

FUTURE OF WAR FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center
February 24–25, 2015

#FutureOfWar



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ABOUT THE FUTURE OF WAR PROJECT

The Future of War Project explores the social, political, economic, and cultural implications of the changing nature of war and conflict. This interdisciplinary partnership links New America, a D.C.-based think tank and civil engagement enterprise, and Arizona State University, one of the nation's largest and most innovative public research universities. The project is led by Peter Bergen — Vice President, Director of Studies at New America, and a Professor of Practice at Arizona State University — and Daniel Rothenberg — Professor of Practice at Arizona State University and a Fellow at New America — and involves journalists, technologists, historians, social scientists, former military and counterterrorism officials, international law scholars, and experts in defense policy and global politics.

The goals of the project include describing the future of warfare as it evolves over the next decade and beyond, predicting its likely impact on the state and other forms of social organization, and developing new paradigms for understanding and addressing armed conflict and systematic violence. The initiative engages multiple topics, including the evolution of autonomous weapons systems, the emergence of increasingly sophisticated and widespread surveillance technologies, the militarization of cyberspace and outer space, and the democratization of terror and mechanisms of mass destruction. The project also considers ethnic and sectarian tensions, demographic shifts, competition over resources, climate change, and other global changes as key drivers of war and conflict.

Since the project began seven months ago, it has produced bold conceptual frameworks, created legal and policy proposals, and hosted public lectures, conferences and other events. These efforts have focused on al-Qaeda and other armed groups, drones and unmanned technologies, the Syrian crisis, the policy and legal challenges of a “forever war,” the role of big data in national security, and the increasing importance of cybersecurity and cyberwar.

FUTURE OF WAR – 1ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Co-Hosted by New America and Arizona State University

Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, Washington, D.C.

1300 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, Washington, DC 20004

Tuesday, February 24, 2015

8:00 – 8:30 *Registration, coffee, and light breakfast*

8:30 – 8:50 *Welcome and Opening Remarks*

Dr. Michael M. Crow – President, Arizona State University

Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter – President and CEO, New America

9:00 – 9:50 Machines That Kill: Will We Rely on Autonomous Weapons?

Peter Bergen (moderator) – Vice President, Director of Studies, New America;

Professor of Practice, Arizona State University; Co-Director, Future of War Project

Dr. Mary (Missy) Cummings – Associate Professor, Duke University; Director, Humans and Automation Laboratory, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Former U.S. Navy Fighter Pilot

Dr. Werner J.A. Dahm – Chief Scientist, Security and Defense Systems Initiative, Arizona State University; Former Chief Scientist, U.S. Air Force; ASU Foundation Professor; Professor Emeritus, University of Michigan

Vice Admiral Ann E. Rondeau, USN (Ret.) – Former President, National Defense University

Dr. Peter W. Singer – Strategist and Senior Fellow, New America; Author, *Ghost Fleet:*

A Novel of the Next World War (forthcoming)

9:50 – 10:40 Climate Change, Pandemics, and the Competition for Prosperity:

Planning for Non-Military Security Challenges

The Honorable Sharon E. Burke (moderator) – Senior Advisor, International Security Program,

New America; Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Operational Energy, U.S. Department of Defense

Nadya Bliss – Director, Global Security Initiative, Arizona State University

Dr. David Gartner – Professor of Law; Faculty Co-Director, Center for Law and Global Affairs, Arizona State University

Colonel Troy S. Thomas, USAF – Director for Strategic Planning, National Security Council; Officer, U.S. Air Force

10:50 – 11:30 Continuities and Change in Future Armed Conflict

Jake Tapper (moderator) – Chief Washington Correspondent; Anchor, The Lead, CNN

Lieutenant General H. R. McMaster, USA – Commanding General, Army Capabilities Integration Center, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command

11:30 – 12:00 Striking a Balance: Authorizing the Future Use of Military Force

Heather Hurlburt (moderator) – Director, New Models of Policy Change Program, New America

The Honorable Harold Koh – Sterling Professor of International Law, Yale Law School; Former Legal Adviser, U.S. Department of State

12:00 – 12:30 *Break, buffet lunch served*

- 12:40 – 1:20 How Will the Digital Biology Revolution Transform Conflict?
Patrick Tucker (moderator) – Technology Editor, *Defense One*
Dr. Gaymon Bennett – Assistant Professor of Religion, Science, and Technology, Arizona State University
Dr. Michael M. Crow – President, Arizona State University
Dr. Gary Marchant – Lincoln Professor of Emerging Technologies, Law, and Ethics; Faculty Director of the Center for Law, Science, and Innovation, Arizona State University
- 1:30 – 1:40 The Kill Switch: Stories of Killing in War
Peter Bergen (introduction) – Vice President, Director of Studies, New America; Professor of Practice, Arizona State University; Co-Director, Future of War Project
Phil Zabriskie – Author, *The Kill Switch*; Former Staff Writer, *TIME Magazine*
- 1:40 – 2:20 How Will Technology Shape the Future of War?
Barbara Starr (moderator) – Pentagon Correspondent, CNN
Dr. Arati Prabhakar – Director, Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
- 2:20 – 3:00 What is Cybersecurity at Home?
Alan B. Davidson (moderator) – Vice President, Technology Policy and Strategy; Director, Open Technology Institute, New America
The Honorable Suzanne E. Spaulding – Under Secretary, National Protection and Programs Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security
- 3:10 – 4:00 How Should We Adjust the Laws of War to Address the Changing Nature of Conflict?
Rosa Brooks (moderator) – Professor, Georgetown University Law Center; Senior Fellow, International Security Program; ASU Future of War Fellow, New America
William C. Banks – Distinguished Professor of Law; Director, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism, Syracuse University
Laura A. Dickinson – Oswald Symister Colclough Research Professor of Law, The George Washington University Law School; ASU Future of War Fellow, New America
Major General Charles J. Dunlap, Jr., USAF (Ret.) – Professor of the Practice of Law; Executive Director, Center on Law, Ethics, and National Security, The Duke University School of Law
Naz K. Modirzadeh – Founding Director, Program on International Law and Armed Conflict, Harvard Law School
- 4:10 – 5:00 How Does the Navy See the Future of War?
Jim Sciutto (moderator) – Chief National Security Correspondent, CNN
Admiral Michelle Howard, USN – Vice Chief, Naval Operations, U.S. Navy

Wednesday February 25, 2015

- 8:00 – 8:30 *Registration, coffee, and light breakfast*
- 8:30 – 9:30 Reflections on the Future of War
Wolf Blitzler (moderator) – Anchor, The Situation Room, CNN
General Raymond T. Odierno, USA – Chief of Staff, U.S. Army
- 9:40 – 10:30 What Do Lessons from History Tell Us About the Future of War?
Michael Lind (moderator) – ASU Future of War Fellow; Co-Founder, New America
Dr. Philip Chase Bobbitt – Herbert Wechsler Professor of Federal Jurisprudence; Director, Center for National Security Law, Columbia Law School; Author, *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History*
Sir Lawrence Freedman – Former Professor of War Studies, King's College London;
Author, *Strategy: A History*
Dr. Ian Morris – Jean and Rebecca Willard Professor of Classics and Professor of History, Stanford University;
Author, *War: What Is It Good For?*
- 10:40 – 11:10 Why is Violent Conflict Decreasing in the Long-term?
Daniel Rothenberg – Professor of Practice, Arizona State University; Fellow, New America; Co-Director, Future of War Project
Dr. Steven Pinker – Johnstone Family Professor, Department of Psychology, Harvard University;
Author, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*
- 11:20 – 12:00 How Will the Wars of the 21st Century be Fought?
Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter (moderator) – President and CEO, New America
Dr. Brad Allenby – Lincoln Professor of Engineering and Ethics, Ira A. Fulton Schools of Engineering;
Affiliated Faculty, Center on the Future of War, Arizona State University
Dr. David Kilcullen – Chairman, Caerus Global Solutions; ASU Future of War Senior Fellow, New America;
Author, *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerilla*
Dr. Peter W. Singer – Strategist and Senior Fellow, New America; Author, *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War* (forthcoming)
- 12:00 – 12:30 *Break, buffet lunch served*
- 12:30 – 12:40 Personal Reflection – The Next Generation of Cyberwar
Dr. Peter W. Singer (introduction) – Strategist and Senior Fellow, New America; Author, *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War* (forthcoming)
Midshipman Lieutenant Zane Markel, USN – Midshipman, Center for Cyber Security Studies, U.S. Naval Academy
- 12:40 – 1:10 Will There be a Nuclear War in South Asia?
Gordon Lubold (moderator) – Senior Military Writer, *Defense One*
Shamila N. Chaudhary – Senior South Asia Fellow, International Security Program, New America;
Former Director for Afghanistan and Pakistan, National Security Council
Dr. Anish Goel – Senior South Asia Fellow, International Security Program, New America; Former Senior Director for South Asia, National Security Council
Orde F. Kittrie – Professor of Law, Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law, Arizona State University
Dr. Moeed W. Yusuf – Director, South Asia Programs, U.S. Institute of Peace

