



**MODERATED BY**  
INSS SENIOR FELLOW MICHAEL MIKLAUCIC



# INSS SPEAKER SERIES

**PRESENTED BY**  
THE NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY

2020-2021





# THE NATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IS CHANGING



The global order is undergoing tectonic shifts. With these shifts come extraordinary dangers, as well as opportunities. Great power competition, hybrid and gray zone conflict, weaponization of new technologies, terrorism and fragile states, climate change, and global pandemics: These are among the issues that the National Defense University's flagship journal of national and international security, PRISM, tracks. This speaker series, initiated in May 2020, presents diverse perspectives on these vital issues for 21st century security from thought leaders in the policymaking, practitioner, and academic communities. The series weaves together three related lines of effort; 1) Geoeconomics, 2) Great Power Competition, and 3) Innovation and Emerging, Disruptive Technologies. The INSS Speaker Series supports NDU faculty in their efforts to adapt instruction and curriculum to the rapidly evolving national security environment, and enhance the educational experience of the NDU Class of 2020/21.

# THE GEO- ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF GREAT POWER COMPETITION

with Carolyn Bartholomew  
and  
William Overholt



What are the fundamentals of geoeconomics, and what drives geoeconomic competitions? In [this seminar](#), Ms. Bartholomew explains the overlap between national security and economics, particularly with regard to China's growing economic strength. Mr. Overholt demonstrates how great power competition, particularly between the U.S. and China, centers around economics. In addition, Bartholomew and Overholt discuss 5G, the impact of COVID-19, and China's state-owned enterprises.

**Carolyn Bartholomew** is chairman of the Congressional U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Bartholomew has served as counsel, legislative director and chief of staff to current House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and as a professional staff member on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Bartholomew's expertise is in U.S.-China relations, including trade, human rights and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. She has also worked on the establishment and funding of global AIDS programs and the promotion of human rights and democratization in countries around the world.

**William Overholt** is a Senior Research Fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government's Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government and Principal of AsiaStrat LLC, a consulting firm. Overholt's research and consulting work focuses on Asian development, politics, economics, business strategy and investment strategy. He previously served as Director of the RAND Corp's Center for Asia Pacific Policy, the Head of Strategy and Economics at Nomura International and as Director of Hudson Research Services at the Hudson Institute. He is the author and co-author of nine books.



# GEOECONOMICS AND THE EMERGING WORLD ORDER

with Dr. Joseph E. Stiglitz

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How does the changing global economy impact U.S. national security? What is the future of globalization and trade? In this seminar, Nobel Prize-winner Dr. Joseph E. Stiglitz emphasizes the economic dimension of national power. Stiglitz calls for trust and cooperation with international partners, but notes that growing inequality diminishes respect for the U.S. economy. Stiglitz discusses the factors of a strong national economy, sustainability, resilience, competition with China, and international trade agreements.

**Joseph Stiglitz** is professor at Columbia University and a leading economic expert and public policy analyst. He received the Nobel Prize in Economics in 2001 for his work on markets with asymmetric information. Stiglitz formerly served as senior vice president and chief economist of the World Bank and as the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under the Clinton administration. In 2011, Stiglitz was named one of the 100 most influential people in the world by Time magazine.

# THE POWER OF THE U.S. DOLLAR

with Jacob J. Lew



What benefits does holding the world's reserve currency grant the U.S.? How will increased economic diversification in other countries impact the U.S.'s global financial role? In this session, Jacob J. Lew looks at the dollar as a tool for U.S. national security. Lew analyzes the use, effectiveness, and strategic effect of sanctions regimes in Iran, Russia, Venezuela, and North Korea and considers the future of global currencies.

**Jacob J. Lew** was the Secretary of the Treasury in the Obama administration. He also served as Obama's White House Chief of Staff, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget under the Obama and Clinton administrations, and the Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources in the Obama administration. As Special Assistant to President Clinton, he helped design Americorps. He has also worked as the executive vice president and chief operating officer at New York University and managing director and chief operating officer at two Citigroup business units.



# AMERICA AND THE WORLD: A HISTORY OF U.S. DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY

with Robert Zoellick  
&  
David Petraeus

What lessons can American diplomatic history teach modern policymakers? In this session, General (Ret.) David joins Robert Zoellick to discuss Zoellick's new book. From Benjamin Franklin's negotiations in Paris to William Seward's Civil War diplomacy to Vannevar Bush's incorporation of science and technology into foreign policy, Zoellick explores different ideas in American foreign policy. In addition, Zoellick and Petraeus answer questions regarding diplomacy with China today.

