

# FUTURE SECURITY FORUM

04.29.19 / Washington, D.C.



# Future Security Forum 2019

New America and Arizona State University welcome you to the Future Security Forum 2019. This conference features leaders from government, military, journalism, academia, and the private sector exploring questions of international security and defense, including the military in space, the future of proxy warfare, and defending against cyber war.

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.

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# About the Future of War Project

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.

# Schedule

7:45 - 8:35 AM

## Registration

8:35 - 8:45 AM

## Welcome Remarks



**Anne-Marie Slaughter, DPhil**  
CEO, New America



**Michael Crow, PhD**  
President, Arizona  
State University; New  
America Board Member

8:45 - 8:55 AM

## Army Mad Scientist Science Fiction Writing Contest Winner Announcement



**Luke Shabro**  
Deputy Director, Army  
Mad Scientist Initiative

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## Keynote

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8:55 - 9:40 AM

### What are the Challenges the Navy Will Face in 2030 and Beyond?



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

**Tyra Mariani**  
President & COO,  
New America



**Admiral John M. Richardson**  
Chief of Naval Operations,  
United States Navy



**Anne-Marie Slaughter, DPhil**  
CEO, New America

9:40 - 9:55 AM

### What Will Conflict in the Arctic Look Like in 2030?



**Sharon Burke**  
Senior Advisor, International  
Security and Resource  
Security Programs,  
New America; former  
Assistant Secretary of  
Defense for Operational  
Energy, United States  
Department of Defense



**Louie Palu**  
National Geographic  
Photographer, former  
New America Fellow

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## Keynote

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9:55 - 10:40 AM

### What Are the Challenges the Air Force Will Face in 2030 and Beyond?



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

**Daniel Rothenberg, PhD**  
Co-Director of the Center  
on the Future of War;  
Professor of Practice,  
Arizona State University;  
Senior Fellow, New America



**Heather Wilson, DPhil**  
Secretary, United  
States Air Force



**Michael Crow, PhD**  
President, Arizona  
State University; New  
America Board Member

10:40 - 10:50 AM

### How Should Industry Adjust to the Air Force of the Future?



**Chris Pehrson**  
Vice President for  
Strategic Development,  
General Atomics-ASI

10:50 - 11:05 AM

### Coffee and Networking Break

11:05 - 11:45 AM

## How do we Rebuild Cities after War?



MODERATOR

**Sarah Holewinski**

Senior Fellow, Center for Civilians in Conflict; Professor of Practice, Arizona State University



**Maj. [ret] John W. Spencer**

Chair of Urban Warfare Studies, Modern War Institute; Co-Director of the Urban Warfare Project, West Point



**Kelly Uribe**

Country Director for Spain, Portugal, and Malta, Office of the Undersecretary of Defense and Policy, U.S. Department of Defense

11:45AM - 12:30PM

## Defeating ISIS: What Are The Lessons For the Future?



MODERATOR

**Karen J. Greenberg, PhD**

Director, Center on National Security, Fordham Law School



**Joshua A. Geltzer, PhD**

Executive Director at Georgetown University Law, ASU Future of War Fellow



**Colonel Christopher P. Costa, USA, [Ret]**

Executive Director, International Spy Museum; former Special Assistant to the President; former Senior Director for Counterterrorism, National Security Council



**Jen Easterly**

Global Head, Cybersecurity Fusion Center, Morgan Stanley; Senior Fellow, International Security, New America; former Special Assistant to the President; former Senior Director for Counterterrorism, National Security Council



**Nicholas Rasmussen**

Senior Director of the McCain Institute's Counterterrorism Program, Arizona State University; former Director of the National Counterterrorism Center

12:30 - 1:15 PM

## What is the Future of Proxy Warfare?



MODERATOR

**Matt Spence, DPhil**  
Managing Director,  
Guggenheim Partners;  
Professor of Practice,  
Arizona State University;  
former Deputy Assistant  
Secretary of Defense  
for Middle East Policy



**Erica Gaston**  
Fellow, International  
Security Program,  
New America



**Adam Baron**  
Visiting Fellow, European  
Council on Foreign Relations;  
Fellow, International Security  
Program, New America



**Candace Rondeaux**  
Professor of Practice, Arizona  
State University; Senior  
Fellow, International Security  
Program, New America



**Inna Rudolf**  
Research Fellow,  
International Centre for the  
Study of Radicalisation

1:15-2:00 PM

## Lunch

2:00 - 2:40 PM

## How Do We Defend Ourselves Against the Cyber Warriors of the Future?



MODERATOR

**Lieutenant General (ret.)  
Robert Schmidle, PhD**  
Professor of Practice,  
Arizona State University;  
former Deputy Commander  
of United States  
Cyber Command



**Lieutenant-Colonel  
Natalie Vanatta, PhD**  
National Cyber  
Protection Team Leader,  
U.S. Army; Deputy  
Chief of Research,  
Army Cyber Institute



**Peter W. Singer, PhD**  
Strategist & Senior  
Fellow, New America



**Colonel Donald Bray,  
USA (Ret.)**  
Director, Cyber Initiatives  
of Global Training  
Solutions, Raytheon  
Intelligence, Information  
and Services

2:40 - 3:20 PM

## What Will the U.S. Military Be Doing in Space in 2030?



MODERATOR  
**Colonel Dennis Wille**  
U.S. Army Fellow,  
New America



**Lieutenant General  
David D. Thompson**  
Vice Commander, Air  
Force Space Command



**Carissa Christensen**  
Founder and CEO, Bryce  
Space and Technology



**Wallis Laughrey**  
Vice President, Space  
Systems, Raytheon

3:20 - 4:00 PM

## What Is the Future of Reporting From Conflict Zones?



**MODERATOR**  
**Kevin Baron**  
Executive Editor,  
*Defense One*



**Azmat Khan**  
Contributing Writer, *New York Times Magazine*;  
ASU Future of War  
Fellow, New America



**Masha Gessen**  
Staff Writer, *New Yorker*; Vice  
President, PEN America;  
Eric & Wendy Schmidt  
Fellow, New America



**Nick Waters**  
Open Source Analyst,  
*Bellingcat*

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### Keynote

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4:00 - 4:40 PM

## What Does the Future of the Marine Corps Look Like Beyond 2030?



**General Robert B. Neller**  
Commandant, United  
States Marine Corps



**Colonel Isaiah (Ike) Wilson III, USA, [Ret], PhD**  
Director, Strategic Studies  
Institute, Army War College;  
Fellow, International Security  
Program, New America; Army  
Strategist; former Chief,  
Commander's Initiatives  
Group, U.S. Central Command

