



NEW AMERICA AND ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESENT

FUTURE OF WAR 2016



MARCH 10, 2016

#FutureofWar

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About the Future of War Project

The Future of War Project explores the social, political, economic, and cultural implications of the changing nature of conflict and war. It is an interdisciplinary partnership that links New America, a D.C.-based think tank and civic enterprise with Arizona State University, one of the nation's largest and most innovative public research universities.

The first annual Future of War Conference was held in Washington, D.C. on Feb. 24, 2015 and brought together notable policy makers and experts such as former Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army GEN Raymond T. Odierno, Vice Chief of Naval Operations ADM Michelle Howard, Sen. John McCain, DARPA Director Dr. Arati Prabhakar, and King's College London Emeritus Professor of War Studies Sir Lawrence Freedman.

Now in its second full year of operation, the Future of War Project continues to advance its goals of describing the future of warfare as it evolves over the next decade and beyond, predicting its likely impact on the state and other forms of social organization, and developing new paradigms for understanding

and addressing armed conflict and systematic violence.

Over the past year, New America fellows, the International Security Program, and Future of War team have engaged with these topics through the publication of books and a research paper. In May 2015, New America Senior Fellow Chris Fussell published *Team of Teams: New Rules of Engagement for a Complex World*, which he co-authored with Gen. Stanley McChrystal. In June 2015, New America Strategist and Senior Fellow Peter W. Singer published *Ghost Fleet: A Novel of the Next World War*. In February 2016, International Security Program Director Peter Bergen's *United States of Jihad* and Senior Future of War Fellow David Kilcullen's *Blood Year: The Unraveling of Western Counterterrorism* were released. New America's Chris Fussell, David Kilcullen, Peter W. Singer, and Shane Harris were represented on the U.S. Special Operations Command Commander's Reading List 2016. In November 2015, New America also published "ISIS in the West," a report examining more than 450 cases of westerners who had traveled to Syria and Iraq.



Conference Agenda

8:00 a.m. Registration Opens

8:00–8:45 a.m. Welcome Breakfast

8:45–9:00 a.m. Introductory Remarks

James O'Brien, Senior Vice President of University Affairs and Chief of Staff to President Michael Crow, Arizona State University

Anne-Marie Slaughter, President and Chief Executive Officer, New America

9:00–9:45 a.m. What Is The Future Of War On Land? The Army of today and tomorrow

GEN Mark A. Milley, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army

Moderated by **Barbara Starr**, Pentagon Correspondent, CNN

9:45–9:55 a.m. The End of Secrets: How open source intelligence identified the brigade that shot down MH-17 over Ukraine

Aric Toler, Contributing Writer, RuNet Echo, Global Voices

9:55–10:35 a.m. What Will Define Future Conflict? A view from the flag officers

Maj. Gen. Margaret Woodward (Ret.), Former Director of the Air Force Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office of the Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force and former Commander of 17th Air Force and U.S. Air Forces Africa

LtGen Robert Schmidle, Jr., Principal Deputy Director of Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation, Office of the Secretary of Defense and former Deputy Commandant for Aviation, U.S. Marine Corps

Lt. Gen. Vern “Rusty” Findley (Ret.), Former Vice Commander, Air Mobility Command, Scott Air Force Base and former Director of Strategy, Plans and Policy, U.S. Central Command

LTG Benjamin Freakley (Ret.), Former Commanding General, U.S. Army Accessions Command and former Commanding General, 10th Mountain Division

Moderated by **Kevin Baron**, Executive Editor, *Defense One*

10:35–11:20 a.m. From the Streets of Raqqa to the Beltway: How will the wars of the future be reported?

Abdalaziz Alhamza, Co-founder, Raqqa is Being Slaughtered Silently

Joe Byerly, Founding Member, Military Writer’s Guild

Vivian Salama, Deputy U.S. Political Editor and former Baghdad Bureau Chief, Associated Press

Sharon Weinberger, National Security Reporter, *The Intercept*

Moderated by **Tom Ricks**, Senior Advisor to the International Security Program, New America, and Contributing Editor, *Foreign Policy* magazine

11:20–11:45 a.m. Living in the Era of Future War: How will persistent conflict shape our society?

