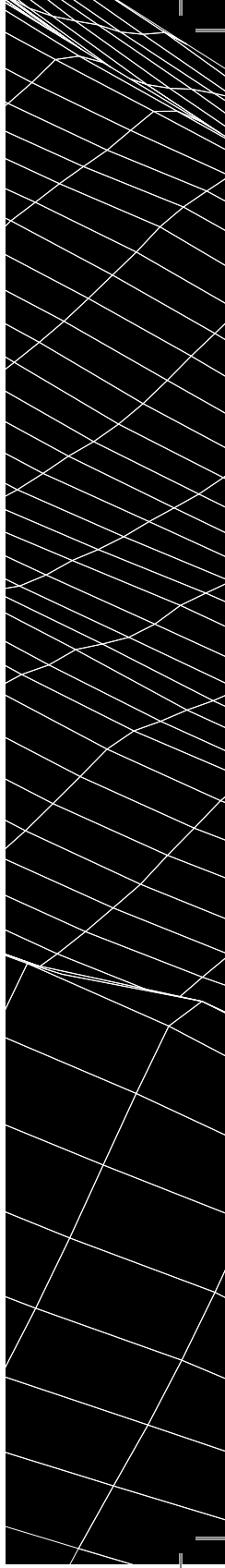




FUTURE OF WAR

04.09.18. / Washington, D.C.



Future of War Conference 2018

New America and Arizona State University welcome you to the Future of War Conference 2018. This conference features leaders from government, military, journalism, academia, and the private sector exploring questions of international security and defense, including future military innovation, the post-ISIS Middle East, U.S. relations with North Korea, cyber warfare, and more.

This conference is one of the signature events of the Future of War project—a partnership between New America and Arizona State University—which brings together experts working to develop new paradigms for understanding and addressing the changing nature of armed conflict and systematic violence.

The Future of War Conference 2018 thanks the Global SOF Foundation for their collaboration.



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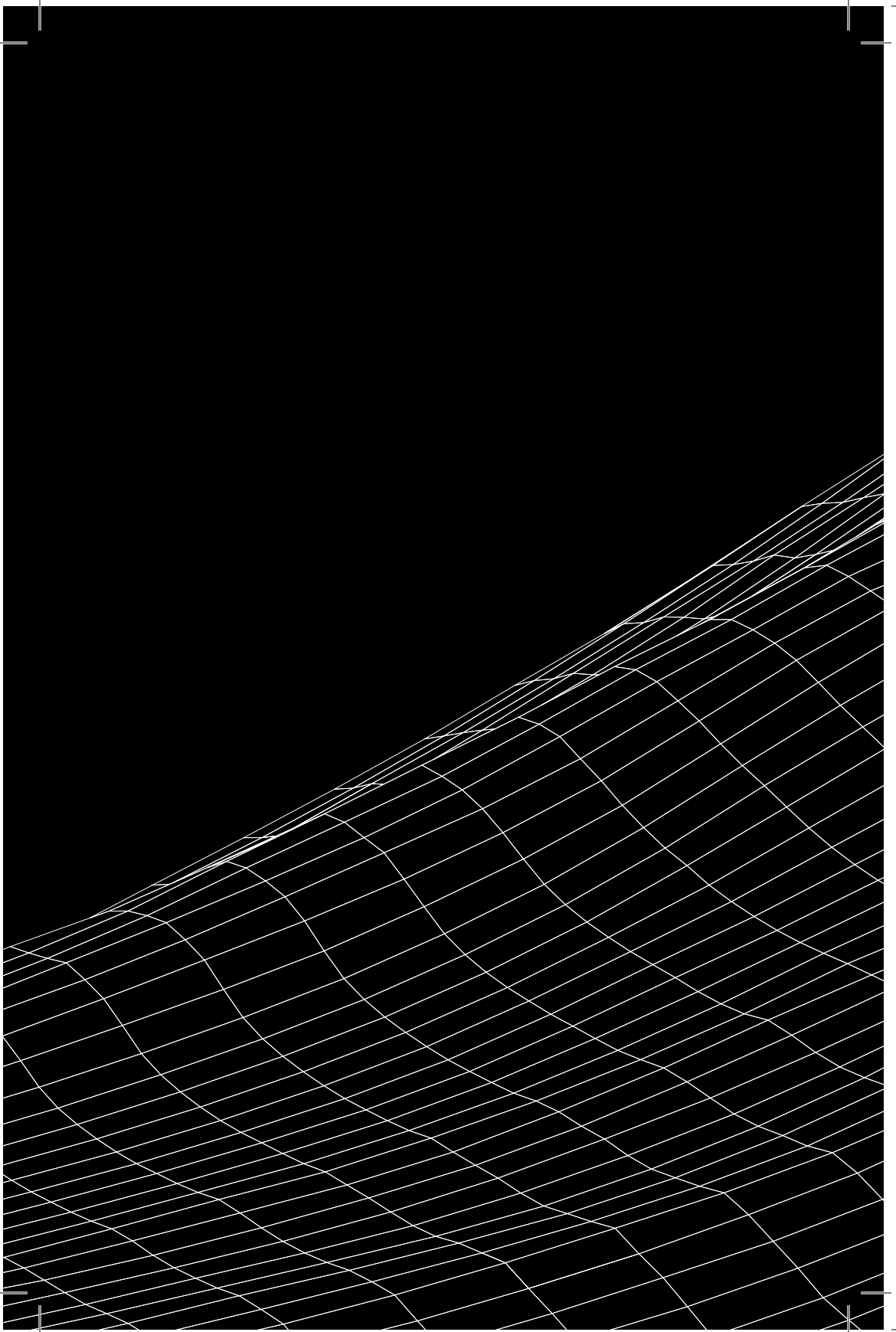


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About

The Future of War project—a partnership between New America and Arizona State University—brings together a collection of experts across sectors to address key issues and challenges arising from the changing nature of war and conflict. Developments both in the technological drivers of warfare and the enemies we face have erased the boundaries between what we have traditionally regarded as “war” and “peace.”

