



GLOBAL SECURITY FORUM 2012

an annual conference presented by
CSIS | CENTER FOR STRATEGIC &
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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AGENDA

PLENARY SESSION: 8:00–9:00 A.M.

Keynote Address by
Admiral James A. Winnefeld Jr.
Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

MORNING SESSIONS: 9:30-10:45 A.M.

I. Defense Planning under the Threat of Sequester

Sean O’Keefe, *Chairman and CEO, EADS North America and former NASA Administrator;*
Former U.S. Secretary of the Navy

David S. C. Chu, *President and CEO, Institute for Defense Analyses and*
former U.S. Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness

Gen. Ronald R. Fogleman (ret.), *Former Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force*

Gen. Peter W. Chiarelli (ret.), *Former Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army*

Moderator: *Kim Wincup, Senior Adviser, International Security Program*

II. Turkey-Iran-Russia: Dynamics Old and New

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Former National Security Advisor; CSIS Counselor and Trustee*

Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft (ret.), *Former National Security Advisor; CSIS Counselor and Trustee*

Moderator: *Jon Alterman, Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy, Director*
of the Middle East Program at CSIS

III. Unconventional Oil and Gas: Reshaping Energy Markets

Daniel B. Poneman, *U.S. Deputy Secretary of Energy*

David Lawrence, *Executive Vice President, Exploration and Commercial, Shell*

Michael R. Bromwich, *Former Director, Bureau of Ocean Energy Management, Regulation, and*
Enforcement, U.S. Department of the Interior

Edward L. Morse, *Managing Director and Global Head of Commodities Research, Citigroup, and*
Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Energy Policy

Moderator: *Frank Verrastro, Senior Vice President and Director of the Energy and National*
Security Program at CSIS

MID-DAY SESSIONS: 11:00 A.M.-12:15 P.M.

I. Navigating the Geopolitics of the South China Sea

Carla Hills, *Chair and CEO, Hills & Company; Chair, National Committee on U.S.- China Relations; Former U.S. Trade Representative*

Maurice R. "Hank" Greenberg, *Chairman and CEO, C.V. Starr & Co., Inc.*

Admiral Joseph W. Prueher (ret.), *Former U.S. Ambassador to China and Commander of the U.S. Pacific Command*

Moderator: *Ernest Bower, Senior Adviser and Director, Southeast Asia Program*

II. Scenario 2030: Is the U.S. Nuclear Industry Dying?

Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft (ret.), *Former National Security Advisor; CSIS Counselor and Trustee*

Mayo A. Shattuck III, *Chairman, President, and CEO, Constellation Energy Group, Inc.*

Moderator: *John Hamre, President and CEO, CSIS*

III. Toward 2014: Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the U.S. Role in the Region

Anthony H. Cordesman, *Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy, CSIS*

Kori Schake, *Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University*

Amb. Ronald E. Neumann, *Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan*

Moderator: *Robert Lamb, Senior fellow and director of the Program on Crisis, Conflict, and Cooperation at CSIS*

WORKING LUNCH SESSIONS: 12:30-1:45 P.M.

I. The Future of Special Operations: Proposed Changes in the Unified Command Plan

Gen. Peter Pace (ret.), *Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*

Adm. Timothy J. Keating (ret.), *Former Commander of the U.S. Northern Command and the U.S. Pacific Command*

Adm. Eric T. Olson (ret.), *Former Commander of the U.S. Special Operations Command*

Moderator: *Rick "Ozzie" Nelson, Director, Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program and Senior Fellow, International Security Program, CSIS*

II. Europe Economic Crisis and the Rise of Populism, Nationalism, and Extremism

Jim Hoagland, *Associate Editor and Senior Correspondent, The Washington Post*

Christopher Caldwell, *Senior Editor, Weekly Standard*

Chrystia Freeland, *Global Editor at Large, Reuters*

Christian Wernicke, *U.S. Correspondent, Sueddeutsche Zeitung*

Moderator: *Heather Conley, Senior Fellow and Director, Europe Program, CSIS*

III. Fighting a Cyber War

William Lynn III, *Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense*

Gen. James E. Cartwright (ret.), *Former Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff;*

Harold Brown Chair in Defense Policy Studies, CSIS

James Lewis, *Director and Senior Fellow, Technology and Public Policy Program, CSIS*

Moderator: *John Hamre, President and CEO, CSIS*

Keynote Address (8:00-9:00 a.m.)

ADM. JAMES WINNEFELD serves as the ninth Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In this capacity, he is a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the nation's second highest-ranking military officer. Winnefeld graduated from the Georgia Institute of Technology and received his commission through the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps program. He subsequently served with three fighter squadrons flying the F-14 Tomcat, and as an instructor at the Navy Fighter Weapons School.

Winnefeld's unit commands at sea include Fighter Squadron 211, USSCleveland (LPD 7), and USS Enterprise (CVN 65). He led "Big E" through her 18th deployment, which included combat operations in Afghanistan in support of Operation Enduring Freedom immediately after the terrorist acts of Sept. 11, 2001. As Commander, Carrier Strike Group Two/Theodore Roosevelt Carrier Strike Group, he led Task Forces 50, 152, and 58 in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom and maritime interception operations in the Arabian Gulf. He also served as commander, United States 6th Fleet; commander NATO Allied Joint Command, Lisbon; and, commander, Striking and Support Forces NATO.

His shore tours include service in the Joint Staff Operations Directorate (J-3), as senior aide to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and as executive assistant to the Vice Chief of Naval Operations. As a flag officer, he served ashore as director, Warfare Programs and Transformational Concepts, United States Fleet Forces Command; as director of Joint Innovation and Experimentation at United States Joint Forces Command; and, as the director for Strategic Plans and Policy (J-5) on the Joint Staff. He most recently served as the commander of North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and U.S. Northern Command (USNORTHCOM).

Winnefeld's awards include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, the Meritorious Service Medal, the Air Medal, and five Battle Efficiency awards.

JOHN J. HAMRE was elected president and CEO of CSIS in January 2000. Before joining CSIS, he served as the 26th U.S. deputy secretary of defense. Prior to holding that post, he was the under secretary of defense (comptroller) from 1993 to 1997. As comptroller, Dr. Hamre was the principal assistant to the secretary of defense for the preparation, presentation, and execution of the defense budget and management improvement programs. In 2007, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates appointed Dr. Hamre to serve as chairman of the Defense Policy Board.