Rosa Brooks, Senior Future of War Fellow, New America/ASU

Dr. Rob Johnson, Director, Oxford Changing Character of War Programme

Moderated by **Daniel Rothenberg**, Co-Director ASU/New America Future of War Program

11:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. How Will Strategy Shape the Future of War? A conversation with Sir Lawrence Freedman

Sir Lawrence Freedman, Emeritus Professor of War Studies, King's College London

Moderated by **Peter Bergen**, Vice President, New America

12:15–1:00 p.m. Lunch

1:00–1:45 p.m. How Will Marines Fight in the Future?

Gen. Robert B. Neller, Commandant of the Marine Corps

Moderated by **Dr. Peter W. Singer**, Strategist and Senior Fellow, New America

1:45–1:55 p.m. Going Viral: What are the risks of emerging infectious diseases?

Dr. George Poste, Chief Scientist, Complex Adaptive Systems and Regents' Professor and Del E. Webb Chair in Health Innovation at Arizona State University

1:55–2:40 p.m. How Will Wars Of The Future End? Lessons from Syria and beyond

Rania Abouzeid, Fellow, New America and Journalist

Janine di Giovanni, Middle East Editor, *Newsweek* and author, *The Morning They Came for Us: Dispatches From Syria*

Nir Rosen, Special Advisor, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

Michael Semple, former Deputy to the European Union Special Representative for Afghanistan

Moderated by **Jeffrey W. Eggers**, Senior Fellow, New America and former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

2:40–2:50 p.m. The War Inside: How will the human body be enhanced for war?

Andrew Herr, Founder & Chief Executive Officer, Helicase LLC and Mind Plus Matter LLC and Adjunct Assistant Professor of Security Studies, Georgetown University

2:50–3:00 p.m. What Will Cyber War Look Like? The case of the “cyber rifle”

CPT Brent Chapman, Army Silicon Valley Cyber Liaison and Army Element of the Defense Innovation Unit Experimental (DIUx)

CPT Frederick “Erick” Waage, Cyber Officer and Research Scientist, The Army Cyber Institute at West Point

Conference Agenda, continued

3:00–3:45 p.m. **What Is The Future Of War At Sea? The Navy of today and tomorrow**

ADM John M. Richardson, Chief of Naval Operations

Moderated by **Jim Sciutto**, Chief National Security Correspondent, CNN

3:45–4:30 p.m. **The Ivory Tower Goes to War: What lessons does social science hold for the future of war?**

Dr. Fotini Christia, Associate Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Dr. Christian Davenport, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan

LTG H.R. McMaster, Director, Army Capabilities Integration Center and Deputy Commanding General, Futures, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command

Dr. Will H. Moore, Professor in the School of Politics & Global Studies and affiliated faculty with the Center on the Future of War, Arizona State University

Moderated by **Dr. Erin Simpson**, Chief Executive Officer, Caerus Associates

4:30–5:15 p.m. **Hezbollah, Ukrainian Rebels, and ISIS: Are hybrid superguerrillas the future of war?**

Dr. David Kilcullen, Founder and Chairman, Caerus Global Solutions and ASU Senior Future of War Fellow, New America

Thomas Gibbons-Neff, Staff Writer, *Washington Post* and former infantryman, USMC

Nir Rosen, Special Advisor, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

Dr. Nadia Schadlow, Senior Program Officer, Smith Richardson Foundation

Moderated by **Dr. Douglas Ollivant**, ASU Senior Future of War Fellow, New America and Managing Partner, Mantid International

5:15–6:00 p.m. **Disruption and Destruction: Where will military innovation of the future come from?**

Maj. Karen Courington, Manager Product Data Operations, Facebook, and Major, Air Force Reserves

CAPT Crawford Alan Easterling III (Ret.), Corporate Director, Northrop Grumman

Gen. David L. Goldfein, Vice Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force

Dr. Lynne E. Parker, Division Director, Information and Intelligent Systems, National Science Foundation and Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, University of Tennessee

Dr. Fran Zenzen, Chief Operating Officer, Arizona State University Research Enterprise

Moderated by **Sharon Burke**, Senior Fellow, New America

6:00–7:00 p.m. **Reception**

Speakers



Rania Abouzeid is an independent journalist based in Beirut. She has reported from the Middle East and South Asia for over a decade and is currently a New America Fellow and a writer in residence at the Carey Institute. Her work has appeared in *TIME* magazine, *The New Yorker*, *Foreign Affairs*, *National Geographic*, *Politico*, and other outlets, both print and television. She is the recipient of the 2015 Michael Kelly Award, the 2014 George Polk Award for foreign reporting, and the 2013 Kurt Schork Award in International Journalism among other honors, which include fellowships at the European Council on Foreign Relations and Columbia University's Dart Center. Abouzeid is currently writing a book about the Syrian uprising. She is a graduate of the University of Melbourne, Australia.



