



JOINT SPECIAL OPERATIONS UNIVERSITY

THE FUTURE OF SOF FORUM SERIES ✨ A VIRTUAL EVENT

The background of the poster features a 3D illustration of a chessboard where the squares are a map of the world. Three large chess pieces are positioned on the board: a king piece on the left with an American flag design (stars and stripes), a queen piece in the center with a blue and red design, and a rook piece on the right with a red design and yellow stars. Concentric white circles are drawn around the queen piece.

**5-6
MAY
2021**

**THE FUTURE OF SOF IN
STRATEGIC COMPETITION:
A LOOK AT THE INDO-PACIFIC
AND BEYOND**

JOINT SPECIAL OPERATIONS UNIVERSITY

A LOOK AT THE INDO-PACIFIC AND BEYOND

THE FUTURE OF SOF IN STRATEGIC COMPETITION

The recently released 2021 Interim National Security Strategic Guidance can be viewed in a variety of ways. On the one hand, the Biden administration's guidance is a departure from the 2017 Trump-era National Security Strategy, which, along with the 2018 National Defense Strategy, focused intently on the imperatives of "Great Power Competition," or the global pursuit of diplomatic, economic, and military advantage among the U.S., Russia, and China. It highlights that strategic competition is centered more specifically on an increasingly assertive China than a disruptive Russia. Moreover, diplomacy and alliances are again of central focus, as is the soft power of America's "unique" advantage—democracy.

On the other hand, the underlying strategic logic of the United States, China, and Russia seeking relative advantage is still clearly present. Russia may have been downgraded from the list of great powers, but its ability to disrupt the international order is still very much a cause of concern. It is China, however, that is the sole power capable of undermining the international order, and is thus rightly focused on the Interim National Security Strategic Guidance, as America's major contender that vies for the position of global hegemony.

The global areas of concern for U.S. foreign policy are Europe, the Western Hemisphere, and the Indo-Pacific. These regions all need to be viewed and approached through the lenses of intersectionality, convergence, and compound security. In addition, the core strategic propositions or ways the current Administration seeks to achieve ends in the context of GPC include better economic foundations; reclaiming the U.S. position in international institutions; American values; modernizing military capabilities; and revitalizing alliances and partnerships.

In this, JSOU's third forum on Great Power Competition, we turn our attention to the new administration's Interim National Security Strategic Guidance with particular focus on the way strategic competition is playing out in the Indo-Pacific region, and in neighboring and interlinked areas more generally. This examination focuses specifically on the ways that risks are being anticipated, calculated, and managed in order to prevent competition from leading to state-on-state conflict.

THIS FORUM INCLUDES DISCUSSIONS FROM PANELISTS, SPEAKERS, AND MODERATORS WHO ARE NOT AFFILIATED WITH DOD. THIS DOES NOT IMPLY ENDORSEMENT BY DOD OF THE NON-FEDERAL ENTITIES AFFILIATED WITH THESE PANELISTS, SPEAKERS, AND MODERATORS.

AGENDA

Wednesday, May 5

Forum Host: *BG (Ret) Russ Howard*
 Crosss Functional Team (CFT) Lead: *Dr. Chris Marsh*
 Forum Director: *Mr. Joe Whittington*

TIME	EVENT
8:00–8:05	Welcome/Host Opening Remarks <i>BG (Ret) Russ Howard, JSOU</i>
8:05–8:30	Forum scene setter <i>Dr. Isaiah “Ike” Wilson III, JSOU President</i>
8:30–9:45	Panel 1: Reconsidering the Strategic Landscape <i>Moderator: Dr. Dave Oakley, JSOU</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical Cases of Strategic Competition: History Redux? <i>Dr. Yuval Weber, Krulak Center, Marine Corps University</i> • Towards a Definition of Strategic Competition <i>Dr. Dave Dudas, JSOU</i> • Competitive by Nature <i>Mr. Bob Jones, USSOCOM J5</i>
9:45–10:00	Break
10:00–11:00	Panel 2: China’s Aspirations and Strategy in the Greater Pacific <i>Moderator: Dr. Chris Marsh, JSOU</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whatever Happened to China’s “Peaceful Rise”? <i>Mr. Kelly Hicks, JSOU</i> • What is China’s Strategy in the Greater Pacific? <i>Dr. Andrew Erickson, U.S. Naval War College (USNWC)</i> • Dealing with a Rising China <i>Brig Gen David “Baja” Shoemaker, DJ3 INDOPACOM</i>
11:00–11:15	Break

11:15-12:15

Panel 3: Actors and Aspirations in the INDOPACOM AOR

Moderator: Dr. Nikolas Gvosdev, USNWC

- What is the Status of Sino-Russian Relations Today?

Dr. Elizabeth Wishnick, Montclair State University

- Building Partner Capacity in Mongolia
Mr. DeVan Shannon, JSOU
- Practitioner's Perspective
CW5 Maurice "Duc" Duclos, SOCOM

12:15-13:15

Lunch

- Update on SOUTHCOM
LTC Scott Smitson, SOUTHCOM
- Update on AFRICOM
Ms. Margaret Nencheck, AFRICOM

13:15-14:15

Panel 4: The "Indo" in INDOPACOM

Moderator: Dr. Robert Tomlinson, USNWC

- After Ladakh: Indian Military Transformation and its Implications for the Indo-Pacific
Dr. Anit Mukherjee, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

- What is India's Strategy?