Before serving in the Department of Defense, Dr. Hamre worked for 10 years as a professional staff member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. During that time, he was primarily responsible for the oversight and evaluation of procurement, research, and development programs, defense budget issues, and relations with the Senate Appropriations Committee. From 1978 to 1984, Dr. Hamre served in the Congressional Budget Office, where he became its deputy assistant director for national security and international affairs. In that position, he oversaw analysis and other support for committees in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Dr. Hamre received his Ph.D., with distinction, in 1978 from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C., where his studies focused on international politics and economics and U.S. foreign policy. In 1972, he received his B.A., with high distinction, from Augustana College in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, emphasizing political science and economics. The following year he studied as a Rockefeller fellow at the Harvard Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Morning Sessions (9:30-10:45 a.m.)

I. DEFENSE PLANNING UNDER THE THREAT OF SEQUESTER

SEAN O'KEEFE was appointed CEO of EADS North America in November 2009 and Chairman of the Board in January 2012. His responsibilities include directing EADS activities in the United States, developing strategic partnerships with U.S. companies, and enhancing the participation of EADS in the U.S. marketplace — including the development, growth, and management of large-scale defense acquisition programs.

Prior to joining EADS North America, Mr. O'Keefe served as a company officer and Vice President of the General Electric Company in the Technology Infrastructure sector, leading the Washington operations of the GE Aviation business. From 2005 to 2008, he served as Chancellor of the Louisiana State University, the chief executive officer, in Baton Rouge, LA.

On four separate occasions O'Keefe served as a presidential appointee. Prior to leading LSU, he served as the tenth Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Mr. O'Keefe joined President George W. Bush's administration on inauguration day as Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget until December 2001, when he was appointed NASA Administrator.

DAVID S.C. CHU serves as President of the Institute for Defense Analyses. IDA is a non-profit corporation operating in the public interest. Its three federally funded research and development centers provide objective analyses of national security issues and related national challenges, particularly those requiring extraordinary scientific and technical expertise.

As president, Dr. Chu directs the activities of more than 1,000 scientists and technologists. Together, they conduct and support research requested by federal agencies involved in advancing national security and advising on science and technology issues.

Dr. Chu served in the Department of Defense as Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness from 2001-2009, and earlier as Assistant Secretary of Defense and Director for Program Analysis and Evaluation from 1981-1993.

Dr. Chu is a member of the Defense Science Board and a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration. He is a recipient of the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service with Gold Palm, the Department of Veterans Affairs Meritorious Service Award, the Department of the Army Distinguished Civilian Service Award, the Department of the Navy Distinguished Public Service Award, and the National Academy of Public Administration's National Public Service Award.

GEN. RONALD R. FOGLEMAN (RET.) retired from the USAF on 1 September 1997 after thirty-four years of active commissioned service. On his final tour of duty General Fogleman served as the 15th Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. From 1992 until 1994 he was Commander in Chief of the U.S. Transportation Command (CINCTRANS). As Chief of Staff, he served as the senior uniformed officer responsible for the organization, training and equipage of 750,000 active duty, Guard, Reserve and civilian forces serving in the United States and Overseas. As a member of the JCS, he

served as a military advisor to the Secretary of Defense, the National Security Council and the President. General Fogleman is the Chairman of the Board of Alliant Techsystems and serves on the board of directors for AAR Corp, Defense Venture Group, First National Bank of Durango, Ironhawk, MITRE Corporation, and Thales-Raytheon Systems. He devotes considerable time to national security and community affairs. He is a member of the Falcon Foundation, Airlift Tanker Association, Council on Foreign Relations, Fort Lewis College Foundation, and the Air Force Association. Since retiring from the Air Force he has served on the Defense Policy Board, The National Aeronautics and Space Administration Advisory Council, the Jet Propulsion Laboratory Advisory Board, chaired an Air Force Laboratory study on directed energy weapons, and a National Research Council Committee on Aeronautics Research and Technology among others.

GEN. PETER W. CHIARELLI (RET.) currently serves as Chief Executive Officer for One Mind for Research, an organization dedicated to leading a focused, unified effort to understand and combat brain diseases and disorders through public and private partnerships. Prior to joining One Mind for Research, General Chiarelli served as the 32nd Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army from 2008 to 2012.

In his previous assignment, he was the Senior Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense from March 2007 to August 2008. He hails from Seattle, Washington and is a Distinguished Military Graduate of Seattle University. General Chiarelli was commissioned a second lieutenant of Armor in September 1972. Throughout his career he has served in Army units in the United States, Germany and Belgium. He has commanded at every level from platoon to corps. His principal staff assignments have been as the Operations Officer, 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Hood, Texas; Executive Assistant and later Executive Officer to the Supreme Allied Commander, Commander United States European Command at SHAPE Headquarters, Mons, Belgium; as the Director of Operations, Readiness and Mobilization, at Headquarters, Department of the Army. He commanded a motorized infantry battalion at Fort Lewis, Washington; an armor brigade at Fort Lewis, Washington; served as the Assistant Division Commander for Support in the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Hood, Texas; commanded the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Hood, Texas and in Iraq during Operation Iraqi Freedom II; and commanded Multi-National Corps-Iraq.

Appointed the 69th Secretary of the Navy in July 1992 by President George H. W. Bush, Mr. O'Keefe previously served as Comptroller and Chief Financial Officer of the Department of Defense from 1989. Before joining then-Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's Pentagon management team in these capacities, he served on the United States Senate Committee on Appropriations staff for eight years and was Staff Director of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee.

KIM WINCUP (MODERATOR) is a senior adviser to the International Security Program at CSIS. Mr. Wincup is an attorney with broad career experience in both the legislative and executive branches of the federal government, in the private sector as a senior executive of a Fortune 500 company, and as chairman and member of a variety of boards and organizations in the defense policy, education, and technology fields. He is currently a member and past chairman of the Board of Advisors of the Naval Postgraduate School and is on the Board of Advisors for the National Security Studies Program at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He retired in May 2011 as senior vice president at Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), where he had worked since 1995.

