assignments he has been Chief of Staff to Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, special assistant to Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmitt and special assistant to Secretary of State George Shultz. He also had assignments in the State Department Operations Center, Prague, Moscow, and Tel Aviv, where he was a member of the U.S. Middle East Delegation to the West Bank/Gaza Autonomy Talks. He is a recipient of the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, the Presidential Distinguished Service Award and several Department of State Superior Honor Awards. He has been awarded the Order of the White Rose by the government of Finland and the Legion d'Honneur by the French government. He received a B.A. in History and Government from Cornell University ('72) and a Ph.D. in U.S. Diplomatic History from Yale University ('81).

Kristen Silverberg, *Former Ambassador to the European Union*



Ambassador Kristen Silverberg is a Managing Director at the Institute of International Finance. She served in the George W. Bush Administration as U.S. Ambassador to the European Union from 2008 to 2009 and as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs from 2005 to 2008. Prior to her time at the State Department, she held a number of senior positions at the White House, including Deputy Assistant to the President and Advisor to the Chief of Staff. She served in 2003 in Baghdad, Iraq for which she received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service. Ambassador Silverberg formerly practiced law at Williams and Connolly, LLP in Washington, DC and served as a law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and Judge David Sentelle of the U.S. Court of Appeals. She attended

Harvard College and the University of Texas School of Law, where she graduated with High Honors. Ambassador Silverberg serves on the Board of Directors of the CDC Foundation, the Board of Directors of the International Republican Institute, the Board of Directors of Vorbeck Materials, the Advisory Board of Beacon Global Strategies, the Advisory Board of the Texas National Security Review, and was recognized by the World Economic Forum as a Young Global Leader.

Moderator: Lorinc Redei, *Lecturer and Graduate Adviser, Master of Global Policy Studies at the LBJ School of Public Affairs*



Lorinc Redei joined the LBJ School as a full-time lecturer in 2013, and he now also serves as the graduate adviser for its Global Policy Studies Program. He has previous teaching experience at Southwestern University, and he has also worked in the policy world. From 2005 to 2008 and during the spring of 2011, he served as a press officer in the European Parliament, the directly elected legislature of the European Union. He managed relations with the press corps on the Parliament's activities in the realm of foreign affairs, especially the work of its Foreign Affairs Committee. Dr. Redei's research takes advantage of these experiences. He writes about European politics, the European Union—especially its foreign and security policy—and in parliamentary diplomacy.

PANEL TWO: RUSSIA

General Philip Breedlove, *USAF, Ret.; Former Supreme Allied Commander Europe*



Gen. Philip M. Breedlove served as Commander, Supreme Allied Command, Europe, SHAPE, Belgium and Headquarters, U.S. European Command, Stuttgart, Germany. General Breedlove was raised in Forest Park, Ga., and was commissioned in 1977 as a distinguished graduate of Georgia Tech's ROTC program. He has been assigned to numerous operational, command and staff positions, and has completed nine overseas tours, including two remote tours. He has commanded a fighter squadron, an operations group, three fighter wings, and a numbered air force. Additionally, he has served as Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, Washington, D.C. Operations Officer in the Pacific Command Division on the Joint Staff; Executive Officer to the Commander of Headquarters Air Combat Command; the Senior Military Assistant to the

Secretary of the Air Force; and Vice Director for Strategic Plans and Policy on the Joint Staff.

General Breedlove previously served as the Commander, U.S. Air Forces in Europe; Commander, U.S. Air Forces Africa; Commander, Air Component Command, Ramstein; and Director, Joint Air Power Competence Centre, Kalkar, Germany. He was responsible for Air Forces activities, conducted through 3rd Air Force, in an area of operations covering more than 19 million square miles. This area included 105 countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East, and the Arctic and Atlantic oceans. As Vice Chief, he presided over the Air Staff and served as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Requirements Oversight Council and Deputy Advisory Working Group. He assisted the Chief of Staff with organizing, training, and equipping of 680,000 active-duty, Guard, Reserve and civilian forces serving in the United States and overseas. General Breedlove has flown combat missions in Operation Joint Forge/Joint Guardian. He is a command pilot with 3,500 flying hours, primarily in the F-16.