Abdalaziz Alhamza is a co-founder and a spokesperson for Raqqa is Being Slaughtered Silently (RBSS), a Syrian citizen journalist collective and one of the few independent news sources that continues to report from inside the Islamic State's self-proclaimed capital. He was arrested by the Syrian regime three times in 2012 when he helped organize nonviolent protests and acted as a media activist during the early days of the uprising against Assad. He was also interrogated by the Islamic State more than once after the group took control of Raqqa in January 2014. Facing threats from both parties, he escaped Raqqa to Turkey, where he started RBSS with his journalist friends. After receiving threats from the Islamic State in Turkey, he later fled to Germany, where he currently resides. Born in Raqqa in 1991, Alhamza graduated from Raqqa University in 2013.



Kevin Baron is executive editor of *Defense One*. He is also a national security/military analyst for NBC News and MSNBC. Baron has covered the military, the Pentagon, Congress, and politics for *Foreign Policy*, *National Journal*, and *Stars and Stripes*. He previously ran investigative projects for five years at the *Boston Globe's* Washington

bureau, and cut his teeth at the Center for Public Integrity. Baron is twice a Polk Award winner and former vice president of the Pentagon Press Association. Raised in Florida, Baron lives in Northern Virginia with his three sons. He earned his M.A. from George Washington University and B.A. from the University of Richmond.



Peter Bergen is a print, television, and web journalist, an award-winning documentary producer and author or editor of seven books, three of which were *New York Times* best sellers. He is vice president at New America, CNN's national security analyst, a Professor of Practice at Arizona State University where he co-directs the Center on the Future of War, a fellow at Fordham University's Center on National Security, and has held teaching positions at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins. Bergen edits *Foreign Policy* magazine's South Asia Channel, writes a weekly column for CNN.com, and is a member of the Homeland Security Project and the Aspen Homeland Security Group. He frequently testifies on Capitol Hill and has a degree in Modern History from New College, Oxford.



Rosa Brooks is a senior fellow at New America. She works with the ASU Future of War project, writing about the changing nature of warfare, the changing role of the U.S. military, and the need to rethink core assumptions about the laws of war. A professor at Georgetown University Law Center, Brooks served as Counselor to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and as Special Coordinator for Rule of Law and Humanitarian Policy in the Pentagon from 2009-2011. In 2006, she published *Can Might Make Rights? Building the Rule of Law after Military Interventions* with Jane Stromseth and David Wippman. Her new book, *By Other Means: How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything*, will be published later this year. Brooks holds a B.A. from Harvard University, a M. St. from the University of Oxford, and a J.D. from Yale Law School.



Sharon Burke is a senior advisor to New America, where she focuses on international security and the security implications of energy, climate change, and other natural resource challenges. Before joining New America, Burke served in the Obama administration as the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Operational Energy from 2010-2014. She holds a B.A. from Williams College and M.A. from Columbia University.



Joe Byerly is an active duty Army officer and founding member of the Military Writers Guild. He has commanded a cavalry troop in Iraq and a headquarters company at Fort Stewart, Georgia. He frequently writes about leadership and leader development on his website www.FromtheGreenNotebook.com. He holds a B.A. from North Georgia College and State University and M.A. from the U.S. Naval War College.



CPT Brent Chapman is a member of the Army Silicon Valley Cyber LNO Team and Army representative to the Defense Innovation Unit Experimental (DIUx) at Moffett Field, California. He joined the Army as a cryptanalyst before attending West Point as a cadet. A former Signal Officer and Network Engineer (FA24), he recently made the transition to the Army's Cyber branch. In addition to having several industry certifications, he also holds a B.S. from the United States Military Academy and M.S. from Carnegie Mellon University.



Dr. Fotini Christia is an Associate Professor of Political Science at MIT. She has done extensive ethnographic, survey, and experimental fieldwork on ethnicity, conflict, and development in divided societies with a focus on the Muslim world. Her recent research projects have been in Afghanistan, Iraq and Yemen. Fotini is the author of *Alliance Formation in Civil War* (2012) which received the Luebbert Award for Best Book in Comparative Politics, the Leppgold Prize for Best Book in International Relations and the Distinguished Book Award of the Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Migration Section of the International Studies Association. Her articles have been published in *Science*, *the American Political Science Review*, and

Comparative Politics, among others, and she has had opinion pieces in *Foreign Affairs*, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post*. She holds a joint B.A. from Columbia College, M.A. from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, and a Ph.D. in Public Policy from Harvard University.



