



## **WASHINGTON SECURITY AND DEFENSE SEMINAR**

### **COURSE BOOK**

**September 28 - October 02, 2020**

**LTG Fred Rudesheim, USA (ret)  
Director, WJPC**

**Dr. Scott Tollefson  
Academic Dean**

**Professor Pat Paterson  
Course Director**

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### Course Objective

One of the mandates for the William J. Perry Center from the Office of the Secretary of Defense is to educate partner nation personnel on security and defense policies in the United States of America. With that task in mind, the Perry Center offers the Washington Security and Defense Seminar (WSDS), an annual course that is specifically designed with the Latin American and Caribbean diplomatic community in mind.

During one week course, participants examine the issues and perspectives of key national goals, preferences in terms of strategies, policy guidance, and the dynamics of decision making in a democratic society. In an academic environment of non-attribution, participants have the unique experience of listening to and exchanging ideas with key US civilian and military officials who work in subjects related to the Western Hemisphere. Representatives of the US Executive Branch, US Congress, the Department of Defense (J-5 and the Office of Secretary of Defense), the State Department, the National Security Council, the Department of Homeland Security, and other academic experts provides a variety of perspectives on the responsibilities, bureaucratic processes, and policy challenges faced by the United States as it develops its national security policy and strategy. The curriculum combines academic conferences and meetings with official representatives with dialogue and discussions moderated by Perry Center professors. U.S. personnel who work in Latin America and the Caribbean region may also benefit from hearing strategy and policy presentations from U.S. stakeholders. Additionally, U.S. participants may garner information on the perspectives of our partner nations as they ask questions and presentation their opinions on course topics.

### Specific course goals include:

- To understand the national and international structures and processes that affect the development of US security and defense policy.
- To identify key factors defining the environment for the security and defense of the United States.
- To understand the roles of the various agencies with responsibility for security and defense of the United States.
- To learn how security and defense policy is formulated and implemented particularly in regard to the US policy toward other nations in the Western Hemisphere.

## *Course Schedule*

### *Monday, 28 September 2020 / lunes, 28 de septiembre 2020*

- 0830-0840 Perry Center Welcome / *Beinvenida al Centro Perry*  
LTG (Ret.) Frederick S. Rudesheim, Director, William J. Perry Center
- 0840-0900 Organizational Brief / *Orientación*  
Dr. Scott Tollefson, Dean of Academic Affairs / *Decano Académico*
- 0900-1000 **Keynote Speaker #1 / *Invitado #1***  
Admiral (Ret.) James Stavridis, former Commander of U.S. Southern Command and U.S. European Command  
Moderator: Prof. Pat Paterson
- 1000-1015 Break / *Descanso*
- 1015-1100 **COVID-19 in the United States**  
Rear Admiral (RADM) Erica G. Schwartz, U.S. Public Health Service (USPHS)  
U.S. Deputy Surgeon General  
Moderator: Prof. Celina Realuyo
- 1100-1145 **COVID-19 in the Western Hemisphere**  
Dr. Ciro Ugarte,  
Director, Health Emergencies at Pan American Health Organization (PAHO)
- 1145-1200 Break / *Descanso*
- 1200-1300 Breakout Group Discussion / *Grupos de Trabajo*

### *Tuesday, 29 September 2020 / martes, 29 de septiembre 2020*

- 0830-0840 Introduction / *Introducción*  
Prof. Pat Paterson
- 0840-1000 **PANEL: U.S. Foreign Policy / *La Política Exterior de EEUU***  
Dr. Richard Haass, President, Council of Foreign Relation (CFR)  
Dr. Eliot Cohen, *Dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)*.  
Moderator: Prof. Pat Paterson
- 1000-1015 Break / *Descanso*
- 1015 - 1100 **U.S. Regional Policy / *Política regional de EEUU***  
AMB Tom Shannon, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and Former United States Ambassador to Brazil.  
Moderator: Dr. Bill Godnick
- 1100 -1145 **U.S. Regional Policy / *Política regional de EEUU***  
Ambassador Roger Noriega, former U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS)

- 1145-1200 Break / *Descanso*  
1200-1300 Breakout Group Discussion / *Grupos de Trabajo*

**Wednesday, 30 September 2020 / miércoles, 30 de septiembre 2020**

- 0830-0840 Introduction / *Introducción*  
Prof. Pat Paterson
- 0840-1000 **PANEL: US Military Strategy / *Estrategia militar de EEUU***  
Dr. Rosa Brooks, Georgetown Law  
Dr. Hal Brands, Johns Hopkins University  
Moderator: Prof. Pat Paterson
- 1000-1015 Break / *Descanso*
- 1015-1145 **PANEL: US Security and Defense Perspectives in Latin America / *Perspectivas de seguridad y defensa de EEUU en América Latina***  
Mr. Sergio de la Peña, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs  
Ambassador Jean Mares, Civilian Deputy to the Commander, Foreign Policy Advisor, U.S. Southern Command and former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador  
Commodore Jamie Clarke, Canadian Navy, Deputy Director Strategy, Policy and Plans at The North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and U.S. Northern Command  
Moderator: Lieutenant General (ret.) Frederick S. Rudesheim
- 1145-1200 Break / *Descanso*  
1200-1300 Breakout Group Discussion / *Grupos de Trabajo*

**Thursday, 2 October 2020 / jueves, 2 de octubre 2020**

- 0830-0840 Introduction / *Introducción*  
Prof. Pat Paterson
- 0840-1000 **PANEL: Cybersecurity / *Ciberseguridad***  
Mr. Thomas Wingfield, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Cyber Policy  
Lt. Gen. Charles L. Moore Jr., Deputy Commander, U.S. Cyber Command (CYBERCOM)  
Moderator: Dr. Boris Saavedra
- 1000-1015 Break / *Descanso*
- 1015-1030 Perry Center Outreach Brief
- 1030-1145 **PANEL: The Crisis in Venezuela / *La Crisis en Venezuela***  
Mr. Eliot Abrams, U.S. Special Representative for Venezuela  
Dr. Moisés Naím, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Moderator: Dr. Fabiana Perera

- 1145-1200 Break / *Descanso*  
1200-1300 Breakout Group Discussion / *Grupos de Trabajo*

**Friday, 2 October 2020 / viernes, 2 de octubre 2020**

- 0830-0840 Introduction / *Introducción*  
Prof. Pat Paterson
- 0840-1000 **PANEL: The US Budget Process / *El Proceso Presupuestario de EEUU***  
Dr. Thomas Mahnken, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA)  
Mr. Mark Cancian, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)  
Moderator; Dr. Luis Bitencourt
- 1000-1015 Break / *Descanso*
- 1015-1145 **PANEL: Foreign Aid and Security Assistance / *Asistencia hacia América Latina***  
Lieutenant General (ret.) David Barno, Senior Fellow, Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies  
Dr. Andrew Bacevich, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft  
Moderator: Dr. David Spencer
- 1145-1200 Break / *Descanso*  
1200-1300 Breakout Group Discussion / *Grupos de Trabajo*

