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# THE HERZSTEIN TEXAS NATIONAL SECURITY FORUM

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## "THE PROCESS OF PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY"

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 2016 • LBJ PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

**8:30 AM – 9:15 AM • FIRST PLENARY: REFLECTIONS ON THE WHITE HOUSE NSC TRANSITION FROM BUSH TO OBAMA**

MODERATOR

PETER FEAVER: FORMER SPECIAL ADVISOR FOR STRATEGIC PLANNING AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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Peter D. Feaver (PhD, Harvard, 1990) is a Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at Duke University. He is Director of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS) and also Director of the Duke Program in American Grand Strategy (AGS). From June 2005 to July 2007, Feaver was on leave to be Special Advisor for Strategic Planning and Institutional Reform on the National Security Council Staff at the White House where his responsibilities included the national security strategy, regional strategy reviews, and other political-military issues.

Feaver is author of *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard Press, 2003) and of *Guarding the Guardians: Civilian Control of Nuclear Weapons in the United States* (Cornell University Press, 1992). He is co-author, with Christopher Gelpi and Jason Reifler, of *Paying the Human Costs of War* (Princeton University Press, 2009); with Susan Wasiolek and Anne Crossman, of *Getting the Most Out of College* (Ten Speed Press, 2008); and with Christopher Gelpi, of *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton University Press, 2004). He is co-editor, with Richard H. Kohn, of *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (MIT Press, 2001).

He has published numerous other monographs, scholarly articles, book chapters, and policy pieces on American foreign policy, public opinion, nuclear proliferation, civil-military relations, information warfare, and U.S. national security. He is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group, blogs at [shadow.foreignpolicy.com](http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com), and is a Contributing Editor to *Foreign Policy* magazine. In 1993-94, Feaver served as Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control on the National Security Council at the White House where his responsibilities included the national security strategy review, counterproliferation policy, regional nuclear arms control, and other defense policy issues.

STEPHEN HADLEY: FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR

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Stephen Hadley is a principal of RiceHadleyGates LLC, an international strategic consulting firm founded with Condoleezza Rice, Robert Gates, and Anja Manuel. Mr. Hadley is also Board Chairman of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). He has co-chaired a series of senior bipartisan working groups on topics such as Arab-Israeli peace, U.S. political strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan, U.S./Turkey relations, and US policy on Iraq and Egypt.

Mr. Hadley served for four years as the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from 2005 - 2009. In that capacity he was the principal White House foreign policy advisor to then President George W. Bush, directed the National Security Council staff, and ran the interagency national security policy development and execution process. From 2001 to 2005, Mr. Hadley was the Assistant to the

President and Deputy National Security Advisor, serving under then National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. In addition to covering the full range of national security issues, Mr. Hadley had special responsibilities in several areas including a U.S./Russia political dialogue, the Israeli disengagement from Gaza, and developing a strategic relationship with India.

From 1993 to 2001, Mr. Hadley was both a partner in the Washington D.C. law firm of Shea and Gardner (now part of Goodwin Procter) and a principal in The Scowcroft Group (a strategic consulting firm headed by former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft). From 1989 to 1993, Mr. Hadley served as the assistant secretary of defense for international security policy under then Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. Mr. Hadley represented the Defense Department on arms control and defense matters, including negotiations with the Soviet Union and then Russia, security issues involving NATO and Western Europe, and export and technology control matters. Prior to this position, Mr. Hadley alternated between government service and law practice with Shea & Gardner. He was counsel to the Tower Commission in 1987, as it investigated U.S. arms sales to Iran, and served on the National Security Council staff under President Ford from 1974 to 1977.

Mr. Hadley is currently the Chair of RAND's Center for Middle East Public Policy Advisory Board, chair of the Human Freedom Advisory Council of the George W. Bush Institute, a member of Yale University's Kissinger Papers Advisory Board, a member of the Executive Committee and Board of Directors of the Atlantic Council, a member of the Board of Managers of the John Hopkins University's Applied Physics Laboratory, and a member of the State Department's Foreign Affairs Policy Board. Other positions have included past service as a member of the Department of Defense Policy Board, member of the National Security Advisory Panel to the Director of Central Intelligence, and co-chair with former Secretary of Defense William Perry of the 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review Independent Panel.