Maj. Karen Courington is the Manager for Product Data Operations within Facebook's Community Operations organization. Previously, Karen served as Senior Defense Policy Advisor to Sen. Tim Kaine (D-VA) and has consulted for LinkedIn and Deutsche Bank. She is a Major in the U.S. Air Force Reserve and a former active duty C-17 pilot. She is a Truman National Security Fellow and CFR Term Member. She has a B.A. from the University of Virginia and M.S.F.S. from Georgetown University.



Dr. Christian Davenport is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan as well as a Faculty Associate at the Center for Political Studies and Research Professor at the Peace Research Institute Oslo. His primary research interests include political conflict (e.g., human rights violations, genocide/politicide, torture, political surveillance, civil war, and social movements), measurement, racism, and popular culture. He co-directs the Conflict Consortium and is the author of four books, including *How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa* (2014) and *Media Bias, Perspective and State Repression: The Black Panther Party* (2010). He has several books and articles underway concerning topics from Rwandan political violence to stopping large-scale mass killing. He is also engaged in various data collection efforts, developing crowdsourcing data collection programs, and co-organizing workshops/conferences/web portals facilitating the development of conflict/peace studies. He holds a B.A. from Clark University, M.A. from Binghamton University, and Ph.D. from Binghamton University.



Janine di Giovanni is the Middle East editor of *Newsweek* and the Pakis Scholar at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where she is concentrating on Track 2 Diplomacy, International Law, and International Security. She is also a non-resident International Security Fellow at New America, and an Associate Fellow at The Geneva Centre for Security Policy, where she moderates their geopolitical debate series. She is a frequent moderator of high-level panels and an analyst on foreign policy at conferences for the World Bank, the UN, Harvard, Princeton, the LSE, the World Economic Forum and other institutions. She is a former adviser on the Syria conflict to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and has advised senior officials on policy for the EU, NATO, and others. She was a delegate to William Hague's conference on addressing sexual violence during conflict and has published extensively on the subject. Action on Armed Violence (AOAV) has named her one of the 100 most influential people reducing armed conflict. Currently working in Syria and Iraq, she is focusing on ISIS and other insurgency groups in the Middle East, but her overall thesis is on talking to non-state actors to reduce conflict. Her forthcoming book, *The Morning They Came For Us: Dispatches From Syria*, will be published later this year. She holds a B.A. from the University of Maine, M.A. from the University of London, M.F.A. from the University of Iowa, and M.A. from Tufts University.



CAPT Crawford Alan Easterling III (Ret.) is a member of the Corporate Strategy Group at Northrop Grumman where he conducts strategic planning, supports the Corporate Policy Council, Corporate Technology Council, Strategic Development Council, and serves as corporate strategy liaison with the Mission Systems Sector. Before joining the Corporate Strategy Group, he was the director of Strategic Development for Advanced Programs and Technology (AP&T) at Northrop Grumman Aerospace Systems. Easterling joined Northrop Grumman from the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, where he served as senior professional staff and technical director for Navy Unmanned Aerial Vehicles. A retired U.S. Navy captain, the highlights of Easterling's active duty career include Director, Special Programs, Naval

Air Systems Command; Multimission Maritime Aircraft program manager; Commander Task Group 72.4; and Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary of the Navy. He was also selected as a Brookings Institution Legislative Fellow and was assigned to the personal staff of Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV). He holds a B.S. from the U.S. Naval Academy, M.S. from the Naval Postgraduate School, and has studied computer science at Johns Hopkins University.



Jeffrey W. Eggers is a senior fellow at New America researching concepts to enhance performance in public policy toward the renewal of American prosperity. Eggers transitioned out of public service in May 2015, having served at the White House for six years under two Presidents, most recently as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. He is now founder and CEO of a strategic advisory firm specializing in organizational leadership and performance. He has a B.S. from the U.S. Naval Academy and M.A. from Oxford.