**Reference Material - National Strategic Documents**

National Security Strategy (December 2017)

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf>

National Defense Strategy, Office of the Secretary of Defense (2018)

<https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf>

National Military Strategy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (2018)

[https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Publications/UNCLASS\\_2018\\_National\\_Military\\_Strategy\\_Description.pdf](https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Publications/UNCLASS_2018_National_Military_Strategy_Description.pdf)

Department of State and USAID, Joint Strategic Plan FY 2018-2022

<https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Joint-Strategic-Plan-FY-2018-2022.pdf>

Department of State and USAID Strategic Plan, 2014-2017

<https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1868/State%20USAID%20Joint%20Strategic%20Plan%202014-04-02.pdf>

Department of State, Integrated Country Plans

<https://www.state.gov/integrated-country-strategies/>

National Security Council, Western Hemisphere Strategic Framework, August 2020.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Western-Hemisphere-Strategic-Framework.pdf>

Joint Regional Strategy, Western Hemisphere (03 January 2019)

[https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/JRS\\_WHA-LAC\\_UNCLASS-508.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/JRS_WHA-LAC_UNCLASS-508.pdf)

Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), “National Drug Control Strategy,” February 2020.

Link: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/2020-NDCS.pdf>

Department of State, Country Reports on Human Rights

<https://www.state.gov/reports-bureau-of-democracy-human-rights-and-labor/country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/>

Foreign Military Training Reports (FMTR),

<https://www.state.gov/reports/foreign-military-training-and-dod-engagement-activities-of-interest-2017-2018/>

Foreign Military Training Reports (FMTR), 2009-2016

<https://2009-2017.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rpt/index.htm>

The Department of Defense Cyber Strategy, April 2015

[https://archive.defense.gov/home/features/2015/0415\\_cyber-strategy/final\\_2015\\_dod\\_cyber\\_strategy\\_for\\_web.pdf](https://archive.defense.gov/home/features/2015/0415_cyber-strategy/final_2015_dod_cyber_strategy_for_web.pdf)

National Strategy for Homeland Security, Department for Homeland Security, 2019

<https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/nat-strat-hls-2002.pdf>

Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States (Joint Pub 1), 20 March 2013. Link:

[https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp1\\_ch1.pdf](https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp1_ch1.pdf)

**Recommended Reading (by thematic topic)**

**Day 1 – Keynote Address**

“U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress,” *Congressional Research Service*, August 26, 2020. Link: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44891.pdf>

Department of State and USAID, Joint Strategic Plan FY 2018-2022  
<https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Joint-Strategic-Plan-FY-2018-2022.pdf>

Joint Regional Strategy, Western Hemisphere (03 January 2019)  
[https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/JRS\\_WHA-LAC\\_UNCLASS-508.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/JRS_WHA-LAC_UNCLASS-508.pdf)

Alan G. Whittaker, Frederick C. Smith, and Ambassador Elizabeth McKune, The National Security Policy Process: The National Security Council and Interagency System, October 8, 2010. Link: <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=690866>

**News and Opinion**

James Stavridis, “Why NATO Is Essential For World Peace, According to Its Former Commander,” *Time Magazine*, April 4, 2019. Link: <https://time.com/5564171/why-nato-is-essential-world-peace/>

James Stavridis, “Democracy Isn't Perfect, But It Will Still Prevail,” *Time Magazine*, July 12, 2018. Link: <https://time.com/5336615/democracy-will-prevail/>

Ted Galen Carpenter, “Trump Should Have Already Left NATO,” *National Interest*, April 17, 2019.

Jonathan Bissell, The Challenge of Sustaining US Influence in Latin America in the 21st Century,” *William J. Perry Center Occasional Paper*, April 2016. Link: <http://williamjperrycenter.org/sites/all/modules/pubdlcnt/pubdlcnt.php?fid=8>

Editorial Board, “The Coronavirus Pandemic May Mark a Decline in U.S. Leadership,” *Washington Post*, March 23, 2020.

Elbridge A. Colby and A. Wess Mitchell, “The Age of Great-Power Competition,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2020.

David Marcus, “Why Trump Marks the End Of The Post-Cold-War Period,” *Federalist*, November 25, 2019.

Kate O’Keeffe, “Lagarde Says U.S. Is at Risk of Losing Global Leader Role,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 21, 2019.

John Glaser, Christopher A. Preble, and A. Trevor Thrall, “Towards a More Prudent American Grand Strategy,” *Survival*, October-November 2019.

Christopher A. Preble, “Is This the End of the Liberal World Order?” *National Interest*, August 3, 2019.

## Day 1 – Covid-19

COVID-19: Potential Implications for International Security Environment— Overview of Issues and Further Reading for Congress, *Congressional Research Service (CRS)*, August 31, 2020.

“Latin America and the Caribbean: Impact of COVID-19,” *Congressional Research Service*, September 3, 2020,

Link: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF11581.pdf>

COVID-19 and Global Food Security: Issues for Congress, *Congressional Research Service (CRS) In Focus*, June 15, 2020.

COVID-19: Global Implications and Responses, *Congressional Research Service (CRS) In Focus*, June 12, 2020.

Bolivia: Elections Postponed to October, *Congressional Research Service (CRS) Insight*, July 24, 2020

## News and Opinion

Sebastián Lacunza, Anthony Faiola and Terrence McCoy, “Latin America, unable to flatten its curve, struggles to cope with pandemic,” *Washington Post*, September 11, 2020.

Dr. Fabiana Sofia Perera, “Latin America, China, and the COVID-19 Economic Crisis,” *William J. Perry Center Regional Insight*, April 2020. Link:

<http://williamjperrycenter.org/sites/all/modules/pubdclnt/pubdclnt.php?fid=792>

Victor Davis Hanson, “Don’t Be Fooled: Trump Is Leading the World Against Coronavirus,” *National Interest*, April 5, 2020.

Henry A. Kissinger, “The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 3, 2020.

James Jay Carafano, “Coronavirus and Regime Change—Will This Plague Topple Nations Great and Small?” *Heritage Foundation*, April 1, 2020.

Daniel W. Drezner, “The Most Counterintuitive Prediction about World Politics and the Coronavirus, What If Nothing Changes?” *Washington Post*, March 30, 2020

Daniel B. Baer, “The Virus Has Exposed the Recklessness of Trump’s ‘America First,’” *Foreign Policy*, March 18, 2020.

John Allen et al., “How the World Will Look after the Coronavirus Pandemic,” *Foreign Policy*, March 20, 2020.

Editorial Board, “The Coronavirus Pandemic May Mark a Decline in U.S. Leadership,” *Washington Post*, March 23, 2020.

Emma Ashford and Matthew Kroenig, “Will Trump’s Pandemic Response Help or Harm U.S. Power? Russia and China Are Stepping in While the United States and Europe Fumble.” *Foreign Policy*, April 3, 2020.

Bruno Mações, “China Wants to Use the Coronavirus to Take Over the World,” *National Review*, April 3, 2020.