II. TURKEY-IRAN-RUSSIA: DYNAMICS OLD AND NEW

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI is a CSIS counselor and trustee and cochairs the CSIS Advisory Board. He is also the Robert E. Osgood Professor of American Foreign Policy at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, in Washington, D.C. He is cochair of the American Committee for Peace in the Caucasus and a member of the International Advisory Board of the Atlantic Council. He is a former chairman of the American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee. He was a member of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State from 1966 to 1968; chairman of the Humphrey Foreign Policy Task Force in the 1968 presidential campaign; director of the Trilateral Commission from 1973 to 1976; and principal foreign policy adviser to Jimmy Carter in the 1976 presidential campaign. From 1977 to 1981, Dr. Brzezinski was national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter. In 1981, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his role in the normalization of U.S.-China relations and for his contributions to the human rights and national security policies of the United States. He was also a member of the President's Chemical Warfare Commission (1985), the National Security Council–Defense Department Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy (1987–1988), and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (1987–1989). In 1988, he was cochairman of the Bush National Security Advisory Task Force, and in 2004, he was cochairman of a Council on Foreign Relations task force that issued the report *Iran: Time for a New Approach*. Dr. Brzezinski received a B.A. and M.A. from McGill University (1949, 1950) and Ph.D. from Harvard University (1953). He was a member of the faculties of Columbia University (1960–1989) and Harvard University (1953–1960). Dr. Brzezinski holds honorary degrees from Georgetown University, Williams College, Fordham University, College of the Holy Cross, Alliance College, the Catholic University of Lublin, Warsaw University, and Vilnius University. He is the recipient of numerous honors and awards. His many books include *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power* (Basic Books, 2012); *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy* (Basic Books, 2008), coauthored with Brent Scowcroft and David Ignatius; *Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower* (Basic Books, 2007); and *The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership* (Basic Books, 2004).

LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT (USAF RET.) is a counselor and trustee at CSIS and is president of the Scowcroft Group, an international business consulting firm. General Scowcroft serves as co-chair of CSIS's Commission on Nuclear Energy Policy in the U.S. He is also the founder, president, and resident trustee of the Forum for International Policy, a nonprofit organization providing independent perspectives and opinions on major foreign policy issues. General Scowcroft served as the national security adviser to Presidents Gerald R. Ford and George H.W. Bush. He also served as military assistant to President Richard Nixon and as deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs to Presidents Ford and Nixon. Prior to joining the Bush administration, General Scowcroft was vice chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc. from 1982-1989. In that capacity, he advised and assisted a wide range of U.S. and foreign corporate leaders on global joint venture opportunities, strategic planning, and risk assessment. In the course of his twenty-nine year military career, General Scowcroft has held positions in the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force, and the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. In other assignments, he served in faculty positions at the U.S. Air Force Academy and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and as assistant air attaché in the U.S. embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. General Scowcroft had an aeronautical rating as a pilot and has numerous military decorations and awards. In addition, in 1991, President Bush presented him

with the Medal of Freedom Award. In 1993, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth presented him with the insignia of an Honorary Knight of the British Empire (K.B.E.) at Buckingham Palace. General Scowcroft was born in Ogden, Utah. He received his undergraduate degree and commission into the Army Air Forces from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Out of uniform, he continued in a public policy capacity by serving on the President's Advisory Committee on Arms Control, the Commission on Strategic Forces, and the President's Special Review Board, also known as the Tower Commission. He currently serves on numerous corporate and nonprofit boards. He holds an M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. He is the coauthor, with President George H.W. Bush, of *A World Transformed* (Knopf, 1998). General Scowcroft is also the coauthor, with Zbigniew Brzezinski and David Ignatius, of *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy* (Basic Books, 2008).

JON B. ALTERMAN (MODERATOR) holds the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy and is director of the Middle East Program at CSIS. Prior to joining CSIS in 2002, he served as a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State and as a special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs. He is a member of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel and served as an expert adviser to the Iraq Study Group (also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission). In addition to his policy work, he teaches Middle Eastern studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the George Washington University. Before entering government, he was a scholar at the U.S. Institute of Peace and at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. From 1993 to 1997, Alterman was an award-winning teacher at Harvard University, where he received his Ph.D. in history. He also worked as a legislative aide to Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY), responsible for foreign policy and defense.

Alterman has lectured in more than 30 countries on subjects related to the Middle East and U.S. policy toward the region. He is the author or coauthor of four books on the Middle East and the editor of two more. In addition to his academic work, he is sought out as a consultant to business and government and is a frequent commentator in print, on radio, and on television. His opinion pieces have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, and other major publications. He is on the Board of Advisory Editors of the *Middle East Journal*, is a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of *Arab Media and Society*, and is a former international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he is now a life member. He received his A.B. from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

III. UNCONVENTIONAL OIL AND GAS: RESHAPING ENERGY MARKETS

DEPUTY SECRETARY DANIEL B. PONEMAN was nominated by President Obama to be Deputy Secretary of Energy on April 20, 2009, and was confirmed by the United States Senate on May 18, 2009. Under the leadership of Secretary of Energy Steven Chu, Mr. Poneman also serves as Chief Operating Officer of the Department. Mr. Poneman first joined the Department of Energy in 1989 as a White House Fellow. The next year he joined the National Security Council staff as Director of Defense Policy and Arms Control.

From 1993 through 1996, Mr. Poneman served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Nonproliferation and Export Controls at the National Security Council. His responsibilities included the development and implementation of U.S. policy in such areas as peaceful nuclear cooperation, missile

technology, space-launch activities, sanctions determinations, chemical and biological arms control efforts, and conventional arms transfer policy. During this time, he also participated in negotiations and consultations with governments in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the former Soviet Union.

Prior to assuming his responsibilities as Deputy Secretary, Mr. Poneman served as a principal of The Scowcroft Group for eight years, providing strategic advice to corporations on a wide variety of international projects and transactions. Between tours of government service he practiced law for nine years in Washington, D.C. – first as an associate at Covington & Burling, later as a partner at Hogan & Hartson – assisting clients in regulatory, policy and transactional matters, international arbitration, commercial real estate financing, export controls, and sanctions and trade policy.

Mr. Poneman received A.B. and J.D. degrees with honors from Harvard University and an M.Litt. in Politics from Oxford University. He has published widely on national security issues and is the author of *Nuclear Power in the Developing World* and *Argentina: Democracy on Trial*. His third book, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (coauthored with Joel Wit and Robert Gallucci), received the 2005 Douglas Dillon Award for Distinguished Writing on American Diplomacy.

DAVID LAWRENCE is Executive Vice President Exploration and Commercial for Shell. His responsibilities include oil and natural gas exploration, new business development, liquefied natural gas, gas to liquids, gas to transport, and wind energy. Dave started out in research for Shell and has worked across the business, including lead positions in Exploration and Development, Producer Finance, Corporate Strategy, and Investor Relations. He has extensive international experience in a variety of arenas, from the Arctic to Australia, and from Onshore to Deepwater and has traveled to more than 40 countries in the course of business. Prior to receiving his Ph.D from Yale University in 1984, he taught at Yavapai College in Arizona, explored for uranium in Colorado and Utah, and evaluated resources for the U.S. Geological Survey Coal Branch in Wyoming. Dave has authored numerous technical papers and is a past recipient of the Matson Award for best paper by the American Association of Petroleum Geologists. He is a past chairman of the European Association of Geologists and Engineers Annual Meeting, chairman of the Membership Committee of the National Ocean Industries Association, member of the Upstream Committee of API, and recently delivered the Halbouty Lecture at the annual meeting of AAPG. Dave serves on the Advisory Board for the Yale Climate & Energy Institute, and was a Commissioner on the Aspen Institute Commission on Arctic Climate Change. He and his wife, Cheryl, have twin daughters, who are both teachers.