Dr. Sumit Ganguly, Indiana University

- Policy/Practitioner Perspective

Dr. Joe Felter, Stanford University

14:15-14:30

Break

14:30-15:30

Panel 5: Surrogate Forces and Proxies in the Indo-Pacific Region

Moderator: Dr. Tom Dolan, Associate Professor, University of Central Florida

- Taiwan: Resilience and Preparation for Resistance

Mr. Will Irwin, JSOU

- Can the Philippines Address its Terrorist Challenge?

AMB Harry Thomas, USSOCOM

- North Korea: A Rogue Spoiler in Great Power Competition

COL (Ret) Dave Maxwell, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

15:30-15:45

End of day wrap-up

Thursday, May 6

TIME	EVENT
8:30 – 8:35	Welcome/Host Opening Remarks <i>BG (Ret) Russ Howard, JSOU</i>
8:35 – 9:45	Panel 6: Interests and Linkages Beyond the GCC <i>Moderator: Dr. Rebecca Patterson, Georgetown University</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China and SOUTHCOM <i>Dr. Evan Ellis, Army War College</i> • Central Asia: The New Great Game <i>Dr. Marlene Laruelle, George Washington University</i> • Closing the Gap: Security Cooperation and GPC <i>Dr. Derek Reveron, USNWC</i>
9:45–10:00	Break
10:00 – 11:00	Panel 7: Strategic Culture: Avoiding Mirror Imaging <i>Moderator: BG (Ret) Russ Howard, JSOU</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is China's Strategic Culture? <i>Dr. Alastair Iain Johnston, Harvard University</i> • Chinese Strategic Culture: Implications <i>Dr. Andrew Scobell, RAND</i> • Russian Strategic Culture <i>Dr. Dima Adamsky, IDC Herzliya</i>
11:00–11:15	Break
11:15–12:15	Panel 8: Future Force Capability, Capacity, and SOF Core Activities <i>Moderator: MCPO Brad Rhineland, PhD, JSOU</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How Do We Imagine SOF Utility Outside of the 12 Core Activities? <i>Dr. Dave Ellis, JSOU</i> • What Is the Utility of SOF In Complex Adaptive Systems? <i>Dr. Lilian “Doc” Alessa, JSOU</i> • How Do We Re-conceptualize Force Structure? Implications for Education and Force Generation <i>Mr. Charlie Black, JSOU</i>

12:15–13:15	Lunch Video <i>Graham Allison, “The Rise of China”</i>
13:15–14:00	Keynote Speech <i>BG Joshua Rudd, Commander Special Operations Command-Pacific</i>
14:00–14:15	Break
14:15–15:00	Roundtable “Epilogue as Prologue”— Forecasting Future Forums <i>Moderator: BG (Ret) Russ Howard, JSOU</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Dr. Isaiah “Ike” Wilson III, JSOU President</i> • <i>Dr. Amie Lonas; Dean, College of Special Operations/Low Intensity Conflict, Competition, and Cooperation, JSOU</i> • <i>Dr. Shannon Meade; Director, Institute for SOF Strategic Studies, JSOU</i> • <i>Mr. John Poucher; Director, Center for Adaptive and Innovative Statecraft, JSOU</i> • <i>MCPO Brad Rhineland; Deputy Commandant, Joint SOF Senior Enlisted Academy</i>
15:00–15:10	Forum Wrap-up <i>BG (Ret) Russ Howard, JSOU</i>



BIOGRAPHIES



Brigadier General (Ret) Russell Howard

Brigadier General (Ret) Russell Howard is a rancher and the president of Howard's Consulting Services. He is also a Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Joint Special Operations University. He currently consults for Audia Corporation in Washington, PA and has served as an advisor to several organizations including Laser Shot, in Houston, TX; Development Alternatives Incorporated in Bethesda, MD; and the Home Team Academy in

Singapore.

Previously BG Howard was the Director of the Jebson Center for Counterterrorism studies at the Fletcher School in Medford, MA. BG Howard retired from the Army as Head of the Department of Social Sciences and the founding director of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. His previous positions include Deputy Department Head of the Department of Social Sciences, Army Chief of Staff Fellow at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, and Commander of the 1st Special Forces Group (Airborne) at Fort Lewis, WA. Other past assignments include Assistant to the Special Representative to the Secretary General during UNOSOM II in Somalia, Deputy Chief of Staff for I Corps, and Chief of Staff and Deputy Commander for the Combined Joint Task Force Haiti/Haitian Advisory Group. Previously, General Howard was Commander of 3d Battalion, 1st Special Warfare Training Group (Airborne) at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. He also served as the Administrative Assistant to Admiral Stansfield Turner and as a Special Assistant to General Max Thurman, the Commander of SOUTHCOM.

As a newly commissioned officer, General Howard served as an "A" Detachment Commander in the 7th Special Forces Group from 1970 to 1972. He left the active component and then served in the U. S. Army Reserve from 1972 to 1980. During this period he served as an Overseas Manager, American International Underwriters, Melbourne, Australia, and China Tour Manager for Canadian Pacific Airlines. He was recalled to active duty in 1980, and served initially in Korea as an Infantry Company Commander. Subsequent assignments included Classified Project Officer, U.S. Army 1st Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg, and Operations Officer and Company Commander, 1st Battalion, 1st Special Forces Group in Okinawa, Japan.

BG Howard holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Industrial Management from San Jose State University, a Bachelor of Arts in Asian Studies from the University of Maryland, a Master of Arts degree in International Management from the

Monterey Institute of International Studies, and a Masters of Public Administration degree from Harvard University. BG Howard was a Senior Service College Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. He also did graduate and language studies at Taiwan's National Chengchi (Political and Economic) University in Taipei, Taiwan. BG Howard speaks Chinese (Mandarin) and German.