4:40 - 5:00 PM

## Coffee and Networking Break

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### Keynote

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5:00 - 5:30 PM

## How Should Congress Shape the U.S. Military to be Prepared For Future Conflicts?



**Heather Hurlburt**  
Director, New Models of  
Policy Change, New America



**Rep. Seth Moulton**  
U.S. Representative,  
6th District of  
Massachusetts

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### Keynote

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5:30 - 6:00 PM

## What Does the State Department Think Will be the Challenges of 2030?



**Kiron Skinner, PhD**  
Director of Policy Planning,  
U.S. State Department



**Anne-Marie Slaughter, DPhil**  
CEO, New America; former  
Director of Policy Planning,  
U.S. State Department

06:00PM - 06:10PM

## Closing Remarks



**Peter Bergen**  
Vice President, Global Studies  
& Fellows, New America; Co-  
Director of the Center on the  
Future of War; Professor of  
Practice, Arizona State University

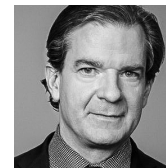
# Speakers



**Adam Baron** is a writer, consultant and political analyst focusing on the Middle East with an emphasis on Yemen and the Gulf. He is currently a visiting fellow at the European Council for Foreign Relations and an International Security Program fellow at New America. His writing has appeared in outlets including *Foreign Policy*, the *Nation* (US), the *Daily Beast*, the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Independent* (UK), *Brownbook*, *Vice*, the *National* (UAE), the BCC online, *Roads and Kingdoms*, the *Atlantic*, *World Politics Review*, and *Sports Illustrated*, while he has been interviewed by radio and television outlets in the United States, Canada and Europe, including CBS Radio, ABC Radio, France 24, Sky News, CNN, the CBC, NPR, Monocle Radio, MSNBC and the BBC. Born and raised in Baltimore, he holds a BA from Williams College in degree in Arab Studies and Religion and an MA in International Peace and Security from the department of War Studies at Kings College London. Currently based between Beirut and Europe, he reported from Yemen for *Economist*, McClatchy Newspapers and the *Christian Science Monitor* from 2011 to 2014.



**Kevin Baron** is the founding executive editor of *Defense One*. Baron has lived in Washington for 20 years, covering international affairs, the military, the Pentagon, Congress, and politics for *Foreign Policy*, *National Journal*, *Stars and Stripes*, and the *Boston Globe*, where he ran investigative projects for five years at the Washington bureau. He is a frequent on-air contributor and previously was national security/military analyst at NBC News & MSNBC. Baron cut his muckraking teeth at the Center for Public Integrity and he is twice a Polk Award winner and former vice president of the Pentagon Press Association. He earned his M.A. in media and public affairs from George Washington University, his B.A. in international studies from the University of Richmond, and studied in Paris. Raised in Florida, Baron now lives in Northern Virginia.



**Peter Bergen** is Vice President for Global Studies & Fellows at New America, professor of practice at Arizona State University where he co-directs the Center on the Future of War, a CNN national security analyst, and the author or editor of seven books, 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 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 is a member of the Aspen Homeland Security Group and a fellow at Fordham University's Center on National Security. Bergen is on the editorial board of *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, a leading scholarly journal in the field. He has testified on Capitol Hill seventeen times about national security issues. Bergen is the chairman of the board of the Global Special Operations Foundation, which is a non-profit advocating for the interests of special operations forces and is also on the board of the James W. Foley Legacy Foundation, which advocates for American hostages. Bergen has hosted, produced, or executive produced multiple documentaries for HBO, CNN, National Geographic, and Discovery. Bergen produced CNN Films' *Legion of Brothers*, which premiered at Sundance in 2017 and was released theatrically. It was nominated for an Emmy in 2018. 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. Bergen is married to the documentary director/producer Tresha Mabile. They have two children.



**Don Bray** is the Director of Cyber Initiatives of Global Training Solutions (GTS) for Raytheon Intelligence, Information and Services (IIS). Raytheon Company (NYSE: RTN), with 2017 sales of \$25 billion and 64,000 employees worldwide, is a technology and innovation leader specializing in defense, civil government and cybersecurity solutions. Raytheon is headquartered in Waltham, Massachusetts. GTS provides high-consequence and outsourced training for civil and defense agencies, as well as commercial customers in the U.S. and abroad. In his role, Bray is responsible for shaping the GTS cyber business strategy, optimizing cyber training and providing cyber expertise for all GTS cyber initiatives. He is also responsible for maintaining and building high-level customer relationships in government and industry. Bray has more than 34 years of experience in IT/Cybersecurity leadership, training and support, financial and change management. Prior to joining Raytheon, Bray capped his distinguished military career by serving as the Acting Director of Cybersecurity at the Headquarters, Department of the Army, Office of the Army Chief Information Officer (CIO)/G-6. As the Director, Bray reported directly to the Army CIO/G-6. He was responsible for assisting in strategy development, policy, and guidance for the Army's ongoing cybersecurity efforts. There, he led a staff of more than 145 military and civilian

employees and managed a contract in excess of \$160 million. As the first Commander of the U.S. Army's Cyber Protection Brigade, from 2014 to 2016, Bray provided trained and ready cyber teams to support the stand-up of Department of Defense (DoD) Cyber Mission Force (CMF). He was responsible for agency-wide defensive cyber and cybersecurity training strategy and implementation. Bray led a specialized hand-picked military and civilian cyber force with an annual operations and maintenance budget in excess of \$30 million. As the Commander of the Army's only Computer Network Defense (CND) Battalion, Bray was responsible for defending the Army's global network through the Army Computer Emergency Response Team (ACERT) and five geographically dispersed Regional Computer Emergency Response Teams (RCERTS). He led a highly responsive and uniquely skilled Military, Civilians and Contractors workforce responsible for 24x7 CND and managed a budget in excess \$15 million. Bray is a recipient of the Armed Forces Communications and Electronic Association (AFCEA) Saint Isidore Army Cyber Award, Military Cyber Professional Association Order of Thor Medal and SANS 2018 Difference Maker Award. Bray received a master's degree in Information Assurance from the University of Maryland, University College, and a master's degree in Strategic Studies from the U.S. Army War College. He also completed the National Defense University's Advanced Management Program, earning his DoD CIO Certification.