MICHAEL R. BROMWICH is a senior adviser at CSIS and a former director of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management, Regulation and Enforcement (BOEMRE) for the U.S. Department of Interior. In 2010, while at BOEMRE, he was charged with the reform of regulation and oversight of offshore drilling in the wake of the Deepwater Horizon accident and oil spill. Over the course of 17 months, Mr. Bromwich led the development and implementation of a series of far-reaching regulatory and organizational reforms that revamped the nation's regulation of offshore energy exploration, development, and production. Subsequent to serving as director of BOEMRE (June 2010 to September 2011), he was named director of the Bureau of Safety and Environmental Enforcement (October 2011 to November 2011).

From 1999 to 2010, Mr. Bromwich was a litigation partner in the Washington, D.C., and New York offices of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, where he headed the firm's Internal Investigations,

Compliance and Monitoring Group. In 2002, he was selected by the Department of Justice and the District of Columbia to serve as independent monitor for the District of Columbia's Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), focusing on use of force, civil rights integrity, internal misconduct, and training issues. He served in that position until 2008, when MPD was determined to have achieved substantial compliance. From 1994 to 1999, Mr. Bromwich served as inspector general for the Department of Justice.

Mr. Bromwich has authored articles on energy-related issues in Newsweek, CNN International, the Houston Chronicle, and New Orleans Times-Picayune. He has authored articles on law enforcement, criminal justice, and oversight issues in the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Boston Globe, and Legal Times.

EDWARD L. MORSE is Managing Director and Global Head of Commodities Research at Citigroup Global Markets, Inc. in New York. He previously held similar positions at Lehman Brothers, Louis Capital Markets and Credit Suisse. Widely cited in the media, he is a contributor to journals such as Foreign Affairs, the Financial Times, the New York Times, and the Washington Post. He worked in the US government at the State Department, and later was an advisor to the United Nations Compensation Commission on Iraq as well as to the US Departments of State, Energy and Defense and to the International Energy Agency on issues related to oil, natural gas and the impact of financial flows on energy prices. A former Princeton professor and author of numerous books and articles on energy, economics and international affairs, Ed was the publisher of Petroleum Intelligence Weekly and other trade periodicals and also worked at Hess Energy Trading Co. (HETCO).

FRANK A. VERRASTRO (MODERATOR) Frank Verrastro is senior vice president and director of the Energy and National Security Program at CSIS. He has extensive energy experience, having spent 30 years in energy policy and project management positions in the U.S. government and the private sector. His government service includes staff positions in the White House (Energy Policy and Planning Staff) and the Departments of Interior (Oil and Gas Office) and Energy (Domestic Policy and International Affairs Office), including serving as director of the Office of Producing Nations and deputy assistant secretary for international energy resources. In the private sector, he has served as director of refinery policy and crude oil planning for TOSCO (formerly the nation's largest independent refiner) and more recently as senior vice president for Pennzoil. Responsibilities at Pennzoil included government affairs activity, both domestic and international, corporate planning, risk assessment, and international negotiations. In addition, he served on the company's Executive Management and Operating Committees, as well as the Environmental, Safety, and Health Leadership Council. As part of Pennzoil's Caspian Team, he was instrumental in securing approval for the Baku-Supsa pipeline, the precursor to the Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan project.

Verrastro has been an adjunct professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University and at the University of Maryland. He served as chair for the Geopolitics and Policy Task Groups for the 2007 National Petroleum Council report, *Hard Truths: Facing the Hard Truths about Energy*, and as a Task Force member for the 2006 Council on Foreign Relations report, *National Security Consequences of U.S. Oil Dependency*. He has authored a variety of papers on energy and security topics and currently serves on the Advisory Board for the National Renewable Fuels Laboratory (NREL) in Golden, Colorado and as a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Mid-Day Sessions (11:00 a.m.-12:15 p.m.)

I. TOWARD 2014: AFGHANISTAN, PAKISTAN, AND THE U.S. ROLE IN THE REGION

ANTHONY H. CORDESMAN holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at CSIS. He is a recipient of the Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal. During his time at CSIS, he has completed a wide variety of studies on energy, U.S. strategy and defense plans, the lessons of modern war, defense programming and budgeting, NATO modernization, Chinese military power, the lessons of modern warfare, proliferation, counterterrorism, armed nation building, the security of the Middle East, and the Afghan and Iraq conflicts. (Many of these studies can be downloaded from the Burke Chair section of the CSIS Web site at <http://www.csis.org/program/burke-chair-strategy>.) Cordesman has directed numerous CSIS study efforts on terrorism, energy, defense planning, modern conflicts, and the Middle East. He has traveled frequently to Afghanistan and Iraq to consult for MNF-I, ISAF, U.S. commands, and U.S. embassies on the wars in those countries, and he was a member of the Strategic Assessment Group that assisted General Stanley McChrystal in developing a new strategy for Afghanistan in 2009. He frequently acts as a consultant to the U.S. State Department, Defense Department, and intelligence community and has worked with U.S. officials on counterterrorism and security areas in a number of Middle East countries.

Before joining CSIS, Cordesman served as director of intelligence assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and as civilian assistant to the deputy secretary of defense. He directed the analysis of the lessons of the October War for the secretary of defense in 1974, coordinating the U.S. military, intelligence, and civilian analysis of the conflict. He also served in numerous other government positions, including in the State Department and on NATO International Staff. In addition, he served as director of policy and planning for resource applications in the Energy Department and as national security assistant to Senator John McCain. He had numerous foreign assignments, including posts in the United Kingdom, Lebanon, Egypt, and Iran, as well as with NATO in Brussels and Paris. He has worked extensively in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf.

He is the author of a wide range of studies on energy policy, national security, and the Middle East, and his most recent publications include (CSIS, 2010), *Iraq and the United States: Creating a Strategic Partnership* (CSIS, 2010), *Saudi Arabia: National Security in a Troubled Region* (Praeger, 2009), *Iranian Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Birth of a Regional Nuclear Arms Race?* (Praeger, 2009), *Withdrawal from Iraq: Assessing the Readiness of Iraqi Security Forces* (CSIS, 2009), and *Winning in Afghanistan: Creating Effective Afghan Security Forces* (CSIS, 2009).

KORI SCHAKE is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and an associate professor of international security studies at the United States Military Academy. During the 2008 presidential election, she was senior policy adviser to the McCain-Palin campaign, responsible for policy development and outreach in the areas of foreign and defense policy.