Dr. Dmitry (Dima) Adamsky

Dr. Dmitry (Dima) Adamsky is a Professor at the School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy at the IDC Herzliya University, Israel. His research interests include international security, cultural approach to IR, and American, Russian and Israeli national security policies. He has published on these topics in *Foreign Affairs*, *Security Studies*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Intelligence and National Security*, *Studies in Conflict*

and Terrorism, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Russian Analytical Digest*, *Washington Quarterly* and *Survival*. His books, *Operation Kavkaz* and *The Culture of Military Innovation* (Stanford UP), earned the annual (2006 and 2012) prizes for the best academic works on Israeli security. His last book, *Russian Nuclear Orthodoxy: Religion, Politics and Strategy* (Stanford UP), won the 2020 ISA best book award in the category of Religion and IR. His forthcoming book with Stanford UP is on Russian art of coercion.



Dr. Lilian "Doc" Alessa

Dr. Lilian "Doc" Alessa is a President's Professor at the University of Idaho and is Affiliate Faculty with The Texas A&M and George Mason University Systems. She has previously served as a Defense Intelligence Senior Level-equivalent Special Advisor for Advanced Data and Analytics, through an Intergovernmental Personnel Act (IPA) arrangement, with the Department of Defense. Additionally, she served as Deputy

Chief of Global Strategies with the Department of Homeland Security, Office of Strategy, Policy and Plans. She is currently Chief Scientist with Joint Special Operations University, also providing arctic expertise to the Department of Defense. She has over 25 years of experience working with Academic, Federal, State, Local, Tribal and Territorial partners (FSLTTP) across Canada and the United States, focused on national security, defense and the resilience of systems, people and communities.



Mr. Charlie Black

Mr. Charlie Black is the Co-Founder and Managing Partner of Xundis Global, LLC a niche trans-disciplinary consultancy focused on helping individuals and organizations successfully navigate complexity and change. He is a retired Marine Corps Officer with over 30 years of diverse experience in and out of uniform with conventional, special operations, interagency and international organizations. He currently serves

as a Non-Resident Fellow at Joint Special Operations University teaching and conducting research on the future of SOF. As a professional member of the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, he provides asymmetric capabilities and innovation expertise to national priority projects. He also serves as a board advisor to several private sector corporations.



Dr. Tom Dolan

Dr. Tom Dolan is an Associate Professor at the University of Central Florida. His main areas of research involve decision-making about war and conflict, intelligence, and insurgency, with particular focus on the role of emotion in leaders' wartime decisions about strategy, the use of WMDs, and war termination. His work on insurgency and intelligence is currently informed, to a large degree, by archival materials related to partic-

ipants in the World War II-era French resistance. He has published articles in *International Organization*, *Political Psychology*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Security Studies*, *the Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, and other journals.



Chief Warrant Officer Five "Duc" Duclos

Chief Warrant Officer Five "Duc" Duclos enlisted in the Army in 1985. Over his career he has been assigned to various positions in the 2nd Battalion of the 75th Ranger Regiment and the 1st Special Forces Group (Airborne) at JBLM Washington and Okinawa Japan. In addition to supporting numerous theater security cooperation activities across the Asia-Pacific Theater, Mr. DuClos deployed in support of multiple combat

operations including Panama, Somalia, Philippines, Afghanistan, and Iraq. After completion of graduate school Mr. DuClos was assigned to the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School as the Special Forces doctrine lead responsible for the development of numerous doctrinal publications including the Army and Joint Unconventional Warfare doctrine and Special Forces operations manual. He completed his PhD course work in Social Psychology with a focus on civil resistance and revolution. In 2015 he returned to the 1st Special Forces Group in Ft, Lewis, Washington where he was selected to serve as the

Group Command Chief Warrant Officer. He helped stand up the Joint Task Force INDO-PACOM in Singapore focused specifically on synchronizing GPC efforts in the region. Mr. DuClos is currently assigned to USSOCOM working on several command initiatives including advising on the implementation of the tasks recommended in the 2020 SOCOM comprehensive review.



Dr. David Dudas

Dr. Dave Dudas is a national security professional and educator with a concentrated focus on irregular warfare at the nexus of policy, strategy, and operational implementation. He served as a special advisor in the Commander's Action and Initiatives Group, U.S. Central Command, Tampa, FL, under Generals David Petraeus, James Mattis, and Lloyd Austin. He was an Associate Dean of Curriculum and Associate Professor

at the College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University, Washington, DC. In this role, he instructed U.S. and International Counterterrorism Fellows to understand and address the social, political, economic, and security dynamics that shape today's threat environment. At West Point, Dave was an Assistant Professor of International Relations and was Executive Officer for the Superintendent's Annual Leadership Conference. He has published several articles including "Nature of the Public Diplomacy Challenge," "Eisenhower National Security Studies," and co-authored a book chapter, "Recanting the Ghosts of Vietnam," in *Handbook of Defense Politics* (Routledge). Dave is a frequent speaker in the U.S. and abroad on international affairs, counterterrorism, and leadership.



Dr. David C. Ellis

Dr. David C. Ellis is a Resident Senior Fellow at JSOU (government contractor employed by METIS Solutions). He holds a doctorate in international relations and comparative politics from the University of Florida. Dr. Ellis's research on democratization and development in identity conflict spans over two decades. His interests in peacekeeping, conflict resolution, development, and atrocity in ethnic conflict focused

his doctoral research on identity, social movements, organization and social learning theory, and economic growth theory. Dr. Ellis served as an intelligence analyst in the USSOCOM J2, deployed to Afghanistan in support of Special Operations Forces from 2010–2011, and joined JSOU in 2016. His current research focuses on the intersection of complexity, organizational learning within the special operations community, and integrated campaigning.