**Carissa Bryce Christensen** is the founder and CEO of Bryce Space and Technology, a leading aerospace and emerging markets consultancy. Christensen is an internationally-recognized expert in commercial space and the interplay of government, military, and commercial activities in the aerospace sector. For over two decades she has engaged the leading edge of the space industry with innovative analysis of space systems and advanced technology. She led the creation of widely-used financial and economic indicators now considered global metrics for the commercial space and satellite sectors. A frequent speaker and author on space and satellite trends, Christensen serves as a strategic advisor to government and commercial clients, and has been an expert witness and testified before Congress on market dynamics. She currently sits on the board of the Aerospace Center for Space Policy and Strategy and serves on the National Research Council Space Technology Industry-Government-University Roundtable (STIGUR) advisory group. She is also an active entrepreneur and investor in technology-focused startups and advises several companies she has helped seed. She co-founded QxBranch, a quantum computing software firm,

and sat on its board through its successful Series A. Prior to founding Bryce, Christensen co-founded The Tauri Group, LLC and was a partner in CenTauri Solutions, LLC (acquired by CSC in 2010). Christensen holds a Master of Public Policy degree from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, where she specialized in science and technology policy. She also completed the General Course in Government at the London School of Economics and was a Douglass Scholar at Rutgers University. Christensen is a Fellow of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics.



**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.



**Christopher Costa** served as the Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism on the National Security Council (NSC). At the NSC, he was responsible for coordinating counterterrorism policy and strategy as well as U.S. hostage recovery activities. Costa had 34 years of progressive national security experience and well-documented success in strategy, policy, special operations, counterintelligence, and human intelligence, deploying on multiple contingencies and to combat operations in the Republic of Panama, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Costa's last assignment with the United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) was as Program Director in the Operations Directorate. Preceding USSOCOM, Costa served as a Department of the Navy civilian at the Naval Special Warfare Development Group – with US Navy SEALs, and as a Senior Adjunct Instructor with Norwich University's Bachelor of Science in Strategic Studies and Defense Analysis Program; with Norwich University, he taught on topics related to national security, strategy, and counterterrorism. He holds an M.A. in Strategic Intelligence from American Military University; an M.A. in National Security and Strategic Studies from the U.S. Naval War College; and a B.A. from Norwich University. His military awards and decorations include the

Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, and two Bronze Stars. In May 2013, Costa was inducted into USSOCOM's Commando Hall of Honor for extraordinary and enduring service to Special Operations Forces. Most recently, Costa joined the International Spy Museum as the Executive Director where he will play a leading role in building on its extraordinary success as a Washington attraction and speaking responsibly on current counterterrorism and intelligence issues.



**Dr. Michael M. Crow** is an educator, knowledge enterprise architect, science and technology policy scholar and higher education leader. He became the sixteenth president of Arizona State University in July 2002 and has spearheaded ASU's rapid and groundbreaking transformative evolution into one of the world's best public metropolitan research universities. As a model "New American University," ASU simultaneously demonstrates comprehensive excellence, inclusivity representative of the ethnic and socioeconomic diversity of the United States, and consequential societal impact.



**Jen Easterly** is a Managing Director of Morgan Stanley and Global Head of the Firm's Cybersecurity Fusion Center, charged with assessing, detecting, and responding to cyber threats, vulnerabilities, and incidents that incur risk to the Firm. Easterly joined Morgan Stanley in February 2017 after nearly three decades in U.S. Government service. Prior to joining the Firm, Easterly served on the National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism, where she led the development and coordination of U.S. counterterrorism and hostage policy. Prior to that, she was the Deputy for Counterterrorism at the National Security Agency, responsible for leading operations to detect and disrupt terrorist attacks against the U.S. and our allies. A two-time recipient of the Bronze Star, Easterly retired from the U.S. Army after more than twenty years of service in intelligence and cyber operations, including tours of duty in Haiti, the Balkans, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Responsible for standing up the Army's first cyber battalion, Easterly was also instrumental in the creation of United States Cyber Command. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a French-American Foundation Young Leader, Easterly is a Fellow of the 2018 class of the Aspen Finance Leaders Fellowship and a member of the Aspen Global Leadership Network. She is also a Senior International Security Fellow at the New America Foundation, as well as the past recipient of the Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship and the Director, National Security Agency Fellowship. A distinguished graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, Easterly holds a

master's degree in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics from the University of Oxford, where she studied as a Rhodes Scholar. A Trustee of the Morgan Stanley Foundation, Easterly serves on the Board of Nuru International, a non-profit dedicated to the eradication of extreme poverty, and the Board of the James W. Foley Legacy Foundation, a non-profit dedicated to advocating for and ensuring the safe return of Americans held unjustly abroad. She also serves on the Advisory Council for Hostage US, which supports the families of Americans taken hostage abroad and hostages when they return home. She is the 2018 recipient of the James W. Foley American Hostage Freedom Award.



**Erica Gaston** is a Fellow with the International Security Program at New America and a non-resident fellow at the Global Public Policy Institute. Her research focuses on the impact of local, substate, or other hybrid security forces in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria. Previously Gaston led the Afghanistan and Yemen rule of law portfolios for the United States Institute of Peace and helped found the Afghanistan-Pakistan Regional Policy Initiative at the Open Society Foundations. Her academic work has focused on emerging norms and practices of the Law of Armed Conflict, including recent articles on expansive unit and individual self-defense and on mercenaries and private security companies in the Harvard International Law Journal and Harvard National Security Law Journal, and a three-volume introductory series on changing norms and practices in 21st century conflict. Gaston holds a juris doctorate from Harvard Law School and a bachelor's degree in international relations from Stanford University. She is currently pursuing a PhD in Politics and International Studies from the University of Cambridge.



**Joshua Geltzer** is a Class of 2018 ASU Future of War Fellow. He is writing a book exploring challenges associated with modern communications technologies such as social media platforms, file-upload sites, and internet search engines. He is the executive director and visiting professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center's Institute for Constitutional Advocacy and Protection. From 2015 to 2017, he served as senior director for counterterrorism at the National Security Council staff, having served previously as deputy legal advisor to the National Security Council and as counsel to the assistant attorney general for national security at the Department of Justice. He also served as a law clerk to Justice Stephen Breyer of the U.S. Supreme Court and, before that, as a law clerk to Chief Judge Alex Kozinski of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Josh received his J.D. from Yale Law School, where he served as editor-in-chief of the *Yale Law Journal*, and his PhD in War Studies from King's College London, where he was a Marshall Scholar. Before that, he attended Princeton University, majoring in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. He is the author of *US Counter-Terrorism Strategy and al-Qaeda: Signalling and the Terrorist World-View*, published by Routledge; and his work has appeared in the *Atlantic*, *Foreign Policy*, *Parameters*, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, the *Journal of Constitutional Law*, and the *Berkeley Journal of International Law*.



