

CSF

Current Strategy Forum

Strategy and Maritime Power
in a Contested Environment

June 16-17, 2015

U.S. Naval War College • Newport, Rhode Island



CONFERENCE PRECEPTS

This year marks the 66th annual Current Strategy Forum (CSF) at the Naval War College in Newport. The first CSF was held on 9 May 1949 under the title “Round Table Talks.” This event offered an opportunity for the nation’s public servants, scholars, and senior military officers to join the College faculty and students to discuss the future strategy of the United States. Over the years, the CSF has expanded to include a cross section of America’s civilian and military leadership to encourage a wide-ranging debate on national and international security. This year’s theme:

STRATEGY AND MARITIME POWER IN A CONTESTED ENVIRONMENT

Since the end of the Cold War, the international community has benefited from a relatively benign and uncontested environment. The emergence of new economic powers, as well as the increased salience of non-state actors, combined with the advances in technology has spurred on a new political eco-system that has evolved into a much more competitive and potentially dangerous environment. Recent trends suggest that the international political landscape is rapidly becoming more contested and dangerous. Moreover, that landscape is considerably different than that of the past. The contested space of today includes not only the geopolitical, but has also expanded to new domains, such as the minds of a new generation, in the streets of heavily populated cities, and the infrastructure that supports a population. All aspects of national powers have been enhanced by technologies thru cyberspace providing new capacity for the U.S. as well as our potential adversaries. The implications; the United States’ ability to operate in these “spaces” to advance its agenda is being challenged at all levels and in new ways.

The 66th CSF will explore the following critical issues affecting our nation’s future security and wellbeing:

- ♦ Rising Powers: Past, Present, Future
- ♦ 21st Century Contests
- ♦ Contested Maritime Domains
- ♦ Economics and National Security
- ♦ Roles and Missions of U.S. Naval Forces

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PROGRAM OF EVENTS

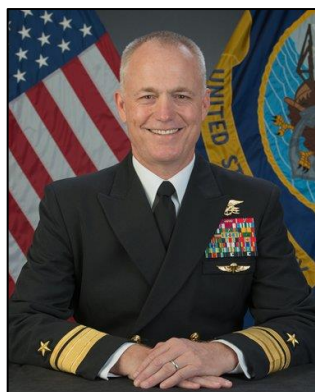
TUESDAY, JUNE 16 (Civilian-business attire/Military-summer white or service equivalent)

- 7:30 a.m. **Guest Registration**
- 8:30 **Administrative Remarks**
- 8:40 **Keynote Address: All Domain Access and Future Challenges**
Admiral Michelle J. Howard, U.S. Navy, Vice Chief of Naval Operations
- 9:00 **Questions and Answers**
- 9:20 **Keynote Address**
Dr. Andrew F. Krepinevich, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments)
- 10:10 **Break**
- 10:30 **Panel 1: Contested Arenas**
Dr. Patrick M. Cronin, Center for a New American Security
Dr. Bernard Haykel, Princeton University
Dr. Nikolas K. Gvosdev, U.S. Naval War College
Moderator: Dr. Hayat Alvi, U.S. Naval War College
- 12:00 p.m. **Lunch**
- 1:30 **Keynote Address**
Lieutenant General Kenneth J. Glueck, Jr., U.S. Marine Corps, Deputy Commandant
for Combat Development and Integration
- 2:15 **Break**
- 2:30 **Panel 2: Challenges and Trends**
Dr. Mathew Burrows, Atlantic Council
Dr. Chris C. Demchak, U.S. Naval War College
Professor Joel P. Trachtman, Tufts University
Moderator: Dr. Andrea J. Dew, U.S. Naval War College

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17 (Civilian-business attire/Military-summer white or service equivalent)

- 8:30 a.m. **Keynote Address**
Dr. Peter W. Singer, New America Foundation
- 9:30 **Break/Move to seminar locations**
- 10:00 **Seminars**
- 11:30 **Lunch Break**
- 1:00 p.m. **Keynote Address: An Interview**
The Honorable Henry M. Paulson, Jr., The Paulson Institute
with Dr. John F. Garofano, U.S. Naval War College
- 2:15 **Panel 3: National, Military, Maritime Strategy**
Dr. Thomas G. Mahnken, U.S. Naval War College
Mr. Ronald O'Rourke, Congressional Research Service
Vice Admiral Frank C. Pandolfe, U.S. Navy, Strategic Plans and Policy (J-5), Joint Staff
Dr. Carlyle A. Thayer, University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Force Academy
Moderator: Dr. James R. Holmes, U.S. Naval War College
- 4:00 **Adjourn**

U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE LEADERSHIP



REAR ADMIRAL P. GARDNER HOWE III, U.S. NAVY

Rear Admiral P. Gardner Howe III is the 55th President of the U.S. Naval War College. Rear Adm. Howe is a native of Jacksonville, Fla. He was commissioned in 1984 following his graduation from the United States Naval Academy.

Howe's operational assignments have included a full range of duties in the Naval Special Warfare and joint Special Operations communities. He commanded Naval Special Warfare Unit Three in Bahrain, Naval Special Warfare Group Three in San Diego, and Special Operations Command, Pacific in Hawaii. His service overseas includes multiple deployments to the western Pacific and Southwest Asia, and participation in Operations Earnest

Will, Provide Promise, Enduring Freedom, and Iraqi Freedom.

His key joint and staff assignments include current operations officer at Special Operations Command, Pacific; chief staff officer, Naval Special Warfare Development Group; assistant chief of staff for Operations, Plans and Policy at Naval Special Warfare Command; director of Legislative Affairs for U.S. Special Operations Command; and assistant commanding officer, Joint Special Operations Command.

Howe graduated from the Naval Postgraduate School in 1995 with a master of arts in national security affairs (special operations / low-intensity conflict), and from the National War College in 2002 with a master of arts in national security.



DR. LEWIS M. DUNCAN

Lewis M. Duncan has served as Provost of the Naval War College, Newport, RI, since January 2015. Previously, he was President of Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, where he served since 2004, holding the George D. and Harriet W. Cornell Professorship of Distinguished Presidential Leadership. He received his B.A. (1973) in physics and mathematics, and M.A. (1976) and Ph.D. (1977) in space physics, all from Rice University. He is an internationally recognized scholar in experimental space physics, presently chairing the Board of Directors of the Center for the Advancement of Science in Space, responsible for managing the U.S. National Laboratory of the International Space Station. He also serves as an authority on issues

of international security and counterterrorism, and technology-enhanced online learning.