Lt. Gen. Vern "Rusty" Findley (Ret.) served as Vice Commander, Air Mobility Command, Scott Air Force Base, Illinois from 2008 until 2011. Lt. Gen. Findley earned his Air Force commission in 1976 as a distinguished graduate of the ROTC program at Arizona State University. He has held numerous operational positions, to include command of the 437th Airlift Wing, Charleston AFB, S.C., and 319th Air Refueling Wing, Grand Forks AFB, N.D. During Operation Allied Force, the air war over Serbia, he commanded the 92nd Air Expeditionary Wing, headquartered in Spain. He holds a B.S. from Arizona State University, M.A. from the University of North Dakota, and M.A. from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces.



LTG Benjamin Freakley (Ret.) serves as the Professor of Practice of Leadership for Arizona State University and as Special Advisor to ASU

President Michael Crow for Leadership Initiatives. Additionally, he serves at The McCain Institute for International Leadership. He recently retired from the U.S. Army after more than 36 years of active military service, serving as Commanding General, U.S. Army Accessions Command, at the time of his retirement. He has a B.S. from West Point and a Master of Military Art and Science Degree from the School of Advanced Military Studies.



Sir Lawrence Freedman has been Professor of War Studies at King's College London since 1982, and Vice-Principal since 2003. Before joining

King's College, he held research appointments at Nuffield College Oxford, IISS, and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1995 and awarded the CBE [Commander of the British Empire] in 1996, Freedman was appointed Official Historian of the Falklands Campaign in 1997. Freedman is the author of many books, including *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, *Deterrence, A Choice of Enemies: America Confronts the Middle East*, *Strategy: A History*, and *The Future of War*, which will be released later this year. He was educated at Whitley Bay Grammar School, and the Universities of Manchester, York, and Oxford.



Thomas Gibbons-Neff is a staff writer for the *Washington Post*. Based in Washington, D.C., Gibbons-Neff reports on conflict in the Middle East and the

Ukraine. His work has also been published in the At War blog of the *New York Times*, *The Atlantic*, *TIME*, and others. A former Marine infantryman, he served two combat tours in Afghanistan and has also written about his combat experience. He has a B.A. from Georgetown University.



Andrew Herr founded and leads Helicase and Mind Plus Matter, and is an Adjunct Assistant Professor of Security Studies at Georgetown

University. Prior to his current positions, Herr was the Principal Investigator for Defense & Human Performance at Scitor Corporation, regularly

taught courses on optimizing performance to U.S. government civilians preparing for deployment to Afghanistan, and worked with U.S. government agencies in a variety of capacities, ranging from policy development to prototype design and testing. He has experience in both biology and physics laboratories, where he worked on Hepatitis B drug development, nuclear weapons detection, and radiation dosimetry. He has a B.S.F.S. and three master's degrees from Georgetown University.



Dr. Rob Johnson is the Director of the Oxford Changing Character of War Programme, Senior Research Fellow of Pembroke College, and Associate

of the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford. Dr. Johnson's areas of focus are in war, strategy and strategic thinking, and conflict in Southwest and Central Asia. Johnson's primary research interests are in strategy, its development, and the history of war which informs it. His regional interests are in Afghanistan, South Asia, and the Middle East. Johnson is a member of the advisory panel of the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, lecturer for the Royal College of Defence Studies, and the director of 'insight and understanding' programs for UK and U.S. Special Operational Forces and Security Services. Johnson is the author of *The Afghan Way of War*, *The Iran-Iraq War*, and others. He has his undergraduate degree from Warwick University and a Ph.D. from Exeter University.



Dr. David Kilcullen is Founder and Chairman of Caerus Global Solutions, a strategic research and design

firm that helps governments, global institutions, businesses, and communities build resilience in conflict, disaster-affected, and post-conflict environments. He is also the Founder and Chairman of First Mile Geo, a tech startup that pioneers open, online cloud-based platforms for collecting, analyzing, sharing, and visualizing social and spatial data. Before founding Caerus, Kilcullen served 24 years as a soldier, diplomat, and policy advisor for the Australian and U.S. governments. He was Special Advisor for Counterinsurgency to the U.S. Secretary of State from 2007-2009 and Senior Advisor to Gen. David Petraeus in Iraq in 2007. He is the author of bestselling books *The Accidental Guerrilla*:

Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One, Counterinsurgency, Out of the Mountains, and the recently-released Blood Year: The Unraveling of Western Counterterrorism. Dr. Kilcullen holds a B.A. from St. Pius X College and Ph.D. from the University of New South Wales.