Evelyn Farkas, *Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia*



Dr. Evelyn N. Farkas is Senior Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Senior Fellow at CNA, National Security Contributor for NBC/MSNBC and President, Farkas Global Strategies. She served from 2012 to 2015 as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia/Ukraine/Eurasia, responsible for policy towards Russia, the Black Sea, Balkans and Caucasus regions and conventional arms control. From 2010 to 2012 she served as Senior Advisor to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe and Special Advisor to the Secretary of Defense for the NATO Summit. Prior to that, she was a senior fellow at the American Security Project, and in 2008-2009 Executive Director of the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism. From 2001 to 2008, she served as a Professional Staff Member of the Senate Armed Services Committee responsible for Asia Pacific, Western Hemisphere, Special Operations Command, peace and stability operations, combatting terrorism, counter-narcotics, homeland defense, and export control policy. From 1997-2001 Farkas was a professor of international relations at the U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College. She served in Bosnia with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 1996-1997 and was an election observer in Afghanistan in 2009. Dr. Farkas obtained her MA and Ph.D. from The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. She is a member of the board of trustees of Franklin & Marshall College and Aspen Institute Socrates Seminar, and Harold Rosenthal Fellowship advisory boards. She has received several Department of Defense and foreign awards and an honorary doctorate from Franklin & Marshall College. She tweets at @EvelynNFarkas.

Daniel Fried, *Former Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs*



In the course of his forty-year Foreign Service career, Ambassador Fried played a key role in designing and implementing American policy in Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union. As special assistant and NSC senior director for Presidents Clinton and Bush, ambassador to Poland, and assistant secretary of state for Europe (2005-09), Ambassador Fried crafted the policy of NATO enlargement to Central European nations and, in parallel, NATO-Russia relations, thus advancing the goal of Europe whole, free, and at peace. Ambassador Fried helped lead the West's response to Moscow's aggression against Ukraine starting in 2014: as State Department coordinator for sanctions policy, he crafted US sanctions against Russia, the largest US sanctions program to date, and negotiated the imposition of similar sanctions by Europe, Canada, Japan, and Australia. Ambassador Fried became one of the US government's foremost experts on Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. While a student, he lived in Moscow, majored in Soviet studies and history at Cornell University (BA magna cum laude 1975), and received an MA from Columbia's Russian Institute and School of International Affairs in 1977. He joined the US Foreign Service later that year, serving overseas in Leningrad (human rights, Baltic affairs, and consular officer), and Belgrade (political officer), and in the Office of Soviet Affairs in the State Department. As Polish desk officer in the late 1980s, Fried was one of the first in Washington to recognize the impending collapse of Communism in Poland, and helped develop the immediate response of the George H.W. Bush Administration to these developments. He is currently a Distinguished Fellow at the Atlantic Council and a Visiting Professor at Warsaw University.

Moderator: Mary Neuburger, *Director of the Center for Russia, East European and Eurasian Studies*



Dr. Mary Neuburger is currently the Director of the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, as well as the Chair of Slavic and Eurasian Studies. She is a Professor of History at UT Austin, where she teaches courses on the history of modern Eastern Europe. Mary Neuburger is also the 2018 Chair-Elect of the Provost's Teaching Fellows.

Dr. Neuburger's focus is on modern Eastern Europe with a specialization in Southeastern Europe. Her research interests include urban culture, consumption, commodity exchange, gender and nationalism. Dr. Neuburger's courses explore ethnic conflict, nationalism, gender, and other topics in East Central European and Balkan history.

KEYNOTE CONVERSATION ON THE SSCI INVESTIGATION INTO RUSSIAN ACTIVE MEASURES

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



Gregory L. Fenves is the 29th president of The University of Texas at Austin. Before he became president in 2015, he served the university as executive vice president and provost and as dean of UT's Cockrell School of Engineering. For his research and teaching, Fenves was elected to the National Academy of Engineering in 2014, the highest recognition for an engineer in the United States. He holds the Cockrell Family Chair in Engineering #15 and the Ed and Carolyn Hyman Presidential Leadership Chair at UT Austin. As president, Fenves has prioritized student success. By introducing and expanding mentoring programs and incentive-based scholarships targeted to help students who need it most, UT Austin's graduation rates are now at record-high levels. His administration has strengthened the impact of longstanding research efforts while investing in groundbreaking new programs and facilities, including the Dell Medical School. Diversity and inclusion are cornerstones of Fenves' vision for higher education. In 2015, his administration successfully defended UT Austin's admissions practices before the US Supreme Court. The landmark ruling in the Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin case enabled UT Austin to continue recruiting a diverse student body, so that all students have the educational benefits of a diverse learning environment. Fenves continues to spur innovation in higher education by advancing interdisciplinary collaboration, the integration of teaching and research and the continued evolution of student learning — both inside and outside of the classroom. He has also launched efforts to expand UT's global reach and international opportunities for students and faculty.