Today, we are at a major inflection point in which technology is reshaping the way wars are fought. The future of war will be influenced by the role of ever-smaller drones and robots on the battlefield, offensive cyber war capabilities, the massive expansion of surveillance, greater reliance on Special Operations Forces, and the militarization of space.

The Future of War project addresses these issues by convening some of the most creative and influential thinkers, writers, and decision makers to develop bold conceptual frameworks, create legal and policy proposals, and write and talk about the changing character of war and conflict in a manner that attracts public interest and engagement.

Wi-Fi Access

Wi-Fi Network: Ronald Reagan Building

Username: FOW2018

Password: future18

Schedule

7:50 - 8:20 AM

Registration & Coffee

8:20 - 8:30 AM

Welcome & Introduction



Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter
President & CEO,
New America



James O'Brien
Senior Vice President of
University Affairs and
Chief of Staff, Office of
the President, ASU

Keynote

8:30 - 9:15 AM

What Does the Army of the Future Look Like?



Gen. James C. McConville
Vice Chief of Staff,
U.S Army



MODERATOR
Peter Bergen
Vice President and
Director, Global Studies
and Fellows, New
America, and Professor
of Practice, ASU

9:20 - 10:20 AM

How Can the U.S. Make Sure It Wins the Cyber War of 2028?



Jen Easterly

Managing Director and Head of the Cybersecurity Fusion Center, Morgan Stanley



Robert M. Lee

Founder and CEO, Dragos Inc. and Cybersecurity Policy Fellow, New America



Lt. Gen. [ret.] Robert Schmidle

Professor of Practice, ASU and former Deputy Commander, United States Cyber Command



Dr. Peter W. Singer

Strategist and Senior Fellow, New America and Author, *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War*



MODERATOR

Ian Wallace

Co-Director, Cybersecurity Initiative, New America

Keynote

10:20 - 11:05 AM

How Will the Air Force Fight in Future Space, Air, and Cyber Domains?



Gen. Stephen W. Wilson

Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force



MODERATOR

Dr. Peter W. Singer

Strategist and Senior Fellow, New America and Author, *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War*

11:05 - 11:15 AM

Break

11:15 - 11:50 AM

Is Afghanistan Already Lost?



Gianni Koskinas
Senior Fellow, International Security Program, New America and CEO, the Hoplite Group



Candace Rondeaux
Professor of Practice and Center on the Future of War Senior Fellow, ASU



Ambassador Robin L. Raphel
Senior Associate (Non-Resident), Project on Prosperity and Development, CSIS



MODERATOR
Shamila Chaudhary
Senior South Asia Fellow, New America and Senior Advisor to Dean Vali Nasr, Johns Hopkins SAIS

11:50 AM - 12:40 PM

Does the Pentagon Have Too Much Power?



Dr. Kori Schake
Deputy Director-General, International Institute for Strategic Studies



Dr. Eliot A. Cohen
Robert E. Osgood Professor of Strategic Studies, Johns Hopkins SAIS



Dr. Janine A. Davidson
President, Metropolitan State University of Denver



Maj. Matt Cavanaugh
Fellow, Modern War Institute at West Point



MODERATOR
Lt. Gen. [ret.] Ben Freakley
Professor of Practice of Leadership and Special Adviser to the President, ASU

12:40-1:30 PM

Lunch

1:30 - 2:00 PM

Can International Law Prevent Future Wars?



Oona A. Hathaway
Gerard C. and Bernice
Latrobe Smith Professor
of International Law and
Counselor to the Dean,
Yale Law School



Dr. Scott J. Shapiro
Charles F. Southmayd
Professor of Law and
Professor of Philosophy,
Yale Law School



Dr. Daniel Rothenberg
Professor of Practice, School
of Politics and Global Studies
and Co-Director, Center on
the Future of War, ASU



Rosa Brooks
ASU Future of War Senior
Fellow, New America and
Professor, Georgetown
University Law Center



MODERATOR
Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter
President & CEO,
New America

2:00 - 2:45 PM

Is the Pentagon Ready for Artificial Intelligence?



Dr. Michael D. Griffin
Under Secretary of Defense
for Research & Engineering,
Department of Defense



Patrick M. Antkowiak
Corporate Vice President
and Chief Technology
Officer, Northrop Grumman



Evanna Hu
Technologist and Founding
Partner, Omelas



MODERATOR
Stephen P. Rodriguez
Senior Fellow, New America
and Founder, One Defense

2:45 - 3:00 PM

#War: Tracking Russian Influence Operations on Twitter



Clint Watts

Robert A. Fox Fellow, Program
on the Middle East, Foreign
Policy Research Institute

3:00 - 3:10 PM

Break

3:10 - 4:00 PM

After ISIS: What Is Next in the Middle East?



**Ambassador Fareed
Yasseen**

Ambassador of Iraq to
the United States



Dr. David Kilcullen

ASU Future of War Senior
Fellow, New America,
President and CEO, Cordillera
Applications Group



Nir Rosen

Special Advisor for Syria
and Iraq, Centre for
Humanitarian Dialogue



Dr. Nadia Oweidat

Assistant Professor, Kansas
State University and Senior
Fellow, New America



MODERATOR

Dr. Douglas A. Ollivant

ASU Future of War Senior
Fellow, New America

4:00 - 4:45 PM

How Does North Korea See the Future of War and Peace?



Dr. Sue Mi Terry
Senior Fellow, Korea Chair,
Center for Strategic and
International Studies



Suzanne DiMaggio
Fellow, New America
and Leader, U.S.-North
Korea Track 1.5 & Track
2 Diplomatic Initiatives



Suki Kim
Author, *Without You, There
Is No Us*, Contributing
Editor, the *New Republic*



MODERATOR
Sharon Burke
Director, Resource
Security Program,
New America

4:45 - 5:00 PM

How Can We Analyze Big Data to Understand Violent Extremism?



Dr. Hasan Davulcu
Co-director, ASU Center
for Assured and Scalable
Data Engineering and
Creator, LookingGlass

5:00 - 5:30 PM

How Does China See the Future of War?