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Matthew Petti, “Pompeo: China Will Be ‘True Strategic Competitor’ After Coronavirus,” *National Interest*, April 1, 2020.

Ian Goldin and Robert Muggah, “End of International Cooperation? How Coronavirus Has Changed the World Permanently,” *National Interest*, March 31, 2020.

Walter Russell Mead, “U.S. Leadership Will Survive Coronavirus,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 30, 2020.

Ali Wyne, “Why China and the U.S. Can’t Cooperate to Fight Coronavirus,” *Washington Post*, March 26, 2020.

James Holmes, “Beware of Pandemic America, Note to China and Russia: Despite Appearances, the Time of Coronavirus May Not Be an Opportune Time for You to Chisel Away at America’s Global Standing.” *National Interest*, March 20, 2020.

## **Day 2 - U.S. Foreign Policy**

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“U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress,” *Congressional Research Service*, August 26, 2020. Link: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44891.pdf>

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## **News and Opinion**

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Richard Haass, “The Amazon and You,” *Project Syndicate*, 13 Sept 2019.

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Richard Haass, “How a World Order Ends and What Comes in Its Wake,” *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2019.

Eliot A. Cohen, “Trump Is Playing Chess One Turn at a Time, An Impulsive President Tries to Look Tough without Being Prepared to Follow Through,” *Atlantic*, January 4, 2020.

Eliot A. Cohen, “Trump’s Character Betrays Him; In Foreign Policy, Reputation Means Everything,” *Atlantic*, October 24, 2019.

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James Jay Carafano, “Trump Prepares America for a Great Power Competition,” *National Interest*, October 24, 2019.

Caitlin Oprysko and Anita Kumar, “Trump Pushes Aggressive ‘America First’ Message to World Leaders,” *Politico*, September 24, 2019.

Michael Anton, “The Trump Doctrine, An Insider Explains the President’s Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Policy*, April 20, 2019.

James Traub, “The Biden Doctrine Exists Already. Here’s an Inside Preview,” *Foreign Policy*, August 20, 2020.

Robert B. Zoellick, “The Foreign Policy Americans Really Want,” *Washington Post*, October 9, 2019.

Charles Edel and Hal Brands, “The Real Origins of the U.S.-China Cold War,” *Foreign Policy*, June 2, 2019.

Kenneth R. Thomas, “Federalism, State Sovereignty, and the Constitution: Basis and Limits of Congressional Power,” *Congressional Research Service*, September 23, 2013.

Patrick Paterson, *Origines de la Política Exterior de EEUU: 241 Años de la Política Exterior de los Estados Unidos*, Editorial Académica Española, 2018. Link: <http://williamjperrycenter.org/sites/all/modules/pubdclnt/pubdclnt.php?fid=5>

James Hohmann, “10 stories illuminate the Trump doctrine on foreign policy,” *Washington Post*, July 5, 2018.

Joe Biden, “Why America Must Lead Again: Rescuing U.S. Foreign Policy After Trump,” *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr 2020. Link: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-01-23/why-america-must-lead-again>

Marc A. Thiessen, “Chaos or not, Trump is racking up a record of foreign policy success,” *Washington Post*, September 18 2018.

Ishaan Tharoor, “The White House’s new attack on the international system,” *Washington Post*, September, September 11 2018

Ruchir Sharma, “The Comeback Nation, U.S. Economic Supremacy Has Repeatedly Proved Declinists Wrong,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 31, 2020.

Dan Balz and Scott Clement, “Poll: Sharp partisan differences now exist on foreign policy, views of American exceptionalism,” *Washington Post*, 17 Sept 2020.

Ronald E. Neumann and Marc Grossman, “More US Diplomats Need to Be Overseas to Best Serve America,” *The Hill*, March 22, 2020.

Robbie Gramer, "At Embassies Abroad, Trump Envoys Are Quietly Pushing Out Career Diplomats," *Foreign Policy*, February 5, 2020.

Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights on his mission to the United States of America, United Nations, May 2018.

Link: [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1629536/files/A\\_HRC\\_38\\_33\\_Add-1-EN.pdf](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1629536/files/A_HRC_38_33_Add-1-EN.pdf)

Lara Jakes, "When the Face of America Falls III: A Virus's Toll on Diplomats," *New York Times*, April 4, 2020.

Nadia Schadlow, "Consider the Possibility That Trump Is Right About China, Critics Are Letting Their Disdain for the President Blind Them to Geopolitical Realities." *Atlantic*, April 5, 2020.

Brett Schaefer and Charles Stimson, "How the U.S. Should Respond to the ICC's Decision to Investigate Americans," *Heritage Foundation*, March 24, 2020.

James Jay Carafano, "Saving the World's International Organizations," *Heritage Foundation*, March 20, 2020.

Jermi Suri, "The Long Rise and Sudden Fall of American Diplomacy," *Foreign Policy*, April 17, 2019.

Justin Logan and A. Trevor Thrall, "Make America Safe Again; The American Public Would Prefer a More Restrained Foreign Policy Than Elites Have Delivered in Past Decades," *National Interest*, October 22, 2019.

Wilson VornDick, "America Must Have a Grander Strategy for China," *National Interest*, March 16, 2020.

Eva Siewert, "How China Is Expanding Beyond Western Institutions," *Diplomat*, March 16, 2020.

Chris Walsh, "Why U.S. Democracy Support Matters," *The Hill*, February 11, 2020.

Stephen N. Walt, "Why is the United States So Bad at Foreign Policy?" *Foreign Policy*, January 13, 2020.

William J. Burns, "An End to Magical Thinking in the Middle East," *Atlantic*, December 8, 2019.

Victor Davis Hanson, "Trump's Foreign Policy: The Popping Point of Maximum Pressure," *National Review*, December 3, 2019.

Deborah Pearlstein, "Foreign Policy Isn't Just Up To Trump," *Atlantic*, November 23, 2019.

Robin Wright, "Turkey, Syria, the Kurds, and Trump's Abandonment of Foreign Policy," *New Yorker*, October 20, 2019.

John Pomfret, "Trump Abandoned the Kurds in Syria. Could Taiwan Be Next?" *Washington Post*, October 18, 2019.

Peter Navarro, "Peter Navarro: The Trump Guide to Diplomacy," *New York Times*, October 15, 2019.

Katie Bo Williams, “How Trump is Remaking Republican Foreign Policy,” *Defense One*, September 19, 2019.

Uri Friedman and Peter Nicholas, “A Defining Moment for Trump’s Foreign Policy,” *Atlantic*, August 23, 2019.

Jakub Grygiel, “The Role of Values in Foreign Policy,” *National Review*, August 21, 2019.

Fareed Zakaria, “Trump’s Approach to Foreign Policy Provokes an Anti-American Response,” *Washington Post*, May 16, 2019.