Senator Richard Burr, *Chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence*



First elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1994, Senator Burr served five terms in the House and is currently serving North Carolina in his third term in the U.S. Senate. He is a vocal advocate for our men and women in the military and their families, and for the growing population of veterans across North Carolina. In the Senate, Burr serves as Chairman of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence where he puts the security of the American people first, while providing rigorous oversight of our intelligence community. He also sits on the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee and the Finance Committee. The son of a minister, Richard and his family moved to Winston-Salem, North Carolina when he was a young child. After graduating from Wake Forest University, he began his career far from the halls of Congress by spending seventeen years in business with Carswell Distributing, a wholesale commercial products company. Burr also serves as a Board Member of Brenner Children's Hospital and on the West Point Board of Visitors.

Senator Mark Warner, *Vice Chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence*



Senator Warner was elected to the U.S. Senate in November 2008 and reelected to a second term in November 2014. He serves on the Senate Finance, Banking, Budget, and Rules Committees as well as the Select Committee on Intelligence, where he is the Vice Chairman. During his time in the Senate, Senator Warner has established himself as a bipartisan leader who has worked with Republicans and Democrats alike to cut red tape, increase government performance and accountability, and promote private sector innovation and job creation. Senator Warner has been recognized as a national leader in fighting for our military men and women and veterans, and in working to find bipartisan, balanced solutions to address our country's debt and deficit. From 2002 to 2006, he served as Governor of Virginia. When he left office in 2006, Virginia was ranked as the best state for business, the best managed state, and the best state in which to receive a public education. The first in his family to graduate from college, Mark Warner spent 20 years as a successful technology and business leader in Virginia before entering public office. An early investor in the cellular telephone business, he co-founded the company that became Nextel and invested in hundreds of start-up technology companies that created tens of thousands of jobs.

Senator John Cornyn, *Member of the Select Committee on Intelligence*



Since he was first elected in 2002, Sen. Cornyn has earned a national reputation as an articulate and powerful voice for Texas and conservative values in Washington. Sen. Cornyn, a San Antonio native, strongly believes that we need more Texas solutions in Washington, which is why he consistently fights to bring the Lone Star State's common-sense solutions to the federal level. He has committed himself to strengthening our national defense, securing our borders, repairing our broken immigration system and strengthening the economy by keeping taxes low, reducing federal spending, and fighting job-killing regulations from Washington bureaucrats. Sen. Cornyn has also been a tireless advocate for Texas military personnel, veterans, and their families, and he has fought to provide these brave Americans with the best possible support, care, and benefits. In addition to serving on the Senate Finance, Intelligence, and Judiciary

Committees, Sen. Cornyn serves as the Majority Whip, which gives Texas a powerful seat at Congress' leadership table. Sen. Cornyn has served the people of Texas for the last three decades, first as a district judge and later as a member of the Texas Supreme Court and Texas Attorney General. He has received degrees from Trinity University, St. Mary's School of Law, the University of Virginia Law School.

Moderator: Stephen Slick, *Director of the Intelligence Studies Project*

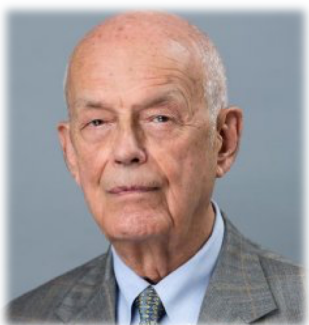


Stephen B. Slick is the inaugural Director of the Intelligence Studies Project. He retired in 2014 after 28 years as a member of CIA's clandestine service. Between 2005 and 2009, Steve served as a special assistant to the president and the Senior Director for Intelligence Programs and Reform on the staff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

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Introduction by Admiral Bob Inman, *Centennial Chair in National Policy at the LBJ School of Public Affairs*