Kelly Magsamen
Vice President for
National Security and
International Policy, Center
for American Progress



Tate Nurkin
CEO and Founder, OTH
Intelligence Group LLC



MODERATOR
Tom Ricks
Senior Columnist, *Task
& Purpose*, Author,
Churchill and Orwell, and
ASU Future of War Senior
Fellow, New America

Keynote Speakers



General James C. McConville assumed duties as the 36th vice chief of staff of the Army, June 16, 2017. He is a native of Quincy, Massachusetts, and a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York. He holds a Master of Science in Aerospace Engineering from Georgia Institute of Technology and was a National Security Fellow at Harvard University in 2002.

McConville's command assignments include commanding general of the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), where he also served as the commanding general of Combined Joint Task Force-101, Operation Enduring Freedom; deputy commanding general (support) of Combined Joint Task Force-101, Operation Enduring Freedom; commander of 4th Brigade, 1st Cavalry Division, Operation Iraqi Freedom; commander of 2nd Squadron, 17th Cavalry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault); and commander of C Troop, 2nd Squadron, 9th Cavalry Regiment, 7th Infantry Division (Light). His key staff assignments include the U.S. Army deputy chief of staff, G-1; chief of legislative liaison; executive officer to the vice chief of staff of the Army; G-3 for 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault); J5 strategic planner for U.S. Special Operations Command; S-3 for 25th Combat Aviation Brigade; S-3 for 5th Squadron, 9th Cavalry; and S-3 for Flight Concepts Division.

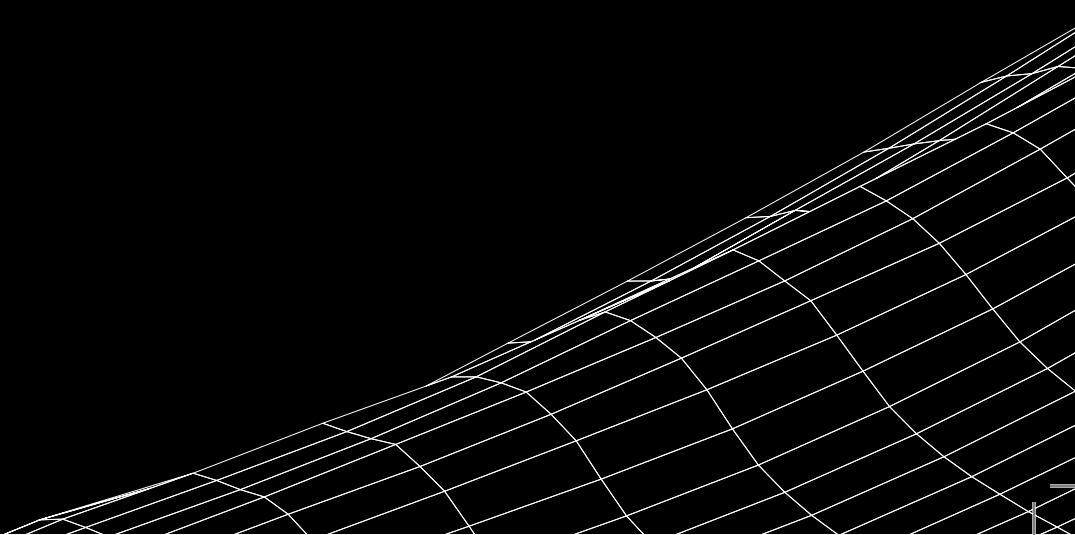
McConville is senior Army aviator qualified in the AH-64D Longbow Apache, OH-58 Kiowa Warrior, AH-6, AH-1 Cobra and other aircrafts. His awards and decorations include two Distinguished Service Medals, three Legions of Merit, three Bronze Star Medals, two Defense Meritorious Service Medals, three Meritorious Service Medals, two Air Medals, the Joint Service Commendation Medal, two Army Commendation Medals, four Army Achievement Medals, the Combat Action Badge, the Expert Infantryman's Badge, the Master Army Aviator Badge, the Air Assault Badge, the Parachutist Badge, and the Army Staff Identification Badge.

McConville and his wife, Maria, have three children serving in the military.



General Stephen W. Wilson is Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force. As Vice Chief, he presides over the Air Staff and serves as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Requirements Oversight Council and Deputy Advisory Working Group. He assists the Chief of Staff with organizing, training, and equipping of 660,000 active-duty, Guard, Reserve and civilian forces serving in the United States and overseas.

General Wilson received his commission from Texas A&M University in 1981. He's had multiple flying tours, and led bomber, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance, mobility, aeromedical evacuation and airborne command and control operations supporting operations Iraqi Freedom, Enduring Freedom and Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa. General Wilson has also held numerous command positions, including the Joint Functional Component Commander for Global Strike and Air Force Global Strike Command. General Wilson is a command pilot with more than 4,500 flying hours and 680 combat hours. Prior to his current assignment, the general was Deputy Commander, U.S. Strategic Command, Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska.



Speakers



Patrick M. Antkowiak is Corporate Vice President and Chief Technology Officer for Northrop Grumman Corporation, a leader in global security. Antkowiak is responsible for developing and executing corporate technology strategy, setting technology plans and serving as primary interface with technology leaders in the customer community, with industry and university research partners. He reports to Wes Bush, the company's chairman, chief executive officer and president, and is a member of the company's Corporate Policy Council. Antkowiak joined the company in 1981 and has held a variety of positions in engineering, program management and product development. Antkowiak was most recently vice president and general manager of the Advanced Concepts and Technologies Division in the Electronic Systems sector. Prior to that, he served as vice president for strategy and capability development in the sector's Engineering and Manufacturing organization, where he was responsible for the development and implementation of product development roadmaps and technology strategy. He also has served as director of space systems for Electronics Systems, where he was responsible for the development of a wide portfolio of radio frequency and electro-optical space sensor and space superiority concepts and technologies for future national security programs. Antkowiak earned a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering from the Johns Hopkins University and a master's degree in computer engineering from the University of Maryland. He has also completed the General Manager's Program at Harvard University.