Dr. Evan Ellis

Dr. Evan Ellis is a research professor of Latin American Studies at the U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, with a focus on the region's relationships with China and other non-Western Hemisphere actors, as well as transnational organized crime and populism in the region. Dr. Ellis has published over 280 works, including the 2009 book, *China in Latin America: The Whats and Wherefores*; the 2013 book, *The Strategic*

Dimension of Chinese Engagement with Latin America; the 2014 book, *China on the Ground in Latin America*; and the 2018 book, *Transnational Organized Crime in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Dr. Ellis previously served on the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff (S/P) with responsibility for Latin America and the Caribbean (WHA), as well as International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) issues. In his academic capacity, Dr. Ellis presented his work in a broad range of business and government forums in 27 countries four continents. He has given testimony on Latin America security issues to the US Congress on various occasions, has discussed his work regarding China and other external actors in Latin America on a broad range of radio and television programs, and is cited regularly in the print media in both the US and Latin America for his work in this area. Dr. Ellis has also been awarded the Order of Military Merit José María Córdova by the Colombian government for his scholarship on security issues in the region.



Dr. Andrew Erickson

Dr. Andrew Erickson is a professor of strategy in the U.S. Naval War College (NWC)'s China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI). He helped to establish CMSI in 2006, and has subsequently played an integral role in its development. Since 2008, Erickson has been an associate in research at Harvard's Fairbank Center. He has taught courses at NWC and Yonsei University, and advises student research and provides curricular inputs

at NWC and elsewhere. He helped to establish, and to escort the first iteration of, NWC's first bilateral student exchange in China, which he continues to support. For over a decade, Erickson has managed NWC's scholarly research relationship with Japanese counterparts.



Dr. Joe Felter

Dr. Joe Felter is the former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for South and Southeast Asia. Dr. Felter served as the principal advisor to senior Department leadership for all policy matters pertaining to development and implementation of defense strategies and plans for the region. He was responsible for managing the bilateral security relationships with nations of the region and guiding DoD engagement with multilat-

eral institutions. Prior to joining OSD, Dr. Felter held teaching and research appointments at Stanford University's Center for International Security and

Cooperation, the Hoover Institution and the Stanford Technology Ventures Program. At Stanford, he was Co-Director of the Empirical Studies of Conflict Project and Director of the Hacking for Defense Project. His previous academic positions include Director of West Point's Combating Terrorism Center, Assistant Professor in the US Military Academy's Department of Social Sciences, and adjunct Associate Professor at Columbia University's School for International and Public Affairs. His research focuses on counterinsurgency and counterterrorism and has appeared in top peer reviewed academic journals and a range of other publications. Dr. Felter is co-author of *Small Wars, Big Data: The Information Revolution and Modern Conflict* forthcoming at Princeton University Press. A former US Army Special Forces and Foreign Area Officer, Dr. Felter served in a variety of special operations and diplomatic assignments. As a Special Forces A-Team Leader and Company Commander, he conducted Foreign Internal Defense and Security Assistance missions throughout East and Southeast Asia.



Dr. Sumit Ganguly

Dr. Sumit Ganguly is a Distinguished Professor of Political Science and holds the Rabindranath Tagore Chair in Indian Cultures and Civilizations at Indiana University, Bloomington. A specialist on the international and comparative politics of South Asia, he is the author, co-author, editor or co-editor of at least twenty books on the region. His two most recent books are *Deadly Impasse: India and Pakistan at the Dawn of a*

New Century (Cambridge, 2016)) and with William R. Thompson, *Ascending India and Its State Capacity* (Yale University Press, 2017). In 2018-2019 he was an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow at the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg. Professor Ganguly is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is also a columnist for *Foreign Policy.com*.



Dr. Nikolas Gvosdev

Dr. Nikolas Gvosdev is the Editor of *Orbis*, Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI) Journal of World Affairs and a Senior Fellow in FPRI Eurasia Program. He is also a Professor of National Security Affairs, holding the Captain Jerome E. Levy Chair in Economic Geography and National Security at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. Dr. Gvosdev holds a DPhil from St. Antony's College, Oxford University.



LTC (Ret) Kelly Joseph Hicks

LTC (Ret) Kelly Hicks received a commission upon graduation from college and subsequently served as an Officer in US Army Special Forces. His service of 21 years included assignments as a company commander in Korea; and as an A-Team leader operating in Latin America, Korea, Okinawa Japan, Philippines, Thailand and Hong Kong. Following completion of Chinese language studies at the MOD-UK language school in Hong Kong, and a Master's degree in China-US relations at Harvard University, LTC (Ret) Hicks taught a graduate level course in Asia Regional Studies, then commanded the Special Operations Language School, Special Warfare Training Center at Fort Bragg. Following Command and Staff College he served as Operations Officer for 1st Special Forces Group, coordinating counter-narcotics operations in Asia and at the US Southern Border, with DEA and others, until his selection for the Defense Attaché System in 1995. From 1995 to 2000, LTC (Ret) Hicks served as the Assistant Army Attaché and Army Attaché in Hong Kong, during the period prior and subsequent to Hong Kong's return to Chinese Sovereignty. Upon retirement from the Army, LTC (Ret) Hicks worked for 18 years as an Executive Director in Security, Crisis Management and Business Continuity, first for Goldman Sachs Hong Kong, then Deutsche Bank on Wall Street, then Verizon (internationally) through 2018. LTC (Ret) Hicks now resides in the Tampa, FL area, teaching a seminar course on "China as a Global Competitor" at the Joint Special Operations University, Tampa; as well as consulting in the areas of anti-fraud, cyber security and physical security for China/Asia and Latin America.