**9:15 AM – 10: 30 AM • SESSION 1 : INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT TO THE NOMINEES, PRESIDENT-ELECT, AND THE TRANSITION PROCESS**

MODERATOR

STEVE SLICK: DIRECTOR OF THE INTELLIGENCE STUDIES PROJECT, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

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Steve Slick is the inaugural Director of the Intelligence Studies Project. He retired in 2014 after 28 years as a member of CIA's clandestine service. Between 2005 and 2009, Steve served as a special assistant to the president and the Senior Director for Intelligence Programs and Reform on the staff of the National Security Council. He was previously the Director for Intelligence Programs at the NSC.

While serving at the White House, Steve participated in efforts to restructure and reform the intelligence community informed by recommendations of the commissions charged with investigating the 9/11 attacks and the flawed pre-war analysis of Iraq's unconventional weapons programs. These efforts included a series of executive orders on U.S. intelligence issued in August 2004, key provisions in the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, the administration's responses to recommendations by the "WMD Commission," as well as significant amendments to Executive Order 12333 that were approved by President George W. Bush in 2008.

Steve completed five overseas tours as a CIA operations officer and manager, including service from 2009 to 2013 as the chief of station and director of national intelligence's representative in a Middle Eastern capital. His assignments at CIA Headquarters included service as an executive assistant to the deputy director of central intelligence and leading CIA's operations in the Balkans. Steve received CIA's Medal of Merit, Commendation Medal and other awards. Prior to joining CIA, Steve was a litigation associate at the law firm of Rawle and Henderson in Philadelphia.

## JAMES CLAPPER: DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE

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The Honorable James R. Clapper was sworn in as the fourth Director of National Intelligence (DNI) on August 9, 2010. As DNI, Mr. Clapper leads the United States Intelligence Community and serves as the principal intelligence advisor to the President.

Mr. Clapper retired in 1995 after a distinguished career in the U.S. Armed Forces. His career began as a rifleman in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve and culminated as a lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force and Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency. His intelligence-related positions over his 32 years in uniform included Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence at U.S. Air Force Headquarters during Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm and Director of Intelligence for three war-fighting commands: U.S. Forces Korea, Pacific Command, and Strategic Air Command. Of note, he also served two combat tours during the Southeast Asia conflict and flew 73 combat support missions in EC-47s over Laos and Cambodia.

Directly following his retirement, Mr. Clapper worked in industry for six years as an executive in three successive companies with his business focus being the Intelligence Community. Mr. Clapper also served as a consultant and advisor to Congress and to the Departments of Defense and Energy and as a member of a wide variety of government panels, boards, commissions, and advisory groups. He was a member of the Downing Assessment Task Force that investigated the Khobar Towers bombing in 1996, and was vice chairman of a commission chaired by former Governor Jim Gilmore of Virginia on the subject of homeland security. Mr. Clapper returned to the government in September 2001 as the first civilian director of the National Imagery and Mapping Agency (NIMA). He served as Director for five years transforming it into the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA) as it is today.

Prior to becoming the Director of National Intelligence, Mr. Clapper served for over three years in two Administrations as the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence, where he served as the principal staff assistant and advisor to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense on intelligence, counterintelligence, and security matters for the Department. In this capacity, he was also dual-hatted as the Director of Defense Intelligence for DNI.

Mr. Clapper earned a bachelor's degree in government and politics from the University of Maryland, a master's degree in political science from St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, and an honorary doctorate in strategic intelligence from the then Joint Military Intelligence College. His awards include three National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medals, two Defense Distinguished Service Medals, the Air Force Distinguished Service Medal, the Coast Guard's Distinguished Public Service Award, the Department of Defense Distinguished Civilian Service Award, and a host of other U.S. military and foreign government awards and decorations. He was named as one of the Top 100 Information Technology Executives by Federal Computer Week in 2001, and has been singled out by the NAACP in the form of its National Distinguished Service Award, and has been awarded the Presidentially-conferred National Security Medal.

## JOHN McLAUGHLIN: FORMER DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

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John E. McLaughlin is Distinguished Practitioner in Residence in the Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University.

Mr. McLaughlin, a 1966 graduate of SAIS, served as Acting Director of Central Intelligence from July to September of 2004 and as the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence from 2000 to 2004. Prior to that, he was the Deputy Director for Intelligence at the Central Intelligence Agency, Vice Chairman for Estimates and Acting Chairman of the National Intelligence Council.

Over the course of his career, Mr. McLaughlin has worked on nearly every part of the world and supervised clandestine operations, analysis, and scientific and technical work. He has frequently briefed the President and the Congress, represented the intelligence community in meetings of the National Security Council, and traveled widely to strengthen U.S. relations with national security counterparts in numerous countries.