From 2007 to 2008 she was the deputy director for policy planning in the state department. In addition to staff management, she worked on resourcing and organizational effectiveness issues, including a study of what it would take to “transform” the state department so as to enable integrated political, economic, and military strategies.

During President Bush's first term, she was the director for Defense Strategy and Requirements on the National Security Council. She was responsible for interagency coordination for long-term defense planning and coalition maintenance issues.

She has held the Distinguished Chair of International Security Studies at West Point, and also served in the faculties of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs, and the National Defense University. She is on the boards of the journal *Orbis* and the Centre for European Reform and blogs for Foreign Policy's Shadow Government.

Her publications include *State of Disrepair: Fixing the Culture and Practices of the State Department* (Hoover Institution Press, 2012), *Managing American Hegemony: Essays on Power in a Time of Dominance* (Hoover Institution Press, 2009), "Choices for the Quadrennial Defense Review" (*Orbis*, 2009), "Dealing with a Nuclear Iran" (*Policy Review*, 2007), "Jurassic Pork" (*New York Times*, 2006). She coauthored "How America Should Lead" (*Policy Review*, 2002), and coedited *The Berlin Wall Crisis: Perspectives on Cold War Alliances* (2002), and "Building a European Defense Capability" (*Survival*, 1999).

AMB. RONALD E. NEUMANN, formerly a Deputy Assistant Secretary, served three times as Ambassador; to Algeria, Bahrain and finally to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan from July 2005 to April 2007. Before Afghanistan, Mr. Neumann, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, served in Baghdad from February 2004 with the Coalition Provisional Authority and then as Embassy Baghdad's principal interlocutor with the Multinational Command, where he was deeply involved in coordinating the political part of military action.

Prior to working in Iraq, he was Chief of Mission in Manama, Bahrain (2001-2004). Before that, Ambassador Neumann served as a Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Near East Affairs (1997-2000), where he directed the organization of the first separately-funded NEA democracy programs and also was responsible for the bureau's work in developing the North African Economic Initiative for Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. Before that assignment, he was Ambassador to Algeria (1994 to 1997) and Director of the Office of Northern Gulf Affairs (Iran and Iraq; 1991 to 1994). Earlier in his career, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, and in Sanaa in Yemen, Principal Officer in Tabriz, Iran and Economic/Commercial Officer in Dakar, Senegal. His previous Washington assignments include service as Jordan Desk officer, Staff Assistant in the Middle East (NEA) Bureau, and Political Officer in the Office of Southern European Affairs.

Ambassador Neumann is the author of *The Other War: Winning and Losing in Afghanistan* (Potomac Press, 2009), a book on his time in Afghanistan. He is the author of a number of monographs and articles. At the Academy he has focused particularly on efforts to expand State and USAID personnel to enable these institutions to carry out their responsibilities.

ROBERT D. LAMB (MODERATOR) is a senior fellow and director of the Program on Crisis, Conflict, and Cooperation (C3) at CSIS, and a research scholar at the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland (CISSM). Dr. Lamb studies governance and development amid conflict, with recent field research in Afghanistan, Colombia, and Pakistan. His current research program touches on complex violence, hybrid political orders, nonstate-controlled territories, political

transitions, international intervention, absorptive capacity, and alternatives to state building. Dr. Lamb has presented his work to policymakers and experts in Afghanistan, Colombia, Germany, India, Pakistan, Romania, Sweden, and the United Kingdom; has appeared on CNN, NPR, and NBC News; and has been quoted in *USA Today*, *The Los Angeles Times*, Reuters, Bloomberg, and other media outlets. He lived for nearly a year in Medellín, Colombia, studying gang governance and legitimacy, and joined CSIS as a visiting scholar after returning to Washington in late 2009. As a strategist in the Defense Department's Strategy office in 2006 and 2007, he advised defense policymakers on terrorist, criminal, and insurgent networks and co-managed an interagency study of ³ungoverned² areas and illicit havens. He earned his Ph.D. in policy studies in early 2010 from the University of Maryland School of Public Policy in a program combining security, economics, and ethics. He received his B.A. in interdisciplinary studies from Gettysburg College in 1993, spent half a year in Nicaragua with a microdevelopment project, then worked for nine years as an editor and journalist, winning a National Press Club award in 2001, before changing careers after 9/11.

II. NAVIGATING THE GEOPOLITICS OF THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

CARLA A. HILLS is chair and CEO of Hills & Company. The firm provides advice to U.S. businesses on investment, trade, and risk assessment issues abroad, particularly in emerging market economies. Ambassador Hills served as U.S. trade representative (1989–1993) in the Bush administration. During the Ford administration, she served as U.S. secretary of housing and urban development and assistant attorney general, civil division at the U.S. Department of Justice. Over the years, Ambassador Hills has served on a number of corporate boards and currently sits on one. She also serves on a number of nonprofit boards. She currently is chair of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and of the Inter-American Dialogue. She is cochair of the Council on Foreign Relations and a member of the Executive Committee of the Peterson Institute for International Economics and of the Trilateral Commission. She is cochair of the Advisory Board at CSIS, as well as a trustee of the Center. She is also a member of the board of the International Crisis Group. Before entering government, Ambassador Hills cofounded and was a partner in a Los Angeles law firm. She also served as an adjunct professor at the University of California at Los Angeles Law School teaching antitrust law and coauthored *The Antitrust Adviser* (McGraw-Hill, 1971). She received her bachelor's degree from Stanford University, her law degree from Yale University, and studied at Oxford University. She holds a number of honorary degrees, and she was awarded the Aztec Eagle in 2000, the highest honor given by the Mexican government to a noncitizen.

MAURICE R. "HANK" GREENBERG is Chairman and CEO of C. V. Starr and Co., Inc. He joined C.V. Starr & Co., Inc. as Vice President in 1960, a worldwide insurance and investment company. Mr. Greenberg retired as Chairman and CEO of American International Group, Inc. (AIG) in March 2005, after serving as Chief Executive Officer from 1967 until March 2005. Under his leadership AIG became the largest insurance company in the world and generated unprecedented value for AIG shareholders. During the nearly 40 years of his leadership, AIG's market value grew from \$300 million to \$180 billion. AIG was created by C.V. Starr & Co., Inc.