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, “Divided We Stand: Democrats and Republicans Diverge on U.S. Foreign Policy,” September 2020. Link: <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/lcc/divided-we-stand>

### **Day 2 - U.S. Regional Strategy in Latin America and Caribbean**

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Recent Migration to the United States from Central America: Frequently Asked Questions, *Congressional Research Service*, January 29, 2019.

### **News and Opinion**

Celina Realuyo, “The Intent and Impact of US Sanctions on Cuba and Venezuela,” William J. Perry Center Regional Insight, October 2019.

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Jason Marczak and Peter Engelke, “Latin America and the Caribbean 2030: Future Scenarios,” *Atlantic Council*, Nov 2016.

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### **Day 3 - U.S. Military Strategy**

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Dan Coats, "Worldwide Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community," January 29, 2019.

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U.S. Periods of War and Dates of Recent Conflicts *Congressional Research Service*, June 5, 2020.

Defense Primer: The United States Space Force," *Congressional Research Service*, April 6, 2020.

U.S. Sanctions on Russia, *Congressional Research Service*, January 17, 2020.

China Naval Modernization: Implications for U.S. Navy Capabilities—Background and Issues for Congress, *Congressional Research Service*, August 24, 2020.

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[https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp1\\_ch1.pdf](https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp1_ch1.pdf)

"General and Flag Officers in the U.S. Armed Forces: Background and Considerations for Congress," *Congressional Research Service*, February 1, 2019.

### **News and Opinion**

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A. Trevor Thrall and John Glaser, “Will Trump End the Endless Wars?” *Cato Institute*, November 2, 2019.

Daniel R. DePetris, “Trillion-Dollar Question: Will Donald Trump Really End the ‘Endless Wars’?” *National Interest*, November 7, 2019.

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Hal Brands, “Does U.S. Credibility Matter? Trump Is Putting It to the Test,” *Bloomberg*, January 16, 2020.

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## WASHINGTON SECURITY AND DEFENSE SEMINAR SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES

### Day 1 – Welcome, Lieutenant General (ret.) Frederick S. Rudesheim, Director



*Director of the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies*

Retired US Army Lieutenant General Frederick S. "Rudy" Rudesheim was appointed Director of the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies by the Office of the Secretary of Defense in February 2018.

Born and raised for 18 years in the Republic of Panama, Lieutenant General (ret.) Rudesheim was commissioned as a distinguished military graduate from the University of Texas, Austin in 1981, where he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science. He holds Master's degrees in International Relations from Troy University, in Strategic Studies from the US Army War College, and in Advanced Military Studies from the United States Army Command and General Staff College.

He served as the Commander of 3rd Brigade Combat Team, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized) deploying to Operation Iraqi Freedom from April 2003 to March 2004. He later returned as Deputy Commanding General of the 1st Cavalry Division and Multi-National Division - Baghdad, Iraq, from February 2009 to January 2010. His most recent command was as the Commander for the United States Army - South at Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

His previous joint assignments include a tour with US Joint Forces - Korea; Director of Joint Capability Development at the US Joint Forces Command; and three tours with the Joint Staff: the first as a Division Chief and Deputy Director for the J5, the second as the Deputy Director for the J7, and most recently as the Vice Director of the Joint Staff. From January 2015 until his retirement, he served as US Security Coordinator for Israel and the Palestinian Authority, in Jerusalem.

**Day 1 – Keynote Speaker, Admiral (ret.) James Stavridis, PhD**



*Operating Executive with The Carlyle Group and Chair of the Board of Counselors at McLarty Associates.*

*Former Dean of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University*

*Former Commander, U.S. Supreme Allied Commander and U.S. European Command*

*Former Commander, U.S. Southern Command*

Previously, Admiral Stavridis served as the 12th Dean of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. A retired four-star officer in the U.S. Navy, he led the NATO Alliance in global operations from 2009 to 2013 as Supreme Allied Commander with responsibility for Afghanistan, Libya, the Balkans, Syria, counter piracy and cyber security. He also served as Commander of U.S. Southern Command, with responsibility for all military operations in Latin America from 2006 to 2009. Currently, Admiral Stavridis is an Operating Executive focused on advising the Carlyle Group's executive team and investment professionals on geopolitical and national security issues. Admiral Stavridis holds more than 50 medals, including 28 from foreign nations.

Earlier in his military career he commanded the top ship in the Atlantic Fleet, winning the Battenberg Cup, as well as a squadron of destroyers and a carrier strike group all in combat. In 2016, he was vetted for Vice President by Hillary Clinton and subsequently invited to Trump Tower to discuss a cabinet position in the Trump Administration.

Admiral Stavridis earned his PhD in international relations and his MA in law and diplomacy from the Fletcher School at Tufts University, and he is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis. Admiral Stavridis is Chair of the Board of Counselors at McLarty Associates, a monthly columnist for TIME Magazine and Chief International Security Analyst for NBC News. He is the author of nine books, including "Sailing True North" in 2019.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.carlyle.com/corporate-overview/operating-executives-advisors/admiral-james-stavridis>

Personal Webpage: <https://admiralstav.com/>

**Day 1 – Covid-19**



**Rear Admiral (RADM) Erica G. Schwartz, U.S. Public Health Service (USPHS)**

*U.S. Deputy Surgeon General*

As Deputy Surgeon General, Rear Admiral (RADM) Erica G. Schwartz advises and supports the Surgeon General regarding operations of the U.S. Public Health Service (USPHS) Commissioned Corps and in communicating the best available scientific information to advance the health of the nation.

RADM Schwartz is trained and Board Certified in Preventive Medicine (Occupational Medicine). RADM Schwartz graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in Biomedical Engineering from Brown University in 1994 and received her Doctor of Medicine degree from Brown University School of Medicine in 1998. RADM Schwartz also has a Juris Doctorate from the University of Maryland and is admitted to the District of Columbia Bar.

RADM Schwartz recently served as the Director of Health, Safety and Work-Life where she was responsible for the Coast Guard's health care system of 42 clinics and 150 sick bays, as well as the Coast Guard's environmental health and safety program. Preceding her transfer to the USPHS Commissioned Corps and Coast Guard in 2005, she served as a Navy Occupational Medicine physician.

As an expert in health care policy, she wrote the first-ever force health protection policies to include: the Pandemic Influenza Force Health Protection policy, the Anthrax and Smallpox Vaccination policies, the Quarantinable Communicable Disease policy, the Periodic Health Assessment policy, and the Human Immunodeficiency Virus policy. Additionally, she developed force health protection guidance for numerous contingency operations, to include Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, the 2009 H1N1 pandemic, Operation Unified Response (2010 Haiti earthquake), the Deepwater Horizon Operation, and the most recent Ebola outbreak in West Africa.

RADM Schwartz served as the Coast Guard's principal expert on pandemic influenza – hand-picked as the medical consultant for the DHS Pandemic Influenza Principal Federal Official. She also deployed as the Medical Unit Leader for the Deepwater Horizon Unified Area Command. Rear Admiral Schwartz served as one of the Ebola Crisis Action Team leaders, responsible for ensuring Coast Guard personnel had clear and actionable force health protection guidance for this emerging and fatal disease threat.