Previously, from 1998 to 2004 Dr. Duncan served as Dean of Engineering and Professor of Engineering Sciences at the Thayer School of Engineering of Dartmouth College, where he continues to guest lecture. He regularly taught a first-year seminar, Technology and the Future of Human Society, and was awarded an honorary master of arts degree and selected for the honor of presenting the "Class of 2004 Lecture" to all entering Dartmouth first-year students. Administratively, he led in establishing the Institute for Security Technology Studies, the Institute for Information Infrastructure Protection, and the MacLean Engineering Sciences Center. He also is a founding director of Angeli Parvi, a highly successful nonprofit early-stage technology-oriented venture capital fund supporting faculty and student innovation and entrepreneurship.

Over his career, Dr. Duncan has held a rising progression of academic, administrative, and national laboratory research positions. He served as Provost and Senior Vice President (1994–1998), Acting President (1996), and Dean of Engineering and Natural Sciences (1992–1994) at the University of Tulsa.

Dr. Duncan is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, Tau Beta Pi, and Phi Kappa Phi. Among his past honors, he received the Naval Research Laboratory's Alan Berman Award in 1990.

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

(in order of appearance)

ADMIRAL MICHELLE J. HOWARD, U.S. NAVY

Admiral Howard is a 1978 graduate of Gateway High School in Aurora, Colorado. She graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1982 and from the Army's Command and General Staff College in 1998, with a Masters in Military Arts and Sciences.

Howard's initial sea tours were aboard USS Hunley (AS 31) and USS Lexington (AVT 16). While serving on board Lexington, she received the secretary of the Navy/Navy League Captain Winifred Collins award in May 1987. This award is given to one woman officer a year for outstanding leadership. She reported to USS Mount Hood (AE 29) as chief engineer in 1990 and served in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. She assumed duties as first lieutenant on board the USS Flint (AE 32) in July 1992. In January 1996, she became the executive officer of USS Tortuga (LSD 46) and deployed to the Adriatic in support of Operation Joint Endeavor, a peacekeeping effort in the former Republic of Yugoslavia. Sixty days after returning from the Mediterranean deployment, Tortuga departed on a West African training cruise, where the ship's Sailors, with embarked Marines and U.S. Coast Guard detachment, operated with the naval services of seven African nations.

She took command of USS Rushmore (LSD 47) on March 12, 1999, becoming the first African American woman to command a ship in the U.S. Navy. Howard was the commander of Amphibious Squadron Seven from May 2004 to September 2005. Deploying with Expeditionary Strike Group (ESG) 5, operations included tsunami relief efforts in Indonesia and maritime security operations in the North Arabian Gulf. She commanded Expeditionary Strike Group Two from April 2009 to July 2010. In 2009, she deployed to CENTCOM theater, where she commanded Task Force 151, Multi-national Counter-piracy effort, and Task Force 51, Expeditionary Forces. In 2010, she was the Maritime Task Force commander for BALTOPS, under 6th Fleet.

Her shore assignments include: J-3, Global Operations, Readiness and executive assistant to the Joint Staff director of Operations; deputy director N3 on the OPNAV staff; deputy director, Expeditionary Warfare Division, OPNAV staff; senior military assistant to the secretary of the Navy; Chief of Staff to the director for Strategic Plans and Policy, J-5, Joint Staff, deputy commander, US Fleet Forces Command, and Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Operations, Plans & Strategy (N3/N5). She currently serves as the 38th Vice Chief of Naval Operations.

ANDREW F. KREPINEVICH

Dr. Krepinevich is an accomplished author and lecturer on U.S. military strategy and policy. He is the author of two books: *7 Deadly Scenarios: A Military Futurist Explores War in the 21st Century* and *The Army and Vietnam*, which received the 1987 Furniss Award. Other recent works published by CSBA include: *Why AirSea Battle? An Army at the Crossroads*, and *Defense Investment Strategies in an Uncertain World*. He is coauthor of "The Dangers of a Nuclear Iran: The Limits of Containment" in the January-February 2011 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, and author "The Pentagon's Wasting Assets" and "How to Win in Iraq," both published in *Foreign Affairs* in July-August 2009 and September-October 2005, respectively.

Dr. Krepinevich gained extensive strategic planning experience in national security and technology policy through his work in the Department of Defense's Office of Net Assessment, service on the personal staff of three secretaries of defense, and as a member of the National Defense Panel in 1997, the Defense Science Board Task Force on Joint Experimentation in 2002-03, and Joint Forces Command's Transformation Advisory Board. Dr. Krepinevich was appointed by Defense Secretary Robert Gates to the Defense Policy Board, where he served from 2009-11. He currently serves on the Army Special Operations Command's Advisory Board and the Chief of Naval Operations Advisory Board.

He has taught a wide variety of national security and defense policymaking courses, to include several on nuclear policy and strategy, while on the faculties of West Point, George Mason University, the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and Georgetown University. Following an

Army career that spanned twenty-one years, including service with a nuclear missile unit, Dr. Krepinevich retired to become the president of what is now the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments.

He holds a Bachelor of Science degree from West Point, and Master's in Public Administration and Doctorate in Political Economy and Government from Harvard University, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

KENNETH J. GLUECK, JR.

Lieutenant General Glueck was designated a Naval Aviator in May 1976 and reported to Marine Attack Helicopter Squadron (HMA) 169 at Camp Pendleton, California. During this tour he deployed both with HMA-369 to Okinawa, Japan and with Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron-265. In February 1980 he was reassigned as a Primary Flight Instructor at Training Squadron Three, NAS Whiting Field, Milton, Florida. In July 1983, Lieutenant General Glueck reported to Marine Helicopter One (HMX-1) at Quantico, Virginia where he was designated a Presidential Command Pilot.

Following Marine Corps Command and Staff College in August 1987, Lieutenant General Glueck was assigned to Okinawa, Japan for duty as Air Officer with the Special Operations Training Group, III Marine Expeditionary Force. In June 1989, Lieutenant General Glueck reported as Executive Officer for Marine Light/Attack Helicopter Squadron-269, MCAS New River, North Carolina. In June 1990, he was reassigned as Executive Officer for Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron-365 (HMM-365) participating in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. In June 1991, Lieutenant General Glueck assumed command of HMM-365 and deployed in support of Operation Provide Promise in the Balkans.

Lieutenant General Glueck relinquished command in February 1993 and attended NATO Defense College in Rome, Italy. He was subsequently assigned to Allied Forces Southern Europe as Amphibious Planner in February 1994. In February 1997, Lieutenant General Glueck reported to Headquarters Marine Corps, Programs and Resources. In August 1998, he assumed command of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit and deployed for Landing Forces Sixth Fleet deployments 2-99 and 3-00. His units participated in the NATO bombing campaign (Noble Anvil), provided security to refugee camps in Albania (JTF Shining Hope), conducted peace support operations in Kosovo (Joint Guardian), and provided disaster relief following the earthquake in Turkey (Avid Response).