In early 2010, Mr. McLaughlin led, at the request of the Director of National Intelligence, a study of the failed terrorist attack on a Northwest Airlines flight at Christmas 2009 and developed a series of recommendations for improving intelligence collection and analysis on terrorist plans. He recently served on the Advisory Board that assisted Norway's Statoil in its "lessons learned" study of the January 2013 terrorist attack on its natural gas facility in southern Algeria.

In his position at Johns Hopkins/SAIS, Mr. McLaughlin teaches a graduate level course on American Intelligence, organizes conferences and seminars, and conducts research on national security issues. He continues to testify before congressional committees and to participate in public policy debates through articles in major newspapers and journals and commentary on television and radio.

While Deputy Director for Intelligence from 1997 to 2000, he created the Senior Analytic Service, a CIA career track that enables analysts to rise to very senior rank without branching out into management. He also founded the Sherman Kent School for Intelligence Analysis, an institution dedicated to teaching the history, mission, and essential skills of the analytic profession to new CIA employees.

In addition to earning his master's degree in international relations from SAIS/Johns Hopkins, he received a bachelor's degree from Wittenberg University and completed graduate work in comparative politics at the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. McLaughlin is a graduate of the US Army Infantry Officer Candidate School at Ft. Benning and completed a US Army tour in Vietnam from 1968 to 1969.

Mr. McLaughlin is the recipient of the Distinguished Intelligence Community Service Award, the National Security Medal, and the Johns Hopkins Alumni Association's Distinguished Alumnus Award. He recently served as the Humanitas Visiting Professor for intelligence at Oxford University. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Academy of Diplomacy, a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He also serves on CIA's External Advisory Board, and the Aspen Homeland Security Advisory Board.

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#### JOHN HELGERSON: FORMER CIA INSPECTOR GENERAL AND FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE COUNCIL

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Mr. Helgerson served as a career intelligence officer. He was Inspector General of the Central Intelligence Agency, Chairman of the Intelligence Community's National Intelligence Council, and Deputy Director of the National Imagery and Mapping Agency.

Mr. Helgerson began his career in government as an analyst of African Politics at the CIA. At varying points he headed units responsible for coverage of Africa, Latin America, and Europe. Mr. Helgerson served in a number of senior management posts, including Deputy Director for Intelligence and Director of Congressional Affairs.

Prior to his government service, Mr. Helgerson was an assistant professor of political science at the University of Cincinnati and a research affiliate of the University of Zambia in Lusaka. He specialized in international relations and African politics. He is the author of *Getting to Know the President: Intelligence Briefings of Presidential Candidates 1952-2004*. Mr. Helgerson has received a number of award including the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, CIA's Distinguished Career Intelligence Medal and NIMA's Distinguished Civilian Service Award.

MODERATOR

WILLIAM INBODEN: EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE CLEMENTS CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

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William Inboden is Executive Director and William Powers, Jr. Chair at the William P. Clements, Jr. Center for National Security at the University of Texas-Austin. He also serves as Associate Professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs and Distinguished Scholar at the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law. Inboden's other current roles include Non-Resident Fellow with the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Associate with the National Intelligence Council, Member of the CIA Director's Historical Review Panel, and Associate Scholar with Georgetown University's Religious Freedom Project. Previously he served as Senior Director for Strategic Planning on the National Security Council at the White House, where he worked on a range of foreign policy issues including the National Security Strategy, strategic forecasting, democracy and governance, contingency planning, counter-radicalization, and multilateral institutions and initiatives. Inboden also worked at the Department of State as a Member of the Policy Planning Staff and a Special Advisor in the Office of International Religious Freedom, and has worked as a staff member in both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

Inboden has also served as Senior Vice President of the London-based Legatum Institute, and as a Civitas Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. He is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a contributing editor to *Foreign Policy* magazine, and his commentary has appeared in numerous outlets including the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Weekly Standard*, NPR, CNN, Sky News, and BBC. He has lectured widely in academic and policy settings, and received numerous research and professional development fellowships. Inboden is the author of *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge University Press) as well as numerous articles and book chapters on security studies, American foreign policy, and American history. Professor Inboden has received multiple teaching awards, and his classes *Ethics & International Relations* and *Presidential Decision-making in National Security* have each been selected in recent years as the "Best Class in the LBJ School." His current research includes working on a history of the National Security Council and on a comparison of totalitarian ideologies. Inboden received his Ph.D. and M.A. degrees in history from Yale University, and his A.B. in history from Stanford University.