She was recognized by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs by being honored as one of the Military Health System Female Physicians of the Year.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.hhs.gov/surgeongeneral/about/leadership/erica-g-schwartz.html>



**Dr. Ciro Ugarte**

*Director, Health Emergencies at Pan American Health Organization PAHO/WHO*

Dr. Ciro R. Ugarte is the Director, Health Emergencies Department, Pan American Health Organization (PAHO). He is a graduate of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos de Lima, Peru where he later joined the Faculty of Medicine and did postgraduate studies in Organization of Health Services and in Emergency and Disaster Medicine.

Between 1987 and 1988, he was Regional Director of the South and later Deputy Director General of the National Institute of Occupational Health of Peru. From 1988 to 1999 he was Executive Director and General Director of the Office of National Defense of the Ministry of Health and President of the Peruvian Society of Emergency and Disaster Medicine. During that period he was also a consultant for the Office of Foreign Assistance in Disasters of the United States of America, Member of the Central Committee of the Peruvian Society of the Red Cross, Principal Representative of the Peruvian Government before the International Committee of the Red Cross, teacher from the National School of Public Health and the Faculty of Medicine of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and member of the United Nations Team for the Evaluation and Coordination in Disasters.

In 1999 he chaired the United Nations Inter-Agency Disaster Team in Honduras. In 2000 he was selected as Sub-regional Advisor for South America based in Ecuador and in 2002 he became the Regional Advisor on Preparedness for Emergencies and Disaster Relief for PAHO and the World Health Organization (WHO) based in Washington DC.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.paho.org/en>

## **Day 2 - U.S. Foreign Policy**



### **Richard Haass, Ph.D.**

*President, Council on Foreign Relations*

Dr. Richard Haass is a veteran diplomat, a prominent voice on American foreign policy, and an established leader of nonprofit institutions. He is in his eighteenth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations, an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, publisher, and educational institution dedicated to being a resource to help people better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries.

From January 2001 to June 2003, Dr. Haass was director of policy planning for the Department of State, where he directed the policy planning staff and was a principal advisor to Secretary of State Colin Powell. Confirmed by the U.S. Senate to hold the rank of ambassador, Dr. Haass also served as U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and U.S. envoy to the Northern Ireland peace process.

Dr. Haass has extensive additional government experience. From 1989 to 1993, he was special assistant to President George H.W. Bush and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. In 1991, Dr. Haass was awarded the Presidential Citizens Medal for his contributions to the development and articulation of U.S. policy during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Previously, he served in the Departments of State (1981–1985) and Defense (1979–1980), and was a legislative aide in the U.S. Senate.

A Rhodes Scholar, Dr. Haass holds a bachelor's degree from Oberlin College and master's and doctorate of philosophy degrees from Oxford University. He has also received numerous honorary degrees and was a member of the faculty of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and Hamilton College.

Dr. Haass is the author or editor of fourteen books on American foreign policy and one book on management. His latest book is *The World: A Brief Introduction*, published by Penguin Press.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.cfr.org/expert/richard-n-haass>



### **Eliot A. Cohen, Ph.D.**

*Dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).*

In July 2019, Eliot A. Cohen was appointed the ninth dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Cohen has been a respected member of the school's faculty since his appointment as the Robert E. Osgood Professor of Strategic Studies in 1990. He has twice won the school's Excellence in Teaching Award and has extensive experience in executive education, including serving as an adjunct professor at the US Army War College.

Cohen is a 1977 graduate of Harvard College and earned his PhD in political science from the university in 1982. From 1982 to 1985 he was Assistant Professor of Government at Harvard, and Assistant Dean of Harvard College. In 1985 he became a member of the Strategy Department of the United States Naval War College. In February 1990 he joined the Policy Planning Staff of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and in July of that year he was appointed Professor of Strategic Studies at Johns Hopkins SAIS.

From April 2007 through January 2009 he served as Counselor of the Department of State. A principal officer of the Department, he had special responsibility for advising the Secretary on Iraq, Afghanistan,

Iran, Pakistan, and Russia, as well as general strategic issues. He represented the Department of State in interagency coordination with senior National Security Council staff, Department of Defense, and intelligence community officials on several issues, including the Syrian/North Korean reactor crisis of 2007.

Eliot Cohen is the author of *The Big Stick: The Limits of Soft Power and the Necessity of Military Force* (2017), *Conquered into Liberty: Two Centuries of Battles along the Great Warpath that made the American Way of War* (2011), *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (2002). His other books are *Commandos and Politicians* (1978) and *Citizens and Soldiers* (1985). He is, as well, co-author of *Military Misfortunes: The Anatomy of Failure in War* (1990), *Revolution in Warfare? Air Power in the Persian Gulf* (1995), and *Knives, Tanks, and Missiles: Israel's Security Revolution* (1998), and co-editor of *Strategy in the Contemporary World* (2002) and *War over Kosovo* (2001). From 1991 to 1993 he directed and edited the official study of air power in the 1991 war with Iraq. For his leadership of The Gulf War Air Power Survey, which included eleven book-length reports, he received the Air Force's decoration for exceptional civilian service. His articles have appeared in numerous scholarly and popular journals, he publishes often in national newspapers such as the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, and New York Times and is a contributing editor at The Atlantic.

Institutional Webpage: <https://sais.jhu.edu/users/ecohen1>

Personal Webpage: <http://www.eliotcohen.com/Home/Welcome.html>

## **Day 2 - U.S. Regional Strategy in Latin America and Caribbean**



**Ambassador Thomas A. Shannon, Jr.**

*Senior International Policy Advisor, Arnold & Porter Law Firm*

*Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs*

*Former United States Ambassador to Brazil.*

*Former Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs*

Ambassador Shannon spent nearly 35 years in the Foreign Service and has served six US presidents and eleven secretaries of state. Most recently, Ambassador Shannon served as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, the third highest ranking position at the State Department. Holding the personal rank of Career Ambassador, he was the highest ranking member of the United States Foreign Service, the country's professional diplomatic corps. During his tenure as Under Secretary, Ambassador Shannon was in charge of bilateral and multilateral foreign policymaking and implementation, and oversaw diplomatic activity globally and in our missions to international organizations. He managed the State Department during the presidential transition, led bilateral and strategic stability talks with the Russian Federation, worked with our allies to oversee Iranian compliance with the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, and expanded US engagement in Central Asia, among other things.

Prior to that appointment, he served as Counselor of the Department, where he acted as a troubleshooter and roving envoy for Secretary of State John Kerry. In that capacity, he focused on Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and led US support for the UN-sponsored peace processes in Yemen and South Sudan. Ambassador Shannon spent nearly 35 years in the Foreign Service, and has served 6 US presidents and 11 secretaries of state.