Peter Bergen is a journalist, documentary producer, Vice President for Global Studies and Fellows at New America, CNN national security analyst, professor of practice at Arizona State University, and the author or editor of seven books about national security and terrorism, three of which were *New York Times* bestsellers and four of which were named among the best non-fiction books of the year by *The Washington Post*. The books have been translated into twenty-one languages. Documentaries based on his books have been nominated for two Emmys and also won the Emmy for best documentary. Bergen is on the editorial board of *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, a leading scholarly journal in the field. He has held teaching positions at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He has testified before U.S. Congressional

committees seventeen times about national security issues. Bergen produced CNN Films' *Legion of Brothers*, which premiered at Sundance in January 2017 and was released theatrically in May 2017. Bergen produced the first television interview with Osama bin Laden in 1997. The interview, which aired on CNN, marked the first time that bin Laden declared war against the United States to a Western audience. He has a degree in Modern History from New College, Oxford.



Rosa Brooks is an ASU Future of War senior fellow at New America, and works with the ASU Future of War project, writing about the changing nature of warfare, the changing role of the U.S. military and need to rethink core assumptions about the laws of war. She is the author of *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything*. A professor at Georgetown University Law Center, Ms. Brooks served as Counselor to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and as Special Coordinator for Rule of Law and Humanitarian Policy in the Pentagon from 2009-2011. During the Clinton Administration, she also served as a senior advisor at the US Department of State. Ms. Brooks spent four years as an opinion columnist for *The Los Angeles Times*, and currently writes a weekly column for *Foreign Policy*. She is a frequent contributor to other print and TV media outlets as well. Brooks received her A.B. from Harvard, a master's degree from Oxford, and a J.D. from Yale Law School.



The Honorable **Sharon E. Burke** is a senior advisor to New America, where she focuses on international security and Resource Security, a program that examines the intersection of security, prosperity, and natural resources. Before joining New America, 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 DoD, Burke held a number of senior U.S. government positions, including at the 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.



Major Matt Cavanaugh is an active duty Army Strategist and nonresident fellow with the Modern War Institute at West Point. He has been the youngest recipient of the Army Strategist Association's highest professional award (2015), and been named the U.S. Army's Athlete of the Year (2009). He is currently finishing a Ph.D on supreme command under Professor Colin

Gray at the University of Reading (UK), and his writing has appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal*, among other publications. His book, *Strategy Strikes Back: How Star Wars Explains Modern Military Conflict*, is available in May.



Shamila Chaudhary specializes in U.S.-Pakistan relations, Pakistan domestic politics and security policy, and regional issues in South Asia. She is Senior Advisor to Dean Vali Nasr at the School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University and is a senior South Asia fellow at New America. She worked on Pakistan, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka at the political risk consulting firm Eurasia Group from 2011-2013. She also has twelve years of experience working in the U.S. government, most recently at the White House as Director for Pakistan and Afghanistan on the National Security Council from 2010-2011. Prior to her work at the NSC, she worked on the Department of State's Policy Planning Staff, where she advised Secretary Clinton and the late Ambassador Richard Holbrooke on Afghanistan and Pakistan. Chaudhary served on the State Department's Pakistan Desk from 2007-2009 and covered economic, humanitarian response, and development issues on the Indonesia desk from 2004-2007. She worked on democracy and governance issues at the U.S. Agency for International Development from 2000-2004. Chaudhary was a 1999 David L. Boren National Security Education Program Fellow and studied Urdu in Lahore, Pakistan, as part of her fellowship. She earned an M.A. in International Affairs from the American University's School of International Service and a B.A. in English Literature and Women's Studies from the University of Toledo. In 2010, she and her husband founded the Chaudhary-Steinitz Honors Program Research Grant at the University of Toledo to promote greater interest and research in Pakistan and South Asian affairs. She is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a member of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Pakistan.



Dr. Eliot A. Cohen is the Robert E. Osgood Professor of Strategic Studies at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) where he has taught since 1990. He received his BA and PhD degrees from Harvard University. His books include *The Big Stick* (2017), *Conquered into Liberty* (2011), and *Supreme Command* (2002). In addition to public service in the Department of Defense, he served as Counselor of the Department of State in 2007-2009. He writes frequently for major newspapers and is a contributing editor at *The Atlantic*.



Dr. Janine A. Davidson is the ninth president of Metropolitan State University Denver. Her primary focuses are student success, better serving the University's 20,000 students, and launching them into the workforce. She has 30 years of experience in military operations, national security policy and academic research. Before joining the University, she served as the 32nd undersecretary of the U.S. Navy. She holds a master's degree and doctorate from the University of South Carolina and a bachelor's degree from the University of Colorado Boulder. A graduate of the Air Force Squadron Officer School, she was the first woman to fly the Air Force's tactical C-130.



Dr. Hasan Davulcu is an Associate Professor in the School of Computing, Informatics and Decision Systems Engineering at Arizona State University. His research in social media mining were published at ACM and IEEE conferences. He is currently the PI of an NSF Partnership for Innovation (PFI:BIC) grant focusing on behavioral analytics for detecting financial fraud and PI of a DoD Minerva Research Initiative project titled *New Analytics for Measuring and Countering Social Influence and Persuasion of Extremist Groups*. Davulcu holds a B.S. degree in mathematics from the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, Turkey and, M.S. and Ph.D. degrees in computer science from Stony Brook University, New York. He is co-founder of ARTIS Looking Glass, LLC—a startup that focuses on the voices and perspectives of people and social movements in conflict areas as well as those of transnational groups.



Suzanne DiMaggio is a Director and Senior Fellow at New America, where she focuses on U.S. foreign policy, the Middle East and Asia. She has been leading Track 1.5 and Track 2 initiatives on regional security, counter-terrorism, nonproliferation, and governance for nearly 20 years. She has a special interest in the role of policy dialogue with countries that the United States has limited official relations, especially Iran, Myanmar, and North Korea. Previously, she was the Vice President of Global Policy at the Asia Society (2007-2014), Vice President of Policy Studies at the United Nations Association of the USA (1998-2007), and a Program Officer at the United Nations University (1993-1998).