In June 2001, Lieutenant General Glueck reported to Marine Corps Combat Development Command as Director, Expeditionary Force Development Center in Quantico, Virginia. In July 2003, he served as the Commanding General, 3d Marine Expeditionary Brigade and Deputy Commanding General, III Marine Expeditionary Force in Okinawa, Japan, participating in tsunami relief efforts with CTF-536 and FHA and disaster relief efforts in the Philippines as Commander JTF-535.

In April 2005, Lieutenant General Glueck served as the Chief of Staff, United States Southern Command. In June 2006, he assumed command of the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing, II MEF at MCAS Cherry Point, North Carolina. In April 2008, Lieutenant General Glueck was designated the Chief of Staff for Multi-National Force Iraq in Baghdad. In August 2009, he reported to U.S. Africa Command where he served as Director of Operations and Logistics until 1 January 2011. In January 2011, he reported to Okinawa Japan where he assumed command of III Marine Expeditionary Force and U.S. Marine Forces Japan. In March 2011, he also commanded JTF-505 in support of Operation Tomodachi. Lieutenant General Glueck assumed command of Marine Corps Combat Development Command on 8 August 2013.

Lieutenant General Glueck holds a Bachelor of Science degree from MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois and a Master of Science degree in Business Management from Troy State University, Alabama.

PETER W. SINGER

Peter Warren Singer is Strategist and Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation. The author of multiple award-winning, best-selling books, he is considered one of the world's leading experts on 21st century security. 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*; *Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know*, which is on the US Army, Air Force, and Navy professional reading lists.

In June 2015, he will release *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War* (www.ghostfleetbook.com), a technothriller with nonfiction style notes, which has been endorsed by both Navy admirals and the writer of HBO Game of Thrones.

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. 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.

HENRY M. PAULSON, JR.

Henry M. Paulson, Jr. is the founder and chairman of The Paulson Institute at the University of Chicago, which aims to strengthen the economic and environmental relationship between the United States and China. He also is founder and co-chair the Latin American Conservation Council of The Nature Conservancy and has served as the organization's Chairman of the Board of Directors. Additionally, Paulson co-chairs the *Risky Business* initiative, which explores the economic impacts of climate change in the United States.

Paulson served as the 74th Secretary of the Treasury under President George W. Bush, from July 2006 to January 2009. Prior to that, he had a thirty-two year career at Goldman Sachs, serving as chairman and chief Executive Officer beginning in 1999. Earlier in his career, he was a member of the White House Domestic Council as well as a staff assistant at the Pentagon.

Paulson graduated from Dartmouth College in 1968 and received an M.B.A. from Harvard University in 1970. He and his wife, Wendy, have two children and four grandchildren.

JOHN F. GAROFANO

The Dean of Academic Affairs provides leadership and oversight of the resident and College of Distance Education curricula, and is responsible for securing accreditation for the M.A. Degree by the New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC) and for Joint Professional Military Education (JPME) Phases I and II by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Dean determines standards and procedures for academic integrity, learning outcomes, testing methods, faculty development opportunities, and faculty performance. During the past year the Dean has guided the implementation of a digitized curriculum at the College.

Dr. Garofano assumed duties as Academic Dean in July 2009 after teaching in the National Security Affairs and Strategy and Policy Departments, where he developed curriculum and taught on international relations theory, military intervention, civil-military relations, and the Korean and Vietnam Wars. He held the CAPT Jerome Levy Chair in Economic Geography from 2006 to 2010, introducing lecture series on economics and running international conferences on the subject, the latest resulting in *Deep Currents and Rising Tides: The Indian Ocean and International Security*, co-edited with Dr. Andrea Dew, published by Georgetown University Press in April 2013.

Dr. Garofano's research interests include military intervention, Asian security, and the making of U.S. foreign policy. Publications include *The Intervention Debate: Towards a Posture of Principled Judgment* (Strategic Studies Institute: 2002), *Clinton's Foreign Policy: A Documentary Record* (Kluwer: 2003), and articles in *International Security*, *Asian Survey*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Orbis*, and the *Naval War College Review*. He remains active in the study of Southeast Asia, civil-military relations, and the ongoing wars.

In 2011 Dr. Garofano deployed to Helmand Province, Afghanistan, to support the First Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF) in areas related to assessment and red-teaming. He has received Meritorious Civilian Service Awards from the Department of the Army and the Department of the Navy, and is the recipient of fellowships from the MacArthur Foundation, the Smith-Richardson Foundation, the Olin Institute, and numerous other research and travel grants. Currently he is Senior Fellow for Defense at the Center for National Policy.

Prior to joining the War College Dean Garofano was a Senior Fellow at the Kennedy School of Government. He has taught at the U.S. Army War College, the Five Colleges of Western Massachusetts, and the University of Southern California. Dr. Garofano received the Ph.D. and M.A. in Government from Cornell University, an M.A. in Security Studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (Bologna/Washington), and the B.A. in History from Bates College. He is a native of Lynn, MA.

PANEL 1: CONTESTED ARENAS

PATRICK M. CRONIN

Dr. Patrick M. Cronin is a Senior Advisor and Senior Director of the Asia-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). Previously, he was the Senior Director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) at the National Defense University, where he simultaneously oversaw the Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs.

Dr. Cronin has a rich and diverse background in both Asian-Pacific security and U.S. defense, foreign, and development policy. Prior to leading INSS, Dr. Cronin served as the Director of Studies at the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). Before joining IISS, he was Senior Vice President and Director of Research at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). In 2001, Dr. Cronin was confirmed by the United States as the Assistant Administrator for Policy and Program Coordination, the third-highest-ranking position at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

Dr. Cronin is the author, co-author, and editor of numerous books and publications. Among his most recent CNAS reports are the following co-authored reports: *Preserving the Rules: Countering Coercion in Maritime Asia* (March 2015); *Tailored Coercion: Competition and Risk in Maritime Asia* (March 2014); and *The Emerging Asia Power Web: The Rise of Bilateral Intra-Asian Security Ties* (June 2013). He is also author of *The Challenge of Responding to Maritime Coercion* (September 2014) and *If Deterrence Fails: Rethinking Conflict on the Korean Peninsula* (March 2014).

BERNARD HAYKEL

Bernard Haykel is a historian of the Arabian Peninsula and a scholar of Islamic law and Islamic political movements. He is professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University where he is also director of the Institute for the Transregional Study of the Contemporary Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia. Haykel is the author of "Revival and Reform in Islam," and most recently "Saudi Arabia in Transition," both published by Cambridge University Press. He is also the author of numerous articles on Salafism, al-Qaeda, ISIS and Wahhabism. He has received several awards, such as the Prize Fellowship at Magdalen College, Oxford, the Carnegie Corporation and Guggenheim fellowships and most recently the Old Dominion Professorship at Princeton. Haykel has advised the U.S. and British governments and appears frequently in print and broadcast media, including PBS, NPR, the New York Times, al-Jazeera and the BBC among others. He earned his D.Phil. in Oriental Studies from the University of Oxford.