Prior to his 2016 appointment by President Obama as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Ambassador Shannon was the United States Ambassador to Brazil. Prior to this appointment, Ambassador Shannon served as Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs from 2005-2009. He served

as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Western Hemisphere Affairs at the National Security Council (2003-2005), Deputy Assistant Secretary of Western Hemisphere Affairs at the Department of State (2002-2003), and Director of Andean Affairs (2001-2002). From 2000-2001, he was US Deputy Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States, with the rank of Ambassador. During his career, Ambassador Shannon served in the US Foreign Service at embassies in Guatemala, Brazil, South Africa, and Venezuela.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.arnoldporter.com/en/people/s/shannon-thomas>



**Ambassador Roger Noriega**

*Former Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs*

Roger F. Noriega is a former Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere affairs (Canada, Latin America, and the Caribbean) and a former U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States.

He has a long career in government. From 1986 to 1990, he worked at U.S. Agency for International Development and U.S. Department of State. From 1990 to 1993, he was a Senior Policy Adviser at the U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States. From 1994 to 1997, he was Staff Member, International Relations Committee, U.S. House of Representatives. From 1997 to 2001, he worked on the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. From there, he went back to the Organization of American States as the U.S. Ambassador to the OAS from 2001 to 2003. From 2003 to 2005, he was the Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs at the U.S. Department of State. In that position, he served as the Secretary of State's point man with more than three dozen embassies and consulates in the Western Hemisphere.

### **Day 3 - U.S. Military Strategy**



**Rosa Brooks**

*Georgetown Law Center*

Rosa Brooks teaches courses on international law, national security, constitutional law and criminal justice. She joined the Law Center faculty in 2007, after serving as an associate professor at the University of Virginia School of Law. From 2016-2018, Brooks served at the Law Center's Associate Dean for Graduate Programs. Brooks is also an Adjunct Senior Scholar at West Point's Modern War Institute and a Senior Fellow at New America.

Brooks has combined teaching and scholarship with stints in government service and a successful career in journalism. From 2009-2011, Brooks served as Counselor to Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Michele Flournoy and founded the Defense Department's Office for Rule of Law and International Humanitarian Policy. In July 2011, she received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service. From 1999-2000, she served as a senior advisor at the US Department of State.

Brooks previously wrote weekly opinion columns for Foreign Policy and the Los Angeles Times, and her articles and essays have appeared in the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post and dozens of other national and international publications. Her most recent book, *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything*, was a New York Times Notable Book of 2016; it was shortlisted for the Lionel Gelber Prize and named one of the five best books of the year by the Council on Foreign

Relations. Brooks is also the author of *Can Might Make Rights? The Rule of Law After Military Interventions* (with Jane Stromseth and David Wippman), published in 2006, and *A Garden of Paper Flowers* (Picador, 1994).

In 2006-2007, Brooks was Special Counsel to the President at the Open Society Institute in New York. Brooks has also served as a consultant for Human Rights Watch, a fellow at the Carr Center at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, a board member of Amnesty International USA, a Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a lecturer at Yale Law School, a member of the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law and a member of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Fragile States. She currently serves on the advisory board of the Open Society Foundation's US Programs, the advisory board of National Security Action and the board of the Harper's Magazine Foundation.

Brooks received her A.B. from Harvard in history and literature, followed by a master's degree from Oxford in social anthropology and a law degree from Yale.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/faculty/rosa-brooks/>

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**Hal Brands, Ph.D.**

*Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*

Dr. Hal Brands is the Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins SAIS as well as a Senior Fellow at the [Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments](#) and the [Foreign Policy Research Institute](#). His listed expertise includes, among a number of topics, Latin American security and diplomacy, grand strategy, history, domestic influences on foreign policy, and nuclear policy and proliferation. He is the author of several books, including *Latin America's Cold War* (2010), *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War*

*Order* (2016), and *American Grand Strategy in the Age of Trump* (2018). Dr. Brands received his BA from Stanford University (2005) and his PhD from Yale University (2009).

Institutional Webpage: <https://sais.jhu.edu/users/hbrands2>

Personal Webpage: <http://halbrands.org/>

**Day 3 - U.S. Security/Defense Perspectives in Latin America**



**Sergio de la Peña**

*Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs*

Sergio de la Peña is the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs. He is responsible for security, defense, and policy issues in the region, as well as overseeing the funding of defense cooperation programs for U.S. Northern Command and U.S. Southern Command. Previously, he was an independent consultant and defense contractor, an instructor of defense, security and leadership courses to government officials and a frequent commentator on Spanish-speaking national and international news media. Now a retired US Army officer he served for 30 years as an Air Defense and Foreign Area officers in a variety of staff and leadership positions. Mr. de la Peña was born in

Chihuahua, Chihuahua, Mexico and raised near Roswell, New Mexico. He was an ROTC graduate from the University of Iowa, where he earned a B.S. in psychology. While attending the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College he earned a Master of Military Art and Science degree. He attended the Inter-American Defense College with Class of 42.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.defense.gov/Our-Story/Biographies/Biography/Article/1185872/sergio-de-la-pea/>



**Ambassador Jean E. Manes**

*Civilian Deputy to the Commander, Foreign Policy Advisor, U.S. Southern Command*

*Former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador*

Ambassador Manes assumed duties as Civilian Deputy to the Commander and Foreign Policy Advisor, U.S. Southern Command, Miami, FL, in October 2019. SOUTHCOM Area of Responsibility (AOR) encompasses 32 nations (19 in Central and South America and 13 in the Caribbean). As Civilian Deputy to the Commander, she is responsible for overseeing the development and refinement of USSOUTHCOM's regional strategy and security cooperation plans as well as the Command's strategic communication, public affairs and human rights initiatives. As Foreign Policy Advisor, Ambassador Manes provides the Commander and other senior command staff with geo-political, political-military, and economic counsel. She also leads the Command's relationship with the Department of State and U.S. Embassies abroad.

Ambassador Manes arrived at USSOUTHCOM after serving as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of El Salvador (2016-2019), the 5th largest Mission in the Western Hemisphere, where she led U.S. support for Salvadoran efforts to expand economic growth, improve security, reduce migration, and strengthen key democratic institutions. Her relentless effort to fight corruption changed the landscape in El Salvador bringing increased transparency and accountability.

She is a member of the Senior Foreign Service with the Department of State, having joined in 1992 and has served under five Presidents. Throughout her 27-year career she led large scale operations, focusing on empowering people and prioritizing resources. She served as Principal Deputy Coordinator for the Bureau of International Information Programs, leading 21st century foreign public engagement, including digital strategies for outreach; Director of Resources for the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, overseeing \$1.2 billion in domestic and worldwide operations; Public Affairs Officer in Afghanistan; Consul General in the Azores, Portugal; and also served in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Syria.

Ambassador Manes has a master's degree in International Administration from American University in Washington, DC and a Bachelor of Science in Foreign Policy from Liberty University in Virginia. As an expert in the Western Hemisphere, she speaks fluent Spanish and Portuguese.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.southcom.mil/About/Leadership/Bio-Article-View/Article/1040613/amb-jean-e-manes/>



**Commodore James Clarke, Canadian Navy**

*Deputy Director Strategy, Policy and Plans at The North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and U.S. Northern Command*

Commodore James Clarke is the Deputy Director of the Strategy, Policy and Plans Directorate North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and United States Northern Command (USNORTHCOM), Peterson AFB, Colorado.