- 1:10 – 1:40 Is a Long Peace Possible in Asia? How Does China See the Future of War?
Bay Fang (moderator) – Senior Fellow, International Security Program, New America;
 Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State
Philippe Le Corre – Visiting Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Brookings Institution
Dr. Oriana Skylar Mastro – Assistant Professor of Security Studies, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign
 Service, Georgetown University; Officer, U.S. Air Force (Reserves)
Dr. Sheldon Simon – Professor, School of Politics and Global Studies, Arizona State University
- 1:40 – 1:50 Personal Reflection – Life as a Mayor in Wartime Iraq
Colonel Joel Rayburn, USA (introduction) – Adjunct Military Fellow, International Security Program, New
 America; Author, *Iraq After America: Strongmen, Sectarians, Resistance*
Major General Najim Abed al-Jabouri, Iraqi Army – Distinguished Research Fellow, Near East South Asia
 Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University; Former Mayor, Tal Afar, Iraq
- 1:50 – 2:30 What Does the Rise of ISIS Tell Us About the Future of War?
Dr. Tara Maller (moderator) – Associate Director for Strategic Communications, Franklin Project,
 Aspen Institute; Research Fellow, International Security Program, New America
Dr. Hassan Abbas – Professor and Chair, Department of Regional and Analytical Studies,
 College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University; Author, *The Taliban Revival: Violence
 and Extremism on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier*
Barak Barfi – Research Fellow, International Security Program, New America
Dr. Douglas A. Ollivant – Partner, Mantid International; ASU Future of War Senior Fellow, New America;
 Former Director for Iraq, National Security Council
Emma Sky – Senior Fellow, Jackson Institute for Global Affairs, Yale University; Former High Level Advisor
 in Iraq for the U.S. and U.K. Governments
- 2:30 – 3:00 How Do You Defeat a Networked Enemy Like ISIS? Lessons from Joint Special Operations Command
Peter Bergen (moderator) – Vice President, Director of Studies, New America; Professor of Practice, Arizona
 State University; Co-Director, Future of War Project
Commander Chris Fussell, USN – Chief of Network Management, McChrystal Group; Senior Fellow,
 International Security Program, New America; U.S. Navy SEAL Commander (Reserves)
Colonel Ioannis Koskinas, USAF (Ret.) – CEO, Hoplite Group; Senior Fellow, International Security
 Program, New America; Retired U.S. Air Force Officer, Special Operations
- 3:10 – 3:50 What Human Rights Will Be Most at Risk in Future Wars?
Dr. Karen J. Greenberg (moderator) – Director, Center on National Security,
 Fordham University School of Law
Dr. Ryan Goodman – Anne and Joel Ehrenkranz Professor of Law, New York University School of Law;
 Editor-in-Chief, Just Security Blog
The Honorable Tom Malinowski – Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and
 Labor, U.S. Department of State
Daniel Rothenberg – Professor of Practice, Arizona State University; Fellow, New America; Co-Director,
 Future of War Project

3:50 – 4:30 Is the Pentagon Adapting Fast Enough?
Kevin Baron (moderator) – Executive Editor, *Defense One*
Dr. Janine Davidson – Senior Fellow for Defense Policy, Council on Foreign Relations;
Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Plans, U.S. Department of Defense
The Honorable Michèle Flournoy – Co-Founder and CEO, Center for a New American Security;
Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, U.S. Department of Defense
Thomas E. Ricks – Senior Advisor for National Security, International Security Program;
ASU Future of War Fellow, New America; Contributing Editor, *Foreign Policy*

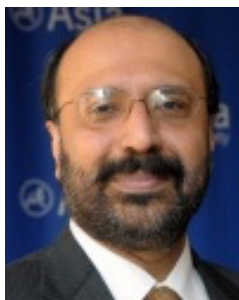
4:30 – 5:00 How Will Congress Shape the U.S. Military of the Future?
Senator John McCain – U.S. Senator, Arizona; Chairman, Senate Armed Service Committee

FUTURE OF WAR PARTICIPANT BIOS



Major General Najim Abed al-Jabouri, Iraqi Army

Major General Najim Abed al-Jabouri joined the National Defense University's Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA) in October 2008 as a Distinguished Research Fellow. Before coming to NESA, he was a 1979 graduate of the Iraqi Military College, where he entered the Air Defense Division as a Second Lieutenant. He served during the Iraq-Iran War and the first Gulf War. In 2005, he was promoted to Major General. He eventually became Chief of Police and later Mayor of Tal Afar, a city in Iraq's Nineveh province, where he served until 2008. General Jabouri played a key role in turning Tal Afar around and setting a model for classic counterinsurgency in Iraq. The "clear, hold, and build" strategy was first implemented by General Jabouri, along with American commander Lieutenant General H. R. McMaster, and proved to be successful in Iraq's most violent areas. President George W. Bush praised General Jabouri in a public speech for his vital role in turning the war around.



Dr. Hassan Abbas

Dr. Hassan Abbas is a professor and the Chair of the Department of Regional and Analytical Studies at the National Defense University's College of International Security Affairs. Previously, he served as the Distinguished Quaid-i-Azam Chair Professor at Columbia University and as a senior adviser at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. He holds a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, an LL.M. in International Law from Nottingham University (U.K.), and a M.A. in Political Science from Punjab University (Pakistan). He regularly appears as an analyst on international media and writes pieces for various leading international newspapers and academic publications. His latest book, *The Taliban Revival* chronicles the Taliban's survival and resurgence after 2001, through firsthand research and interviews in the area.



Dr. Brad Allenby

Dr. Brad Allenby is the President's Professor of Civil, Environmental, and Sustainable Engineering, and the Lincoln Professor of Engineering and Ethics, at Arizona State University (ASU). He moved to ASU from his previous position as AT&T's Environment, Health, and Safety Vice President in 2004. Dr. Allenby received his B.A. from Yale University, his J.D. and M.A. (Economics) from the University of Virginia, and his M.S. and Ph.D. (Environmental Sciences) from Rutgers University. From 1995 to 1997, he was the Director for Energy and Environmental Systems at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and from 1991 to 1992 he was the J. Herbert Holloman Fellow at the National Academy of Engineering in Washington, D.C. His latest books are *The Techno-Human Condition* (co-authored with Dan Sarewitz), *The Theory and Practice of Sustainable Engineering*, and *The Applied Ethics of Emerging Military and Security Technologies* (to be released in 2015).



William C. Banks

Founding Director of the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism at Syracuse University, William C. Banks — College of Law Board of Advisors Distinguished Professor — is an internationally-recognized authority in national security, counterterrorism, international humanitarian, and constitutional law. By co-authoring the textbooks *National Security Law* (now in its fifth edition) and *Counterterrorism Law* (now in its second edition), he has helped set the parameters for these fields of study. He is also the author and/or editor of numerous other books, including *Counterinsurgency Law* and *New Battlefields/Old Laws*.



Barak Barfi

Barak Barfi is a Research Fellow with New America’s International Security Program, where he specializes in Arab and Islamic affairs. He has been published in the *Washington Post*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *Foreign Policy*, and the *Atlantic*. He often appears on CNN, the BBC, Fox, and Al Jazeera. Mr. Barfi frequently testifies before the U.S. Congress on issues ranging from al-Qaeda to Yemen. His last monograph was on Libyan General Khalifa Hiftar. He has lived in six Middle Eastern countries, including Libya. Mr. Barfi has frequently visited Syria during the country’s civil war.