Adm. Bobby R. Inman became an adjunct professor at The University of Texas at Austin in 1987. He was appointed a tenured professor holding the Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy in August 2001. He served as interim dean of the LBJ School of Public Affairs in 2005 and again from January 2009 to March 2010. Inman served in the U.S. Navy from November 1951 to July 1982, retiring with the permanent rank of admiral. On active duty he served as director of the National Security Agency and as deputy director of Central Intelligence. After retirement from the Navy, he was chairman and CEO of the Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation (MCC) in Austin, Texas, for four years and chairman, president and chief executive officer of Westmark Systems Inc., a privately-owned electronics

industry holding company, for three years. Inman also served as chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas from 1987 through 1990. Adm. Inman's primary business activity since 1990 has been investing in startup technology companies, serving as managing director of Gefinor Ventures and Limestone Capital Advisors. He serves as a trustee of the American Assembly and the California Institute of Technology. He is an elected fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration.



Ben Sasse is a United States Senator, representing the great state of Nebraska. He was elected in a 2014 landslide, winning each of Nebraska's 93 counties, and securing the second-largest margin for a new senator in the history of the state. Living off of a rickety old campaign bus, he and his family campaigned tirelessly on a common-sense platform of restoring the Constitution to its rightful place and encouraging a more constructive politics where every public official works to make the American Dream achievable for every family. He believes in term limits and a humbler Washington, where the federal government does fewer things, but the more important things, more urgently, more transparently, and with less partisan screaming. A fifth-generation Nebraskan, Ben grew up walking beans and detasseling corn, experiences that taught him the value of hard work. A graduate of Fremont High School, he was recruited to wrestle at Harvard and then earned a PhD in American history at Yale. Ben comes to the Senate having spent the last five years as a college president. When he was recruited to take over the failing Midland University, Ben was just 37 years old, making him one of the youngest college presidents in the nation. The 130-year-old Lutheran college was on the verge of bankruptcy when he arrived, but became one of the fastest-growing higher education institutions in the country by the time of his departure. Most of his career has been spent guiding companies and institutions through times of crisis with straight talk about the core issues. He has worked with the Boston Consulting Group and McKinsey and Company, as well as private equity firms and not-for-profit organizations, to tackle failing strategies across a broad array of sectors and nations.

A SPECIAL CONVERSATION ON GLOBAL THREATS



The Honorable Susan (Sue) M. Gordon was sworn in as the fifth Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence (PDDNI) on August 7, 2017. As PDDNI, Ms. Gordon assists the DNI in leading the Intelligence Community (IC) and managing the ODNI. In particular, she focuses on advancing intelligence integration across the IC, expanding outreach and partnerships, and driving innovation across the Community. With nearly three decades of experience in the IC, Ms. Gordon has served in a variety of leadership roles spanning numerous intelligence organizations and disciplines. Most recently, Ms. Gordon served as the Deputy Director of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA) from 2015 to 2017. In this role, she helped the director lead the agency and manage the National System of Geospatial Intelligence. She drove NGA's transformation to meet the challenges of a 21st century intelligence agency. She also championed agile governance, recruitment and retention of a diverse workforce, and expansion of geospatial intelligence services to the open marketplace. She is known for her commitment to diversity and inclusion and, to the women and men of the IC.

Prior to her assignment with NGA, Ms. Gordon served for 27 years at the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), rising to senior executive positions in each of the Agency's four directorates: operations, analysis, science and technology, and support. She joined the CIA in 1980 as an analyst in the Office of Scientific and Weapons Research, and went on to serve as the Director of the Office of Advanced Analytic Tools, Director of Special Activities in the Directorate of Science and Technology, Director for Support, and ultimately in concurrent roles as Director of the Information Operations Center and the CIA Director's senior advisor on cyber. In 1998, she designed and drove the formation of In-Q-Tel, a private, non-profit company whose primary purpose is to deliver innovative technology solutions for the agency and the IC. Ms. Gordon has been recognized for her creative executive leadership through numerous awards, including the Presidential Rank Award at the distinguished level. Ms. Gordon holds a Bachelor of Science degree in zoology (biomechanics) from Duke University where she was the captain of the Duke Women's Basketball team. She and her husband, Jim, live in Northern Virginia, and have two adult children who have also chosen to serve their country.