Jen Easterly is a Managing Director of Morgan Stanley, having joined the firm after 26 years of U.S. government service in national security, military intelligence, and cyber operations. Previously, Jen served on the National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism where she led the development of U.S. counterterrorism policy and strategy. Prior to that, she was the

Deputy for Counterterrorism at the National Security Agency, a position she assumed following retirement from the United States Army, where her service included command and staff assignments in the intelligence and cyber fields, as well as tours of duty in Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan. A graduate of West Point, Jen holds a Master's degree in Politics, Philosophy, and Economics from the University of Oxford where she studied as a Rhodes Scholar. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a French-American Foundation Young Leader, Jen is the recipient of the Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship, the George S. Franklin Fellowship, and the Director, National Security Agency Fellowship. She also serves on the Board of Trustees of the Morgan Stanley Foundation. Jen and her husband Jas have one son.



Lieutenant General (ret.) Benjamin C. Freakley serves as the Professor of practice of Leadership for Arizona State University and as a Special Advisor to ASU President Michael Crow for Leadership Initiatives. Additionally, he serves at the McCain Institute for International Leadership. He recently retired from the U. S Army after more than 36 years of active military service, and was serving as Commanding General, U.S. Army Accessions Command, at the time of his retirement. General Freakley was responsible for worldwide recruiting for the Active Duty and Reserve components as well as overseeing the Nation's Junior and College ROTC programs. As an infantry officer, General Freakley commanded at all levels through division and combined joint task force. His operations assignments began with 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Stewart, Georgia in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, Saudi Arabia, first as the Executive officer, 3rd Battalion-7th Infantry then as the S-3 (Operations), 1st Brigade. From March 2003 to June 2003, he served as Assistant Division Commander (Operations), 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), Operation Iraqi Freedom, Iraq. From 2003 to 2006 he commanded the Army's largest training institute, the Infantry Center and School at Fort Benning, Georgia. In January 2006, as the Commanding General of the 10th Mountain Division (Light) and Fort Drum he led the division in Afghanistan serving as the Commanding General Combined Joint Task Force-76, Operation Enduring Freedom, Afghanistan, where he served until February 2007.



Dr. Michael D. Griffin is the Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering. He is the Department's Chief Technology Officer, and is responsible for the research, development, and prototyping activities across the DoD enterprise and is mandated with ensuring technological superiority for the Department of Defense. He oversees the activities of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, the Missile Defense Agency, the Strategic Capabilities Office, Defense Innovation Unit Experimental, the DoD Laboratory enterprise, and the Under Secretariate staff focused on developing advanced technology and capability for the U.S. military. Mike was previously Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Schafer Corporation, a professional services provider in the national security sector. He has served as the King-McDonald Eminent Scholar and professor of Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering at the University of Alabama in Huntsville, as the Administrator of NASA, and as the Space Department Head at the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. He has also held numerous executive positions in industry, including President and Chief Operating Officer of In-Q-Tel, CEO of Magellan Systems, and EVP/General Manager of Orbital ATK's Space Systems Group. Griffin's earlier career includes service as both Chief Engineer and Associate Administrator for Exploration at NASA, and as the Deputy for Technology at the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization. Prior to joining SDIO in an executive capacity, he played a key role in conceiving and directing several "first of a kind" space tests in support of strategic defense research, development, and flight-testing. These included the first space-to-space intercept of a ballistic missile in powered flight, the first broad-spectrum spaceborne reconnaissance of targets and decoys in midcourse flight, and the first space-to-ground reconnaissance of ballistic missiles during the boost phase. Mike also played a leading role in other space missions at the John Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory and NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory. Griffin obtained his B.A. in Physics from the Johns Hopkins University, which he attended as the winner of a Maryland Senatorial Scholarship. He holds master's degrees in aerospace science from Catholic University, electrical engineering from the University of Southern California, applied physics from Johns Hopkins, civil engineering from George Washington University, and business administration from Loyola University. He received his Ph.D. in aerospace engineering from the University of Maryland, and has been recognized with honorary doctoral degrees from Florida Southern College and the University of Notre Dame. Mike is a 4000+ hour commercial pilot and flight instructor with instrument and multiengine ratings, and holds an Extra Class Amateur Radio license.



Oona A. Hathaway is the Gerard C. and Bernice Latrobe Smith Professor of International Law, Counselor to the Dean at the Yale Law School, and Professor of the Yale University Department of Political Science. She is a member of the Advisory Committee on International Law for the Legal Adviser at the United States Department of State. In 2014-2015, she took leave from Yale to serve as Special Counsel to the General Counsel for National Security Law at the U.S. Department of Defense, where she was awarded the Office of the Secretary of Defense Award for Excellence. She is a principal investigator on a grant awarded by the Hewlett Foundation to study cyber conflict. She has published more than 25 law review articles, and she is the co-author of *The Internationalists: How a Radical Plan to Outlaw War Remade the World* (with Scott Shapiro).



Evanna Hu is the CEO and Partner of Omelas, a cutting edge technology company that provides the real-time, online information environment by quantifying, automating, and integrating workflows in security and geopolitical risks. By utilizing machine learning/ artificial intelligence and data analytics, it is also one of the first to offer an organic monitoring and evaluating tool to measure the effectiveness of non-lethal warfare, including countermessaging and information operations campaign. Based in Washington DC and Chicago, Omelas is operational in the Balkans, the Middle East, and Africa. Evanna is also a subject matter expert in CVE in both Salafi-jihadism and neo-Nazism and has worked at the intersection of governance, security, and technology in 25+ countries in Africa and the Middle East, including Kenya, Iraq, Syria, Tunisia, and Afghanistan. Prior to Omelas, she successfully founded two technology ventures, one based in Nairobi, Kenya and another in Amman, Jordan. To date, she has briefed 4 national heads of intelligence and has advised 8 Cabinet/Ministerial members on tech and security. A graduate of the University of Chicago, Evanna sits on the Board of Directors of Re:Coded, an Erbil-based nonprofit that gives livelihoods to refugees by teaching them how to code through a comprehensive training program in Iraq and Turkey, and cofounded and sit on another nonprofit that has been doing reconstruction work in post-IS environments in the Ninevah Plains, Iraq. She is also the 2017-2018 Tech Fellow at the CVE think tank, Qulliam. She has won numerous high-level accolades and recognition for her work.