LTG H. R. McMaster assumed duties as the Director, Army Capabilities Integration Center and Deputy Commanding General, Futures, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command on July 15, 2014. Prior to his arrival at Fort Eustis, he most recently served as Commanding General, Maneuver Center of Excellence and Fort Benning from June 2012 to July 2014. Previously he served as Commander, Combined Joint Inter-Agency Task Force Shafafiyat [Transparency] in Kabul, Afghanistan. He is the author of *Dereliction of Duty: Johnson, McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies that Led to Vietnam*. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1984 and holds a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



GEN Mark A. Milley assumed duty as the 39th Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army on August 14, 2015 after most recently serving as the 21st Commander of U.S. Army Forces Command at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. He has served in command and leadership positions from the platoon and operational detachment alpha level through Corps and Army Command including the 82nd Airborne Division and the 5th Special Forces Group at Fort Bragg, North Carolina; the 7th Infantry Division at Fort Ord, California; the 10th Mountain Division at Fort Drum, New York; the 2nd Infantry Division in Korea; the Joint Readiness Center at Fort Polk, Louisiana; the 25th Infantry Division at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii; the 101st Airborne [Air Assault] at Fort Campbell, Kentucky; and the 1st Cavalry Division and 3rd Infantry Division in Baghdad, Iraq. He holds a B.A. from Princeton University, master's degrees from Columbia University and the U.S. Naval War College, and is a graduate of the MIT Seminar XXI National Security Studies Program.



Dr. Will H. Moore's research focuses on dissident-state interactions including human rights, coercion, protest, rebellion, repression, and terror. He joined the faculty of the School of Politics & Global Studies at Arizona State University in the fall of 2015. He previously taught at the University of California, Riverside (1991-1997) and Florida State University (1997-2015). He was a visiting research fellow at the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Center for International Peace Studies (2011-12) as well as a visiting fellow at The Institute of Quantitative and Theoretical Methods at Emory University (2015). He was the 2013-14 President of the Peace Science Society (International) and 2014-15 Vice President of the Human Rights Section of the American Political Science Association. He co-directs the Conflict Consortium, and is an editor and contributor to Political Violence @ a Glance blog. He holds a B.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Colorado at Boulder.



Gen. Robert B. Neller is the 37th Commandant of the United States Marine Corps. Prior to his current assignment, he served as the Commander, Marine Forces Command from July 2014 to September 2015 and Commander, Marine Forces Central Command from September 2012 to June 2014. He has served as an infantry officer at all levels, including command of Marine Security Force Company Panama during Operations JUST CAUSE and PROMOTE LIBERTY; 3d Light Armored Infantry Battalion during Operation RESTORE HOPE; 6th Marine Regiment; and 3d Marine Division. A native of East Lansing, Michigan, Gen. Neller holds a B.A. from the University of Virginia and M.A. from Pepperdine University.



James O'Brien serves as Senior Vice President of University Affairs and Chief of Staff to President Michael Crow of Arizona State University. He is responsible for implementing complicated strategic and tactical objectives of the Office of the President. He is an attorney who previously worked as corporate counsel to several publicly traded companies as well as in private practice. He has also worked in public affairs at the state and federal levels. He received a B.A. from Iowa State University and a J.D. from Drake University.



Dr. Douglas Ollivant is an ASU Future of War senior fellow at New America. He is writing a book on hybrid warfare. He is also a managing partner of the strategic consulting firm Mantid International. A retired Army officer, he spent a total of three years deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan, both in uniform and as a contractor, and was Director for Iraq at the National Security Council during both the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations. He is a graduate of Wheaton College and holds a Ph.D. from Indiana University.



Dr. Lynne E. Parker is the Division Director for the Information and Intelligent Systems (IIS) Division in the Computer and Information Science and Engineering (CISE) Directorate at the National Science Foundation. She is at NSF on leave (since Jan. 2015) from the Electrical Engineering and Computer Science Department at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville (UTK). She has been on the UTK faculty since 2002, and served as Associate Head of the EECS Department from 2010-2014. Parker is the founder and director of the Distributed Intelligence Laboratory at UTK, which performs research in multi-robot systems, sensor networks, machine learning, and human-robot interaction. She has published extensively in these areas, and has received numerous awards for her research, teaching, and service, including the PECASE Award (U.S. Presidential Early Career Award for Scientists and Engineers), the IEEE RAS Distinguished Service Award, and many UTK Chancellors, College, and Departmental awards. She is active in the IEEE Robotics and Automation Society for many years; she served as the General Chair for the 2015 IEEE International Conference on Robotics and Automation, as the Editor-in-Chief of the IEEE RAS Conference Editorial Board, as an administrative committee member of RAS, an editor of IEEE Transactions on Robotics, and a fellow of IEEE. She holds a B.S. from the Tennessee Technological University, M.S. from the University of Tennessee, and Ph.D. from MIT.