**Masha Gessen** is an Eric & Wendy Schmidt Fellow at New America. Gessen is a staff writer at the *New Yorker* and an author of ten books of nonfiction, including *The Future is History: How Totalitarianism Reclaimed Russia*, which won the 2017 National Book Award.



**Karen J. Greenberg**, a noted expert on national security, terrorism, and civil liberties, is Director of the Center on National Security at Fordham Law School where she teaches courses on post-9/11 national security law and policy. Greenberg is the author of *Rogue Justice: The Making of the Security State* and the Editor-in-Chief of the daily national security news round-up *The Soufan Group Morning Brief* and the weekly Stroz Friedberg Cyber Brief. Her other publications include *The Least Worst Place: Guantanamo's First 100 Days*, a *Washington Post* best book of 2009; *The Torture Papers: The Road to Abu Ghraib* (co-edited with Joshua Dratel); the collection, *The Torture Debate in America*; *The Terrorist Trial Report Card, 2001-2011*, and *The American Exception: Terrorism Prosecutions in the United States - The ISIS Cases, 2014-2017*. A book of essays, *Reimagining the National Security State: Liberalism on the Brink*, is forthcoming in fall 2019 from Cambridge University Press. Greenberg's work appears frequently in prominent news outlets and she is a frequent guest on major news programs. She is a permanent member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



**Sarah Holewinski** was senior advisor on use of force and human rights issues to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the U.S. Department of Defense. She was also a senior fellow with the Center for a New American Security (CNAS) during that time. Previously, Sarah served as Ambassador Samantha Power's deputy chief of staff for policy at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and, before that for nearly a decade, as the executive director of Center for Civilians in Conflict. She led the organization's efforts to advise warring parties on civilian harm

in Iraq, Afghanistan, Burma, Somalia, Libya, and elsewhere. Sarah was named in the top 100 Most Influential People in Armed Violence Reduction by Action on Armed Violence (AOAV) in 2014 and received the Extraordinary Achievement award from the Truman National Security Project in 2015. Sarah was a member of President Clinton's White House AIDS Policy team and senior associate of West Wing Writers, a firm of former White House speechwriters. She has consulted for Human Rights Watch, the Clinton Foundation in Rwanda, the Ford Foundation, and the International Committee of the Red Cross. She holds degrees from Georgetown and Columbia Universities, is a lifetime member of the Council of Foreign Relations, is on the board of Center for Civilians in Conflict, and is a weekly volunteer with the Postpartum Support International crisis helpline.



**Heather Hurlburt** is the director of the New Models of Policy Change project at New America's Political Reform program. Hurlburt leads research into how policy advocacy can adapt to be effective in our current environment of intense political polarization and guides advocates and funders seeking to navigate politics effectively on behalf of policy solutions on issues such as national security and climate change. Hurlburt is a contributor to *New York Magazine*; has published articles in *Politico*, *Foreign Affairs*, the *National Interest*, *Fortune*, *Vox*, and *Time*, among other publications. She co-hosts the Drezburt podcast and frequently appears in print and broadcast media. 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 State Department under President Bill Clinton, and worked on Capitol Hill and for the International Crisis Group. She holds degrees from Brown and George Washington Universities.



**Azmat Khan** is an award-winning investigative journalist, a *New York Times Magazine* Contributing Writer, and the James Madison Visiting Professor on First Amendment Issues at Columbia Journalism School. She is writing a book for Random House investigating the human costs of America's precision air wars. Her accountability reporting been awarded the National Magazine Award; the Hillman Prize; the Overseas Press Club Ed Cunningham Award; the Deadline Club Magazine Investigative Reporting Award; the Daniel Pearl Award for Outstanding Reporting on South Asia; and other honors.



**Wallis Laughrey** is vice president of Space Systems, a mission area within Raytheon's Space and Airborne Systems. A member of the SAS leadership team, he oversees all Space Systems programs, developing the organization's vision, strategy and plans. Raytheon Company, with 2016 sales of \$24 billion and 63,000 employees, is a technology and innovation leader specializing in defense, civil government and cybersecurity solutions. With a history of innovation spanning 95 years, Raytheon provides state-of-the-art electronics, mission systems integration, C5ITM products and services, sensing, effects, and mission support for customers in more than 80 countries. Raytheon is headquartered in Waltham, Massachusetts. Raytheon Space and Airborne Systems is a leading provider of integrated sensor, communication and electronic warfare systems giving military forces the most accurate and timely actionable information available for the network-centric battlefield. With a workforce of 13,000 and 2016 sales of \$6.2 billion, SAS is headquartered in McKinney, Texas, with operations across the U.S. and internationally. Space Systems is a global leader for space-enabled information solutions for defense, civil and commercial applications. Key technologies include electro-optical, infrared and radar-based payloads systems. Programs include the Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite, Space Tracking and Surveillance System sensors, advanced missile warning technology and various classified efforts. Prior to his role at Space Systems, Laughrey was SAS vice president and deputy, Advanced Concepts and Technology. He continues to collaborate with ACT in the development and implementation of new and emerging system concepts, products and strategic technologies that position SAS for future programs, and architected a \$12B future resilient MILSATCOM enterprise architecture. Prior to Raytheon, Laughrey was director, Strike Systems Advanced Development, Northrop Grumman Aerospace Systems. He was responsible for leading strategy and business development teams in growing two diverse portfolios. Laughrey held a number of program and functional positions, each with increasing levels of responsibility. Prior to Northrop Grumman, Laughrey was program manager, Raytheon SAS, overseeing a family of products employed on the E2D Advanced Hawkeye aircraft. He led the development and delivery of five flight units through subsystem and aircraft level integration and test in less than two years. After graduating from the United States Air Force Academy, Laughrey served in a number of different roles and organizations within Air Force Space Command and Air Force Materiel Command. Laughrey holds memberships in the Air Force Association, American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, and National Defense Industrial Association

professional organizations. Laughrey earned a bachelor's degree from the United States Air Force Academy, master's degrees in public administration and product development engineering from the University of Colorado and the University of Southern California, respectively. He has also earned a certificate in advanced project management from Stanford University.