Dr. David Kilcullen is a senior fellow in the ASU Future of War program at New America and CEO and President of Cordillera Applications Group. He has extensive experience over a 25-year career with the Australian and U.S. governments as an Army officer, policy adviser and diplomat. He served in Iraq in 2006–2007 designing counterinsurgency operations for Multi-National Force Iraq, and also served in Afghanistan, Somalia, Libya and Colombia for the US government. He is the author of a prize-winning book on future urban operations, *Out of the Mountains*, along with three other books and numerous scholarly papers on irregular warfare and the future of conflict.



Suki Kim is an investigative journalist, a novelist, and the only writer ever to have lived undercover in North Korea for immersive journalism. Born and raised in South Korea, Kim has traveled to North Korea since 2002, when she entered Pyongyang by joining a Kim Jong Il loyalist group for a cover feature for the New York Review of Books. During a decade-long investigation, she has witnessed both Kim Jong-Il's 60th birthday celebration and his death at age 69; she also profiled the New York Philharmonic's 2008 concert there for Harper's, for whom she has written extensively about North Korean defectors. In 2011, she went undercover in Pyongyang for six months to live with the future leaders during the final year of Kim Jong-il's reign, which gave her unprecedented insights into the psychology of its elite and the country's current state during the regime change. Kim's New York Times bestselling nonfiction book *Without You, There Is No Us: Undercover Among the Sons of North Korea's Elite* is a literary, investigative documentation of North Korea's most important recent history. Her first novel, *The Interpreter*, was a finalist for a PEN Hemingway Prize, and her articles and essays regularly appear in New York Times, Harper's and The New Republic, where she is a contributing editor. She has been featured around the world, including on CNN's Christian Amanpour Show and Jon Stewart's The Daily Show, and her 2015 TED Talk has since drawn millions of viewers online. She holds a Guggenheim fellowship, a George Soros's Open Society fellowship, a Fulbright Research Grant, and was recently a Ferris journalism fellow at Princeton University.



Ioannis "Gianni" Koskinas is a Senior Fellow with the International Security Program at New America, where he focuses on foreign policy issues with an emphasis on Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and the Levant. He is 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

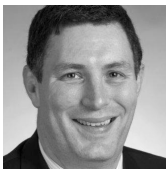
he was the Executive Vice President of the Asia Africa Projects Group and the President of the Global Initiatives Group, focusing on natural resources development and national security projects, respectively. Gianni retired from the U.S. Air Force in 2011 after a 20-year career in Special Operations. He has a B.S. in Biology from the University of Connecticut, as well as three Master's degrees in Operational Art, Strategy, and International Relations. He is also a candidate for a Ph.D. in War Studies from King's College, London.



Robert M. Lee is a nonresident national cybersecurity fellow at New America. He is also founder and CEO of the cybersecurity company Dragos, Inc., a SANS Institute course author and researcher, and a Ph.D candidate at Kings College London. Lee gained his start in cyber security as an Air Force Cyber Warfare Operations Officer in the U.S. Intelligence Community.



Kelly Magsamen is the Vice President for National Security and International Policy at the Center for 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 for the Secretary of Defense. Prior to her tenure at the Pentagon, Magsamen served on the National Security Council staff for two presidents and four national security advisors in several roles, including Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Strategic Planning from 2012 to 2014, Senior Advisor for Middle East Reform, and as Director for Iran from 2008 to 2011. Magsamen started her government career at the Department of State, where she worked on Iraq policy and later served as Special Assistant and Chief of Staff to the counselor. She holds degrees from American University and from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.



Tate Nurkin founded OTH Intelligence Group LLC in March 2018. Previously, he spent 12 years with Jane's by IHS Markit where he led Jane's strategic assessments and analysis of defense technology, future military capabilities and China's military modernization and technology acquisition efforts. Before joining Jane's in 2006 he spent a decade with Joint Management Services, SAIC and Booz Allen Hamilton's Modelling, Simulation, Wargaming and Analysis team. Nurkin is a guest lecturer with the Long Term Strategy Program of the Eisenhower School of National Defense University and is a member of the World Economic Forum's Future Council on International Security.



James O'Brien serves as Senior Vice President of University Affairs and Chief of Staff to President Michael Crow of Arizona State University. He is responsible for implementing complicated strategic and tactical objectives of the Office of the President. He also works across the institution to identify, facilitate and coordinate opportunities and initiatives which involve multiple units within and affiliated with the institution. This includes advancing opportunities and initiatives with university public affairs, state and federal policy affairs, global engagement, corporate relations, and university athletics. Jim is an attorney who previously worked as corporate counsel to several publicly traded companies including Electronic Data Systems Corporation (EDS) as well as in private practice. He has also worked in public affairs at the state and federal levels. He received a B.A. from Iowa State University and a J.D. from Drake University.



Dr. Douglas A. Ollivant is an ASU Future of War senior fellow at New America. He is Managing Partner and the Senior Vice President of Mantid International, LLC, a global strategic consulting firm with offices in Washington, Beirut, Baghdad, Hilla and Basra, since 2012. He has also been appointed as an ASU Senior Fellow at the Future of War project at New America. A retired Army officer (Lieutenant Colonel), his last assignment in government was as Director for Iraq at the National Security Council during both the Bush and Obama administrations. Ollivant spent one year in 2010-2011 in Afghanistan as the Senior Counterinsurgency Advisor to the Commander, Regional Command-East. Prior to his posting at the White House, Ollivant served in Iraq as the Chief of Plans for Multi-National Division Baghdad in 2006-2007. During this time he led the planning team that designed the U.S. and coalition portion of Baghdad Security Plan, the main effort of what later became known as the "Surge." He spent an earlier Iraq tour in 2004-2005 in Baghdad, Najaf, and Fallujah. He also taught politics at the United States Military Academy at West Point for three years. A graduate of Wheaton College, Ollivant holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Indiana University, and is a graduate of the U.S. Army's School of Advanced Military Studies. He is a frequent television commentator on defense and Middle East issues, on networks including CNN, PBS, NPR, MSNBC, and ABC before becoming an exclusive contributor with Al Jazeera America in July of 2015. A life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and American Political Science Association, he also serves in various advisory capacities to Monument Capital Group, Meridian Hill Advisors, and TranScan LLC. He is working on a book manuscript on the topic of Hybrid Warriors, as well as various manuscripts on the Iraq conflict, 2003-present.