Kevin Baron

Kevin Baron is the Executive Editor of *Defense One*. Mr. Baron has worked in Washington’s defense, national security, and foreign affairs scene for 15 years. During this time, he has covered a range of topics – including the military, the Pentagon, Congress, and politics – for *Foreign Policy*, the *National Journal*, *Stars and Stripes*, the *Boston Globe*’s Washington bureau, and the Center for Public Integrity. Mr. Baron is also Vice President of the Pentagon Press Association.



Dr. Gaymon Bennett

Dr. Gaymon Bennett is an Assistant Professor of Religion, Science, and Technology at Arizona State University and a Founding Fellow of the Center for Biological Futures at the Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center. His work puts biotechnology in cultural context and addresses its significance for human affairs. He is the author of the forthcoming book *Technicians of Human Dignity*, and co-author of *Designing Human Practices*.



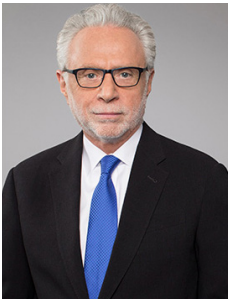
Peter Bergen

Peter Bergen is a print, television, and web journalist; documentary producer; and the author and/or editor of six books, three of which were *New York Times* bestsellers and three of which were named among the best non-fiction books of the year by the *Washington Post*. Documentaries based on his books have been nominated for two Emmys and one also won the Emmy for best documentary in 2013. In addition to being the Vice President, Director of Studies at New America, Mr. Bergen is CNN’s National Security Analyst, a Professor of Practice at Arizona State University, and a Fellow at Fordham University’s Center on National Security. He is also the editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine’s “South Asia Channel” and the South Asia Daily Brief, and a weekly columnist for CNN.com. Mr. Bergen is a member of the Homeland Security Project, a successor to the 9/11 Commission, and the Aspen Homeland Security Group. He has held teaching positions at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government and at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies. He has a degree in Modern History from New College at the University of Oxford.



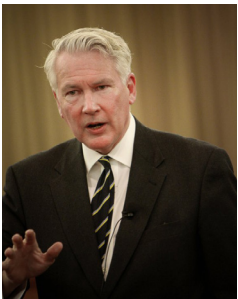
Nadya Bliss

Nadya Bliss is the Director of the Global Security Initiative at Arizona State University (ASU), a university-wide hub focused on addressing emerging global challenges, such as cyber security and digital identity, mitigation and adaptation to climate change impacts, and human security. Ms. Bliss is also a Professor of Practice in the School of Computing, Informatics, and Decision Systems Engineering; and the Senior Sustainability Scientist at the Julie Ann Wrigley Global Institute of Sustainability. Prior to joining ASU in 2012, she spent 10 years at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT's) Lincoln Laboratory, most recently as the Founding Group Leader of the Computing and Analytics Group. In 2011, Ms. Bliss was awarded the inaugural MIT Lincoln Laboratory Early Career Technical Achievement award, which recognized her work in parallel computing, computer architectures, and graph-processing algorithms, and her leadership in anomaly detection in graph-based data. She has written over sixty publications and presentations, holds a patent, and has served as a chair and member of multiple technical and organizational committees.



Wolf Blitzer

Wolf Blitzer is CNN's lead political anchor, the anchor of "The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer," and the anchor of "Wolf." He has been with the network for more than two decades and remains at the helm of the network's breaking news coverage. Throughout his career, Mr. Blitzer has interviewed some of history's most notable figures, including U.S. Presidents Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George H.W. Bush, Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, and Gerald Ford. He has also interviewed many foreign leaders, including the Dalai Lama, former Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari, former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and former South African President Nelson Mandela. In March 2014, he was awarded the Sol Taishoff Award for Excellence in Broadcast Journalism by the National Press Foundation. He was also recognized in 2014 as the eighth recipient of the Urbino Press Award from the Italian Embassy for his excellence in journalism. Mr. Blitzer has authored two books, *Between Washington and Jerusalem* and *Territory of Lies*, which cited by the *New York Times* Book Review as one of the most notable books of 1989.



Dr. Philip Chase Bobbitt

Dr. Philip Chase Bobbitt is the Herbert Wechsler Professor of Jurisprudence at Columbia University and the Director of the Center on National Security at the Columbia Law School. He has served in the U.S. government as a senior official in both Republican and Democratic administrations. Dr. Bobbitt's interests include constitutional and international law, international security, and the history of strategy and diplomacy. He has published nine books: *Tragic Choices* (with Guido Calabresi), *Constitutional Fate, Democracy and Deterrence*, *U.S. Nuclear Strategy* (with Lawrence D. Freedman and Gregory F. Treverton), *Constitutional Interpretation*, *The Shield of Achilles*, *Terror and Consent*, *The Garments of Court and Palace*, and *The Ages of American Law* (now in its second edition, with Grant Gilmore). Dr. Bobbitt is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a former trustee of Princeton University.



Rosa Brooks

As a Senior Fellow with New America's International Security Program and an ASU Future of War Fellow, Rosa Brooks studies and writes on the changing nature of warfare and the changing role of the U.S. military. She recently served as the Counselor to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and as the Special Coordinator for Rule of Law and Humanitarian Policy in the Pentagon. She is also a professor at the Georgetown University Law Center. Ms. Brooks spent four years as an opinion columnist for the *Los Angeles Times* and has been a frequent guest on MSNBC and BloggingheadsTV. She received a B.A from Harvard University, an M.A from the University of Oxford, and a J.D. from Yale Law School.



The Honorable Sharon E. Burke

The Honorable Sharon E. Burke is a Senior Advisor at New America, where she focuses on international security and the security implications of energy, climate change, and other natural resources challenges. Before joining the foundation, Ms. Burke served in the Obama administration as the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Operational Energy, a new office that worked to improve the energy security of U.S. military operations. Prior to her service at the U.S. Department of Defense, Ms. Burke held a number of senior U.S. government positions, including at the U.S. Department of State in the George W. Bush administration, and was a vice president and senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security. She attended Williams College and Columbia University,

where she was a Zuckerman and International Fellow at the School of International and Public Affairs.



Shamila N. Chaudhary

Shamila N. Chaudhary specializes in U.S. national security issues with a focus on South Asia. She is the Senior Advisor to Dean Vali Nasr at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies and is a Senior South Asia Fellow with New America's International Security Program. She was a Senior South Asia Analyst at the Eurasia Group from 2011 to 2013, and has 12 years of experience working in the U.S. government, including at the White House as Director for Pakistan and Afghanistan on the National Security Council and with the U.S. Department of State's Policy Planning Staff, where she advised Secretary Hillary Clinton and the late Ambassador Richard Holbrooke on Afghanistan and Pakistan. Ms. Chaudhary earned an M.A. in International Affairs from American University's School of International Service and a B.A. in English Literature and Women's Studies from the University of Toledo.



Dr. Michael M. Crow

Dr. Michael M. Crow is an academic leader and educator, designer of knowledge enterprises, and science and technology policy scholar. He has been the sixteenth President of Arizona State University (ASU) since July 2002. He is guiding the transformation of ASU into one of the nation's leading public metropolitan research universities, an institution combining academic excellence, inclusiveness, and societal impact – a model he terms the “New American University.” During his tenure, ASU has established major transdisciplinary research initiatives and witnessed an unprecedented academic infrastructure expansion, quadrupling research expenditures and attaining

record levels of diversity. He was previously the Executive Vice Provost and professor of science and technology policy at Columbia University. A fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the National Academy of Public Administration, Dr. Crow is the author of several books and articles that analyze knowledge enterprises, science and technology policies, and the design of higher education institutions and systems.