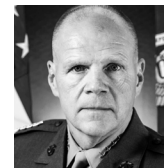


**Tyra A. Mariani** is the President and Chief Operating Officer at New America where she partners with the board and CEO Anne-Marie Slaughter to lead the transformation of New America into a new kind of think and action tank: a civic platform that connects a research institute, technology lab, solutions network, media hub and public forum. Prior to New America, Mariani was appointed Chief of Staff to the U.S. Deputy Secretary of Education and Deputy Chief of Staff to the U.S. Secretary of Education under the Obama Administration. In these roles, Mariani helped shape policies and programs impacting education from early learning through college and career. She also led complex interagency and cross-departmental teams that took several Administration priorities from vision to strategy and implementation including the President's My Brother's Keeper initiative and RESPECT, an effort to elevate and transform the teaching profession. Mariani was recognized as a key problem-solving partner to the Department's senior leadership, helping them to overcome bureaucracy and accelerate their work and the agency's priorities. Prior to joining the Department of Education, Mariani launched entrepreneurial efforts to build human capital in the education sector as the founder of the Greater New Orleans Region of New Leaders. In this role, she developed and successfully executed a strategy to drive high academic gains in schools led by New Leaders principals in post-Katrina New Orleans. Prior to New Leaders, Mariani served as Budget Director for Chicago Public Schools (CPS) overseeing the \$5 billion budget of the third largest school district in the country. She entered CPS through the Broad Residency in Urban Education. As a Broad Resident, she led efforts that addressed overcrowding and increased the quality of principal candidates within the district. Mariani began her career in the private sector. Her focus on human capital began in Training and Development with Kraft Foods Corporate, where she led efforts to make the company's training programs more effective and aligned with employees' developmental needs as well as broader cross-cutting efforts on team development and improving individual efficiency and productivity. Through her years at McKinsey & Company and work across a number of sectors, Mariani has developed a distinctive perspective

on individual and organizational performance management and improvement across a broad set of industries and functions ranging from increasing return on invested capital to service productivity in a variety of industries. Mariani was co-valedictorian and received a bachelor's degree summa cum laude in Business Administration from Howard University and a master's in business from Stanford University.



**Seth Moulton** was first called to service when he joined the Marines in 2001, days after graduating from college and months before the attacks on 9/11. As the leader of an infantry platoon, he was among the first Americans to reach Baghdad in 2003. He served four tours in a war that he didn't agree with – but he was proud to go, so no one had to go in his place. After returning home from Iraq, Rep. Moulton earned joint degrees in Business and Public Policy at graduate school, and then worked in the private sector in Texas to build the country's first high speed rail line. But it wasn't long before he was called to serve once again — this time in his home district in Massachusetts. Rep. Moulton ran — and won — on a platform of bringing a new generation of leadership to Washington, becoming the only Democrat to unseat an incumbent in a primary in 2014. In the two terms since he was first sworn in, Rep. Moulton has worked tirelessly to uphold his commitment to bipartisanship. He has passed several bipartisan bills, including the Faster Care for Veterans Act and the Modernizing Government Travel Act, and was named the most effective freshman Democrat by the Center for Effective Lawmaking. He has also concentrated on spurring economic development in Massachusetts, creating the first intergovernmental task force focused on growing the economy of Lynn, the biggest city in his district. Today, as a member of the Budget Committee, Rep. Moulton is focused on creating a new economic agenda that will make a difference for American families. He also sits on the House Armed Services Committee and is the top Democrat on the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee. Rep. Moulton lives in Salem, Massachusetts with his wife, Elizabeth, and their daughter, Emmy.



**General Robert B. Neller** is the 37th Commandant of the United States Marine Corps. Prior to his current assignment, he served as the Commander, Marine Forces Command from July 2014 to September 2015 and Commander, Marine Forces Central Command from September 2012 to June 2014. A native of East Lansing, Michigan, General Neller graduated from the University of Virginia and was commissioned in 1975. He has served as an infantry officer at all levels, including command of Marine Security Force Company Panama during Operations JUST CAUSE and PROMOTE LIBERTY; 3d Light Armored Infantry Battalion



during Operation RESTORE HOPE; 6th Marine Regiment; and 3d Marine Division. General Neller also served as Deputy Commanding General, I Marine Expeditionary Force (Forward) during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (05-07); Assistant Division Commander for 1st and 2d Marine Divisions; and President of Marine Corps University. His Joint assignments include service in the Policy Division of Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Casteau, Belgium, and as the Director of Operations (J-3) of the Joint Staff in Washington, D.C. General Neller is a graduate of the Armor Officer Advanced Course, Marine Corps Command and Staff College, NATO Defense College, and the Armed Forces Staff College. He holds a master's degree in Human Resource Management from Pepperdine University.



**Louie Palu** is an award-winning photographer and filmmaker whose work has been featured internationally for over 28-years. He is a 2011 New America Fellow in which he examined organized crime and drugs in Mexico. He has worked extensively in many parts of the world including Afghanistan (2006-2010), Ukraine, Pakistan and Libya. He began working in the Arctic in 1993 and has worked with *National Geographic* since 2016. He is a 2016 Guggenheim Fellow and Harry Ransom Center Research Fellow in the Humanities at the University of Texas at Austin.



**Chris Pehrson** is Vice President for Strategic Development at General Atomics Aeronautical Systems, Inc. In this capacity, he develops business strategy and leads a team of business development professionals to promote the company's full line of remotely piloted aircraft and sensor payloads to the Department of Defense and other U.S. Government customers. He is responsible for a business capture portfolio that includes the MQ-9 Reaper, MQ-1C Gray Eagle, Avenger UAS, Advanced Programs, Mission Payloads, and ISR services lines of business. He and his team are focused on providing customers with effective, reliable and affordable mission solutions. Prior to joining GA-ASI in 2010, Chris served in the U.S. Air Force, retiring as a colonel. During his military career he commanded two squadrons and an operations group and completed staff tours at Headquarters Air Force and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. As a Pilot and Electronic Warfare Officer, he flew the F-111, EF-111, C-130, and a variety of Non-Standard Aviation Aircraft. Chris has operational experience in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Bosnia, and is the recipient of the Distinguished Flying Cross, Bronze Star, and eleven Air Medals. Chris is the author of "String of Pearls," a paper that foretold China's ambition to expand geo-political influence from the

South China Sea and across the Indian Ocean to secure lines of communication and access to resources. He also served as representative of the Office of the Secretary of Defense to the interagency for the formulation of national cyber security and domestic counterterrorism policies. Chris holds a bachelor's degree in Computer Science from the University of Michigan, a master's degree in Computer Information Systems from Boston University, and a master's degree in Logistics from the Air Force Institute of Technology. He is also a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the Air War College