NIKOLAS K. GVOSDEV

Nikolas K. Gvosdev is a professor of national security affairs at the U.S. Naval War College and currently serves as the director of the Policy Analysis sub-course in the National Security Affairs Department. He is also a visiting professor at Brown University.

He was the Editor of *The National Interest* magazine and a Senior Fellow of Strategic Studies at The Nixon Center in Washington, DC. He is currently a senior editor at *The National Interest* and at the Atlantic Council and is a weekly columnist for *World Politics Review*. He is a participant in the Dartmouth Conference Task Force on U.S.-Russia relations.

Dr. Gvosdev is a frequent commentator on U.S. foreign policy and international relations, Russian and Eurasian affairs, developments in the Middle East, and the role of religion in politics. He received his doctorate from St Antony's College, Oxford University, where he studied on a Rhodes Scholarship. He was also associate director of the J.M. Dawson Institute of Church-State Studies at Baylor University.

Dr. Gvosdev is the author or editor of a number of books and monographs, including the newly-released *Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors and Sectors* (with Christopher Marsh); *Parting with Illusions: Developing a Realistic Approach to Relations with Russia*; *Imperial Perspectives and Policies Towards Georgia, 1763-1819*; and the co-author of *The Receding Shadow of the Prophet: The Rise and Fall of Political Islam*. He also co-edited the 12th edition of the Naval War College's *Case Studies in Policy*

Making and authored several of the cases in it. He is a co-author of the forthcoming *U.S. Foreign Policy and Defense Strategy: The Evolution of an Incidental Superpower*.

He has published extensively on a variety of foreign policy topics including on democratization and human rights; energy policy; foreign policy of Russia and the Eurasian states; U.S. foreign policy and the Middle East; politics and culture of the Eurasian states; and religion and politics. His work has appeared in outlets such as *Foreign Affairs*, *The Financial Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *National Review*, *Religion State and Society*, *The National Interest*, *Orbis*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *the Journal of Church and State*, and *World Policy Journal*.

He has been quoted or cited as an expert in articles appearing in *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *The Boston Globe*, *United Press International*, *Wall Street Journal Europe*, *Business Week*, *Newsday*, *National Post* (Canada), *Vedomosti* (Russia), and *El Mercurio* (Chile).

He has appeared as a commentator and analyst on television and radio including CNN, PBS *The Newhour*, Fox News, MSNBC, National Public Radio, BBC, C-SPAN's *Washington Journal*, CBC, and *Voice of America*.

HAYAT ALVI

Professor Alvi is an Associate Professor, National Security Affairs at the United States Naval War College and Regional Studies Group Scholar for the Greater Middle East. She teaches the Theater Security and National Security Decision-Making courses entitled *Security Strategies and Policy Analysis*. She has served as the Director of International Studies at Arcadia University in Glenside, PA. Dr. Alvi also taught Political Science at the American University in Cairo, Egypt (2001-2005), and she has been a Fulbright Fellow in Damascus, Syria (1993-1994). Her publications include numerous journal articles. Her books are *Regional Integration in the Middle East: An Analysis of Inter-Arab Cooperation* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007); *An Introduction to International Studies: Exploring Frontiers* (Deer Park, NY: Linus Publications, 2006); and *The Arabian Nights Reader* (Deer Park, NY: Linus Publications, 2006). She is currently working on her next book, *Nonviolent Activism in Islam: The Message of Abul Kalam Azad* (Edwin Mellen Press).

PANEL 2: CHALLENGES AND TRENDS

MATHEW BURROWS

Mathew Burrows serves as director of the Atlantic Council's Strategic Foresight Initiative. His recent book is entitled *The Future Declassified: Megatrends that Will Undo the World Unless We Take Action* (Palgrave/Macmillan, published 9 September 2014). In August 2013 he retired from a 28-year career in the CIA and State Department, the last ten being spent at the National Intelligence Council (NIC), the premier analytic unit in the US Intelligence Community. In 2007, he was appointed Counselor which is the number three position in the NIC and was responsible for managing a staff of senior analysts and production technicians who guide and shepherd all NIC products from inception to dissemination. He was the principal drafter for the NIC publication *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*, which received widespread praise in the international media. He also drafted two earlier editions of the report. Burrows joined the CIA in 1986, serving as analyst for the Directorate of Intelligence (DI), covering Western Europe, including the development of European institutions such as the European Union. From 1998 to 1999 he was the first holder of the Intelligence Community Fellowship and served at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Other previous positions included assignments as special assistant to the US UN Ambassador Richard Holbrooke (1999-2001) and deputy national security advisor to US Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill (2001-02).

CHRIS C. DEMCHAK

With engineering, economics, and comparative complex organization theory/political science degrees, Dr. Chris C. Demchak is the RADM Grace M. Hopper Professor of Cyber Security and Co-Director, Center for Cyber Conflict Studies (C3S), Strategic Research Department, U.S. Naval War College. Her research and many publications address global cyberspace's influences from a rising 'Cyber Westphalia' to the security of complex socio-technical-economic systems (STESs) as globally shared, insecure *substrates* penetrating throughout the critical organizations of digitized democratic civil societies. Demchak takes a systemic approach in focusing on emergent structural changes, comparative operational institutional learning, adversary/defensive use of systemic cybered tools, the use of virtual worlds for operationalized organizational learning, and designing systemic resilience against normal or adversary imposed complex systems surprise. She has taught international security studies, comparative organization theory, international management, enterprise information systems, and currently systemic cyber and international/national security structures. Recent works include *Designing Resilience* (2010, co-edited); *Wars of Disruption and Resilience* (2011, cybered conflict); and a manuscript in production tentatively entitled *Cyber Westphalia: Organizing for Resilience and Cyber Security*.

JOEL P. TRACHTMAN

Joel P. Trachtman is Professor of International Law at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Recent books include *The Future of International Law: Global Government*, (Cambridge 2013), *The Tools of Argument* (Createspace 2013), *The International Law of Economic Migration: Toward the Fourth Freedom* (Upjohn Institute 2009); *Ruling the World: Constitutionalism, International Law, and Global Governance* (Cambridge 2009); *Developing Countries in the WTO Legal System* (Oxford 2009); and *The Economic Structure of International Law* (Harvard 2008). Prof. Trachtman has served as a member of the Boards of the American Journal of International Law, the European Journal of International Law, the Journal of International Economic Law, the Cambridge Review of International Affairs, and the Singapore Yearbook of International Law. He has consulted for a number of governments and international organizations, including the United Nations, the World Bank, and the OECD. From 1998 to 2001, he was Academic Dean of the Fletcher School, and during 2000 and 2001, he served as Dean ad interim. He has been a visiting professor at Basel, Hamburg, Harvard, and Hong Kong. He graduated in 1980 from Harvard Law School, where he served as editor in chief of the *Harvard International Law Journal*, and practiced in New York and Hong Kong for 9 years before entering academia.