Dr. Mary (Missy) Cummings

Dr. Mary (Missy) Cummings received her B.S. in Mathematics from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1988, her M.S. in Space Systems Engineering from the Naval Postgraduate School in 1994, and her Ph.D. in Systems Engineering from the University of Virginia in 2004. A naval officer and military pilot from 1988 to 1999, she was one of the U.S. Navy's first female fighter pilots. She is currently an associate professor in Duke University's Department of Mechanical Engineering and Materials Science, and the Duke Institute for Brain Sciences. Dr. Cummings is also the Director of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Humans and Autonomy Laboratory. Her research interests include

human-unmanned vehicle interaction, autonomous systems engineering, the public policy implications of unmanned vehicles, and the ethical and social impact of technology.



Dr. Werner J.A. Dahm

Dr. Werner J.A. Dahm is the ASU Foundation Professor of Aerospace and Mechanical Engineering at Arizona State University, and the Founding Director and Chief Scientist of the university's Security and Defense Systems Initiative. He previously was the Chief Scientist of the U.S. Air Force, serving as the direct science and technology advisor to the Secretary and Chief of Staff of the Air Force. He is currently the Chair of the Air Force Scientific Advisory Board, and has served on numerous task forces for the Defense Science Board. He is a Fellow of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics and the American Physical Society; a recipient of the William F. Ballhaus Aeronautics Prize from the California Institute of Technology, and the 1938E Distinguished Achievement Award and George J. Huebner Research Excellence Award from the University of Michigan; an author of over 200 technical publications; a holder of six U.S. and international patents; and has given over 170 invited, plenary, and keynote lectures on topics dealing with aerospace engineering and defense science. Dr. Dahm also founded two technology companies and has served extensively as a consultant for industry.



Alan B. Davidson

Alan B. Davidson is New America's Vice President for Technology Policy and Strategy, and the Director of the Open Technology Institute. He is also a Research Affiliate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT's) Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, where he is a co-founder of the new MIT Information Policy Project. Until 2012, Mr. Davidson was the Director of Public Policy for Google in the Americas. He opened Google's Washington, D.C. office in 2005, and led the company's public policy and government relations efforts in North and South America. Prior to joining Google, Mr. Davidson was the Associate Director of the Center for Democracy and Technology, a public interest group promoting civil liberties and human rights online. He has testified before the U.S. Congress, and has written and spoken widely on a range of Internet policy issues, including free expression, privacy, content regulation, encryption, network neutrality, and copyright online.



Dr. Janine Davidson

Dr. Janine Davidson is a Senior Fellow for Defense Policy at the Council on Foreign Relations. She is a former U.S. Air Force pilot who has served in various senior civilian positions in the U.S. Department of Defense, as well as in academia and private sector consulting. As Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Plans from 2009 to 2012, Dr. Davidson oversaw the Pentagon's war planning and global posture policy. In 2013, she served as a member of the presidentially-appointed National Commission on the Structure of the Air Force. She has appeared on PBS's "NewsHour," NBC's "Today Show," CNN, and the BBC; she has been published in *Foreign Affairs*, *USA Today*, the *Washington Post*, and *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, among others. Her book, *Lifting the Fog of Peace*, traces the counterinsurgency adoption of the U.S. Army. Dr. Davidson holds a Ph.D. from the University of South Carolina and a B.S. in Architectural Engineering from the University of Colorado at Boulder.



Laura A. Dickinson

Laura A. Dickinson is the Oswald Symister Colclough Research Professor of Law at the George Washington University Law School. She is also an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America. Previously, she was the Foundation Professor of Law and the Faculty Director of the Center for Law and Global Affairs at the Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law at Arizona State University. Her work focuses on national security, human rights, foreign affairs privatization; and empirical approaches to international law. Ms. Dickinson's recent prizewinning book, entitled *Outsourcing War and Peace*, examines the increasing privatization of military, security, and foreign aid functions of government; considers the impact of this trend on core public values; and outlines mechanisms for protecting these values in an era of privatization. Ms. Dickinson served as a senior policy adviser to the Honorable Harold Koh when he was the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor at the U.S. Department of State, and is a former law clerk to U.S. Supreme Court Justices Harry A. Blackmun and Stephen G. Breyer.



Major General Charles J. Dunlap, Jr., USAF (Ret.)

Major General Charles J. Dunlap, Jr. is the Executive Director of the Center on Law, Ethics, and National Security at Duke University's School of Law, where he is also a Professor of the Practice of Law. He received his undergraduate degree from St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia, and his law degree from Villanova University. Prior to retiring from the U.S. Air Force in June 2010, General Dunlap assisted in the supervision of more than 2,500 military and civilian attorneys worldwide. His 34-year career included tours in both the United Kingdom and Korea, and he deployed for military operations in Africa and the Middle East. A distinguished graduate of the National War College, General Dunlap is the author of more than 100 publications, and speaks frequently on a wide variety of topics, including law of armed conflict issues, cyberwar, drones, civil-military relations, military justice, and a phenomenon he calls "lawfare."



Bay Fang

Bay Fang is a former journalist and diplomat. Now, as a Senior Fellow with New America's International Security Program, Ms. Fang now works on China issues, with a focus on technology and the new generation. She most recently served in the Obama administration as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, overseeing public diplomacy and public affairs for Europe and Eurasia. She comes from an 11-year career in journalism, most recently as the Diplomatic Correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. Prior to that, she covered the wars in Afghanistan (2001-2002) and Iraq (2003-2004) for *U.S. News and World Report* magazine. She started her career as the Beijing Bureau Chief for *U.S. News and World Report*, where she won the Robert F. Kennedy journalism award. Ms. Fang earned her undergraduate degree at Harvard University, was a visiting fellow at the University of Oxford, and a Fulbright scholar in Hong Kong. She trained as a French chef at Le Cordon Bleu in Paris and holds a brown belt in kung fu.



The Honorable Michèle Flournoy

The Honorable Michèle Flournoy is the Co-Founder and CEO of the Center for a New American Security. She served as the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy from February 2009 to February 2012. Prior to her confirmation, Ms. Flournoy co-led President Obama's transition team at the U.S. Department of Defense. Previously, she was a senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies for several years and, prior to that, a distinguished research professor at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. In the mid-1990s, she served as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Threat Reduction and the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy. She has received several awards from the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Ms. Flournoy is a member of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board, the Defense Policy Board, the CIA Director's External Advisory Board, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Aspen Strategy Group. She is also a Senior Fellow at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.



Sir Lawrence Freedman

Sir Lawrence Freedman was a Professor of War Studies at King's College London from 1982 until his retirement in December 2014. Elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1995, he was appointed as the Official Historian of the Falklands Campaign in 1997, and in June 2009, was appointed to serve as a member of the official inquiry into Great Britain and the 2003 Iraq War. He has written extensively on nuclear strategy and the Cold War, as well as commented regularly on contemporary security issues. Among his books are *Kennedy's Wars*, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* (third edition), *Deterrence*, and the two volume *Official History of the Falklands Campaign* (second edition). He also wrote an Adelphi Paper on *The Transformation in Strategic Affairs*. His two most recent books are *A Choice of Enemies*, and *Strategy*.



Commander Chris Fussell, USN

Commander Chris Fussell is a former U.S. Navy SEAL and the current Chief of Network Management at the McChrystal Group. He was commissioned as a Naval Officer in 1997, and spent the next 15 years on U.S. Navy SEAL Teams, leading SEAL elements in combat zones around the globe – first on SEAL Teams Two and Eight, and then in the Naval Special Warfare Development Group. Commander Fussell was then selected to serve as Aide-de-Camp to then-Lieutenant General Stanley McChrystal, where they served a year together in Iraq. In 2012, he left the Naval Special Warfare Development Group to join the McChrystal Group, a management and leadership consulting firm founded by General McChrystal and fellow former U.S. Navy SEAL Lieutenant Commander David Silverman. At the McChrystal Group, Commander Fussell leads the company’s sales, branding, and client relations teams. He is also an author of the firm’s forthcoming management book, *Team of Teams*. Additionally, Commander Fussell is a Senior Fellow with New America’s International Security Program.