**Nicholas "Nick" Rasmussen** currently serves as Senior Director for National Security and Counterterrorism Programs at the McCain Institute for International Leadership in Washington, D.C., and as Distinguished Professor of Practice at the Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law at Arizona State University (ASU). Rasmussen joined the McCain Institute and ASU in May 2018 after stepping down as Director of the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) in December 2017. In addition to his work with the McCain Institute and ASU, Rasmussen holds the following academic appointments: Visiting Professor of Practice at the School of Law, University of Texas at Austin; Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the National Security College of Australia National University; and Non-Resident Fellow at the Reiss Center on Law and Security at New York University School of Law. He also serves as an intelligence and national security analyst/contributor with NBC News and MSNBC. Rasmussen is a senior national security professional with over twenty-seven years in U.S. government service, including in senior counterterrorism posts at the White House and in the U.S. Intelligence Community from 2001 to 2017. With a unique blend of experience as a senior policy executive and intelligence official, Rasmussen capped his federal government career as Director of NCTC, where he led more than 1,000 professionals from across the Intelligence Community, federal government, and federal contractor workforce. Rasmussen held senior posts across three White House administrations, serving on the National Security Council (NSC) staff under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama before being appointed Director of NCTC by President Obama and continuing his tenure at the request of President Donald Trump's Administration in 2017. Rasmussen was one of only a handful of presidentially appointed officials held over from the Obama Administration to serve in the Trump Administration. In 2014, Rasmussen was nominated by President Obama and confirmed by the U.S. Senate to serve as the fifth Director of NCTC. Created by Congress in response to the September 11, 2001 attacks, NCTC serves as the primary organization in the U.S. government for analysis and integration of all terrorism

intelligence. As Director of NCTC, Rasmussen provided independent assessments on counterterrorism issues to the President and National Security Council, led and integrated the counterterrorism community on behalf of the Director of National Intelligence, and conducted strategic operational planning of U.S. counterterrorism activities in support of the President. He regularly testified before committees of the U.S. Congress in both open and closed session. During his tenure, Rasmussen prioritized deepening the Center's intelligence analysis to support the U.S. government's campaign against ISIS and expanding NCTC's reach with federal, state, and local partners, as well as with the private sector and foreign allies. Prior to becoming Director, Rasmussen served as NCTC's Deputy Director from 2012 to 2014. Rasmussen joined the counterterrorism community six days after the 9/11 attacks, serving as the Director of Regional Affairs in the Office of Combating Terrorism on President George W. Bush's NSC staff from 2001 to 2004. Rasmussen rejoined the Bush Administration NSC in 2007 and continued his NSC service into President Obama's Administration as the Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism. In this role, Rasmussen was charged with leading the development of U.S. counterterrorism policy and strategy, including supporting policy deliberations leading up to the U.S. military raid against Osama bin Laden. During his nearly eight years of service across two administrations at the White House and his nearly six years as both the Deputy Director and Director of NCTC, Rasmussen was a key participant in national security decision making on a wide range of issues, including policy on Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Middle East, North and East Africa, and Southeast Asia, as well as on issues impacting our Homeland Security capabilities. Rasmussen began his career at the Department of State in 1991 as a Presidential Management Intern and served at State for more than a decade in a variety of key positions. As Special Assistant to the State Department's Middle East Coordinator, Ambassador Dennis Ross, from 1996-2001, Rasmussen was intimately involved in the Department's work on the Arab-Israeli peace process. Prior to that, he served as Special Assistant to Ambassador-at-Large Robert Gallucci supporting the negotiation and implementation of the U.S.-North Korea Agreed Framework. A recipient of a bachelor's degree with High Honors from Wesleyan University and a master's degree in Public and International Affairs from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University, Rasmussen is also the recipient of the highest honors the U.S. Government awards to intelligence professionals and career civil servants, including the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal in 2017,



the Director of National Intelligence's Distinguished Service Award and the Distinguished Presidential Rank Award in 2016. In 2017, he was presented with a Distinguished Alumni Award by Wesleyan University during commencement weekend. Rasmussen regularly provides expert analysis on terrorism and national security issues for major media outlets, including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Time* magazine, CNN, Fox News, PBS, and National Public Radio. He has also served as a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and as an adjunct faculty member at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where he taught a course on U.S. counterterrorism policy. He and his wife Maria reside in Alexandria, Virginia.

**Admiral John Richardson** graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1982 with a Bachelor of Science in Physics. He holds master's degrees in electrical engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, and National Security Strategy from the National War College. At sea, Richardson served on USS Parche (SSN 683), USS George C. Marshall (SSBN 654) and USS Salt Lake City (SSN 716). He commanded USS Honolulu (SSN 718) in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Richardson also served as commodore of Submarine Development Squadron (DEVRON) 12; commander, Submarine Group 8; commander, Submarine Allied Naval Forces South; deputy commander, U.S. 6th Fleet; chief of staff, U.S. Naval Forces Europe and U.S. Naval Forces Africa; commander, Naval Submarine Forces, and director of Naval Reactors. His staff assignments include duty in the attack submarine division on the Chief of Naval Operations staff; naval aide to the President; prospective commanding officer instructor for Commander, Submarine Forces, U.S. Pacific Fleet; assistant deputy director for Regional Operations on the Joint Staff; and director of Strategy and Policy at U.S. Joint Forces Command. Richardson served on teams that have been awarded the Presidential Unit Citation, the Joint Meritorious Unit Award, the Navy Unit Commendation, and the Navy "E" Ribbon. He was awarded the Vice Admiral Stockdale Award for his time in command of USS Honolulu. Richardson began serving as the 31st Chief of Naval Operations September 18, 2015.



**Candace Rondeaux** is a Professor of Practice in the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University and a Senior Fellow with the Center on the Future of War, a joint initiative of ASU and New America. An expert on international security affairs, she has previously 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. 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. Her research interests include the dynamics of conflict and sectarian violence, transparency and accountability in governance, political Islam in modern Muslim majority states, Russian and post-Soviet affairs. In addition to the *Post*, her work has been 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 in South Asia, she produced award winning journalism on criminal justice and legal affairs, contributing to *Post*'s Pulitzer Prize winning coverage of the 2007 Virginia Tech Massacre, coverage of Hurricane Katrina and the Terri Schiavo case for the *St. Petersburg Times* in Florida, and the 9/11 attacks in New York for the investigative team at the *New York Daily News*. A graduate of Sarah Lawrence College, she holds a B.A. in Russian Area Studies, M.A. Journalism from New York University, and an MPP in Public Policy from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.



**Dr. Daniel Rothenberg** is co-director of the Center on the Future of War and a Professor of Practice at the 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. 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*.