Dr. Nadia Oweidat is an Assistant Professor at Kansas State University and a Senior Middle East Fellow at New America. She holds a D.Phil. in Oriental Studies from the University of Oxford. Prior to her doctoral studies, Dr. Oweidat worked as a Research Associate at the RAND Corporation where she led several research projects. Born and raised in Jordan, she has a B.A. from the University of Jordan in English Literature and and an M.A. from the University of Wyoming in International Studies.



Ambassador Robin L. Raphel is an expert in political, security, and economic development issues in South Asia and the Middle East. As a career Foreign Service officer, she worked for nearly 40 years in foreign affairs agencies, including the U.S. Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development, and U.S. Department of Defense. She has served as assistant secretary of state for South Asia, ambassador to Tunisia, vice president of the National Defense University, and deputy special inspector general for Iraq reconstruction. She managed the sharp increase of development assistance to Pakistan under the late Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, and she deployed to Iraq with the first civilian contingent after the 2003 invasion to help restore the critical food ration system throughout the country. Earlier in her career, she served in Pakistan, India, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, and she taught history at Damavand Women's College in Iran. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the board of the Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training. Ambassador Raphel holds a B.A. degree in history and economics from the University of Washington and master's degrees in economics from the University of Maryland and modern European history from Cambridge University.



Tom Ricks has written about military issues for several decades at the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post and Foreign Policy magazine. He is the author of six books, including *Fiasco*; *The Generals*; and, most recently, *Churchill and Orwell*. He now writes the Long March column for TaskAndPurpose.com and also is the military history columnist for the *New York Times Book Review*.



Stephen P. Rodriguez is a senior fellow with New America's International Security program. He is the founder of One Defense, an agile network of market leading, non-traditional technology companies, venture capital firms, and research universities dedicated to scouting advanced software and hardware applications and enabling their transition into the national security enterprise. Concurrently, he has served as a Venture Partner supporting the above-market venture portfolio performance of SineWave Ventures, Scout Ventures, and Abundance Partners. Rodriguez began his career at Booz Allen

Hamilton shortly before 9/11 supporting their national security practice. In his capacity as an expert on game theoretic applications, he supported the United States Intelligence Community and DOD as the lead architect for the Thor's Hammer, Schriever II/III and Cyber Storm wargames. He subsequently was a Vice President at a venture-backed, artificial intelligence company (Sentia Group) and served as Chief Marketing Officer for a international defense corporation (NCL Holdings). Rodriguez serves on the Board of CENSA, DMGS, HighSide, Omelas, Public Spend Forum, Training Leaders International, Uniken, and WarOnTheRocks. He is also a Visiting Professor at the Naval Postgraduate School, a Senior Fellow at New America and serves on the Term Member Advisory Council at the Council on Foreign Relations. Rodriguez received his B.B.A degree from Texas A&M University and an M.A. degree from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. He is published in Foreign Policy, WarOnTheRocks, National Review, RealClearDefense, and Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Notably, his graduate thesis on conflict resolution in the Caucasus resulted in an invitation to join incoming Secretary of Defense Robert Gates transition team in late 2006.



Candace Rondeaux is a Professor of Practice at the School of Politics and Global Studies and a Senior Fellow with the Center on the Future of War. A veteran analyst of the conflict in South Asia and expert on U.S. and international security affairs, she has variously also served as a senior program officer at U.S. Institute of Peace where she launched the RESOLVE Network, a global research consortium on conflict and violent extremism and as a strategic advisor to the U.S. Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction. Her research and analysis spans U.S. defense and national security policy, security assistance and post-conflict transition, governance and state building. She spent five years living and working in South Asia where she served as senior analyst in Afghanistan for the International Crisis Group and as South Asia bureau chief for The Washington Post in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Fluent in Russian, she is keenly interested in the dynamics of sectarian violence, governance, justice and political Islam in modern Muslim majority states, Soviet and post-Soviet affairs, the politics of energy security and the political-economy of conflict. In addition to the Post, her work has been regularly featured in Lawfare, Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, The International Herald Tribune, The Boston Globe, The Russia Journal and The Village Voice. She has also been a frequent guest analyst on CNN, Al-Jazeera, BBC World and National Public Radio. Prior to her postings

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Nir Rosen is Special Adviser for Syria and Iraq at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD). He has been writing and consulting on humanitarian and political issues in the Middle East since 2003. Between 2003 and 2011, he spent most of his time in Iraq and since 2011, he has spent most of his time in Syria. Nir has also worked in Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Congo, Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, Yemen, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the former Yugoslavia, Mexico and elsewhere. He has authored two books: *The Triumph of the Martyrs in Iraq*; and *Aftermath: Following the Bloodshed of America's Wars in the Muslim World* (Nation Books, 2010), on sectarianism, civil war, refugees occupation, resistance and counterinsurgency from Iraq to Lebanon and Afghanistan. He is based between Beirut, Damascus and Baghdad.



Dr. Daniel Rothenberg is co-director of the Center on the Future of War and Professor of Practice, School of Politics and Global Studies at ASU and a Senior Fellow at New America. Previously, he was the founding executive director of the Center for Law and Global Affairs at the Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law, Managing Director of International Projects at the International Human Rights Law Institute at DePaul University College of Law, Senior Fellow at the Orville H. Schell, Jr. Center for International Human Rights at Yale Law School, Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, and a Fellow in the Michigan Society of Fellows. Rothenberg has designed and managed rule of law and human rights projects in Afghanistan, Iraq, Central Africa and throughout Latin America, including programs to train human rights NGOs, aid indigenous peoples in using international legal remedies, support gender justice, and collect and analyze thousands of first-person narratives from victims of atrocities. He has a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and his books include *With These Hands, Memory of Silence: The Guatemalan Truth Commission Report* (Palgrave) and *Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy*.