ANDREA J. DEW

Dr. Andrea J. Dew is Co-Director of the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups (CIWAG) and an Associate Professor of Strategy and Policy at the U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI. Dr. Dew holds a Ph.D. and Master's Degree in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Her BA (Hons.) in History is from Southampton University in the United Kingdom.

Professor Dew has studied advanced Japanese at the Kyoto Japanese Language School. She has also served as a Research Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science in International Affairs at Harvard University, and Senior Counter-Terrorism Fellow at the Jebson Center for Counter Terrorism Studies at the Fletcher School, Tufts University.

Dr. Dew is the co-author of a book on armed groups, *Insurgents, Terrorists, and Militias: The Warriors of Contemporary Combat* (Columbia University Press, 2009: <http://cup.columbia.edu/book/978-0-231-12982-4/>) and co-editor of *Deep Currents and Rising Tides: The Indian Ocean and International Security* (Georgetown University Press, 2013: <http://press.georgetown.edu/book/georgetown/deep-currents-and-rising-tides>).

In addition to teaching strategy to senior military and civilian students, Dr. Dew co-directs the annual Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups Symposium at the Naval War College and has edited multiple case studies on the topic. She also conducts workshops on how to understand armed groups and successful strategies for countering them for Naval Special Warfare, Special Forces, U.S. Marine Special Operations Forces Command, Joint Special Operations University, and the National Defense Intelligence College. Her most recent articles and book chapters focus on the 2008 Mumbai attacks and the use of the maritime environment by pirates, insurgents, and terrorists.

PANEL 3: NATIONAL, MILITARY, MARITIME STRATEGY

THOMAS G. MAHNKEN

Thomas G. Mahnken is Jerome E. Levy Chair of Economic Geography and National Security the U.S. Naval War College and a Senior Research Professor at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at The Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Dr. Mahnken served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning from 2006-2009. In that capacity, he was responsible for the Department's major strategic planning functions, including the preparation of guidance for war plans and the development of the defense planning scenarios.

Dr. Mahnken has held positions in both the government and the private sector. He served on the staff of the Quadrennial Defense Review Independent Panel and the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction. He served in the Defense Department's Office of Net Assessment and as a member of the Gulf War Air Power Survey.

Dr. Mahnken is the author of *Strategy in Asia: The Past, Present and Future of Regional Security* (Stanford University Press, 2014), *Competitive Strategies for the 21st Century: Theory, History, and Practice* (Stanford University Press, 2012), *Technology and the American Way of War Since 1945* (Columbia University Press, 2008), and *Uncovering Ways of War: U.S. Intelligence and Foreign Military Innovation, 1918-1941* (Cornell University Press, 2002), among other works

Dr. Mahnken earned his master's degree and doctorate in international affairs from SAIS and was a National Security Fellow at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University. He was a *summa cum laude* graduate of the University of Southern California with bachelor's degrees in history and international relations (with highest honors) and a certificate in defense and strategic studies.

In 2009, Dr. Mahnken received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service.

RONALD O'ROURKE

Mr. O'Rourke is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the Johns Hopkins University, from which he received his B.A. in international studies, and a valedictorian graduate of the University's Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, where he received his M.A. in the same field.

Since 1984, Mr. O'Rourke has worked as a naval analyst for the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress. He has written numerous reports for Congress on various issues relating to the Navy. He regularly briefs Members of Congress and Congressional staffers, and has testified before Congressional committees on several occasions.

In 1996, Mr. O'Rourke received a Distinguished Service Award from the Library of Congress for his service to Congress on naval issues.

In 2012, Mr. O'Rourke received the CRS Director's award for his outstanding contributions in support of the Congress and the mission of CRS.

Mr. O'Rourke is the author of several journal articles on naval issues, and is a past winner of the U.S. Naval Institute's Arleigh Burke essay contest. He has given presentations on Navy-related issues to a variety of audiences in government, industry, and academia.

FRANK C. PANDOLFE

Vice Admiral Frank Pandolfe is the director for Strategic Plans and Policy (J-5), Joint Staff, the Pentagon, Washington, D.C. He provides strategic direction, policy guidance, and planning focus enabling the Chairman of the Joints Chiefs of Staff to provide best military advice to the president, the secretary of Defense and the National Security Council. He assumed those duties Dec. 4, 2013.

He grew up in New England, graduated with distinction from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1980, and was awarded a doctorate in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in 1987.

At-sea, he served in USS David R. Ray (DD 971), USS John Hancock (DD 981), USS Hue City (CG 66), and USS Forrestal (CV 59). He commanded USS Mitscher (DDG 57) from 1999 to 2001, earning three Battle Efficiency Awards for operational excellence and three Golden Anchor awards for superior retention. He subsequently commanded Destroyer Squadron 18 from 2003 to 2004, operating as sea combat commander for Enterprise Carrier Strike Group in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom. From 2008 to 2009, he led Theodore Roosevelt Carrier Strike Group on a combat deployment in support of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

Ashore, he was assigned to the Navy Staff as executive assistant to the Chief of Naval Operations, the Joint Staff as the deputy director for Joint Strategic Planning, and the White House Staff as military aide and advisor to the vice president of the United States, and director, Surface Warfare Division, OPNAV N86. Most recently, he served as the commander, 6th Fleet and, Striking and Support Forces NATO.

Pandolfe's personal decorations include the Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal, and additional individual, campaign, and unit awards.

CARLYLE A. THAYER

Carlyle A. Thayer is Professor Emeritus at The University of New South Wales (UNSW) at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA), Canberra. He was educated at Brown University and holds an M.A. degree in Southeast Asian Studies from Yale and a PhD in International Relations from The Australian National University. Thayer joined the UNSW in 1979 and taught first in The Faculty of Military Studies at the The Royal Military College-Duntroon (1979-85) before transferring to Australian Defence Force Academy. He was given 'leave in the national interest' to take up the position of Deputy Chair of the Department of Regional Studies at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS), U.S. Pacific Command, Hawaii (1999-02). On return to Australia he was seconded to Deakin University and served as On-Site Academic Co-ordinator at Weston Creek for the Defence and Strategic Studies Course, the senior course, at the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies (CDSS) at the Australian Defence College (2002-04). He later directed Regional Security Studies at the Australian Command and Staff College (2006-07 and 2010).