In the fall of 2003, Commodore Clarke became the first Canadian and only second foreign student on the United States Navy’s Submarine Perspective Commanding Officer’s course. In the fall of 2004, he became the first Canadian to attend the Norwegian Submarine Command Course and was fortunate to enjoy an extended, split command tour that saw him command submarines on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

After completion of the Joint Command and Staff program, Commodore Clarke was appointed as the Commander of Submarine Division in Halifax while concurrently fulfilling the duties as Commander Submarine Sea Training. He then enjoyed a tremendously busy appointment as the Commanding Officer of the HALIFAX Class Frigate HMCS ST. JOHN’S, a tour that included two counter narcotic missions in the Caribbean, a patrol in the Canadian Arctic as well as participation in exercises in Europe and on the US Eastern Seaboard. Commodore Clarke then completed second language training and was subsequently promoted and appointed to Maritime Forces Pacific Headquarters as Assistant Chief of Staff Operations as well as the Commander of the Canadian Submarine Force. In August 2014, he assumed the additional role as Commander of the Fourth Maritime Operations Group.

Commodore Clarke is a 2008 graduate of the Canadian Forces College and a 2018 graduate of the United States Naval War College’s international Naval Command College. Along with those diplomas, he holds an undergraduate degree from the University of Western Ontario, where he majored in mathematics, and master’s degrees from the University of New Brunswick (engineering) and the Royal Military College of Canada (Defence Studies).

**Day 4 – Cyber Security**



**Thomas C. Wingfield**

*Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Cyber Policy*

Mr. Thomas C. Wingfield was appointed the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Cyber Policy on November 25, 2019. In this capacity, he supports the Secretary of Defense and other senior Department of Defense leaders by formulating, recommending, integrating, and implementing policies and strategies to improve DoD’s ability to operate in cyberspace. Prior to this appointment, Mr. Wingfield was the Acting Chancellor and Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs at the College of Information and Cyberspace at the National Defense University in Washington, DC.

Beginning his career as a naval officer, he served as Squadron Intelligence Officer with an F/A-18 strike fighter squadron aboard USS Midway, based in Yokosuka, Japan. He also served as a Desk Officer at Headquarters, Office of Naval Intelligence, and then as Intelligence Liaison Officer at the Center for Naval Analyses, the Navy’s principal think tank. While in Washington, he served as a White House Social Aide and completed his law degrees at Georgetown.

Appointed an Associate Professor at the US Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, Mr. Wingfield served in the Department of Joint, Interagency, and Multinational Operations. Mr. Wingfield then deployed to Afghanistan in 2009-10 as Rule of Law Advisor for COMISAF's Counterinsurgency Advisory and Assistance Team. He served as Professor of International Law at the George C. Marshall European Center for Strategy Studies, where he directed the Program on Applied Security Studies, and was Professor of Law and Strategy at the newly-established United Arab Emirates National Defense College in Abu Dhabi, UAE.

Mr. Wingfield holds a B.A. in History and Russian Language (summa cum laude) from Georgia State University, and a Doctor of Laws (J.D.) and a Master of Laws (LL.M., with distinction, International and Comparative Law) from the Georgetown University Law Center. He is the author of *The Law of Information Conflict: National Security Law in Cyberspace* and is one of the drafters of the Tallinn Manual on the International Law Applicable to Cyber Warfare (Cambridge, 2013). A former Chair of the American Bar Association's Committee on International Criminal Law, he is a member of the State Bar of Georgia, the District of Columbia Bar, and the Bar of the United States Supreme Court.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.defense.gov/Our-Story/Biographies/Biography/Article/2039486/thomas-c-wingfield/>



#### **Lt. Gen. Charles L. Moore Jr., U.S. Cyber Command (CYBERCOM)**

Lt. Gen. Charles L. Moore Jr. is the Deputy Commander, U.S. Cyber Command, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland. USCYBERCOM directs, synchronizes, and coordinates cyberspace planning and operations to defend and advance national interests in collaboration with domestic and international partners.

Lt. Gen. Moore was commissioned in 1989 after graduating from the U.S. Air Force Academy. He has served as an F-16 fighter pilot, instructor pilot, weapons officer, forward air controller and instructor at the U.S. Air Force Fighter Weapons School, Nellis Air Force Base, Nevada. His command experience includes the 555th Fighter Squadron, Aviano Air Base, Italy; 332nd Expeditionary Operations Group, Balad Air Base, Iraq; 20th Fighter Wing at Shaw AFB, South Carolina and the 57th Wing at Nellis AFB, Nevada. Prior to this position, Lt. Gen. Moore served as the Director of Operations, U.S. Cyber Command.

Lt. Gen. Moore is a command pilot with more than 3,000 hours in the F-16 and more than 640 hours of combat time.

#### **Day 4 – Venezuela Crisis**



#### **Elliott Abrams**

*U.S. Special Representative for Venezuela*

Elliott Abrams is the Special Representative for Venezuela at the Department of State.

Formerly, he was senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in Washington, DC. He served as deputy assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor in the administration of President George W. Bush, where he supervised U.S. policy in the Middle East for the White House.

Mr. Abrams joined the Bush administration in June 2001 as special assistant to the president and senior director of the National Security Council for democracy, human rights, and international organizations. From December 2002 to February 2005, he served as special assistant to the

president and senior director of the National Security Council for Near East and North African affairs. He served as deputy assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for global democracy strategy from February 2005 to January 2009, and in that capacity supervised both the Near East and North African affairs and the democracy, human rights, and international organizations directorates of the National Security Council.

Abrams is the author of five books: *Undue Process*; *Security and Sacrifice*; *Faith or Fear: How Jews Can Survive in a Christian America*; *Tested by Zion: The Bush Administration and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*; and most recently *Realism and Democracy: American Foreign Policy After the Arab Spring*.

Mr. Abrams was educated at Harvard College, the London School of Economics, and Harvard Law School. After serving on the staffs of Senators Henry M. Jackson and Daniel P. Moynihan, he was an assistant secretary of state in the Reagan administration and received the secretary of state's Distinguished Service Award from Secretary George P. Shultz. He teaches U.S. foreign policy at Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. He is fluent in French and Spanish.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.state.gov/biographies/elliott-abrams/>



**Moisés Naím, Ph.D.**

*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Moisés Naím is a distinguished fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a best-selling author, and an internationally syndicated columnist.