Mr. Will Irwin

Mr. Will Irwin is a professor of practice in the JSOU Institute for Strategic Studies and a retired U.S. Army Special Forces officer. He has served as an Arroyo Center Research Fellow at the RAND Corporation and as a visiting lecturer at the Naval Postgraduate School. Mr. Irwin is the author of two books—*Abundance of Valor* and *The Jedburghs*—as well as several classified and unclassified articles and papers. He currently writes on resistance and unconventional warfare.



Dr. Alastair Iain Johnston

Dr. Alastair Iain Johnston (PhD, University of Michigan, 1993) is a professor in the Government Department at Harvard University. He has written on identity and foreign policy, strategic culture, as well as arms control and crisis management, mostly with application to the study of China's foreign policy. He is the author of *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) and *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).



Mr. Robert C. Jones

Mr. Robert Jones is a retired U.S. Army Special Forces Colonel; a former Deputy District Attorney; and the senior strategist at U.S. Special Operations Command. Currently serving as a member of the SOCOM J5 Donovan Strategic Initiatives Group, Mr. Jones is responsible for leading innovative thinking on the strategic environment and how it impacts factors critical to national security; such as the evolving character of

conflict, deterrence in competition and societal stability. He also serves as the Strategic Advisor to the Director of Plans, Policy and Strategy.



Dr. Marlene Laruelle

Marlene Laruelle, PhD, is Director and Research Professor at the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University. Dr. Laruelle is also Director of the Illiberalism Studies Program and a Co-Director of PONARS (Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia). Dr. Laruelle received her PhD in history at the National

Institute of Oriental Languages and Cultures (INALCO) and her post-doctoral degree in political science at Sciences-Po in Paris. She is Senior Associate Scholar at IFRI, the French Institute for International Relations. She has been the Principal Investigator of several grants from the State Department, the Defense Department (Minerva), the National Science Foundation, Open Society Foundations, Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Henry Luce Foundation, etc.



Dr. Amie Lonas

As the Dean, College of SO/LIC3, Dr. Amie Lonas serves as the executive head of the teaching faculty and as the chief of academic affairs for Joint Special Operations University (JSOU). She is responsible for the content and quality of the College's curricula, to include the currency, relevancy and pedagogical innovation in all courses and modalities. Prior to arriving at JSOU, Dr. Lonas served as the Dean of Faculty and

Academic Programs at the Joint Forces Staff College, overseeing two JPME II programs, one of which awarded a master's degree. Dr. Lonas previously served as the Director of Schools for Franklin County, Tennessee and prior to this position, she served for five years at JSOU where she held the position of Dean of Academics and acting Vice President for Academic Affairs. A native of Dayton, Tennessee, Dr. Lonas completed her Doctor of Education at Vanderbilt University, specializing in Educational Leadership. Dr. Lonas also served as an Air Force officer in the Tennessee Air National Guard.



Dr. Christopher Marsh

Dr. Chris Marsh is director of the department of research and analysis in the Institute of SOF Strategic Studies at the Joint Special Operations University, US-SOCOM. He conducts research on global special operations forces with a particular focus on Russian SOF, including strategy and foreign policy. He also serves as editor of *Special Operations Journal*, published by Routledge. Prior to joining JSOU, Marsh was a Professor of

National Security and Strategic Studies at the U.S. Army School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS). Dr. Marsh holds a PhD in political science from the University of Connecticut, in addition to having completed graduate study at Moscow State University. He conducted much of his dissertation research at the Russian Academy of Science, and later was a post-doctoral fellow at the Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs at Boston University. Dr. Marsh was also a visiting fellow at Tsinghua University (Beijing) in 2001, where he conducted research on political and social change in China. Dr. Marsh is the author of five books, including *Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors, and Sectors*, co-authored with Nikolas Gvosdev of the Naval War College. Dr. Marsh has also published more than 70 journal articles and chapters in edited collections.



COL (Ret) David Maxwell

COL (Ret) David Maxwell is a Senior Fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. He is a 30-year veteran of the US Army retiring in 2011 as a Special Forces Colonel with his final assignment serving on the military faculty teaching national security strategy at the National War College. He has spent more than 20 years in Asia with 3 years on the Korean DMZ and served on the United Nations Command/

Combined Forces Command/United States Forces Korea CJ3 staff where he was a planner and co-author on operation and concept plans. COL Maxwell later served as the Director of Plans, Policy, and Strategy (J5) and the Chief of Staff for Special Operations Command Korea (SOCKOR). He is a fellow at the Institute of Corean-American Studies (ICAS) and on the Board of Advisors for Spirit of America. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea (HRNK), the International Council of Korean Studies (ICKS), the Council of US Korean Security Studies (CUSKOSS), the Small Wars Journal, and the OSS Society. He teaches a graduate course, "Unconventional Warfare and Special Operations for Policy Makers and Strategists".



Dr. Shannon Meade

Dr. Meade is the Director for the Institute of SOF Strategic Studies at the Joint Special Operations University. He leads a fifteen-person team providing SOF focused research, analysis, publication, and outreach for the Joint SOF Community. In 2010, Dr. Meade retired as a Lieutenant Colonel after 23 years of service as a commissioned officer in the U.S. Air Force where he spent the first decade of his career as a navigator, flying

the KC-135A/Q Stratotanker and the AC-130U Spooky Gunship. Dr. Meade's non-flying assignments included positions as the Chief of the Special Operations Training Branch for the USAF Special Operations School Chief of Officer Assignments for Pacific Air Forces. He commanded an Air Force Detachment supporting Joint Undergraduate Flying training with the Navy at NAS Pensacola FL. Followed by another Air Education and Training tour where Dr. Meade served as Professor of Aerospace Studies (Detachment 505) at New Mexico State University. Dr. Meade's last two active duty assignments were back with special operations. The first as Chief of the Personnel Services Division for Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) and his final tour was as Deputy Director of Special Operations Legislative Affairs for USSOCOM.