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JAMES STEINBERG: FORMER DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE AND FORMER DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR

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The Honorable James B. Steinberg is University Professor of Social Science, International Affairs and Law and served as Dean of the Maxwell School from July 2011 until June 2016. Prior to becoming Dean on July 1, 2011, he served as Deputy Secretary of State, serving as the principal Deputy to Secretary Clinton. From 2005-2008 Steinberg was Dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. From 2001 to 2005, Mr. Steinberg was vice president and director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, where he supervised a wide-ranging research program on U.S. foreign policy. Mr. Steinberg served as deputy national security advisor to President Clinton from 1996 to 2000. During that period he also served as the president's personal representative to the 1998 and 1999 G-8 summits. Prior to becoming deputy national security advisor, Mr. Steinberg served as director of the State Department's policy planning staff, and as deputy assistant secretary for analysis in the bureau of Intelligence and Research.

Steinberg's most recent book is *Strategic Reassurance and Resolve: US-China Relations in the 21st Century* with Michael O'Hanlon (Princeton University Press, winter 2014). He has also authored *Difficult Transitions: Foreign Policy Troubles at the Outset of Presidential Power* (2008) with Kurt

## PHILIP ZELIKOW: FORMER COUNSELOR, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Philip Zelikow is the White Burkett Miller Professor of History at the University of Virginia. He has also served at all levels of American government, including as an elected member of his town's school board.

Having begun his career as a trial and appellate lawyer in Texas, he returned to grad school and taught for the Navy. He joined the Foreign Service. His diplomatic assignments included remarkable White House years (1989-91) on the NSC staff for President George H.W. Bush.

He then became a professor, first at Harvard, later at Virginia. At Virginia he was also the dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His books include *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed* (with Condi Rice), *The Kennedy Tapes* (with Ernest May), and *Essence of Decision* (with Graham Allison).

He directed the 2001 Carter-Ford commission on national election reform, which led directly to the landmark bipartisan Help America Vote Act. He returned to full-time government service to direct the 9/11 Commission. In 2005 he went back to Washington as Counselor of the Department of State, a deputy to Secretary Rice. Recently he helped lead a group called Rework America, sponsored by the Markle Foundation, working on American economic opportunity amid the digital revolution. He drafted the book, *America's Moment* (Norton, 2015).

Zelikow has also been a member of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board for President Bush (2001-2003) and for President Obama (2011-2013). He now serves on the Defense Policy Board advising Secretary Carter.

## JOHN NEGROPONTE: FORMER DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE AND FORMER DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE

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John D. Negroponte, Vice Chairman, joined McLarty Associates in 2009, following a distinguished career in diplomacy and national security. Ambassador Negroponte held government positions abroad and in Washington between 1960 and 1997 and again from 2001 to 2008. Since 2009, Ambassador Negroponte has also been the Brady Johnson Distinguished Fellow in Grand Strategy and Senior Lecturer in International Affairs at the Jackson Institute of Yale University, his alma mater.

He has been Ambassador to Honduras, Mexico, the Philippines, the United Nations, and Iraq. In Washington he served twice on the National Security Council staff, first as Director for Vietnam in the Nixon Administration and then as Deputy National Security Advisor under President Reagan.

He has also held a cabinet level position as the first Director of National Intelligence under President George W. Bush. His most recent position in government was as Deputy Secretary of State, where he served as the State Department's Chief Operating Officer.

While in the private sector from 1997 to 2001, Ambassador Negroponte was Executive Vice President of the McGraw-Hill Companies, with responsibility for overseeing the company's international activities. During those years he was also Chairman of the French-American Foundation.

Ambassador Negroponte serves as Chairman Emeritus of the Council of the Americas/Americas Society. He is also Co-chairman of the US-Philippines Society and a member of the Secretary of State's Foreign Affairs Policy Board. He has also served as Chairman of the Intelligence and National Security Alliance.

Ambassador Negroponte has received numerous awards in recognition of his more than four decades of public service, including the State Department's Distinguished Service Medal on two separate occasions, the highest award which can be conferred by the Secretary of State, and on January 16, 2009, President Bush awarded Ambassador Negroponte the National Security Medal for his outstanding contributions to US national security.

**12:00 PM – 1: 00 PM • BREAK**

**1:00 PM – 2: 00 PM • SECOND PLENARY : RESPONSIBLE TRANSITIONS: THE WHITE HOUSE TRANSITION FROM BUSH TO OBAMA**

MODERATOR

MARTHA KUMAR: DIRECTOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE TRANSITION PROJECT

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Dr. Martha Joynt Kumar is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at Towson University. As a scholar with a research focus on the White House, she is interested in presidential – press relations, White House communications operations, and presidential transitions. Her most recent book, *Managing the President’s Message: The White House Communication Operation*, won a 2008 Richard E. Neustadt Award from the presidency section of the American Political Science Association. Her previous books include *White House World: Transitions, Organization, and Office Operations* and *Portraying the President: The White House and the News Media* with Michael Grossman.