Professor Thayer was the C. V. Starr Distinguished Visiting Professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University in Washington (2005) and the Inaugural Frances M. and Stephen F. Fuller Distinguished Visiting Professor at the Center for International Studies, Ohio University (2008). He is also director of Thayer Consultancy, a small business registered in Australia in 2002 that provides political analysis of current regional security issues and other research support to selected clients. Thayer writes a regular column on Southeast Asia defence and security for *The Diplomat*.

Professor Thayer is the author of over 500 publications including: *Southeast Asia: Patterns of Security Cooperation*, ASPI Strategy Report. Canberra: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2010.

JAMES R. HOLMES

James Holmes is professor of strategy at the Naval War College and senior fellow at the University of Georgia School of Public and International Affairs. A former U.S. Navy surface warfare officer and combat veteran of the first Gulf War, he served as a gunnery and engineering officer in the battleship *Wisconsin*, engineering and damage-control instructor at the Surface Warfare Officers School Command, and military professor of strategy at the Naval War College.

Jim is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Vanderbilt University (B.A., mathematics and German) and completed graduate work at Salve Regina University (M.A., international relations), Providence College (M.A., mathematics), and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University (M.A.L.D. and Ph.D., international affairs), where he was the A. Eiken Hohenberg Scholar. He earned the Naval War College Foundation Award in 1994, signifying the top graduate in his Naval War College class. His most recent books (with long-time coauthor Toshi Yoshihara) are *Strategy in the Second Nuclear Age* and *Red Star over the Pacific*. Designated an *Atlantic Monthly* Best Book of 2010, *Red Star over the Pacific* has been named to the Navy Professional Reading List as Essential Reading. Copies have been

placed aboard every major ship, squadron, and shore installation in the U.S. Navy. Translations have appeared through the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, and through houses in Japan, South Korea, and Germany. An additional translation is underway in Taiwan. Under contract are *Naval Diplomats: The U.S. Asiatic Fleet* and *Japanese Sea Power in the 21st Century: Japan's Next Fateful Choice*.

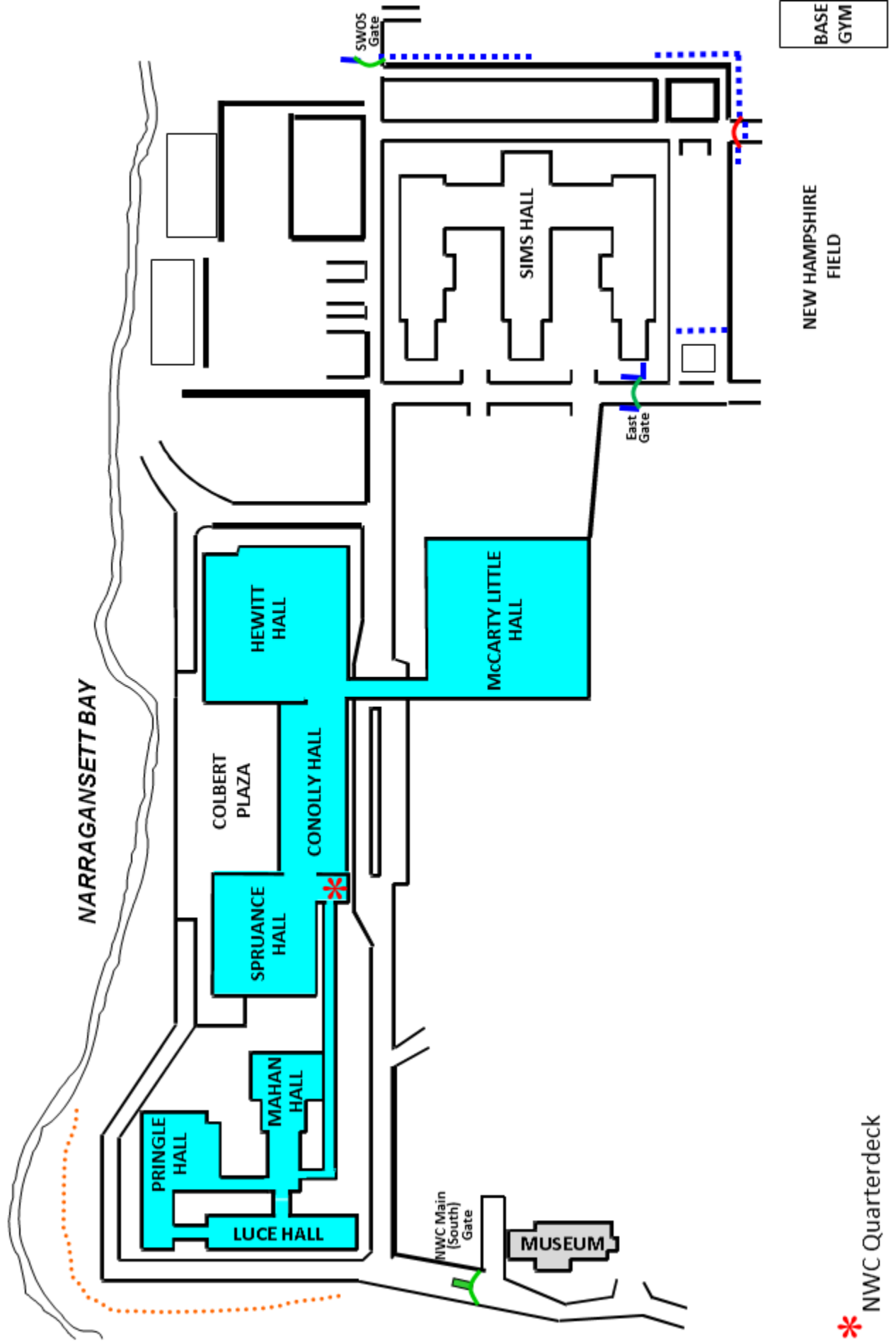
Jim has published over 25 book chapters and 150 scholarly essays, along with hundreds of opinion columns, think-tank analyses, and other works. He has been the national security columnist for *Real Clear Defense* since February 2015. He wrote as the *Naval Diplomat* from 2012-2015 and is an occasional contributor to *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest*, *War on the Rocks*, CNN, and the U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*. From 2001-2007 he was the staff foreign-affairs columnist for the *Athens (Ga.) Banner-Herald*. He has been quoted or cited in outlets ranging from the *Washington Post* to Xinhua, and has appeared on such broadcast outlets as NPR, the BBC, and *Deutsche Welle*.