Naím was the editor-in-chief of *Foreign Policy* magazine for fourteen years. During his tenure, *Foreign Policy* won the National Magazine Award for General Excellence three times. He is author of many scholarly articles and more than ten books on international economics and politics. His 2013 book, *The End of Power*, a *New York Times* bestseller, was selected by the *Washington Post* and the *Financial Times* as one of the best books of the year upon release. His earlier book, *Illicit*, continues to be widely cited for its pioneering analysis of the globalization of transnational criminal networks. Dr. Naím's columns and media commentary have a worldwide audience. He is the chief international columnist and "Global Observer" for [El País](#) and [La Repubblica](#), the largest daily newspapers in Spain and Italy. His columns are also carried by all leading newspapers in Latin America, and have been published in [The New York Times](#), [The Washington Post](#), [Bloomberg Business Week](#), [Newsweek](#), [Time](#), [Le Monde](#), [El Estadão](#) and [Berliner Zeitung](#).

In 2011, Naím was awarded the *Ortega y Gasset* prize, the most prestigious award in Spanish journalism. The British magazine *Prospect* named him one of the world's leading thinkers in 2013, and for several years the Gottlieb Duttweiler Institute of Switzerland ranked him among the top 100 global thought leaders. He is also the host and producer of "Efecto Naím," an Emmy-winning weekly television program on international affairs that airs throughout the Americas on DirectTV (NTN24).

Dr. Naím's experience in public service includes his tenure as Venezuela's Minister of Trade and Industry in the early 1990s, director of Venezuela's Central Bank, and executive director of the World Bank. He was a professor of business and economics and dean of IESA, Venezuela's main business school, and also taught at John Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington.

Naím holds a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a Doctor Honoris Causa in International Affairs from American University. He is a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and an honorary member of Venezuela's Academy of Economic Sciences.

Institutional Webpage: <https://carnegieendowment.org/experts/21>

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### **Day 5 - The U.S. Budget Process**



**Thomas Mahnken, Ph.D.**

*President and Chief Executive Officer of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA)*

Dr. Thomas G. Mahnken is President and Chief Executive Officer of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA). He is also a Senior Research Professor at the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies at The Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

He currently serves as a member of the Congressionally-mandated National Defense Strategy Commission and as a member of the Board of Visitors of Marine Corps University. His previous government career includes service as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning from 2006–2009, where he helped craft the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review and 2008 National Defense Strategy. He served on the staff of the 2014 National Defense Panel, 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review Independent Panel, and the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction. He served in the Defense Department's Office of Net Assessment and as a member of the Gulf War Air Power Survey. He served for 24 years as an officer in the U.S. Navy Reserve, to include tours in Iraq and Kosovo.

In 2009 he was awarded the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service and in 2016 the Department of the Navy Superior Civilian Service Medal.

Dr. Mahnken is the author of *The Gathering Pacific Storm: Emerging U.S.-China Strategic Competition in Defense Technological and Industrial Development* (Cambria University Press, 2018), *Arms Races in International Politics from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), *Strategy in Asia: The Past, Present and Future of Regional Security* (Stanford University Press, 2014), *Competitive Strategies for the 21st Century: Theory, History, and Practice* (Stanford University Press, 2012), *Technology and the American Way of War Since 1945* (Columbia University Press, 2008), and *Uncovering Ways of War: U.S. Intelligence and Foreign Military Innovation, 1918–1941* (Cornell University Press, 2002), among other works.

Institutional Webpage: <https://csbaonline.org/about/people/staff/thomas-mahnken>



**Mark F. Cancian**

*Senior Adviser, International Security Program*

*Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)*

Mark Cancian (Colonel, USMCR, ret.) is a senior adviser with the CSIS International Security Program. He joined CSIS in April 2015 from the Office of Management and Budget, where he spent more than seven years as chief of the Force Structure and Investment Division, working on issues such as Department of Defense budget strategy, war funding, and procurement programs, as well as nuclear weapons development and nonproliferation activities in the Department of Energy. Previously, he worked on force structure and acquisition issues in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and ran research and executive programs at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. In the military, Colonel Cancian spent over three decades in the U.S. Marine Corps, active and reserve, serving as an infantry, artillery, and civil

affairs officer and on overseas tours in Vietnam, Desert Storm, and Iraq (twice). Since 2000, he has been an adjunct faculty member at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, where he teaches a course on the connection between policy and analysis. A prolific author, he has published over 40 articles on military operations, acquisition, budgets, and strategy and received numerous writing awards. He graduated with high honors (*magna cum laude*) from Harvard College and with highest honors (Baker scholar) from Harvard Business School.

Institutional Webpage: <https://www.csis.org/people/mark-f-cancian>

### **Day 5 – Foreign Aid and Security Assistance**



#### **Lieutenant General (ret.) David Barno**

*Visiting Professor of Strategic Studies and Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).*

Lieutenant General David W. Barno, USA (Ret.) is a Visiting Professor of Strategic Studies and Senior Fellow at the Merrill Center of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He is also a Contributing Editor and Columnist for *War on the Rocks*, and an Adjunct Research Staff Member at the Institute for Defense Analyses.

LTG (ret.) Barno completed a thirty-year active duty Army career where he commanded at every level, serving as an infantry officer, Ranger and paratrooper. He completed three tours in special operations forces, serving with Army Ranger battalions in combat during both the Panama and Grenada invasions. In 2003, he was selected to establish a new three-star operational headquarters in Kabul, Afghanistan and take command of the 20,000 U.S. and coalition forces in Operation Enduring Freedom. For nineteen months as the senior American commander, Barno was responsible for overall coalition military leadership of the war in Afghanistan, implementing a new counterinsurgency strategy in close partnership with the U.S. embassy and coalition allies.

Following his military career, Barno served for four years as the Director of the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. Concurrently, he was the Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary of Veterans Affairs on Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom Veterans and Families from 2007-2009. Following his time at NDU, he spent nearly five years as a Senior Fellow and later Co-Director of the Responsible Defense Program at the Center for a New American Security, a national security think tank based in Washington, D.C. He also later served as a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council.

LTG (ret.) Barno currently serves on the Secretary of Defense's Reserve Forces Policy Board and is a member of the U.S. Army War College Board of Visitors. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute of Strategic Studies. Prior to his present academic position, he was a Distinguished Practitioner-in-Residence at American University's School of International Service where he taught graduate and undergraduate programs. He speaks and writes frequently on national security policy, civil-military issues, the changing character of conflict, and leader development. Since leaving military service, he has published extensively and testified before Congress over a dozen times.

A graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, LTG (ret.) Barno earned his master's degree in National Security Studies from Georgetown University. He is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the U.S. Army War College. He has received numerous awards for his military and public service.



**Andrew Bacevich, Ph.D.**

*President of the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft*

*Professor Emeritus, Boston University*

Dr. Andrew J. Bacevich is the President of the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft. He grew up in Indiana, graduated from West Point and Princeton, served in the army, became an academic, and is now a writer. He is the author, co-author, or editor of more than a dozen books, among them: *The New America Militarism* (2005), *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism* (2008), *Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War* (2010), *America's War for the Greater Middle East* (2016), and *The Age of Illusions: How America Squandered Its Cold War Victory* (January 2020). He is Professor Emeritus of International Relations and History at Boston University and has held fellowships at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the American Academy in Berlin.

Institutional Webpage: <https://quincyinst.org/author/abacevich/>