Mr. Greenberg is Chairman of The Starr Foundation. He oversees the disbursement of major financial support to academic, medical, cultural, and public policy institutions. In 1990, Mr. Greenberg was

appointed by Mr. Zhu Rongji, then Mayor of Shanghai, to be the first Chairman of the International Business Leaders' Advisory Council for the Mayor of Shanghai. In 1994, Mr. Greenberg was appointed Senior Economic Advisor to the Beijing Municipal Government. He was awarded "Honorary Citizen of Shanghai" in 1997. He is a Member of the Advisory Board of the Tsinghua School of Economics and Management, a Member of the International Advisory Council of the China Development Research Foundation and China Development Bank.

ADM. JOSEPH W. PRUEHER (RET.) completed thirty-five years in the United States Navy in 1999. His last command was Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Pacific Command (CINCPAC); the largest military command in the world. He then served two Presidents as Ambassador to the People's Republic of China from 1999 to 2001.

Admiral Prueher is the former James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor at the Miller Center of the University of Virginia, as well as Senior Advisor to the Stanford-Harvard Preventive Defense Project, working on dialogue for US-China security matters. He serves as Director of Emerson, New York Life, Fluor Corporation, and AmeriGroup. And is a former Director of Merrill Lynch, Bank of America, and DynCorp International.

A member of The Council on Foreign Relations, he is also Vice Chairman of the National Committee on U.S.- China Relations. From 1989 through 1995, Admiral Prueher served as Commandant at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis; Commander of Carrier Battle Group ONE based in San Diego; Commander of the U.S. Mediterranean Sixth Fleet and of NATO Striking Forces based in Italy; and as Vice Chief of Naval Operations in the Pentagon.

Foremost a carrier based attack pilot for his first 24 years of service, he also spent three years as a Navy Test Pilot at Patuxent River, MD. He has extensive flight and combat experience, with over 5600 flight hours and over 1000 carrier landings. He was qualified in 52 types of aircraft, held numerous senior operational commands, including two carrier air wings, and led the formation of the Naval Strike Warfare Center in Fallon, NV.

ERNEST Z. BOWER (MODERATOR) is senior adviser and director of the CSIS Southeast Asia Program and Pacific Partners Initiative. He is recognized as a leading expert on Southeast Asia. He is president and CEO of BowerGroupAsia, a well-known business advisory firm that he founded. Before forming his company, he served for a decade as president of the US-ASEAN Business Council, a top private business group composed of America's leading companies in Southeast Asia. Over 20 years, he helped to establish and build the Council from the ground level, working with government and private-sector leaders from the United States and Southeast Asia. Bower is widely recognized as one of the strongest proponents of close ties between the United States and Asia. He has been an adviser and innovator creating programs and vehicles to broaden and deepen ties bilaterally and regionally. He engineered key private-sector initiatives such as the U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement Coalition, the U.S.-APEC Business Coalition, and numerous campaigns resulting in significant expansion of commerce. In recognition of his work, the King of Malaysia has awarded him the Darjah Panglima Jasa Negara (PJN), pronouncing him holder of the title Datuk in Malaysia. President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo awarded him the rank of Lakan, or Commander, for his service to the Philippines. Bower is currently the U.S. chair of the Advisory Council on Competitiveness for the Vietnamese prime minister;

serves on the boards of the Special Olympics Asia, the Institute for Religion and Public Policy, the U.S.-New Zealand Business Council, and the Malaysian-American Society; and serves on the Board of Advisors of the U.S.-Indonesia Society. He also served on the U.S. Department of State's Advisory Committee on Trade and Investment. Bower holds a bachelor's degree from Colgate University and studied Mandarin Chinese at Middlebury College's Sunderland School of Foreign Language.

III. SCENARIO 2030: IS THE U.S. NUCLEAR INDUSTRY DYING?

LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT (USAF RET.) is a counselor and trustee at CSIS and is president of the Scowcroft Group, an international business consulting firm. General Scowcroft serves as co-chair of CSIS's Commission on Nuclear Energy Policy in the U.S. He is also the founder, president, and resident trustee of the Forum for International Policy, a nonprofit organization providing independent perspectives and opinions on major foreign policy issues. General Scowcroft served as the national security adviser to Presidents Gerald R. Ford and George H.W. Bush. He also served as military assistant to President Richard Nixon and as deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs to Presidents Ford and Nixon. Prior to joining the Bush administration, General Scowcroft was vice chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc. from 1982-1989. In that capacity, he advised and assisted a wide range of U.S. and foreign corporate leaders on global joint venture opportunities, strategic planning, and risk assessment. In the course of his twenty-nine year military career, General Scowcroft has held positions in the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force, and the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. In other assignments, he served in faculty positions at the U.S. Air Force Academy and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and as assistant air attaché in the U.S. embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. General Scowcroft had an aeronautical rating as a pilot and has numerous military decorations and awards. In addition, in 1991, President Bush presented him with the Medal of Freedom Award. In 1993, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth presented him with the insignia of an Honorary Knight of the British Empire (K.B.E.) at Buckingham Palace. General Scowcroft was born in Ogden, Utah. He received his undergraduate degree and commission into the Army Air Forces from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Out of uniform, he continued in a public policy capacity by serving on the President's Advisory Committee on Arms Control, the Commission on Strategic Forces, and the President's Special Review Board, also known as the Tower Commission. He currently serves on numerous corporate and nonprofit boards. He holds an M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. He is the coauthor, with President George H.W. Bush, of *A World Transformed* (Knopf, 1998). General Scowcroft is also the coauthor, with Zbigniew Brzezinski and David Ignatius, of *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy* (Basic Books, 2008).

MAYO A. SHATTUCK III, a director since May 1999, has been Chairman of Constellation Energy since July 2002 and President and Chief Executive Officer since November 2001. Mr. Shattuck also served as Chairman of the Board of Directors of BGE from July 2002 to April 2007. Mr. Shattuck serves as co-chair of CSIS's Commission on Nuclear Energy Policy in the U.S. He is also a director of Capital One Financial Corporation, Gap, Inc. and the Edison Electric Institute, and Chairman of the Institute of Nuclear Power Operations. Mr. Shattuck's qualifications to serve as a director include his familiarity with Constellation Energy's business and industry, gained from his service as Constellation Energy's Chief Executive Officer, which enable him to effectively identify strategic priorities and lead the discussion and execution of Constellation Energy's strategy. His financial expertise gained from his years of experience in the financial services industry prior to joining Constellation Energy also brings a valuable perspective to the Board.

Working Lunch Sessions (12:30-1:45 p.m.)

I. THE FUTURE OF SPECIAL OPERATIONS: PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE UNIFIED COMMAND PLAN

GEN. PETER PACE (RET.) retired from active duty on October 1, 2007, after more than 40 years of service in the United States Marine Corps. General Pace was sworn in as sixteenth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Sep. 30, 2005. In this capacity, he served as the principal military advisor to the President, the Secretary of Defense, the National Security Council, and the Homeland Security Council. Prior to becoming Chairman, he served as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Pace holds the distinction of being the first Marine to have served in either of these positions.