She is the director of the White House Transition Project, a nonpartisan effort by presidency scholars to provide information on presidential transitions and White House operations to those who came into the White House in January 2009 as the group did in 2001. She worked with the transition operations of presidential candidates Barack Obama and John McCain and with the team representing President George W. Bush. In the fall of 2008, she testified on effective practices for presidential transitions before the House Oversight and Government Reform Subcommittee on Government Management, Organization, and Procurement hearing: “Passing the Baton: Preparing for the Presidential Transition.”

Professor Kumar has received grants from the Ford Foundation as well as The Pew Charitable Trusts. In 1998 she was a fellow at the Joan Shorenstein Center on Press Politics at the Kennedy School at Harvard University. Professor Kumar was named by the University System of Maryland to be a Wilson H. Elkins Professor for 2003-2004 and again for 2005-2006 to support her work on presidential communications and to fund an interactive course she has taught each spring beginning in 2004: “White House Communications Operations.”

JOSHUA BOLTEN: FORMER WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF

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Joshua Bolten is Managing Director of Rock Creek Global Advisors, an international economic and regulatory policy consulting firm, which he co-founded in July 2011. Mr. Bolten spent the preceding two years at Princeton University, as a visiting professor in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Mr. Bolten served in the White House under President George W. Bush as Chief of Staff (2006-09), Director of the Office of Management & Budget (2003-06), and Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy (2001-03), and Policy Director of the Bush 2000 presidential campaign.

Mr. Bolten’s nearly 20 years of government service also includes positions as General Counsel to the US Trade Representative, Chief Trade Counsel to the US Senate Finance Committee, and an attorney at the US State Department. Mr. Bolten’s previous private sector experience includes work as Executive Director, Legal & Government Affairs, for Goldman Sachs in London and an attorney at O’Melveny and Myers in Washington, DC.

Mr. Bolten received his undergraduate degree from Princeton (1976) and his law degree from Stanford (1980). He is a member of the board of Emerson Electric Co. In the non-profit sector, he serves on the boards of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and the ONE Campaign.

**2:00 PM – 3:15 PM • SESSION 3 : A COMMANDING PRESENCE — EFFECTING THE PRESIDENT'S  
ROLE AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF: THE VIEW FROM THE PENTAGON**

MODERATOR

**CHRISTINE ABIZAID: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR AFGHANISTAN, PAKISTAN, AND CENTRAL ASIA**

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Christine Abizaid was appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia in December 2014. Prior to joining the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Ms. Abizaid served on the National Security Council Staff as both a Director for Counterterrorism and Senior Policy Advisor to the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism. She also served for seven years with the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) Joint Intelligence Task Force Combating Terrorism as the Senior Intelligence Analyst in the Afghanistan-Pakistan Division and the Iraq/Middle East Division. During this time she deployed several times throughout the Middle East, including a tour as the senior DIA counterterrorism representative in Iraq.

Ms. Abizaid holds a B.A. degree in Psychology from the University of California, San Diego and an M.A. degree in International Policy Studies from Stanford University. She has received the Office of the Director of National Intelligence Award, the National Military Intelligence Association John T. Hughes Award, and DIA Meritorious Civilian Service Award.

**NORTON SCHWARTZ: FORMER CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE AIR FORCE**

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Serving as BENS' President & CEO since joining the organization in July 2013, General Schwartz continues a long and prestigious career of service and senior leadership that spans over four decades. In addition to overseeing a driven, multidisciplinary staff spread out among seven offices across the nation, General Schwartz also in his current role advises and executes the organizational strategy set out by BENS' distinguished Board of Directors and the over 400 dedicated BENS members that volunteer their time and treasure to improve our national security. Under his results-focused leadership, BENS has experienced demonstrable improvement in the quality of products the organization provides its government partners as well as increased the impact BENS members are making to provide business-driven solutions to our most pressing security challenges.

General Schwartz took the helm at BENS following nearly 40 years in uniform, last serving as the 19th Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force - a post held from 2008 to 2012. In his assignment as Chief, he served as the senior uniformed Air Force officer responsible for the organization, training and equipping of 680,000 active-duty, Guard, Reserve and civilian forces serving in the United States and overseas. Furthermore, as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the general and other service chiefs functioned as military advisers to the Secretary of Defense, National Security Council and the President.