General Raymond Anthony Thomas, USA, *Commander of the U.S. Special Operations Command*



General Raymond A. Thomas III currently serves as the 11th Commander of U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) headquartered at MacDill Air Force Base, FL. Prior to assuming command of USSOCOM, General Thomas served as Commander, Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC), Fort Bragg, NC. General Thomas' other assignments as a general officer include: Associate Director for Military Affairs at the Central Intelligence Agency; Commanding General, NATO Special Operations Component Command-Afghanistan; Deputy Commanding General, JSOC; Deputy Director for Special Operations, The Joint Staff in the Pentagon; Assistant Division Commander, 1st Armor Division in Iraq; and Assistant Commanding General, JSOC.

Prior to being promoted to brigadier general, General Thomas also served as the JSOC Chief of Staff and Director of Operations. His other formative and key, joint and special operations, assignments include: Commander, Joint Task Force-Bravo, Soto Cano, Honduras; Commander, 1st Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment, Savannah, GA.; and Commander, B Squadron, 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment-Delta, Fort Bragg, NC. He is a graduate of the U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA, and the Naval Command and Staff College, Newport, RI. General Thomas is a native of Philadelphia, PA. He attended the United States Military Academy at West Point, NY, and was commissioned an infantry second lieutenant upon graduation in 1980.

Admiral William McRaven, USN, Ret.; *Former Commander of the U.S. Special Operations Command*



William McRaven, former University of Texas System chancellor and retired U.S. Navy four-star admiral, joins the school as a professor in national security in 2018. As chancellor, he oversaw 14 institutions that educate 221,000 students and employ 20,000 faculty and more than 80,000 health care professionals, researchers and staff. As the commander of U.S. Special Operations Command, McRaven led a force of 69,000 men and women and was responsible for conducting counter-terrorism operations worldwide. He is a recognized national authority on U.S. foreign policy and has advised presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama and other U.S. leaders on defense issues. McRaven oversaw the 2011 Navy SEAL raid in Pakistan that killed al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. His book, "Spec Ops: Case Studies in Special Operations

Warfare: Theory and Practice," published in several languages, is considered a fundamental text on special operations strategy. He has received the Republic of France's Legion d'Honneur, the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association's National Award and the National Intelligence Award. In 2016, McRaven was named the recipient of the Ambassador Richard M. Helms Award by the Central Intelligence Agency Officers Memorial Foundation.

Admiral Eric Olson, USN, Ret.; *Former Commander of the U.S. Special Operations Command*



Admiral Eric T. Olson was the eighth commander of U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) headquartered at MacDill Air Force Base, Fla. from July 2, 2007 to August 8, 2011. A native of Tacoma, Wash., Olson graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1973 and qualified as a Naval Special Warfare (SEAL) officer in 1974. He has served operationally in an Underwater Demolition Team, SEAL Team, SEAL Delivery Vehicle Team, Special Boat Squadron, and at the Naval Special Warfare Development Group. He has commanded at every level. Admiral Olson has participated in several conflicts and contingency operations, and has served as a SEAL instructor, strategy and tactics development officer and joint special operations staff officer. His overseas assignments include service as a United Nations military

observer in Israel and Egypt, and as Navy Programs officer in Tunisia. He served on the Navy staff as assistant deputy chief of Naval Operations (Plans, Policy, and Operations). Olson earned a Master of Arts degree in National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School and studied at the Defense Language Institute. He is a Joint Specialty officer and Political-Military Affairs sub-specialist with emphasis on Africa and the Middle East. His awards include the Distinguished Service Medal and Silver Star. He retired from active duty after over 38 years of service. He is a member of the Aspen Homeland Security Group.



J. Paul Pope retired from the CIA after multiple foreign tours, service as Chief of Station, and assignments as a Chief, Deputy Chief, and Chief of Ops in the Directorate of Operations' three largest components. As Chief of Training and Tradecraft Division, he was responsible for DO training, capture of "lessons learned," and adapting to emerging technical challenges and mission imperatives. He was acting ADNI for Partner Engagement for an extended period and Head of Delegation to NATO's Civilian Intelligence Committee. Pope was DNI/DCIA Representative to Commander, US Pacific Command and his component commands. Prior to the NCS, he served on the National Intelligence Council for the Near East and South Asia and led an analytic unit in the Directorate of Intelligence. Pope was an Army officer, with service on the Army General Staff after twice commanding at the company level, including command of the only active firebase in the Army on the Korean DMZ. He received his M.A. With Distinction from the Naval Postgraduate School and BS from the United States Military Academy at West Point. He is a Distinguished Graduate of Command and General Staff College and a graduate of the National War College's CAPSTONE course.