General Pace was commissioned in June 1967, following graduation from the United States Naval Academy. He holds a Master's Degree in Business Administration from George Washington University, attended the Harvard University Senior Executives in National and International Security program, and graduated from the National War College.

During his distinguished career, General Pace has held command at virtually every level, beginning as a Rifle Platoon Leader in Vietnam. He also served as Commanding Officer of 2nd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment; Commanding Officer of the Marine Barracks in Washington, D.C.; Deputy Commander, Marine Forces Somalia; Deputy Commander, Joint Task Force Somalia; Director of Operations for the Joint Staff; Commander, U.S., Marine Forces Atlantic/Europe/South; and Commander in Chief, US Southern Command.

In June, 2008, General Pace was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor a President can bestow. General Pace is currently serving on the Board of Directors of several corporate entities involved in management consulting, private equity, and IT security. He served on the President's Intelligence Advisory Board, and on the Secretary of Defense's Defense Policy Board. He is a Distinguished Visiting Research Scholar for Fordham University, and an Adjunct Faculty member of Georgetown University.

ADMIRAL TIMOTHY J. KEATING (RET.) retired in December 2009 after serving for three years as the Commander, United States Pacific Command, headquartered in Honolulu Hawaii. His area of responsibility included over 3.4 billion people and half the surface of the earth. While in command, Admiral Keating visited over 30 countries, meeting diplomats, military officials and commercial leaders to emphasize active engagement with national and international partners in preserving the security and stability upon which the Asia-Pacific region's success depends.

Prior to his tour at Pacific Command, Admiral Keating was Commander of the United States Northern Command, responsible for protecting the United States homeland and providing support to federal, state and local officials in time of crisis. Simultaneously, he was Commander of the North American Aerospace Defense Command, providing aerospace warning, air sovereignty and defense for the United States and Canada.

Previous tours include service as the Director of the Joint Staff in the Pentagon, command of the United States Fifth Fleet and all naval forces in the United States Central Command headquartered in the Kingdom of Bahrain, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans, Policy and Operations) in the Pentagon, command of the USS Kitty Hawk Battle Group stationed in Yokosuka Japan, and Deputy Director for Operations (Current Operations) on the Joint Staff in the Pentagon.

ADMIRAL ERIC T. OLSON is the eighth commander of U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) headquartered at MacDill Air Force Base, Fla. USSOCOM ensures the readiness of joint special operations forces and, as directed, conducts operations worldwide.

Olson graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1973 and qualified as a Naval Special Warfare (SEAL) officer in 1974. He has served operationally in an Underwater Demolition Team, SEAL Team, SEAL Delivery Vehicle Team, Special Boat Squadron, and at the Naval Special Warfare Development Group. He has commanded at every level.

Olson has participated in several conflicts and contingency operations, and has served as a SEAL instructor, strategy and tactics development officer and joint special operations staff officer. His overseas assignments include service as a United Nations military observer in Israel and Egypt, and as Navy Programs officer in Tunisia. He served on the Navy staff as assistant deputy chief of Naval Operations (Plans, Policy, and Operations).

Olson earned a Master of Arts degree in National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School and studied at the Defense Language Institute. He is a Joint Specialty officer and Political-Military Affairs sub-specialist with emphasis on Africa and the Middle East. His awards include the Distinguished Service Medal and Silver Star.

RICK “OZZIE” NELSON (MODERATOR) is a former Navy helicopter pilot with over twenty years operational and intelligence experience, including assignments at the National Security Council and the National Counterterrorism Center. He recently served in Afghanistan. He is Director of the CSIS Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Program and a senior fellow in the CSIS International Security Program. He joined CSIS in September 2009, after retiring from the U.S. Navy, where he served in a variety of senior policy and operational positions. His last military assignment was with the Joint Special Operations Command. In 2005, he was selected to serve as an inaugural member in the National Counterterrorism Center’s (NCTC) Directorate of Strategic Operational Planning. Prior to his assignment at NCTC, Nelson served as associate director for maritime security in the Office of Combating Terrorism on the National Security Council staff at the White House, where he led the development of the National Strategy for Maritime Security. Other career assignments have included counterterrorism team leader in Deep Blue, the navy’s operational think tank created after September 11; navy legislative fellow for Senator Edward M. Kennedy; assistant aviation officer community manager; and flag aide in Okinawa, Japan, to the commander of naval amphibious forces in the Western Pacific. He is operationally trained in naval helicopter strike warfare in the SH-60B Seahawk and SH-2F Seasprite helicopters, and he has deployed around the world and flown in support of numerous operations. Nelson graduated from the George Washington University in 1989 with a B.A. in political science, holds an M.A. in national security studies from Georgetown University, and is a graduate of

the Naval War College. He is an adjunct lecturer at Georgetown University, where he teaches courses on homeland security and counterterrorism. He is also a frequent contributor to many media outlets, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, NPR, CBS, CNN, and ABC, among others.

II. EUROPE'S ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

JIM HOAGLAND is a Contributing Editor for *The Washington Post* and two-time recipient of the Pulitzer Prize as a reporter and columnist. Hoagland joined *The Washington Post* in 1966 as a metropolitan reporter. He did stints as the paper's Africa correspondent in Nairobi, West European Correspondent in Paris, and Middle East correspondent in Beirut before becoming foreign editor in 1979 and then launching an opinion column in 1986.

Jim Hoagland won the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting in 1971 for his coverage of the struggle against apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. In 1973, he authored the book "South Africa: Civilizations in Conflict." After being banned from South Africa for five years, he returned in 1976 to write another ground-breaking series that won the Overseas Press Club's Bob Considine award. He won his second Pulitzer Prize for Commentary in 1991 for his columns on events leading up to the Gulf War and on the political problems of Mikhail Gorbachev. In 2002, the editors of leading European newspapers headed a jury that awarded Hoagland a special Europa prize for contributing to U.S-European understanding. Hoagland received the French Legion of Honor in 2006 for his lifelong effort to better Franco-American relations.

CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL is a senior editor at the *Weekly Standard*, a weekly columnist at the *Financial Times* and a contributing writer for the *New York Times Magazine*. He is a graduate of Harvard College, where he studied English literature. David Brooks, reviewing the best journalism of 2008, includes Caldwell for his articles questioning the morality of capitalism.

He is the author of *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West*. The Economist newspaper review stated: "this is an important book as well as a provocative one: the best statement to date of the pessimist's position on Islamic immigration in Europe." Historian Perry Anderson concurred, calling it 'the most striking single book to have appeared, in any language, on immigration in Western Europe'.