Dr. Anit Mukherjee

Dr. Anit Mukherjee is Deputy Head of Graduate Studies, and an Associate Professor in the South Asia Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. He is the author of *The Absent Dialogue: Politicians, Bureaucrats, and the Military in India* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2019). He joined RSIS after a post doctorate at the Centre for the Advanced Study

of India (CASI), University of Pennsylvania and a PhD from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University. From 2010-2012, he was a Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. While in the doctoral program, he worked at the Brookings Institution and was a Summer Associate at RAND Corporation. He is also the co-editor (with Rajesh Basrur and TV Paul) of *India-China Maritime Competition: The Security Dilemma at Sea* (Routledge, 2019) and (with C. Raja Mohan) of *India's Naval Strategy and Asian Security* (Routledge, 2015). He has published in *Armed Forces & Society*, *Asian Security*, *Asia Policy*, *The New York Times*, and *The Caravan*, among others. His article titled "Fighting Separately: Jointness and Civil-Military Relations in India" was awarded the 2017 Amos Perlmutter prize by *The Journal of Strategic Studies*. Formerly, he was a Major in the Indian Army and is an alumnus of India's National Defence Academy (NDA), Khadakwasla.



Ms. Margaret J. Nenchek

Ms. Nenchek has been working in the security field for over 15 years. A graduate of the United States Military Academy, she served as a U.S. Army Intelligence Officer and deployed to both Iraq and Afghanistan. After serving on active duty, Margaret has worked in a several positions in both the private and public sectors. She has completed a variety of Defense and Army courses in the security and intelligence disciplines and

holds a master's degree in Security Studies from Georgetown University. She currently resides in Stuttgart, Germany, where she works for a private company, providing strategic analysis and executive communications support for a U.S. government customer.



Dr. David P. Oakley

Dr. Dave Oakley is a faculty member at JSOU with a focus on strategic and operational intelligence. Dave is a retired military officer with over twenty-two years as a national security practitioner and scholar in the U.S. Army (Field Artillery officer and strategist) and Intelligence Community (Staff Operations Officer in the CIA's Directorate of Operations and Contractor in NCTC's Directorate of Strategic Operational Planning).

He was an assistant professor at National Defense University in Washington, DC (2016-2021) where he taught classes on irregular warfare, homeland security, and strategy. He has a PhD in Security Studies from Kansas State University, an MPA from the University of Oklahoma, a Master of Military Arts and Science (MMAS) from the School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS), an MMAS from the Army's Command and General Staff College, and a BA from Pittsburg State University. Dave's research focus is on intelligence and interagency collaboration. His book, *Subordinating Intelligence: The DoD/CIA Post-Cold War Relationship*, was published by the University Press of Kentucky in 2019.



LTC (Ret) Rebecca D. Patterson

LTC (Ret) Rebecca D. Patterson, PhD, is the Associate Director of the Center for Security Studies and the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University and Professor of the Practice of International Affairs in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. She is the author of *The Challenge of Nation-Building: Implementing Effective Innovation in the U.S. Army from World War II to the Iraq War*. Previously, she served as

the Deputy Director in the Office of Peace Operations, Sanctions, and Counter Terrorism at the Department of State. A retired U.S. Army officer with more than 22 years of experience, she served in overseas assignments in Thailand, Korea, Iraq, and Afghanistan. She holds a PhD from The George Washington

University in National Security Policy, a B.S. in Economics from United States Military Academy at West Point, and is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Mr. John Poucher

Mr. John Poucher has been with Joint Special Operations University (JSOU) since May 2011. Prior to JSOU, Mr. Poucher was Vice Commander 23rd Air Force and Deputy A-3 Headquarters Air Force Special Operations Command (AFSOC). He retired from active duty service May 2011 with the rank of Colonel after serving thirty years with the US Air Force and twenty-five years with Special Operations. Mr. Poucher's 30 years military experiences included eighteen years overseas with tours in PACOM, EUCOM, SOUTHCOM, and CENTCOM as well as several NEOs in Africa. His combat tours included Desert Shield/Storm, Operation Provide Promise (Bosnia), Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan), and Operation Iraqi Freedom (Iraq). Colonel Poucher's joint duties included two tours at SOCSOUTH (J-5 & COS) and two deployments on the SOCCENT staff. Mr. Poucher has a bachelor's degree in Economics from the University of Florida, a Master of Strategic Studies Degree from the US Army War College and a master's degree in International Relations from the University of Oklahoma.



Dr. Derek S. Reveron

Dr. Derek S. Reveron is chair of the National Security Affairs Department at the Naval War College and is a faculty affiliate at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School. He specializes in strategy development, non-state security challenges and U.S. defense policy. He has testified before the House Armed Services Committee and published articles and books on security cooperation. As a serving officer in the Navy Reserve, he has commanded units in support of U.S. European Command, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, U.S. Southern Command and U.S. Naval Forces Central Command.