He has been a visiting scholar at National Chengchi University, Taiwan, and the Institute for Defense Studies & Analyses, India. He has testified before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission and spoken at such institutions as Brown, Duke, Harvard, and Vanderbilt universities; the Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney; the Japan Foreign Ministry and Maritime Self-Defense Force Staff College, Tokyo; the Aspen Institute, Berlin; the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC; the French Institute of International Relations (ifri), Paris; the Clingendael Institute of International Relations, The Hague; and the Chinese Council for Advanced Policy Studies, Taipei. In October 2013 he addressed the International Fleet Review in Sydney, Australia. In October 2015 he is scheduled to address the International Seapower Symposium in Pusan, South Korea.

Jim has served as Memorial Day keynote speaker in Barrington and West Warwick, Rhode Island, and Mattapoisett, Massachusetts. On Memorial Day 2013 he presided over a Medal of Honor ceremony in Newport, Rhode Island, celebrating the life of Chief Gunner's Mate George Brady. In February 2015 he delivered keynote remarks at a Charlestown Navy Yard ceremony commemorating the bicentennial of sail frigate USS *Constitution's* victory over HMS *Cyane* and *Levant*. In June 2015 he delivered keynote remarks commemorating the Battle of Midway at the USS *Nautilus* Museum in Groton, Connecticut.

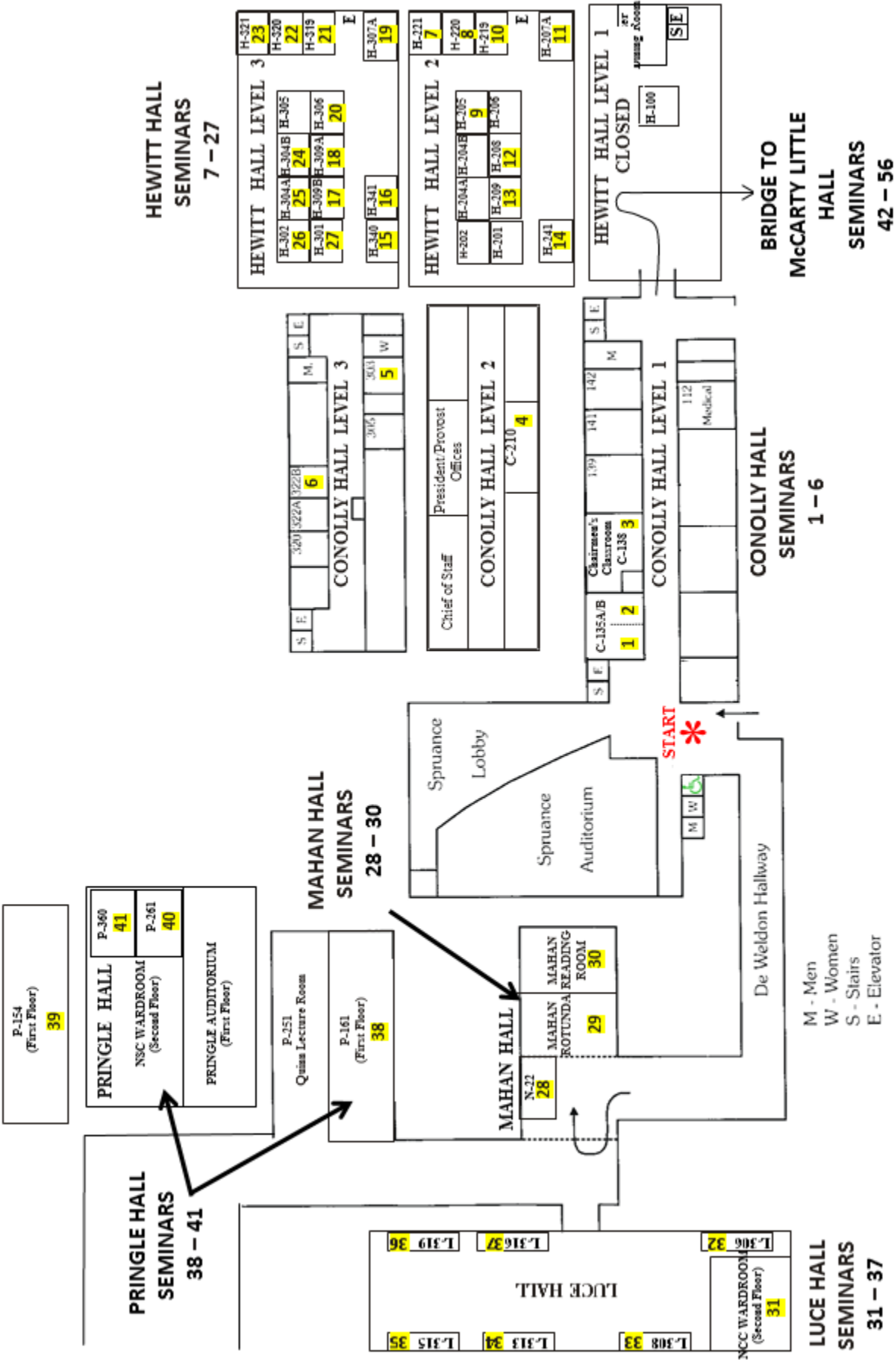
U.S. Marine general James Mattis has pronounced him “troublesome.”