Dr. David Gartner

Dr. David Gartner is a Professor of Law and an Associate Dean at the Sandra Day O’Connor College of Law at Arizona State University, where he is also the Faculty Co-Director of the Center for Law and Global Affairs and a Senior Sustainability Scholar with the Global Institute of Sustainability. Dr. Gartner is a Non-Resident Fellow at the Brookings Institution and has previously been a visiting scholar at Harvard University and a visiting lecturer at Yale University. He is a graduate of the Yale Law School and holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



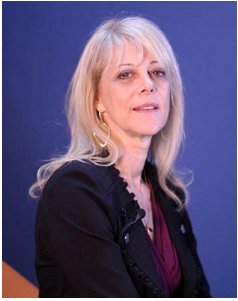
Dr. Anish Goel

Dr. Anish Goel is a Senior South Asia Fellow with New America’s International Security Program, where he writes on U.S. foreign policy in South Asia and its implications for U.S. national security. He previously worked on South Asia foreign policy in the U.S. government. Most recently, he served on the National Security Council as Senior Director for South Asia, making him President Obama’s senior-most advisor on South Asia. Prior to the White House, Dr. Goel served in the U.S. Department of State as the Chief Science and Technology Officer for South Asia, leading departmental efforts on the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative. He serves on the boards of several organizations, has guest-lectured at the University of Washington, and has written for several prominent publications. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, he earned a Ph.D. in Chemical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a B.S.E. in Chemical Engineering from the University of Michigan.



Dr. Ryan Goodman

Dr. Ryan Goodman is the Anne and Joel Ehrenkranz Professor of Law at New York University’s (NYU’s) School of Law, and the Editor-in-Chief of the national security blog “Just Security.” He is also a Professor of Politics and a Professor of Sociology at NYU. He previously served as the Rita E. Hauser Professor of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law at Harvard Law School. He received a J.D. and Ph.D. from Yale University, and a B.A. from the University of Texas. He is a member of the U.S. Department of State’s Advisory Committee on International Law, the Council on Foreign Relations, the U.S. Naval War College’s Board of Advisers for International Law Studies, and the Board of Editors of the *American Journal of International Law*. His books include *Socializing States*, winner of the American Society of International Law’s 2014 Certificate for a Preeminent Contribution to Creative Scholarship.



Dr. Karen J. Greenberg

Dr. Karen J. Greenberg is the Director of the Fordham University School of Law’s Center on National Security, and a noted expert on national security, terrorism, and civil liberties. She is the author of *The Least Worst Place*, which was selected as one of the best books of 2009 by the *Washington Post* and *Slate.com*. With Joshua L. Dratel, she is the co-editor of *The Enemy Combatant Papers* and *The Torture Papers*. Dr. Greenberg is also the editor of the books *The Torture Debate in America* and *Al Qaeda Now*; and editor of the *Terrorist Trial Report Card*. Her work has been featured in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Nation*, the *National Interest*, *Mother Jones*, *TomDispatch.com*, and on major news channels. She is a permanent member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Admiral Michelle Howard, USN

Admiral Michelle Howard currently serves as the 38th Vice Chief of Naval Operations. In July 2014, she made U.S. Navy history when she became the first female promoted to the rank of four-star Admiral and the first African-American woman to attain a four-star rank in the history of the U.S. Department of Defense. In March 1999, she took command of the USS *Rushmore*, becoming the first African-American woman to command a ship in the U.S. Navy. She has made numerous ship-board deployments: supporting operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm in the Arabian Gulf, Operation Joint Endeavor in the Adriatic, and conducting operations and training with the naval services of seven African nations off the coast of Western Africa. As the commander of Amphibious Squadron Seven, she led tsunami relief efforts in Indonesia and maritime security operations in the North Arabian Gulf. She also commanded Expeditionary Strike Group Two and Task Force 151, a multinational counter-piracy effort in the U.S. Central Command Theater.



Heather Hurlburt

Heather Hurlburt is the Director of the New Models of Policy Change Program at New America. In this role, she leads research into how policy advocacy is adapting to be effective in our current environment of intense political polarization, and provides guidance to advocates and funders seeking to navigate politics effectively on behalf of policy solutions. Previously, she ran the National Security Network, a premier source for internationalist foreign policy messaging and advocacy; held senior positions in the White House and the U.S. Department of State under President Bill Clinton; and worked on Capitol Hill and for the International Crisis Group.



Dr. David Kilcullen

Dr. David Kilcullen is the Founding President and CEO of Caerus Global Solutions LLC, a strategic design consultancy with a focus on the overlapping problems of conflict, climate change, energy, health, and governance. Before joining private industry, Dr. Kilcullen had a distinguished career in the Australian and U.S. governments, including 22 years as a light infantry officer in the Australian Army. After leaving the Army, Dr. Kilcullen served in Australia’s Office of National Assessments, and then with the U.S Department of State. Currently, Dr. Kilcullen serves as an advisor to NATO and as a consultant to U.S. and allied governments, international institutions, industry, and NGOs in conflict and post-conflict environments, as well as the developing world. Dr. Kilcullen is also an Adjunct Professor at Johns Hopkins University’s Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and an ASU Future of War Senior Fellow. Dr. Kilcullen is the author of numerous scholarly articles and books, including *The Accidental Guerrilla*, *Counterinsurgency*, and *Out of the Mountains*.



Orde F. Kittrie

Orde F. Kittrie is a Professor of Law at the Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law at Arizona State University, where he directs the Washington, D.C. Semester Program. Mr. Kittrie has written extensively on nuclear arms control, nonproliferation, and cooperative threat reduction issues; testified on nonproliferation issues before U.S. Senate and House committees; and served as the principal investigator on several U.S. Department of Defense grants and contracts designed to strengthen and expand cooperative threat reduction. He also co-chairs a leading international track two dialogue on arms control and nonproliferation. Prior to entering academia, Mr. Kittrie served for 11 years at the U.S. Department of State, including as the department's lead nuclear affairs attorney and as the Special Assistant for South Asia to the Under Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs. He played a leading role both in imposing U.S. and international sanctions on India and Pakistan following their 1998 nuclear tests and in lifting those sanctions after the September 11, 2001 attacks.



The Honorable Harold Koh

The Honorable Harold Koh is the Sterling Professor of International Law at the Yale Law School. He is one of the country's leading experts in public and private international law, national security law, and human rights. Mr. Koh first began teaching at Yale Law School in 1985 and served as its fifteenth Dean from 2004 until 2009. From 2009 to 2013, he took leave as the Martin R. Flug '55 Professor of International Law to join the U.S. Department of State as Legal Adviser, service for which he received the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award. He has authored or co-authored eight books, published more than 180 articles, testified regularly before the U.S. Congress, and litigated numerous cases involving international law issues in both U.S. and international tribunals. He is a Fellow of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, an Honorary Fellow of the University of Oxford's Magdalen College, and a member of the Council of the American Law Institute.



Colonel Ioannis Koskinas, USAF (Ret.)

As a Senior Fellow with New America's International Security Program, Colonel Ioannis "Gianni" Koskinas focuses on foreign policy issues with an emphasis on Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and the Levant. Colonel Koskinas is also the CEO of the Hoplite Group, a company focused on sustainable and innovative solutions to complex problems in the most challenging environments and harshest conditions. Previously, he was the Executive Vice President of the Asia Africa Projects Group and the President of the Global Initiatives Group, focusing on natural resources development and national security projects, respectively. Colonel Koskinas retired from the U.S. Air Force in 2011, after a 20-year career in Special Operations. He is a Ph.D candidate in War Studies from King's College London.



Philippe Le Corre

Philippe Le Corre is a Visiting Fellow in the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution. His research focuses on Asia-Europe political and economic relations, China's foreign policy, and France. Before joining Brookings, Mr. Le Corre was an adjunct lecturer at Sciences Po Paris, where he taught a course on China's international image and a course on U.S.-China-Europe relations. He was also an associate research fellow at the Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques, with an expertise on China, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia. From 2007 to 2013, he worked in the private sector, mainly as a partner with the Publicis Groupe, where he led a team of consultants advising the Shanghai Expo 2010 Organizing Committee in the matters of international communications. Mr. Le Corre has also served with France's Ministry of Defense, first as a senior adviser to the minister and then as a senior analyst on China within the ministry's policy planning unit.