PANEL THREE: STRATEGIES, TACTICS AND TOOLS

Elbridge Colby, *Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense*



Elbridge Colby is the Director of the Defense Program at the Center for a New American Security, where he leads CNAS' work on defense issues. Previously, Colby served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Force Development from 2017-2018. In that role, he served as the lead official in the development and rollout of the Department's preeminent strategic planning guidance, the 2018 National Defense Strategy (NDS). Colby also served as the lead official in the development of the 2017 Secretary's Force Planning Priorities, which guided the review of and topline increases for the FY2019 defense budget, and the 2018 Defense Planning Guidance, which provided guidance for the development of the FY2020 defense budget. Colby served as a primary Policy representative to the Program and Budget Review and Support to Strategic Analysis processes during his tenure in the Pentagon. He also served as the primary DOD representative in the development of the 2017 National Security Strategy. Prior to entering government service, Colby was from 2014 to 2017 the Robert M. Gates Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security. From 2010 to 2013 he was principal analyst and division lead for global strategic affairs at CNA. Earlier in his career he served for over five years in the U.S. Government at the Department of Defense, Department of State, and in the Intelligence Community working on a range of strategic forces, WMD, and intelligence reform matters, including service with the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq in 2003. Colby has also served on the staff of a number of government commissions, including the 2014 National Defense Panel, the 2008-2009 Strategic Posture Commission, and the 2004-2005 President's WMD Commission. Colby is a recipient of the Exceptional Public Service Award from the Office of the Secretary of Defense and of the Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards from the Department of State. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute of Strategic Studies. Colby is a graduate of Harvard College and Yale Law School.

Peter Feaver, *Former Special Advisor for Strategic Planning, National Security Council*



Peter D. Feaver (Ph.D., Harvard, 1990) is a Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at Duke University. He is Director of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS) and also Director of the Duke Program in American Grand Strategy (AGS). Feaver is author of *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard Press, 2003) and of *Guarding the Guardians: Civilian Control of Nuclear Weapons in the United States* (Cornell University Press, 1992). He is co-author, with Christopher Gelpi and Jason Reifler, of *Paying the Human Costs of War* (Princeton University Press, 2009), co-author, with Susan Wasiolek and Anne Crossman, of *Getting the Most Out of College* (Ten Speed Press, 2008), and co-author, with Christopher Gelpi, of *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton University Press, 2004). He is co-editor, with Richard H. Kohn, of *Soldiers and Civilians*:

The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security (MIT Press, 2001). He has published numerous other monographs, scholarly articles, book chapters, and policy pieces on American foreign policy, public opinion, nuclear proliferation, civil-military relations, information warfare, and U.S. national security. He is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group and blogs at Elephants in the Room on ForeignPolicy.com. In 1993-94, Feaver served as Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control on the National Security Council at the White House where his responsibilities included the national security strategy review, counterproliferation policy, regional nuclear arms control, and other defense policy issues. From June 2005 to July 2007, Feaver was on leave to be Special Advisor for Strategic Planning and Institutional Reform on the National Security Council Staff at the White House where his responsibilities included the national security strategy, regional strategy reviews, and other political-military issues.

Mary Beth Long, *Former Assistant Secretary of Defense*



The Honorable Mary Beth Long is co-founder and principal of Global Alliance Advisors, LLC, an international business consulting firm. She is also founder of M B Long & Associates, PLLC, an international legal and advisory firm. From 2007-2009, Ms. Long served as the first woman confirmed by the U.S. Senate as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and as Chair of NATO's High Level Group (HLG), responsible for NATO's nuclear policy. In her defense department roles, she also acted as Principal Deputy Secretary of Defense on the Middle East, Africa, the Western Hemisphere, Asia, and Southeast Asia; and was the Deputy Secretary of Defense for Counter Narcoterrorism with a budget of over \$1 billion. To those credentials, she adds more than a decade of Central Intelligence Agency operational experience (1986-99) on terrorism and other security issues.