**Inna Rudolf** is Research Fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), pursuing her PhD at King's College London's Department of War Studies. She completed her master's degree in political science and Islamic studies in 2012 at the University of Heidelberg, specializing in Conflict Resolution, Peace Building and Political Islam. During her studies, she headed the regional group on "Conflicts in the Middle East and Maghreb" at the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research. In addition to her field work in Iraq, she has lived in Libya, Yemen, Egypt, Tunisia and Palestine. Looking into the hybridization of security sector governance, in her current research she focuses on the evolving relationship between the Iraqi state and the Popular Mobilization Units (PMU) - a state-sanctioned paramilitary umbrella. Prior to joining ICSR, she has been representing the BMW Foundation Herbert Quandt in the Middle East and North Africa region. She also serves as an advisory board member for the Candid Foundation - an independent Berlin based think tank focusing on political, social and cultural challenges facing Muslim communities north and south of the Mediterranean.



While on active duty, **Lieutenant General 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 (ret.) 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 doctorate in philosophy from Georgetown University and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Defense Science Board.



**Luke Shabro** is the Deputy Director for the Army's Mad Scientist Initiative. He is a Chesapeake native and a graduate of Old Dominion University (Bachelor's in International Studies) and Virginia Tech (Master's in Political Science). Before becoming Deputy Director of Mad Scientist he was a futures analyst for the Army Training and Doctrine Command and previously spent eight years in the United States Navy as an Intelligence Specialist.





**Peter Warren Singer** is a Strategist and Senior Fellow at New America. He has been named by the Smithsonian as one of the nation's 100 leading innovators, by *Defense News* as one of the 100 most influential people in defense issues, by *Foreign Policy* to their Top 100 Global Thinkers List, and as an official "Mad Scientist" for the U.S. Army's Training and Doctrine Command. Singer's award winning 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* and *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War*, a technothriller crossed with nonfiction research, which has been endorsed by people who range from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs to the co-inventor of the Internet to the writer of HBO Game of Thrones. His latest book is *LikeWar* (Oct 2018, HMH), which explores how social media has changed war and politics, and war and politics has changed social media. It was named an Amazon book of the year, a NYTimes "new and notable," and reviewed by *Booklist* as "*LikeWar* should be required reading for everyone living in a democracy and all who aspire to." His past work include serving at the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Harvard University, and as the founding director of the Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence at Brookings, where he was the youngest person named senior fellow in its 100 year history.



**Dr. Kiron Skinner** has served as Director of Policy Planning at the U.S. Department of State since September 2018. In this role she also serves as a Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State, providing essential long-term, high-level guidance. Dr. Skinner is currently on leave from Carnegie Mellon University, where she directs the following academic initiatives: the Center for International Relations and Politics; the Carnegie Mellon University Washington Semester Program; the Institute for Politics and Strategy; and the Institute for Strategic Analysis. For many years, Professor Skinner was a faculty member in the Department of History and the Department of Social and Decision Sciences (SDS). As director of the Institute for Politics and Strategy, Professor Skinner now oversees the creation and development of Carnegie Mellon's newest academic unit. Her areas of expertise are international relations, international security, US foreign policy, and political strategy. At the Hoover Institution, Professor Skinner is the W. Glenn Campbell Research Fellow. She is a member of three Hoover Institution projects: the Shultz-Stephenson Task Force on Energy Policy, the working group on the Role of Military History in Contemporary Conflict, and the Arctic Security Initiative. Professor Skinner is a lifetime director on the board of the

Atlantic Council in Washington, DC, is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City, and the Pacific Council on International Policy in Los Angeles, California. Professor Skinner holds MA and PhD degrees in political science from Harvard University and undergraduate degrees from Spelman College and Sacramento City College. She has an honorary doctor of laws degree from Molloy College, Long Island.



**Anne-Marie Slaughter** is the 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 awards from USAID and the Supreme Allied Commander for Europe. Prior to her government service, Dr. Slaughter was the Dean of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs from 2002–2009 and the J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of International, Foreign, and Comparative Law at Harvard Law School from 1994–2002. Dr. Slaughter has written or edited eight books, including *The Chessboard and the Web: Strategies of Connection in a Networked World* (2017), *Unfinished Business: Women, Men, Work, Family* (2015), *The Idea That Is America: Keeping Faith with Our Values in a Dangerous World* (2007), and *A New World Order* (2004), as well as over 100 scholarly articles. She was the convener and academic co-chair, with Professor John Ikenberry, of the Princeton Project on National Security, a multi-year research project aimed at developing a new, bipartisan national security strategy for the United States. In 2012 she published the article "Why Women Still Can't Have It All," in the *Atlantic*, which quickly became the most read article in the history of the magazine and helped spawn a renewed national debate on the continued obstacles to genuine full male-female equality. Dr. Slaughter is a contributing editor to the *Financial Times* and writes a bi-monthly column for *Project Syndicate*. She provides frequent commentary for both mainstream and new media and curates foreign policy news for over 140,000 followers on Twitter. *Foreign Policy* magazine named her to their annual list of the Top 100 Global Thinkers in 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012. She received a B.A. from Princeton, an M.Phil and D.Phil in international relations from Oxford, where she was a Daniel M. Sachs Scholar, and a J.D. from Harvard. She is married to Professor Andrew Moravcsik; they live in Princeton with their two sons.



**Matt Spence** is an International Security Fellow at New America and a Professor of Practice at Arizona State University's Sandra Day O'Connor Law School and Thunderbird School of Global Management. He is also a Managing Director at Guggenheim Partners, where he is an investment banker focusing on cybersecurity, the intersection of national security and technology, and emerging technologies. He was previously a partner at the venture capital firm, Andreessen Horowitz, based in Silicon Valley. Prior to entering the private sector, Matt spent seven years in senior national security positions in the U.S. government. He served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Middle East Policy, where he was the principal advisor to three Secretaries of Defense for U.S. policy towards the Middle East. Prior to that, Matt worked at the White House on the National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for International Economic Affairs and as Senior Advisor to two National Security Advisors. He traveled with the President to over 30 countries, joined over 200 Cabinet meetings on national security issues, and prepared the National Security Advisor for over 500 of the President's Daily Intelligence Briefings. He also served on the Obama-Biden Presidential Transition Team. Matt is the co-founder and serves on the board of the Truman National Security Project. He is a Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the NYU Center on Global Legal Challenges, a Senior Fellow at the Yale Center on Global Legal Challenges, and has served as the William J. Perry Fellow at Stanford University. Trained as a lawyer, Matt served as a law clerk for Judge Richard Posner of the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals. A Marshall Scholar and Truman Scholar, Dr. Spence received his doctorate in International Relations from Oxford University; J.D. from Yale Law School; and B.A. and M.A. in International Policy Studies from Stanford University. He was born and raised in southern California.