He also served as Commander of the Special Operations Command-Pacific, as well as Alaskan Command, Alaskan North American Aerospace Defense Command Region and the 11th Air Force. Prior to assuming his position as Chief, General Schwartz commanded U.S. Transportation Command where he was the single manager for global air, land and sea transportation for the Department of Defense.

General Schwartz is a command pilot with more than 4,400 flying hours in a variety of aircraft. He participated as a crewmember in the 1975 airlift evacuation of Saigon, and in 1991 served as Chief of Staff of the Joint Special Operations Task Force for Northern Iraq in operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. In 1997, he led the Joint Task Force that prepared for the noncombatant evacuation of U.S. citizens in Cambodia.

PHILIP BREEDLOVE: FORMER COMMANDER OF U.S. EUROPEAN COMMAND AND FORMER SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER EUROPE

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Phil Breedlove is a proven strategic planner, motivational leader and talented communicator. He is a highly decorated retired general of the United States Air Force where he reached the highest levels of military leadership as one of six geographic Combatant Commanders and the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO.

During 39 years of service, he served in a variety of demanding command and staff positions, leading large-scale, diverse, global operations across two theaters of combat and earning a reputation as an inspirational leader focused on his people, their families and mission accomplishment. Leading a diverse political-military alliance, he was able to build consensus and form teams to accomplish complex tasks spanning multiple continents.

As the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and the Commander of U.S. European Command, he answered directly to NATO's governing body, the North Atlantic Council, and to the President of the United States and Secretary of Defense. He led the most comprehensive and strategic structural and policy security changes in the alliance's 70 year history. His diplomatic skills reassured allies, deterred potential aggressors, and maintained alliance unity during the most dynamic and challenging period since its inception. He led the forces of 28 nations and multiple partners in ensuring the security of an alliance that accounts for more than half the world's GDP.

As Commander, U.S. Air Forces Europe and Air Forces Africa, Breedlove was responsible for organizing, training, equipping and maintaining combat-ready forces while ensuring theater air defense forces were ready to meet the challenges of peacetime air sovereignty and wartime defense. This diverse portfolio included both theater and operational air and ballistic missile defense, areas where his operational designs remain in place today.

As Vice Chief of Staff of the Air Force, he presided over the Air Staff and served as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Requirements Oversight Council and Deputy Advisory Working Group during a period of intense challenge, including devising measures to meet the requirements of the the Budget Control Act's required \$480 billion reduction of the Department of Defense budget. Accordingly, he led the organization, training and equipping of more than 690,000 people serving in the U.S. Air Force and provided oversight of its \$120 billion annual budget.

As Assistant Chief of Staff for Air Operations, Plans and Requirements, Breedlove directed all Air Force operations across the globe, oversaw strategic and operational planning, and set the requirements for all Air Force procurement. Additionally, he was one of two original authors of the Defense Department's Air-Sea Battle Concept. Breedlove served in a variety of assignments leading up to those leadership positions, including commanding a squadron, a group, three fighter wings, and a Numbered Air Force in service across three different continents. His extensive command and control experience in wartime, contingency planning, and humanitarian relief actions include operations in Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

Breedlove currently serves on the Georgia Tech Advisory Board, as a Distinguished Professor in the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Tech, as a Senior Advisor to Culpeper National Security Solutions, and on the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Council.



Peter D. Feaver (PhD, Harvard, 1990) is a Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at Duke University. He is Director of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS) and also Director of the Duke Program in American Grand Strategy (AGS). From June 2005 to July 2007, Feaver was on leave to be Special Advisor for Strategic Planning and Institutional Reform on the National Security Council Staff at the White House where his responsibilities included the national security strategy, regional strategy reviews, and other political-military issues.

Feaver is author of *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard Press, 2003) and of *Guarding the Guardians: Civilian Control of Nuclear Weapons in the United States* (Cornell University Press, 1992). He is co-author, with Christopher Gelpi and Jason Reifler, of *Paying the Human Costs of War* (Princeton University Press, 2009); with Susan Wasiolek and Anne Crossman, of *Getting the Most Out of College* (Ten Speed Press, 2008); and with Christopher Gelpi, of *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton University Press, 2004). He is co-editor, with Richard H. Kohn, of *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (MIT Press, 2001).