After leaving government, Ms. Long founded Metis Solutions LLC. Under her tenure as CEO, the company was recognized in Inc. Magazine's List of America's Fastest Growing Companies in 2014, 2015, and 2016 and was featured in Forbes magazine's Women Business Leaders. Ms. Long advises several Fortune 50 companies on international defense markets. From 2013-2016, she served as a Senior Subject Matter Expert for the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO as well as a Senior International Advisor to the Minister of Defense of Colombia. Ms. Long has advised several Presidential candidates and appears regularly on Fox News, BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera English and NPR on Middle East issues and the Intelligence Community. She is a licensed lawyer and, from 1999 until 2004, was an associate specializing in civil litigation matters at Williams & Connolly LLP. Ms. Long travels regularly to the Middle East, Europe, Latin America, and Afghanistan and has offices in Abu Dhabi and Kabul. She is an Honors Graduate of Pennsylvania State University, magna cum laude, and in 2016, Ms. Long received the Distinguished Alumni Award, the University's highest honor presented to its alumni. She received her J.D. from Washington and Lee University School of Law.

Andrew May, *Associate Director of the Office of Net Assessment, Office of the Secretary of Defense*



Andrew David May is Associate Director of the Office of Net Assessment, OSD. In this role he is primarily responsible for direction and oversight of ONA's research program, as well as the design and conduct of net assessments. His principal areas of focus include the nature and scope of future net assessments, the character of the future security environment, and the development of defense strategies for the long-term competition. As an analyst, he focuses on the military competition in space and in the future of nuclear weapons.

Before joining the government, Dr. May worked as a Senior Analyst at Science Applications International Corporation. He was responsible for the coordination and oversight of a range of research projects in support of the Office of Net Assessment. His work generally concentrated on issues of defense strategy and strategic planning. Among other studies, he is the co-author of Defeat Mechanisms, a study of organizational disintegration on the battlefield, as well as a case study of recent experimentation in the United States Marine Corps. Prior to joining the Strategic Assessment Center, Dr. May received his PhD, in History, from Emory University in 1998. His dissertation explores the development of strategic thought at the RAND Corporation in the early cold war, characterizing the evolution of strategic concepts for nuclear war and examining the corporate culture fostering innovative strategic thought. Dr. May received his Bachelor's from Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, in 1993.



Celeste Ward Gventer is the Associate Director of the Clements Center. She returned to Texas after five years working in Europe and the Middle East as a consultant on defense organization, management, and institution building. Celeste served as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Pentagon from 2007-2009, was an advisor to the Multinational Corps-Iraq commander from 2005-2006, and helped build the Iraqi Ministry of Defense in 2003 - 2004. She has also served as a Senior Defense Analyst with RAND, as Special Assistant to the Counselor of the State Department, as a Strategist in the Pentagon, as a Research Fellow at CSIS, and as a Defense Analyst at the Congressional Budget Office. She is also an entrepreneur and military spouse, and remains an adjunct analyst with the RAND Corporation. Celeste received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from Stanford University, a Master of Public Policy degree from the Harvard Kennedy School, and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in History at the University of Texas.

PANEL FOUR: CHINA

Christopher Johnson, *Former Central Intelligence Agency Analyst*



Christopher K. Johnson is a senior adviser and holds the Freeman Chair in China Studies at CSIS. An accomplished Asian affairs specialist, Mr. Johnson spent nearly two decades serving in the U.S. government's intelligence and foreign affairs communities and has extensive experience analyzing and working in Asia on a diverse set of country-specific and transnational issues. Throughout his career, he has chronicled China's dynamic political and economic transformation, the development of its robust military modernization program, and its resurgence as a regional and global power. He has frequently advised senior White House, cabinet, congressional, military, and foreign officials on the Chinese leadership and on Beijing's foreign and security policies.