**John Spencer** serves as the Chair of Urban Warfare Studies and Co-Director of the Urban Warfare Project for the Modern War Institute at the United States Military Academy. He is a retired Army major who served twenty-five years as an infantryman, including two combat deployments to Iraq. His writing has appeared in *New York Times*, *USA Today*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *LA Times*, *NY Daily News*, *WIRED magazine*, *Politico*, *The Hill*, *Foreign Policy Magazine*, and many other publications.



**Lt. Gen. David D. Thompson** is Vice Commander, Air Force Space Command, Washington, D.C. He is responsible to the commander of Air Force Space Command in carrying out Air Force space missions and integrating space policy, guidance, coordination and synchronization of space-related activities, and issue resolution for Air Force Space Command and the Department of the Air Force. Air Force Space Command organizes, trains, equips and maintains mission-ready space forces and provides missile warning, positioning, navigation and timing, and communications for North American Aerospace Defense Command, U.S. Strategic Command and the other functional and geographic combatant commands. The command comprises approximately 26,000 space professionals worldwide. General Thompson was commissioned in 1985 as a graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy. He is a career space officer with assignments in operations, acquisition, research and development, and academia. He has commanded operational space units at the squadron, group and wing levels. The general is also an Olmsted Scholar, graduate of the Senior Acquisition Course and Level III-Certified Program Manager. Prior to his assignment as Vice Commander, General Thompson was the Special Assistant to the Commander, Air Force Space Command, Peterson Air Force Base, Colorado.



**Kelly Uribe** is County Director for Spain, Portugal, and Malta in the Office of the Undersecretary of Defense and Policy at the U.S. Department of Defense. Mrs. Uribe is a former U.S. Army Military Police officer. In 2003, she supported the 4th Infantry Division's police reconstruction efforts throughout Diyala Province, Iraq. Her other overseas assignments include Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Kuwait and South Korea. Mrs. Uribe earned a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School at Tufts University and a Bachelor of Arts from Davidson College where she was a Distinguished Military Graduate. She, her husband Ernesto, and their two sons live in Northern Virginia.

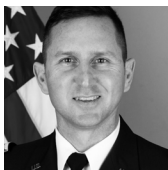


**LTC Natalie Vanatta** is a US Army Cyber officer and an Academy Professor at the Army Cyber Institute. Here she focuses on bringing private industry, academia, and government agencies together to explore and solve cyber challenges facing the US Army in the next 5-10 years in order to prevent strategic surprise. She holds a PhD in applied mathematics as well as degrees in computer engineering and systems engineering. Natalie has also served as a Distinguished Visiting Professor at the National Security Agency and the technical director to Joint Task Force Ares.

Currently, she is serving as the Team Leader for O1 National Cyber Protection Team defending forward in the nation's critical infrastructure and key resources.



**Nick Waters** is a senior open-source investigator with *Bellingcat*. His work there has focused on the conflict in Syria, including the adoption of commercial drones by sub-state actors and the use of chemical weapons. In 2018 he was shortlisted for the European Press Prize for Innovation for some of this work. Before starting at *Bellingcat* Nick spent 4 years as a British Army infantry officer, a year completing an MA at King's College London and two years working in cyber security.



**Colonel Dennis Wille** is a U.S. Army Fellow at New America. He has been an active duty member of the United States Army for more than 23 years. He began his career as an Armor officer in 1995 and served in Armored Cavalry units at Fort Carson, Colorado and Fort Stewart, Georgia. In 2005, Colonel Wille transitioned from Armor into the U.S. Army's cadre of space professionals. In this role, he has served as a space operations staff officer at Fort Hood, Texas; Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; Peterson Air Force Base, Colorado; and most recently in Germany. During his career, Colonel Wille has participated in deployments to Bosnia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Of note, his year-long tour in Afghanistan took place at ISAF Joint Command as a military planner where he focused on integrating non-military applications into NATO's overall approach. Across the breadth of his national security and defense experience, Colonel Wille has developed significant expertise in a number of areas. As a space operations officer he understands the critical role of satellites in both commercial and government applications. As a military planner he is deeply knowledgeable of the interplay between ends, ways, and means as they apply to national strategy. Colonel Wille received his B.S. from the United States Military Academy, an M.S. in Space Systems Operations from the Naval Postgraduate School, a Masters in Military Art and Science (MMAS) from the School for Advanced Military Studies, and an MMAS from the Army War College.



**Heather Wilson** is the 24th Secretary of the Air Force and is responsible for the affairs of the Department of the Air Force, including the organizing, training and equipping and providing for the welfare of 685,000 active-duty, Guard, Reserve, and civilian forces as well as their families. She oversees the Air Force's annual budget of more than \$138 billion and directs strategy and policy development, risk management, weapons acquisition, technology investments and human

resource management across a global enterprise. Wilson has more than 35 years of professional experience in a range of leadership and management roles in the military, higher education, government and private industry. Before assuming her current position, Wilson was president of the South Dakota School of Mines & Technology, an engineering and science research university. From 1998 to 2009, Wilson was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, where she served on the House Armed Services Committee, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Energy and Commerce Committee. Before being elected to Congress, Wilson was a cabinet secretary in New Mexico's state government responsible for foster care, adoption, juvenile delinquency, children's mental health and early childhood education. From 1989 to 1991, Wilson served on the National Security Council staff as director for defense policy and arms control for President George H.W. Bush during the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. From 1991 to 1995, and again from 2009 to 2013, Wilson was in the private sector. In 1991 she founded Keystone International, Inc., a company that did business development and program planning work for defense and scientific industry. She served as a senior advisor to several national laboratories on matters related to nuclear weapons, non-proliferation, arms control verification, intelligence and the defense industrial base. Wilson also served on the boards of two publicly traded corporations as well as numerous advisory and non-profit boards. Wilson was an Air Force officer from 1982 to 1989. She graduated from the U.S. Air Force Academy in the third class to include women, and earned her master's and doctorate degrees as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University in England. Wilson was a collegiate rower at Oxford and is an instrument-rated private pilot.



**Isiah (Ike) Wilson III, Ph.D.**, is a colonel (retired) in the United States Army and an Army strategist. He served as chief, Commander's Initiatives Group (CIG), at U.S. Central Command from 2013 to 2016, with prior assignments as chief of plans, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) in Northern Iraq (2003-2004), as a theater war planner and strategic adviser in Afghanistan, and as professor and director of American politics, policy and strategy with the Department of Social Sciences at West Point. He is a visiting professor at George Washington University and a Fellow with New America.