Master Chief Petty Officer (SEAL) Bradley W. Rhinelander, PhD

Master Chief Petty Officer (SEAL) Bradley W. Rhinelander, PhD is the Deputy Commandant, Joint Special Operations University Enlisted Academy, United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM). Since joining the Navy in 1994, he has operated and led diverse teams at the tactical, operational, and theater levels; most recently, he served as the Senior Enlisted Advisor for USSOCOM's Comprehensive Review. He is a graduate of the U.S. Navy Senior Enlisted Academy, the Joint Special Operations Forces Senior Enlisted Academy, and the U.S. Army

Sergeants Major Academy. He holds a Master of Arts degree in Organizational Leadership, an international graduate certificate in Armed Conflict and Crisis Management, and a PhD in Public Policy. His doctoral research, “Special Operations Forces Culture and Implications for Interagency Collaboration,” examined the SOF and Department of State cultures in the context of collaboration in East Africa.



Dr. Andrew Scobell

Dr. Andrew Scobell is a senior political scientist at the non-profit non-partisan RAND Corporation. His publications include: *Chairman Xi Remakes the PLA* (National Defense University Press, 2019), *PLA Influence on China's National Security Policymaking* (Stanford University Press, 2015), *China's Search for Security* (Columbia University Press, 2012) and *China's Use of Military Force* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). He earned a doctorate from Columbia University. Scobell was born and raised in Hong Kong and prior to COVID-19 made regular research trips to China.



Mr. DeVan J. Shannon

Mr. DeVan J. Shannon, LTC (R), is a METIS/PAE contracted faculty member of the Department of Sensitive Activities, in the Center for Adaptive and Innovative Statecraft (CAIS), Joint Special Operations University (JSOU), United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM), MacDill AFB, FL. A retired Special Forces Officer, Mr. Shannon offers more than 21 years of military expertise, 17 years served in Special Forces Operational Detachments-Alpha through each level of the Special Forces and Joint SOF community and retired as the lead for the USSOCOM Certification, Verification, and Validation (CV2) team, in the J-3 Operations Directorate. Prior to his retirement, Mr. Shannon served in several key leadership and operational roles in support of sensitive activities and operations in uncertain, often ambiguous working environments and combat zones as a Special Forces Operational Detachment Commander, Battalion assistant operations officer, company commander, for 1st Special Forces Group, Future Operations officer for JSOTF-P responsible for all planning, interagency coordination, and sensitive activities, CJSOTF-I SWPD CDR for the reestablishment of SA for CJSOTF-I and SOJTF-I in 2015, the SOCPAC Future Operations lead for Great Power Competition, and principle SOF advisor to the Mongolian General Staff while serving as the PACOM Augmentation Team Leader.



Brig. Gen. David G. "Baja" Shoemaker

Brig. Gen. David G. "Baja" Shoemaker is the Deputy Director for Operations, Headquarters, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, Camp H.M. Smith, Hawaii. As the Deputy Director for Operations, he is the deputy principal military operations advisor to USINDOPACOM Commander for joint/combined military operations in USINDOPACOM. In this position, he monitors the disposition and readiness of assigned U.S. forces

and allies, conducts joint/combined training, and recommends employment options during crisis or contingency.



LTC Scott A. Smitson

LTC Scott A. Smitson, PhD, is an Army Strategist who most recently served in the U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) J5 as the Strategy Branch Chief. He previously served in the Joint Staff J8, responsible for overseeing numerous efforts related to Global Integration, and was the Director of the Chairman's Net Assessment on Iran. From 2014-2016 he was a member of the US CENTCOM Commander's Action Group

(CAG), where he served as a Strategic Advisor for key theater-strategic issues and initiatives. His operational experiences include deployments in support of Operations Southern Watch and Iraqi Freedom, service as the UN Commander's representative for Armistice issues in the Korean DMZ, and Company Command in 2nd Infantry Division. From 2013-2014, he was a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow (CFR IAF) where he served as a US-UK Strategic Planner in the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence.

LTC Smitson served as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at the United States Military Academy from 2010-2013, and was an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University's Security Studies Program in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. LTC Smitson earned a Joint PhD in Political Science and Public Policy from Indiana University's School of Environmental and Public Affairs (SPEA) as well as a MA in Political Science. He was a Distinguished Military Graduate at the Ohio State University. His publications include *The Road to Good Intentions: British Nation-Building in Aden* (NDU Press) "An American in Her Majesty's Ministry of Defence" (War on the Rocks), "Solving America's Gray-Zone Puzzle" (Parameters), and "After Mosul: Enlarging the Context of the Syria-Iraq Conflict(s)" (New America).



Ambassador Harry K. Thomas Jr.

Ambassador Harry K. Thomas Jr. is a Senior Fellow at Yale University's Jackson Institute for Global Affairs and a Senior Strategic Engagement Leader at Special Operations Command. He served as ambassador to Zimbabwe (2016-2018), the Philippines (2010-2013) and Bangladesh (2003-2005). He retired in March 2018 with the rank of Career Minister after more than three

decades in the Foreign Service. Ambassador Thomas also served as Executive Secretary and Special Assistant to Secretary Rice, Director General of the Foreign Service, Director for South Asia at the National Security Council and Director of the Operations Center. Ambassador Thomas speaks Spanish, Hindi, and Bangla. He is a graduate of the College of the Holy Cross and holds a master's degree from Columbia University. He was the Commencement Speaker at Holy Cross and Loyola University. He is a Trustee of the College of the Holy Cross, the American Academy of Diplomacy, Care for the Homeless, the Asia Foundation and, Chairperson of Winter4Kids and is a former Northern Virginia Swimming Official.