He has published numerous other monographs, scholarly articles, book chapters, and policy pieces on American foreign policy, public opinion, nuclear proliferation, civil-military relations, information warfare, and U.S. national security. He is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group, blogs at [shadow.foreignpolicy.com](http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com), and is a Contributing Editor to *Foreign Policy* magazine. In 1993-94, Feaver served as Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control on the National Security Council at the White House where his responsibilities included the national security strategy review, counterproliferation policy, regional nuclear arms control, and other defense policy issues.

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JULIANNE SMITH: FORMER DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

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Julianne Smith is Senior Fellow and Director of the Strategy and Statecraft Program at the Center for a New American Security. Ms. Smith comes to CNAS while serving as a Senior Vice President at Beacon Global Strategies LLC. Prior to joining Beacon, she served as the Deputy National Security Advisor to the Vice President of the United States from April 2012 to June 2013. In addition to advising the Vice President on a wide range of foreign and defense policy issues, she represented him in Cabinet and Deputies level interagency meetings. During March and April of 2013, she served as the Acting National Security Advisor to the Vice President.

Prior to her posting at the White House, she served as the Principal Director for European and NATO Policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense in the Pentagon. In that capacity, Ms. Smith acted as the principal staff assistant and advisor to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs for all matters falling within the broad spectrum of NATO and European policy. Her office also managed the Department's bilateral relationships with 31 European countries. In January 2012, she was awarded the Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service.

Prior to joining the Obama administration, Ms. Smith served as the director of the CSIS Europe Program and the Initiative for a Renewed Transatlantic Partnership, where she led the Center's research and program activities on U.S.-European political, security, and economic relations. She authored or contributed to a number of CSIS books and reports, including *Alliance Reborn: An Atlantic Compact for the 21st Century* (2009), *Understanding Islamic Charities* (2007), *Climatic Cataclysm: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Climate Change* (2008), *Transforming NATO (...again)* (2006), *Five Years After 9/11* (2006), and *America and the World in the Age of Terror* (2005). She co-directed the *Transatlantic Dialogue on Terrorism*, which examined U.S.-European disagreements over the root causes of terrorism.

Earlier, Ms. Smith served as deputy director and senior fellow in the CSIS International Security Program, where she oversaw the management of more than 30 security-related projects and focused on a range of European security issues, including European defense integration, transatlantic cooperation on climate change, and EU-U.S. counterterrorism cooperation. Prior to joining CSIS, she worked at the German Marshall Fund as program officer for the Foreign Policy Program and director of communications for the Project on the Role of American Military Power. She has worked as a senior analyst on the European security desk of the British American Security Information Council and in Germany at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik as a Robert Bosch Foundation Fellow in 1996/97. Ms. Smith serves on the Board of Advisors of the Truman National Security Project and the National Security Network. She is currently an Associate Fellow with Chatham House, home of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, in London, and a Senior Associate with the International Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

**3:15 PM – 4: 30 PM • SESSION 4 : THE TRANSFER OF SECURITY WHILE IN THE MIDDLE OF POLITICS: THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

MODERATOR

PAUL D. MILLER: ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF THE CLEMENTS CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

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Dr. Paul D. Miller is the associate director of the Clements Center for National Security at The University of Texas at Austin. He is a distinguished scholar with the Strauss Center for International Security and Law, an affiliated faculty member with the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, and a lecturer at the LBJ School of Public Affairs. As a practitioner, Dr. Miller served as Director for Afghanistan and Pakistan on the National Security Council staff (2007-2009); worked as an intelligence analyst for the Central Intelligence Agency (2003-2007); and served as a military intelligence officer in the U.S. Army, including a deployment to Afghanistan in 2002.

As a scholar, Miller taught at the National Defense University and worked at the RAND Corporation prior to arriving at UT-Austin. In his first book, *Armed State Building* (Cornell University Press, 2013), Miller examined the history and strategy of stability operations. His second book, *American Power and Liberal Order: A Conservative Internationalist Grand Strategy*, is forthcoming from Georgetown University Press in 2016.

Miller blogs on foreign affairs at *Shadow Government*. His writing has also appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Survival*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Orbis*, *The National Interest*, *The World Affairs Journal*, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, and elsewhere. He is also a contributing editor of *Providence: A Journal of Christianity and American Foreign Policy* and a research fellow at the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission.

JOSHUA BOLTEN: FORMER WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF

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Joshua Bolten is Managing Director of Rock Creek Global Advisors, an international economic and regulatory policy consulting firm, which he co-founded in July 2011. Mr. Bolten spent the preceding two years at Princeton University, as a visiting professor in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Mr. Bolten served in the White House under President George W. Bush as Chief of Staff (2006-09), Director of the Office of Management & Budget (2003-06), and Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy (2001-03), and Policy Director of the Bush 2000 presidential campaign.