Dr. Kori Schake is the Deputy Director-General of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). She was a distinguished research fellow at the Hoover Institution and is the editor, with Jim Mattis, of the book *Warriors and Citizens: American Views of Our Military*. She has served in various policy roles including at the White House for the National Security Council; at the Department of Defense for the Office of the Secretary and Joint Chiefs of Staff and the State Department for the Policy Planning Staff. During the 2008 presidential election, she was Senior Policy Advisor on the McCain-Palin campaign. She has been profiled in publications ranging from national news to popular culture including the *Los Angeles Times*, *Politico*, and *Vogue Magazine*. Her recent publications include: *Safe Passage: The Transition from British to American Hegemony* (Harvard University Press, 2017), *Republican Foreign Policy After Trump* (Survival, Fall 2016), *National Security Challenges for the Next President* (Orbis, Winter 2017), and *Will Washington Abandon the Order?*, (Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2017).



While on active duty **Lt. Gen. (ret.) Robert Schmidle** served as the first Deputy Commander of United States Cyber Command, responsible for standing up the command while executing full spectrum cyber operations. Subsequently he was the Principal Deputy Director, Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Lt Gen Schmidle has nearly 4,700 hours in tactical fighters, participating in combat operations in Iraqi and Bosnia. He commanded an F-18 squadron, VMFA-251 in combat and aboard USS America as part of Carrier Air Wing One, and was selected for an extraordinary second operational command of VMFA-115, another F-18 squadron. He has a Ph.D. in philosophy from Georgetown University and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Defense Science Board. He is a Professor of Practice in Arizona State University's School of Politics and Global Studies.



Dr. Scott J. Shapiro is the Charles F. Southmayd Professor of Law and Professor of Philosophy at Yale Law School. He joined the Yale Law faculty in July 2008 as a professor of law and philosophy. He previously taught law and philosophy at the University of Michigan and before that, was a professor of law at the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law. His areas of interest include jurisprudence, international law, constitutional law and theory, criminal law, family law, philosophy of action, and the theory of authority. He is the author of *Legality* (2011) and editor (with Jules Coleman) of *The Oxford Handbook of Jurisprudence and Philosophy of Law* (2002). He earned B.A.

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Dr. Peter W. Singer is a strategist and senior fellow at New America. The author of multiple award-winning books, he is considered one of the world's leading experts on 21st century security issues. He has been named by the Smithsonian Institution-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 defense issues, and by *Foreign Policy* magazine to their Top 100 Global Thinkers List. His books include *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*; *Children at War*; *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century*; and *Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know*, which was named to both the US Army and US Navy professional reading list. His most recent book is *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War*. Singer is a contributing editor at *Popular Science* magazine and the founder of NeoLuddite, a technology advisory firm. He has worked as a consultant for the US military, Defense Intelligence Agency, and FBI, as well as advised a wide-range of technology and entertainment programs, including for Warner Brothers, Dreamworks, Universal, HBO, and the video game series Call of Duty, the best-selling entertainment project in history. He is a member of the US State Department's Advisory Committee on International Communications and Information Policy. His past work included serving as coordinator of the Obama-08 campaign's defense policy task force, in the Balkans Task Force at the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and as the founding director of the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence at The Brookings Institution, where he was the youngest person named senior fellow in its 100 year history.



Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter is the president and CEO of New America, a think and action tank dedicated to renewing America in the Digital Age. She is also the Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor Emerita of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. From 2009-2011, she served as director of policy planning for the United States 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

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Dr. Sue Mi Terry is a Senior Fellow for Korea at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Prior to joining CSIS, she had a long and distinguished career in intelligence, policymaking, and academia following Korean issues. Dr. Terry served as a Senior Analyst on Korean issues at the CIA from 2001 to 2008. From 2008 to 2009, Dr. Terry was the Director for Korea, Japan, and Oceanic Affairs at the National Security Council under both President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama. From 2009 to 2010, she was Deputy National Intelligence Officer for East Asia at the National Intelligence Council. From 2010 to 2011, Dr. Terry served as the National Intelligence Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Since leaving the government, she has been a Senior Research Scholar at Columbia University.



Ian Wallace is co-director of New America's Cybersecurity Initiative, and a senior fellow in the International Security program. His research is mainly focused on the international security and military dimensions of cybersecurity policy. He is also a member of the 'Future of War' project. Ian joined New America from the Brookings Institution where he spent two years in the Foreign Policy Program as a Visiting Fellow for Cybersecurity. He was previously a senior official at the British Ministry of Defence (MOD). From 2009-2013 Wallace was as the British Embassy, Washington's defense policy and nuclear counselor. There he helped develop new UK/US mil/mil cyber link at both the operational and policy levels. Before joining the embassy he was a fellow at the Weatherhead Center at Harvard University where his research included working on the military implications of cyber capabilities. During his UK MOD career, he combined strategy and planning positions with operational postings to Pristina (2001-2002), Basra (2005) and Baghdad (2007-2008). He also served as the head of policy at the UK's operational HQ (2002-2003). His Whitehall appointments included Deputy Director of Capability, Resource and Scrutiny and Assistant Director of Defence Resources (with day-to-day responsibility for the UK MOD's overall resource planning process). From 2000-2001 he was the Assistant Private Secretary to the UK Defence Secretary. Wallace has a degree in ancient and modern history from Christ Church, Oxford University.



Clint Watts is a Robert A. Fox Fellow in the Foreign Policy Research Institute's Program on the Middle East as well as a Senior Fellow at the Center For Cyber and Homeland Security at The George Washington University. Clint is a consultant and researcher modeling and forecasting threat actor behavior and developing countermeasures for disrupting and defeating state and non-state actors. As a consultant, Clint designs and implements customized training and research programs for military, intelligence and law enforcement organizations at the federal, state and local level. In the private sector, he helps financial institutions develop best practices in cybersecurity intelligence operations. His research predominantly focuses on terrorism forecasting and trends seeking to anticipate emerging extremist hotspots and anticipate appropriate counterterrorism responses. More recently, Clint used modeling to outline Russian influence operations via social media and the Kremlin's return to Active Measures. Before becoming a consultant, Clint served as a U.S. Army infantry officer, a FBI Special Agent on a Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), as the Executive Officer of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point (CTC) and as a consultant to the FBI's Counter Terrorism

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