Dr. Robert Tomlinson

Dr. Tomlinson is an Associate Professor in the National Security Affairs (NSA) department of the Naval War College at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. He received his BA from the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts. He holds Masters Degrees from Golden Gate University, San Francisco in Public Administration, and California State University, Northridge in Modern Middle Eastern

History and a PhD in Modern Middle Eastern History and National Security Policy from Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, California. His area of study is Shi'a representation in Lebanon.



Dr. Yuval Weber

Yuval Weber, PhD, holds a dual appointment as the Bren Chair of Russian Military and Political Strategy at the Krulak Center (Marine Corps University) and as a Research Assistant Professor at the Bush School of Government and Public Service (Texas A&M University, Washington, DC learning site). Prior affiliations include Kennan Institute, Harvard University, Higher School of Economics (Moscow, RU) and Carnegie

Moscow Centre. His current research project is on the political economy of market-oriented reform in Russia since the late Tsarist period and will be published in 2021 by Agenda/Columbia University Press. Dr. Weber's subsequent research project is on hierarchy in international affairs and evaluates the material influence great powers exert on subordinate states along numerous indicators in the DIME categories. The latter project is funded by the Minerva Research Initiative (Department of Defense). Please visit <https://bush.tamu.edu/faculty/yweber/> for links to the already published materials from that project.



Dr. Isaiah (Ike) Wilson III, PhD

Dr. Isaiah (Ike) Wilson III, PhD is the President of the Joint Special Operations University (JSOU). He is a master strategist and a leading advocate for change in America's concepts of and approaches to security and defense policy, and affairs of war and peace. A decorated combat veteran, former army aviator, and strategist, he most recently served as Director (Chief), Commander's Initiatives Group, for the Commander, U.S. Central Command. A full professor of political science, Dr. Wilson formerly served as a professor and academic program director at West Point, where he also founded the West Point Grand Strategy Program. He has also taught extensively at the undergraduate and graduate levels at a number of prestigious colleges and universities, including Columbia University, Yale University, George Washington University, and the National War College. Prior to his appointment with U.S. Special Operations Command, Dr. Wilson was the Director of the U.S. Army War College (USAWC) Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) and USAWC Press. Dr. Wilson has numerous publications to his credit, including, *Thinking Beyond War: Civil-Military Relations and Why America Fails to Win the Peace*. Dr. Wilson is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations and an International Affairs Fellow with New America. He also serves as a professor of practice with the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University.



Dr. Elizabeth Wishnick

Dr. Elizabeth Wishnick is Professor of Political Science at Montclair State University and Senior Research Scholar at the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University. Since 2017, Dr. Wishnick has been a Senior Research Scientist in the China and Indo-Pacific Studies Division at CNA. Her book project, *China's Risk: Oil, Water, Food and Regional Security* (forthcoming Columbia University Press) addresses the security consequences of energy, water and food risks in China for its Eurasian neighbors, a topic she explores in a related policy blog, www.chinasresource-risks.com. Dr. Wishnick is known for her research on Sino-Russian relations and China's Arctic strategy. She is the author of *Mending Fences: The Evolution of Moscow's China Policy from Brezhnev to Yeltsin* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001, 2014), articles on Chinese and Russian foreign policy, and studies for the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College on Afghanistan, Central Asia, and the Arctic. She received a PhD in Political Science from Columbia University, an M.A. in Russian and East European Studies from Yale University, and a B.A. from Barnard College. She speaks Chinese, Russian, and French and spent five months in Vladivostok, Russia and Shanghai, China as a part of a Fulbright Global Scholar award in 2018-19. She was previously a Fulbright lecturer in Hong Kong (2002-03) and a visiting scholar at the Academia Sinica in Taiwan (1995-96) as well as at various U.S. institutions (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, East-West Center, Hoover Institution, and Harvard University's Davis Center).



Brigadier General Joshua M. Rudd

Brigadier General Joshua M. Rudd most recently served as the Deputy Commanding General—Operations for the 25th Infantry Division at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii. In this role, he oversaw 29,000 soldiers, family members, retirees, civilians and contractors. He provided operational oversight for the planning and execution of current and future operations, training, contingency response requirements, readiness exercises, and Theater Security Cooperation Plans in support of the USINDOPACOM Commander's objectives. His other flag assignment includes Deputy Commanding General, 1st Special Forces Command (Airborne). Brigadier General Rudd was born in Southern California and grew up in South Carolina. He graduated from Furman University in 1993 after earning his commission through ROTC. He entered active duty as a Quartermaster Officer, and in 1996 he successfully completed Special Forces Assessment and Selection. As a Special Forces Officer he has commanded at every echelon, from ODA to Group. Most recent Command Assignments include: Commander JIATF-NCR (2017-2018), Commander of a Forward Deployed Combined Joint Special Operations Task Force (2017-2018), and Commander 3rd Operations Support Group (2015-2017), Commander of a Forward Deployed Combined Joint Task Force (2015-2017). Brigadier General Rudd has deployed in support of multiple combat operations including to Afghanistan for Operation Enduring Freedom, and Iraq and Jordan for Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation New Dawn, and Operation Inherent Resolve. Brigadier General Rudd has completed the following military schools: US Army War College, Fellowship at Duke University, Naval Command and Staff College, Infantry Officer Advanced Course, and Quartermaster Officer Basic Course. He holds a M.A. in Strategy and National Security from the Naval War College and a B.A. in Political Science from Furman University. He is authorized to wear the following awards and decorations: Defense Superior Service Medal (2nd award), Legion of Merit (3rd award), Bronze Star Medal (3rd award), Combat Infantryman Badge, Special Forces Tab, Ranger Tab, Military Free Fall Jumpmaster Badge and Combat Diver Supervisor Badge.

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