Mr. Bolten's nearly 20 years of government service also includes positions as General Counsel to the US Trade Representative, Chief Trade Counsel to the US Senate Finance Committee, and an attorney at the US State Department. Mr. Bolten's previous private sector experience includes work as Executive Director, Legal & Government Affairs, for Goldman Sachs in London and an attorney at O'Melveny and Myers in Washington, DC.

Mr. Bolten received his undergraduate degree from Princeton (1976) and his law degree from Stanford (1980). He is a member of the board of Emerson Electric Co. In the non-profit sector, he serves on the boards of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and the ONE Campaign.



Julianne Smith is Senior Fellow and Director of the Strategy and Statecraft Program at the Center for a New American Security. Ms. Smith comes to CNAS while serving as a Senior Vice President at Beacon Global Strategies LLC. Prior to joining Beacon, she served as the Deputy National Security Advisor to the Vice President of the United States from April 2012 to June 2013. In addition to advising the Vice President on a wide range of foreign and defense policy issues, she represented him in Cabinet and Deputies level interagency meetings. During March and April of 2013, she served as the Acting National Security Advisor to the Vice President.

Prior to her posting at the White House, she served as the Principal Director for European and NATO Policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense in the Pentagon. In that capacity, Ms. Smith acted as the principal staff assistant and advisor to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs for all matters falling within the broad spectrum of NATO and European policy. Her office also managed the Department's bilateral relationships with 31 European countries. In January 2012, she was awarded the Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Public Service.

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PETER FEAVER: FORMER SPECIAL ADVISOR FOR STRATEGIC PLANNING AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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Peter D. Feaver (PhD, Harvard, 1990) is a Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at Duke University. He is Director of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS) and also Director of the Duke Program in American Grand Strategy (AGS). From June 2005 to July 2007, Feaver was on leave to be Special Advisor for Strategic Planning and Institutional Reform on the National Security Council Staff at the White House where his responsibilities included the national security strategy, regional strategy reviews, and other political-military issues.

Feaver is author of *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard Press, 2003) and of *Guarding the Guardians: Civilian Control of Nuclear Weapons in the United States* (Cornell University Press, 1992). He is co-author, with Christopher Gelpi and Jason Reifler, of *Paying the Human Costs of War* (Princeton University Press, 2009); with Susan Wasiolek and Anne Crossman, of *Getting the Most Out of College* (Ten Speed Press, 2008); and with Christopher Gelpi, of *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton University Press, 2004). He is co-editor, with Richard H. Kohn, of *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (MIT Press, 2001).

He has published numerous other monographs, scholarly articles, book chapters, and policy pieces on American foreign policy, public opinion, nuclear proliferation, civil-military relations, information warfare, and U.S. national security. He is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group, blogs at [shadow.foreignpolicy.com](http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com), and is a Contributing Editor to Foreign Policy magazine. In 1993-94, Feaver served as Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control on the National Security Council at the White House where his responsibilities included the national security strategy review, counterproliferation policy, regional nuclear arms control, and other defense policy issues.



Meghan L. O'Sullivan is the Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs and Director of the Geopolitics of Energy Project at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. She is working on a book about the foreign policy implications of the new energy abundance, which will be published by Simon & Schuster in 2016.

In 2013, she served as the vice chair of the All Party Talks in Northern Ireland, which sought to resolve on-going obstacles to peace. Between 2004 and 2007, she was special assistant to President George W. Bush and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan during the last two years of her tenure. There, she helped run the 2006 strategic policy review on Iraq which led to the "surge" strategy. She spent two years in Iraq from 2003-2008.

Dr. O'Sullivan is an adjunct senior fellow at the Council of Foreign Relations, an occasional columnist for *Bloomberg View*, and an advisor to the Hess Corporation. She is a trustee of both the German Marshall Fund and the Friends of Inter Mediate, a UK-based non-profit focused on the most complex and dangerous world conflicts. She is on the Executive Committee of The Trilateral Commission, a member of the board of The Mission Continues, a non-profit organization to help veterans, and a member of the International Advisory Group for the British law firm, Linklaters. She is also a member of the Aspen Strategy Group and on the advisory committee for the Women's Initiative at the George W. Bush Institute. She has been awarded the Defense Department's highest honor for civilians and, three times, the State Department's Superior Honor Award.