Mr. Johnson worked as a senior China analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency, where he played a key role in the analytic support to policymakers during the 1996 Taiwan Strait missile crisis, the 1999 accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, the downing of a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft on Hainan Island in 2001, and the SARS epidemic in 2003. He also helped shape senior officials' understanding of the politics of the Jiang Zemin era, the successful leadership transition to Hu Jintao in 2002, and the preparations for the fall 2012 leadership succession. Mr. Johnson served as an intelligence liaison to two secretaries of state and their deputies on worldwide security issues and in 2011 was awarded the U.S. Department of State's Superior Honor Award for outstanding support to the secretary and her senior staff. He also served abroad in a field site in Southeast Asia. Mr. Johnson graduated summa cum laude with bachelor's degrees in history and political science from the University of California at San Diego (1994) and received his M.A. in security policy studies from the George Washington University (1996). He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Kelly Magsamen, *Former Principal Deputy Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Affairs*



Kelly Magsamen is the vice president for National Security and International Policy at American Progress. Previously, she was the principal deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs and also performed the duties of assistant secretary of defense, where she was responsible for defense and security policy for all of Asia and served as principal adviser to the secretary of defense. In these roles, Magsamen shaped Department of Defense policy and strategy in the South China Sea and was responsible for strengthening and modernizing U.S. alliances and partnerships in the region. She was also integral to the development of U.S. strategy and policy in Afghanistan and South Asia. Prior to her tenure at the Pentagon, Magsamen served on the National Security Council staff for two presidents and four national security advisers. As special assistant to the president and senior director for strategic planning from 2012 to 2014, she was responsible for long-term strategic planning and helped craft the 2015 U.S. National Security Strategy. From 2011 to 2012, she served as senior adviser for Middle East reform. As director for Iran from 2008 to 2011, she was responsible for coordination of U.S. policy

on Iran, including diplomatic, economic, defense, and intelligence efforts. Magsamen started her government career at the Department of State, where she worked on Iraq policy in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs from 2005 to 2007 and served as special assistant and chief of staff to the counselor from 2007 to 2008. Magsamen received her bachelor's degree in International Relations from American University and her master's degree in Strategic Studies from Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies.

James Steinberg, *Former Deputy Secretary of State*



The Honorable James B. Steinberg is University Professor of Social Science, International Affairs and Law and served as Dean of the Maxwell School from July 2011 until June 2016. Prior to becoming Dean, he served as Deputy Secretary of State (2009-2011), serving as the principal Deputy to Secretary Clinton. From 2005-2008 he was Dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. From 2001 to 2005, Mr. Steinberg was vice president and director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution. Mr. Steinberg served as deputy national security advisor to President Clinton from 1996 to 2000. Prior to becoming deputy national security advisor, Mr. Steinberg served as director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, and as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Analysis, Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Steinberg's

most recent books are "A Glass Half Full? Rebalance, Reassurance and Resolve in the US-China Relationship (Brookings Institution Press, 2017) and "Strategic Reassurance and Resolve: US-China Relations in the 21st Century" (Princeton University Press, 2014) (both with Michael O'Hanlon). Mr. Steinberg received his B.A. from Harvard and a J.D. from Yale Law School.

Moderator: Joshua Eisenman, *Faculty Fellow at the Clements Center for National Security and Distinguished Scholar at the Strauss Center for International Security and Law*



Joshua Eisenman's research focuses on the political economy of China's development and its foreign relations with the United States and the developing world—particularly Africa. His work has been published in top academic journals including *World Development*, *Development and Change*, *Journal of Contemporary China* and *Cold War History*, and in popular outlets such as *Foreign Affairs*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *Foreign Policy*. His views have been cited in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Economist* and *The New Republic*. Professor Eisenman's newest book, "Red China's Green Revolution: Technological Innovation, Institutional Change, and Economic Development Under the Commune" (Columbia University Press, 2018), explains how more capital investment and better farming

techniques increased agricultural productivity growth in Maoist China. In "China Steps Out: Beijing's Major Power Engagement with the Developing World" (Routledge, 2018), he worked with Eric Heginbotham to analyze China's policies toward the developing world. His second book, "China and Africa: A Century of Engagement" (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), co-authored with David Shinn, was named one of the top three books about Africa by *Foreign Affairs*. Their next volume, under advance contract with the University of Pennsylvania Press, will examine the China-Africa political and security relationship. Professor Eisenman has been a visiting faculty member at Fudan University (Summer 2017), Peking University (Summer 2016), and NYU-Shanghai (2011-12). He was a policy analyst on the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (2003-05) and has been Senior Fellow for China Studies at the American Foreign Policy Council since 2006.