Michael Lind

Michael Lind is an ASU Future of War Fellow at New America, which he co-founded in 1999. He is also a contributing editor at the *National Interest*, *Politico*, and *Salon*. Educated at the University of Texas and Yale University, Mr. Lind has taught at Harvard University and Johns Hopkins University. He has been an editor or staff writer at the *New Yorker*, *Harper's*, and the *New Republic*. From 1990 to 1991, he was the Assistant to the Director of the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs at the U.S. Department of State. Mr. Lind is the author of a number of books on public policy, politics and history, including *The Next American Nation*, *The American Way of Strategy*, and *Land of Promise*.

Mr. Lind has been described by *Rolling Stone* magazine as “that rarest of figures: an intellectual with name recognition” and included in Judge Richard Posner’s list of leading American intellectuals.



Gordon Lubold

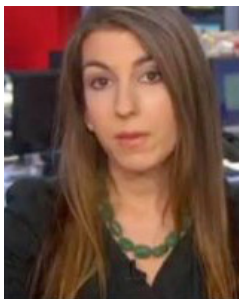
Gordon Lubold is the Senior Military Writer for *Defense One*, and the editor of The D Brief, *Defense One's* exclusive first-read national security newsletter. Before that, he was a senior national security writer for *Foreign Policy*, where he launched and authored the widely-read Situation Report newsletter, which is sent to 150,000 readers in the foreign policy and national security communities each day. Prior to that, he was a senior advisor at the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C., and a defense reporter for *Politico*, where he launched the popular “Morning Defense” early morning blog and tip-sheet.



The Honorable Tom Malinowski

The Honorable Tom Malinowski was sworn in as the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor in April 2014. Starting in 2001, he was the Washington Director for Human Rights Watch, one of the world’s leading independent international organizations dedicated to defending and protecting human rights. From 1998 to 2001, he served as the Senior Director on the National Security Council, where he oversaw the drafting of President Bill Clinton’s foreign policy speeches and strategic communications efforts around the world. Earlier in his career, Mr. Malinowski worked as a research assistant for the Ford Foundation, and for the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna, Austria.

He began his career in 1988 as a Special Assistant for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.). Mr. Malinowski received a B.A. from the University of California at Berkeley, and an M.Phil. from the University of Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.



Dr. Tara Maller

Dr. Tara Maller is a Research Fellow with New America’s International Security Program. She also currently serves as the Associate Director for Strategic Communications for the Franklin Project at the Aspen Institute. She writes and speaks on issues related to sanctions, diplomacy, intelligence, cybersecurity, terrorism, and Iraq, as well as women in security and national service. Previously, Dr. Maller worked as a military analyst for the Central Intelligence Agency, focusing on the Iraq insurgency. She has recently published articles with CNN.com, *Foreign Policy*, BlogsofWar.com, *Bloomberg View*, Al Jazeera America, *Vox Media*, and the *Huffington Post*. Dr. Maller has appeared

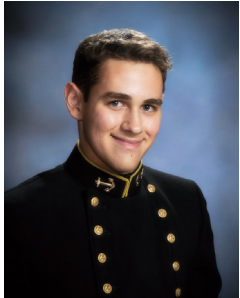
as a commentator on Bloomberg, CNN, MSNBC, Fox, Al Jazeera America, and HuffPost Live. She is also currently a fellow with the Truman National Security Project and the Millennial Action Network. Dr. Maller graduated with a B.A. in Government from Dartmouth College, a M.A. in International Relations from the University of Chicago, and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



Dr. Gary Marchant

Dr. Gary Marchant is the Lincoln Professor of Emerging Technologies, Law, and Ethics at the Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law at Arizona State University (ASU). He is also a Professor of Life Sciences at ASU and the Executive Director of the university's Center for the Study of Law, Science, and Technology. Dr. Marchant has a Ph.D. in Genetics from the University of British Columbia, a Master's of Public Policy from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and a law degree from Harvard University. Prior to joining the ASU faculty in 1999, he was a partner in a Washington, D.C. law firm, where his practice focused on environmental and administrative law.

Dr. Marchant teaches and researches environmental law; risk assessment and risk management; genetics and the law; biotechnology law; food and drug law; legal aspects of nanotechnology; and law, science, and technology.



Midshipman Lieutenant Zane Markel, USN

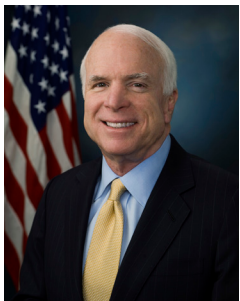
Midshipman Lieutenant Zane Markel was raised in Minot, North Dakota and studies at the U.S. Naval Academy. There, he serves as the President of the Information Warfare Group, the academy's cyber security team. Additionally, as a Trident Scholar, Midshipman Lieutenant Markel researches machine-learning-based malware detection. He also oversees student Internet systems policy and administration as a Brigade Midshipman Information Systems Liaison Officer. Upon receiving his officer commission, Midshipman Lieutenant Markel will join the U.S. Navy's Information Warfare community.



Dr. Oriana Skylar Mastro

Dr. Oriana Skylar Mastro is an Assistant Professor of Security Studies at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, where her research focuses on Chinese military and security policy, Asia-Pacific security issues, war termination, and coercive diplomacy. She is also in the U.S. Air Force Reserves, for which she works as an air attaché for the Asia-Pacific region. Dr. Mastro has previously worked on China policy issues at the Center for a New American Security, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the RAND Corporation, U.S. Pacific Command, and Project 2049. Highly proficient in Mandarin Chinese, she holds a B.A. in East Asian

Studies from Stanford University and an M.A. and Ph.D in Politics from Princeton University.



Senator John McCain

Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) entered the U.S. Naval Academy in June 1954. He served in the U.S. Navy until 1981. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Arizona in 1982 and elected to the U.S. Senate in 1986. He was the Republican Party's nominee for president in the 2008 election. He currently serves as Chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services.



Lieutenant General H. R. McMaster, USA

Lieutenant General H. R. McMaster assumed duties as the Director of the U.S. Army Capabilities Integration Center and Deputy Commanding General, Futures of the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command in July 2014. Prior to his arrival at Virginia's Fort Eustis, he served as the Commanding General of the Maneuver Center of Excellence at Georgia's Fort Benning from June 2012 to July 2014. Previously, he served as Commander of the Combined Joint Inter-Agency Task Force Shafafiyat (Transparency) in Kabul, Afghanistan. General McMaster was commissioned as an officer in the U.S. Army upon graduation from the U.S. Military Academy in 1984. He holds a Ph.D. in Military History from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



Naz K. Modirzadeh

Naz K. Modirzadeh is the Founding Director of the Harvard Law School’s Program on International Law and Armed Conflict. She regularly advises and briefs international humanitarian organizations, U.N. agencies, and governments on issues related to international humanitarian law, human rights, and counterterrorism regulations relating to humanitarian assistance. In addition to taking part in several expert advisory groups for U.N. research initiatives, Ms. Modirzadeh is a Non-Resident Research Fellow at the Stockton Center for the Study of International Law at the U.S. Naval War College and a Non-Resident Research Associate in the Humanitarian Policy Group of the Overseas Development Institute.

She is also on the Board of Directors for the Center for Civilians in Conflict, on the Advisory Council of Geneva Call, and on the Interim Advisory Group of the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs’ Integrated Regional Information Networks.



Dr. Ian Morris

Dr. Ian Morris is a professor of ancient history and archaeology at Stanford University. He got his Ph.D. at Cambridge University in 1986, and taught at the University of Chicago before moving to Stanford. He has excavated sites in Great Britain, Greece, and Italy, and directed Stanford University’s dig at Monte Polizzo in Sicily between 2000 and 2007. At Stanford, he has served as the Senior Associate Dean of Humanities and Sciences, the Chair of the Classics department, and the Director of the Archaeology Center and Social Science History Institute. He has published 13 books and more than 100 articles. The most recent, *War!*, was named as a Book of the Year by the *Financial Times*, *Bloomberg*, *Kirkus Reviews*, and the *London Evening Standard*, and has been translated into six languages. His next book, *Foragers, Farmers, and Fossil Fuels*, will be out in March 2015.