CSF SEMINAR LOCATIONS



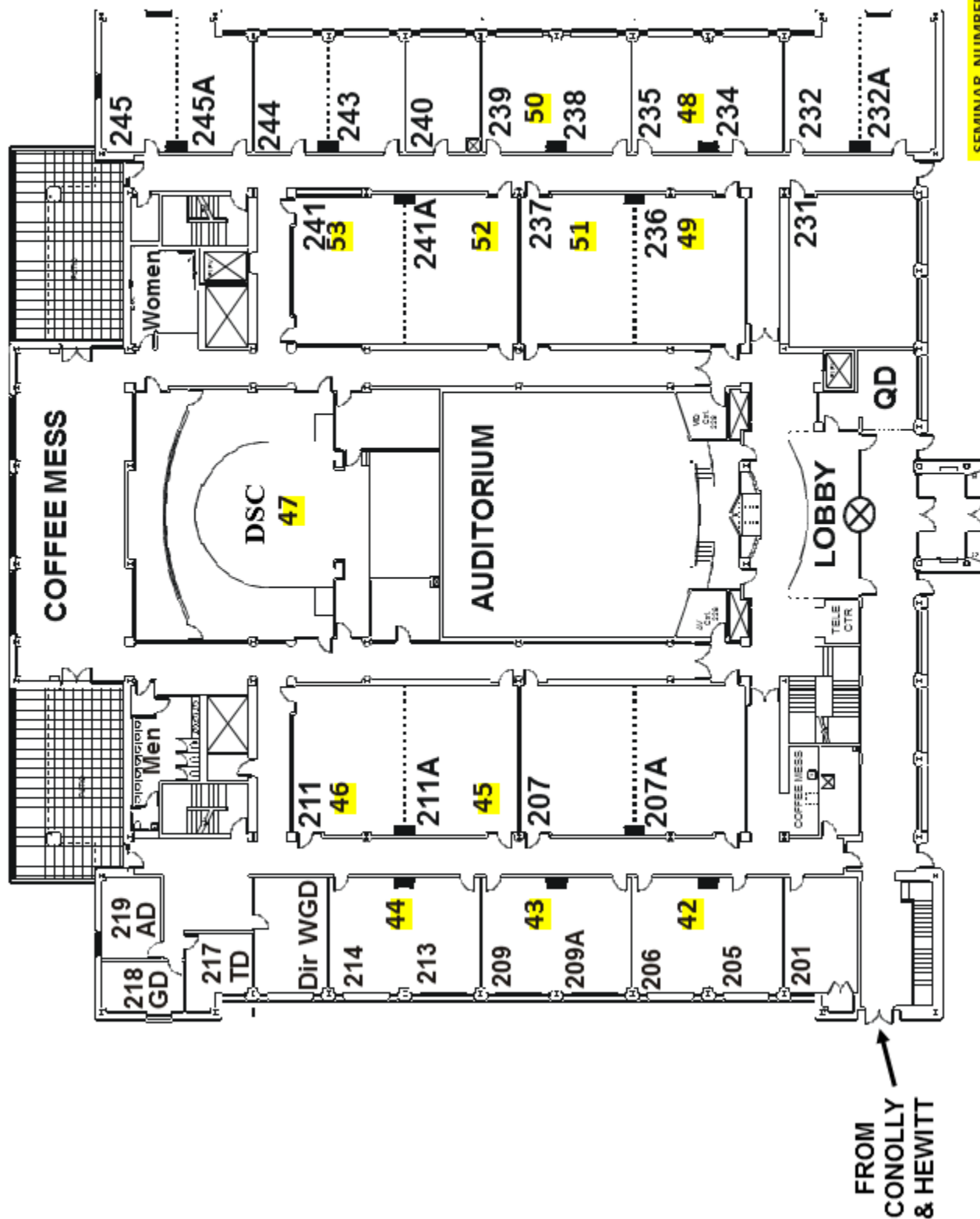
* NWC Quarterdeck

LUCE, PRINGLE, MAHAN, CONOLLY, & HEWITT HALLS SEMINAR LOCATOR (SEMINARS 1 THROUGH 43)



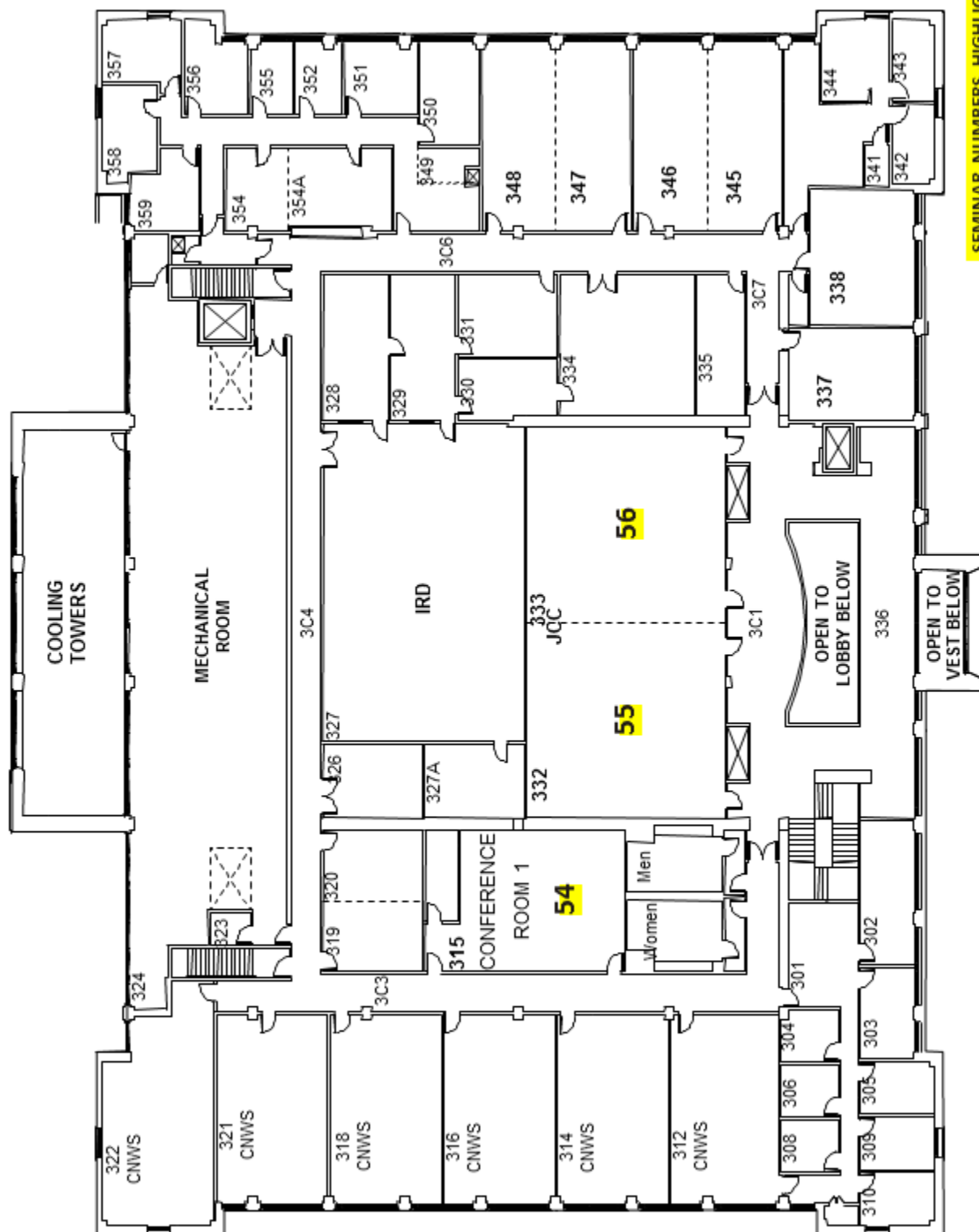
MCCARTY LITTLE HALL 2ND FLOOR

SEMINAR LOCATOR (SEMINARS 42 THROUGH 53)



SEMINAR NUMBERS HIGHLIGHTED YELLOW

MCCARTY LITTLE HALL 3RD FLOOR **SEMINAR LOCATOR (SEMINARS 54 THROUGH 56)**



SEMINAR NUMBERS HIGHLIGHTED YELLOW

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