Dr. George Poste is Chief Scientist, Complex Adaptive Systems Initiative (CASI), Regents' Professor and Del E. Webb Chair in Health Innovation at Arizona State University. He assumed this

post in February 2009. He serves on the Board of Directors of Monsanto, Exelixis, Caris Life Sciences and Scientific Advisory Boards at the University of Michigan, Synthetic Genomics and Haplogen GmbH. He is a Fellow of the U.K. Royal Society, the Royal College of Pathologists and U.K. Academy of Medicine, Member, Council for Foreign Relations, and Institute of Medicine Board on Global Health. He has served as a member of the Defense Science Board of the U.S. Department of Defense and currently serves on advisory committees for several U.S. government agencies in defense, intelligence, national security and healthcare. He holds a D.M.V. and Ph.D. from the University of Bristol, England.



ADM John M. Richardson is the 31st Chief of Naval Operations, serving since September 18, 2015. At sea, he served on the USS Parche (SSN 683), USS George C. Marshall (SSBN 654), and USS Salt Lake City (SSN 716). He commanded the USS Honolulu (SSN 718) in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. He holds a B.S. from the U.S. Naval Academy and master's degrees in electrical engineering from MIT and Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, and National Security Strategy from the National War College.



Tom Ricks is Senior Advisor on National Security at New America's International Security Program. As a reporter, he was a member of two teams that won Pulitzer Prizes for national reporting at the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Post*. He writes *The Best Defense* blog for *Foreign Policy* magazine. He is the author of five books about the U.S. military, among them *Fiasco* and *Making the Corps*. He currently is finishing a book on Churchill and Orwell. Ricks has a B.A. from Yale University.



Nir Rosen is a researcher who has worked in the Middle East since 2003 as an author and NGO worker. He has spent most of the last 13 years in Iraq and Syria but has also worked in Afghanistan, Palestine, Lebanon, Yemen, Egypt, Turkey, Somalia, Turkey, Pakistan, and elsewhere. He is the author of *In the Belly of the Green Bird: The Triumph of the Martyrs in Iraq* and *Aftermath: Following the*

Bloodshed of America's Wars in the Muslim World. He is a former New America Fellow and a graduate of American University.



Daniel Rothenberg is Co-Director of the Center on the Future of War, Professor of Practice in the School of Politics and Global Studies, the Lincoln Fellow for Ethics and International Human Rights Law and a Fellow at New America. From 2004-2010, he designed and managed rule of law projects in Afghanistan and Iraq. His books include *Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy*, co-edited with Peter Bergen, *With These Hands*, and *Memory of Silence: The Guatemalan Truth Commission Report*.



Vivian Salama is The Associated Press' Deputy U.S. Political Editor and previously served as the wire service's Baghdad Bureau Chief. Salama has worked as both a television and print journalist, with more than a decade of experience covering the Middle East. For more than a decade, she reported from three continents, covering stories that include Egypt's historic presidential election, the Arab Spring, the resurgence of violence in Iraq, drone deaths in Yemen, oil wars in East Africa and the rise of the Taliban in Pakistan. She entered North Korea via its hostile border with South Korea, and has taken several trips to China to cover its economic boom. Salama received a B.A. from Rutgers University and M.A. from Columbia University.



Dr. Nadia Schadlow is a Senior Program Officer at the Smith Richardson Foundation. She plays a strategic planning role and manages programs to develop the intellectual foundation for more effective U.S. foreign and defense policies. She writes on national security matters and her articles have appeared in *War on the Rocks*, *Parameters*, *The American Interest*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Philanthropy*, *Armed Forces Journal*, *Foreign Policy*, the *Small Wars Journal*, and several edited volumes. Her recently completed book manuscript examines fifteen cases of the U.S. Army's experiences with political and economic reconstruction during war. She has served on the Defense Policy Board and is a member of

the Council on Foreign Relations. Dr. Schadlow received a B.A. from Cornell University and M.A. and Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins, SAIS.



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