General Raymond T. Odierno, USA

General Raymond T. Odierno is the Chief of Staff to the U.S. Army. During more than 38 years of service, he has commanded units at every echelon, from platoon to theater, with duty in Germany, Albania, Kuwait, Iraq, and the United States. After his first assignment with U.S. Army Europe, General Odierno was assigned to the XVIII Airborne Corps Artillery at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, where he commanded two batteries and served as a battalion operations officer. General Odierno returned to U.S. Army Europe, serving as a battalion executive officer and division artillery executive officer, including deployment for Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. He later commanded 2nd Battalion, 8th Field Artillery, 7th Infantry Division, and the Division Artillery, 1st Cavalry Division. From October 2001 to June 2004, General Odierno commanded the 4th Infantry Division, leading the division during Operation Iraqi Freedom from April 2003 to March 2004. From December 2006 to February 2008, he served as the Commanding General, Multi-National Corps—Iraq (III Corps) — the operational commander of the surge of forces. Later, he served as the Commanding General, Multi-National Force—Iraq and subsequently U.S. Forces—Iraq, from September 2008 until September 2010. From October 2010 until August 2011, he was the Commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command. In addition to many military awards and decorations, General Odierno has received the Secretary of State Distinguished Service Medal and Orders of Military Merit from Brazil, Colombia, Romania, and Italy. He was appointed as an Officer in the French National Order of the Legion of Honor.



Dr. Douglas A. Ollivant

Dr. Douglas A. Ollivant is a Managing Partner and the Senior Vice President of Mantid International LLC, a global strategic consulting firm with offices in Washington, D.C.; Beirut, Lebanon; and Baghdad, Basra and Hilla, Iraq. He is also an ASU Future of War Senior Fellow. A retired U.S. Army officer, his last assignment in government was as Director for Iraq at the National Security Council during both the Bush and Obama administrations. Between 2010 and 2011, Dr. Ollivant was in Afghanistan as Senior Advisor to the Commander, Regional Command-East and served two years in uniform in Iraq. A graduate of Wheaton College, Dr. Ollivant earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from Indiana University. A life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and American Political Science Association, he is also an advisor to Monument Capital Group, Meridian Hill Strategies, and TranScan LLC.



Dr. Steven Pinker

Dr. Steven Pinker is an experimental psychologist and one of the world’s foremost writers on language, the mind, and human nature. Currently the Johnstone Family Professor of Psychology at Harvard University, Dr. Pinker has also taught at Stanford University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). His research on visual cognition and the psychology of language has won prizes from the National Academy of Sciences, the Royal Institution of Great Britain, the Cognitive Neuroscience Society, and the American Psychological Association. He has also received eight honorary doctorates, several teaching awards at MIT and Harvard University, and numerous prizes for his books *The Language Instinct*, *How the Mind Works*, *The Blank Slate*, and *The Better Angels of Our Nature*. He is the Chair of the Usage Panel of the American Heritage Dictionary, and often writes for the *New York Times*, *TIME*, and the *New Republic*. He has been named Humanist of the Year, and ranked among *Prospect* magazine’s “The World’s Top 100 Public Intellectuals,” *Foreign Policy* magazine’s “100 Global Thinkers,” and *TIME* magazine’s “The 100 Most Influential People in the World Today.”



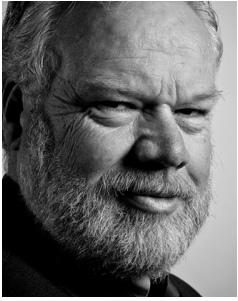
Dr. Arati Prabhakar

Dr. Arati Prabhakar is the Director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). She has spent her career investing in world-class engineers and scientists to create new technologies and businesses. Her first service to national security was from 1986 to 1993, when she served as a DARPA program manager and office director. In 1993, President Clinton appointed Dr. Prabhakar as the director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, where she led the 3,000-person organization in its work with companies across multiple industries. Dr. Prabhakar moved to Silicon Valley in 1997, first as chief technology officer and senior vice president at Raychem, and later as vice president and then president of Interval Research. From 2001 to 2011, she was a partner with U.S. Venture Partners, an early-stage venture capital firm. Dr. Prabhakar received her Ph.D. in Applied Physics and Master’s degree in Electrical Engineering from the California Institute of Technology. She received her Bachelor’s degree in Electrical Engineering from Texas Tech University. She began her career as a Congressional Fellow at the Office of Technology Assessment.



Colonel Joel Rayburn, USA

Colonel Joel Rayburn is an Adjunct Military Fellow with New America’s International Security Program and a Senior Military Fellow at the National Defense University, where he leads a research team that focuses on Iraq. Colonel Rayburn is a U.S. Army intelligence officer with 22 years of experience in intelligence and political-military affairs, and has served in a variety of assignments and deployments in the Middle East and South Asia, including multiple deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan. From 2005 to 2007, he served as an advisor to General John Abizaid at U.S. Central Command. From 2007 to 2010, he served as an advisor to General David Petraeus at Multi-National Force—Iraq in Baghdad. Colonel Rayburn received his undergraduate degree in History and English Literature from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1992 and a Master’s degree in History from Texas A&M University in 2002. From 2002 to 2005, he was an assistant professor of history at the U.S. Military Academy. Colonel Rayburn is also a graduate of the National War College.



Thomas E. Ricks

Thomas E. Ricks is New America’s Senior Advisor on National Security and an ASU Future of War Fellow. He is also a contributing editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine, for which he writes the blog “The Best Defense,” which was named the best blog of the year by the American Society of Magazine Editors in 2010, as well as the best military blog by the Military Reporters & Editors Association. Ricks covered the U.S. military for the *Washington Post* from 2000 through 2008, where he was part of a team that won the 2002 Pulitzer prize for reporting about the beginning of the U.S. counteroffensive against terrorism. He also was part of a *Wall Street Journal* team that won the Pulitzer Prize for national reporting in 2000 for a series of articles on how the U.S. military might change to meet the new demands of the 21st century. Mr. Ricks is the author of several books, including the bestselling *Fiasco*; its follow-up, *The Gamble*; and *The Generals*.



Vice Admiral Ann E. Rondeau, USN (Ret.)

Vice Admiral Ann E. Rondeau served for 38 years in the U.S. Navy. Her last active duty assignment was President of the National Defense University (NDU). As the President of NDU, she was a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace and served as a U.S. Department of Defense liaison to the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress. Admiral Rondeau now serves on the Board of Directors for the German Marshall Fund and the Board of Trustees for the American Public University System. She is a member of the CNA Corporation’s Military Advisory Board, which studies the impact of climate change on national and global security, and the Atlantic Council. She has received numerous awards for leadership and public service, including the New York City USO 2008 Woman of the Year award and the 2013 Women’s Center’s Leadership Award. Admiral Rondeau is currently a consultant in support of IBM’s leading-edge cognitive computing project, the Watson Group.



Daniel Rothenberg

Daniel Rothenberg is a Professor of Practice at Arizona State University’s School of Politics and Global Studies, the Lincoln Fellow for Ethics and International Human Rights Law, and Co-Director of the Center on the Future of War. He is also a Fellow at New America. His work focuses on human rights documentation and analysis, transitional justice, post-conflict reconstruction, and the broad social impact of war. He has designed and managed human rights and rule of law projects in Iraq, Afghanistan, Central Africa, and throughout Latin America; and is the author and/or editor of *With These Hands*, *Memory of Silence*, and *Drone Wars*.



Jim Sciutto

Jim Sciutto is CNN’s Chief National Security Correspondent. He reports and provides analysis across the network’s programs and platforms on all aspects of U.S. national security, including foreign policy, the military, and the intelligence community. His extensive reporting includes dozens of assignments from inside Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran. He is the author of a book based on his own experiences in the Middle East, titled *Against Us*. Most recently, Mr. Sciutto served as the Chief of Staff and Senior Advisor to the U.S. Ambassador to China, Gary Locke. Throughout the course of his career, Mr. Sciutto has received an Edward R. Murrow award for his work in Iran during the 2009 election protests, a George Polk Award and a Citation for Excellence from the Overseas Press Club for his undercover reporting from Myanmar, and an Emmy Award for his reporting of the series “Iraq: Where Things Stand.”