CHRYSTIA FREELAND was appointed editor of Thomson Reuters Digital in April 2011. In this role, Chrystia has editorial control of the company's consumer online, mobile and digital properties including Reuters.com and its global suite of websites, as well as the flagship NewsPro mobile news applications. In 2010, Chrystia joined the company as Reuters global editor-at-large.

Previously, Freeland served as the US managing editor of the *Financial Times* where she led the editorial development of the paper's US edition and of US news on FT.com. During this time, the US print edition became the single largest edition of the newspaper. She also held positions within the company including, editor of the FT's Weekend edition, editor of FT.com, UK News editor, Moscow bureau chief and Eastern Europe correspondent.

Chrystia authored *Sale of a Century: The Inside Story of the Second Russian Revolution*, an account of the country's journey from communism to capitalism. Her profile of Mikhail Khodorkovsky garnered Chrystia the Business Journalist of the Year Award in 2004. Freeland sits on the advisory board of the Rotman School of Management at the University of Toronto and is a board member of the Women's Commission and the Overseas Press Club of America.

CHRISTIAN WERNICKE has worked as U.S. Correspondent for the German daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in Washington, D.C. since 2005, covering U.S. domestic and foreign affairs. He started his journalistic career as a local editor at *Neue Rhein-Ruhr Zeitung* in Essen, Germany from 1980-1982. After the fall of the Berlin Wall Mr. Wernicke worked as political correspondent in the former GDR and the new German "Laender" for the weekly paper *Die Zeit* from 1989 to 1991. From 1992 to 1996, he served as editor and reporter for North-South relations, development policy, and Latin America in the political section of *Die Zeit* and as European Correspondent from 1996 to 2001. Prior to his work in Washington, Mr. Wernicke reported as European Bureau Chief from 2002 to 2005 at the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in Brussels, where he analyzed the foreign and security policy of the EU and NATO.

Christian Wernicke received several prizes for his work as a journalist. In 1992, he was awarded the *Theodor Wolff Award*, the National Prize in German Journalism, for a feature on political culture in East Germany's five new regional parliaments. He received the National Prize for Development Journalism twice for reports on decision-making at the World Bank (in 1994) and on African Women as "change agents" in poor communities (in 1996). In 2000, he was honored with the *Premio Napoli* award from the European Parliament for his article on the European Charter of Rights. The German Federal Foreign Office presented Mr. Wernicke in June 2011 with the *George F. Kennan Commentary Award* for his analysis of the 2010 U.S. Congressional elections.

HEATHER A. CONLEY (MODERATOR) serves as director and senior fellow of the Europe Program at CSIS. Prior to joining CSIS, Ms. Conley served as senior adviser to the Center for European Policy Analysis, an independent, nonpartisan public policy research institute dedicated to the study of Central Europe. From 2005–2008, Ms. Conley served as the executive director, Office of the Chairman of the Board of the American National Red Cross, where she focused her efforts on developing the first comprehensive reform to the governance structure of the American Red Cross Board since 1947, incorporating best governance practices for nonprofit and for-profit sectors.

From 2001–2005, Ms. Conley served as deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau for European and Eurasian Affairs, with responsibilities for U.S. bilateral relations for the 15 countries of northern and central Europe. Previously, she was a senior associate with an international consulting firm led by former U.S. deputy secretary of state Richard L. Armitage. Ms. Conley began her career in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, where she served as the State Department liaison for the U.S. Department of Defense's Global Humanitarian Assistance Program (HAP). Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ms. Conley was selected to serve as special assistant to the U.S. coordinator of U.S. assistance to the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union.

III. FIGHTING A CYBER WAR

WILLIAM J. LYNN III is Chairman of the Board of Directors and Chief Executive Officer of DRS Technologies, Inc. Prior to joining DRS in 2012, Mr. Lynn served as the 30th United States Deputy Secretary of Defense from 2009 until 2011. Serving under Secretaries Robert Gates and Leon Panetta, he managed three million personnel and oversaw an annual budget of \$700 billion. He also personally led the Department's efforts in cyber security, space strategy and energy policy.

From 2002 to 2009, Mr. Lynn was Senior Vice President of Government Operations and Strategy at the Raytheon Company. Previously, he served as Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) from 1997 to 2001 and as Director of Program Analysis and Evaluation in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1993 to 1997. Mr. Lynn also worked on the staff of Senator Ted Kennedy as his counsel for the Senate Armed Services Committee.

He has been recognized for numerous professional and service contributions, including four DoD medals for distinguished public service, the Joint Distinguished Civilian Service Award from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and awards from the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force.

GEN. JAMES CARTWRIGHT (RET.) hails from Rockford, Illinois. He attended the University of Iowa and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marines in 1971. He was both a naval flight officer and naval aviator who flew the F-4 Phantom, OA-4 Skyhawk, and F/A-18 Hornet. In 1983, he was named Outstanding Carrier Aviator of the Year by the Association of Naval Aviation and went on to command Marine Aviation Logistics Squadron 12, Marine Fighter Attack Squadron 232, Marine Aircraft Group 31, and 1st Marine Aircraft Wing. He also served in a wide range of Marine and joint billets including as assistant program manager for engineering, F/A-18 Naval Air Systems Command; deputy, Aviation Plans, Policy, and Budgets, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps; and director, Force Structure, Resources and Assessment, J-8, Joint Staff.

General Cartwright graduated with distinction from the Air Command and Staff College, received an M.A. in national security and strategic studies from the Naval War College, completed a fellowship with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and was honored with a Naval War College Distinguished Graduate Leadership Award. Unique among Marines, General Cartwright served as commander, U.S. Strategic Command, before being nominated and appointed as the eighth vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the nation's second-highest military officer. During his four-year tenure as vice chairman, across two presidential administrations and constant military operations against diverse and evolving enemies, General Cartwright became widely recognized for his technical acumen, vision of future national security concepts, and keen ability to integrate systems, organizations, and people in ways that encourage creativity and spark innovation in the areas of strategic deterrence, nuclear proliferation, missile defense, cyber security, and adaptive acquisition processes.

JAMES LEWIS is a senior fellow and Program Director at CSIS where he writes on technology, security, and the international economy. Before joining CSIS, he worked at the Departments of State and Commerce. He was the Rapporteur for the 2010 United Nations Group of Governmental Experts on Information Security. Lewis has authored seventy-five publications since coming to CSIS. His current research examines the political effects of the internet, asymmetric warfare, strategic competition, and technological innovation. Lewis received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

JOHN J. HAMRE (MODERATOR) See page 3 for Dr. Hamre's biography.



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