Dr. Sheldon Simon

Dr. Sheldon Simon is a Professor at Arizona State University's (ASU's) School of Politics and Global Studies and has been on the faculty since 1975. During that period of time, he has served as the Chair of the Political Science Department and as Director of ASU's Center for Asian Studies. A specialist in Asian international politics and U.S. national security, Dr. Simon is the author and/or editor of 10 books and some 200 scholarly articles and book chapters dealing with Asian security issues. He has been a consultant for the U.S. Departments of State and Defense, and is currently an academic associate of the National Intelligence Council.



Dr. Peter W. Singer

Dr. Peter W. Singer is the author of multiple award-winning books and is considered one of the world's leading experts on 21st century security issues. He has been named by the Smithsonian Institution's National Portrait Gallery as "One of the 100 Leading Innovators in the Nation," by *Defense News* as "One of the 100 Most Influential People in U.S. Defense," and by *Foreign Policy* magazine to their "Top 100 Global Thinkers" list. In addition to being a Strategist and Senior Fellow at New America, Dr. Singer is a contributing editor at *Popular Science* magazine and the founder of NeoLuddite LLC, a technology advisory firm. He has worked as a consultant for the U.S. military, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the FBI, as well as advised a wide-range of technology and entertainment programs, including those for Warner Brothers, Dreamworks, Universal, HBO, and the video game series "Call of Duty," the best-selling entertainment project in history. His first novel, *Ghost Fleet*, co-written with August Cole, will be published in June 2015.



Emma Sky

Emma Sky is a Senior Fellow at Yale University's Jackson Institute for Global Affairs, where she lectures on the new Iraq and Middle East politics. Previously, she was a visiting professor at King's College London's War Studies Department, and a fellow at the University of Oxford's Changing Character of War Programme. She was a Spring 2011 Fellow at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Ms. Sky is a British citizen who has worked at senior levels on behalf of the U.S. and U.K. governments — in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Israel — across the fields of development, defense, and diplomacy; and with multiple civilian and military agencies. She has provided technical assistance on poverty elimination, human rights, justice public administration reform, security sector reform, and conflict resolution. Ms. Sky's formal education was at the Universities of Oxford and Liverpool in England, Alexandria University in Egypt, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She has published numerous articles in a variety of outlets, including in *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*.



Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter

Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter is currently the President and CEO of New America. She is also the Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor Emerita of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. From 2009 to 2011, she served as the Director of Policy Planning for the U.S. Department of State, the first woman to hold that position. Upon leaving the State Department, she received the Secretary's Distinguished Service Award for her work leading the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, as well as meritorious service awards from the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Supreme Allied Commander for Europe. Prior to her government service, Dr. Slaughter was the Dean of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs from 2002 to 2009, and the J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of International, Foreign, and Comparative Law at Harvard Law School from 1994 to 2002. Dr. Slaughter has written or edited six books and writes a monthly column for *Project Syndicate*.



The Honorable Suzanne E. Spaulding

The Honorable Suzanne E. Spaulding serves as Under Secretary for the National Protection and Programs Directorate at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Ms. Spaulding has spent nearly 30 years working on national security issues for both Republican and Democratic administrations and on both sides of the aisle in Congress. She held leadership positions on the House and Senate intelligence committees and spent six years at the Central Intelligence Agency. As an attorney in private practice, she also served as Security Counsel for the Business Roundtable and worked with critical infrastructure companies and state governments on security-related issues. Ms. Spaulding earned both her law degree and undergraduate degree at the University of Virginia.



Barbara Starr

Barbara Starr is a Pentagon Correspondent for CNN, based in the network's Washington, D.C. bureau. Ms. Starr joined CNN in 2001 from ABC News, where she had worked since 1998. While at ABC News, she won an Emmy award as a location producer at NORAD/Cheyenne Mountain, covering the transition to the new millennium at Moscow rollover time. Since 2003, Ms. Starr has made repeated trips to Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Horn of Africa, where she has been embedded with U.S. troops. In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, she had exclusive access to Lieutenant General Russel Honore as the only reporter traveling with him as he directed hurricane relief efforts. Ms. Starr has also reported directly from the Persian Gulf, Russia, Central America, and the Chinese-North Korean border. She has profiled numerous wounded troops and has reported on the fallen regularly from Section 60 at Arlington National Cemetery, the final resting place for veterans of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.



Jake Tapper

CNN Anchor and Chief Washington Correspondent Jake Tapper joined the network in January 2013. His one-hour weekday program, "The Lead with Jake Tapper," debuted in March 2013. Mr. Tapper has been a widely-respected reporter in the nation's capital for more than 14 years. He joined CNN from ABC News, where he most recently served as Senior White House Correspondent, a position he was named to immediately following the 2008 presidential election. Mr. Tapper has earned the coveted Merriman Smith Award for presidential coverage from the White House Correspondents' Association an unprecedented three consecutive times. He also played a key role in ABC News' Emmy award-winning coverage of the 2009 inauguration of President Obama, and its Edward R. Murrow award-winning coverage of the death of Osama bin Laden. His most recent book, *The Outpost*, debuted in the Top 10 on the *New York Times* bestseller list.



Colonel Troy S. Thomas, USAF

Colonel Troy S. Thomas is the Director for Strategic Planning on the National Security Council. Prior to serving in the White House, Colonel Thomas was the special assistant to two Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the director of the Chairman's Action Group for General Martin Dempsey. Over the last 20 years, Colonel Thomas has led intelligence units in multiple operations with service throughout Asia and the Middle East. He also built and commanded a U.S. Air Force squadron that supported global cryptologic and cyber missions in partnership with the National Security Agency. A graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy, he returned as an Assistant Professor of Political Science. Colonel Thomas holds advanced degrees from the University of Texas, George Washington University, the U.S. Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting, and the National War College. He is a co-author of the book *Warlords Rising*, and other publications.



Patrick Tucker

Patrick Tucker is the Technology Editor for Defense One. He’s also the author of *The Naked Future*. Previously, Mr. Tucker was a deputy editor for the *Futurist*, where he served for nine years. His writing on emerging technology also has appeared in *Slate*, the *Atlantic*, *Quartz*, the *National Journal*, the *Sun*, the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology Review*, the *Wilson Quarterly*, the *American Legion Magazine*, the *BBC News Magazine*, and the *Utne Reader*, among other publications.



Dr. Moeed W. Yusuf

Dr. Moeed W. Yusuf is the Director of South Asia Programs at the U.S. Institute of Peace. He has been engaged in expanding the institute’s work on Pakistan and South Asia since 2010. His current research focuses on youth and democratic institutions in Pakistan, policy options to mitigate militancy in Pakistan, the South Asian region in general, and the U.S. role in South Asian crisis management. Before joining the U.S. Institute of Peace, Dr. Yusuf was a fellow at the Frederick S. Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer-Range Future at Boston University, and concurrently a research fellow at the Mossavar-Rahmani Center at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government. In 2007, he co-founded Strategic and Economic Policy Research, a private-sector consultancy firm in Pakistan. Dr. Yusuf has also consulted for a number of Pakistani and international organizations, including the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank, and the Stockholm Policy Research Institute. From 2004 to 2007, he was a full-time consultant with the Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Pakistan’s premier development-sector think tank.



Phil Zabriskie

Phil Zabriskie recently published *The Kill Switch*, an Amazon Kindle Single about American soldiers and U.S. Marines taking lives in combat and living with it afterwards. Previously, he spent nearly a decade living and working as a journalist overseas, primarily as a staff writer for *TIME* magazine in Asia and the Middle East, covering both Afghanistan and Iraq, along with news and events in Indonesia, Israel and the Palestinian Territories, Pakistan, the Philippines, and elsewhere. He has written for *Fortune*, *National Geographic*, *New York*, and the *Washington Post* magazine. Mr. Zabriskie was also a fellow and a senior fellow with the Dart Foundation for Journalism and Trauma at Columbia University’s Graduate School of Journalism.



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