**Robert Zoellick** is the former president of the World Bank, nominated by President George W. Bush. Under his presidency, during which the 2008-2009 global financial crisis struck. Under the Bush administration, Zoellick also served as the Deputy Secretary of State and the U.S. Trade Representative.

He is currently a Senior Fellow at Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

**General (Ret.) David Petraeus** is a former U.S. Army general. In the Army, he served as commander of the NATO International Security Assistance Force and commander of the U.S. Forces Afghanistan. Petraeus previously served as Commander of U.S. Central Command and Commanding General of the Multi-National Force - Iraq. After his army service, Petraeus was Director of the CIA. Currently, Petraeus is a Visiting Fellow at Yale University's Jackson Institute and Co-Chairman of the Global Advisory Council at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.

# AMERICAN BUSINESSES AND GREAT POWER COMPETITION

with Joseph Votel

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What role can American businesses play in promoting national security? How can the government apply private sector best practices and lessons to national security? In this session, General Votel draws on lessons from the Cold War to illustrate the responsibility of American businesses to support government strategies during this time of great power competition. Votel also discusses the importance of dialogue between the government and the private sector.

**General Joseph Votel** is a retired four-star general from the United States Army. He served as Commander of U.S. Central Command and Commander of the U.S. Special Operations Command and the Joint Special Operations Command. Today, Votel is President and CEO of Business Executives for National Security, a nonprofit for business executives to offer expertise to the U.S. national security community.



# ECONOMICS, DIPLOMACY, AND GREAT POWER COMPETITION

with Robert Zoellick



What themes and trends define the U.S.-China relationship? In this session, Zoellick draws on history to explore the evolution of competition between the U.S. and China. Looking at the present-day relationship, Zoellick considers perceptions of China and offers recommendations for U.S. policy towards China. Zoellick also discusses Chinese globalization and China's defensive mindset.

**Robert Zoellick** is the former president of the World Bank, nominated by President George W. Bush. Under his presidency, during which the 2008-2009 global financial crisis struck, the World Bank increased financial commitments to help countries respond to both the financial crisis and a world food crisis. Zoellick also increased Bank capital and voting power of developing countries. Under the Bush administration, Zoellick also served as the Deputy Secretary of State and the U.S. Trade Representative.

He is currently a Senior Fellow at Harvard's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

# GEOECONOMICS AND GREAT POWER COMPETITION

with David Petraeus

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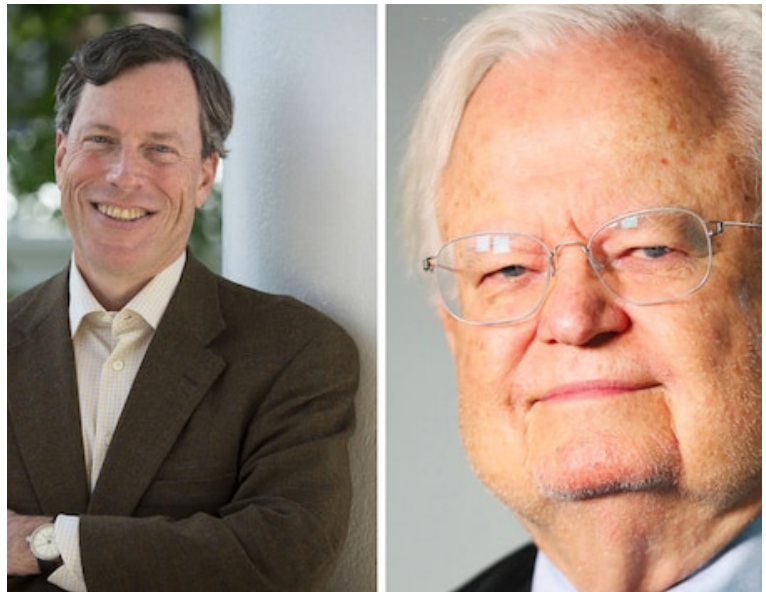
How should the U.S. use international norms and institutions to compete better with China? In [this seminar](#), General (Ret.) Petraeus argues that the competition between the U.S. and China focuses around governmental and international systems. Petraeus discusses increasing international cooperation, the relationship between the U.S. government and national technology firms, and foreign economic activity in developing countries.

**General (Ret.) David Petraeus** is a former U.S. Army general. In the Army, he served as commander of the NATO International Security Assistance Force and commander of the U.S. Forces Afghanistan. Petraeus previously served as Commander of U.S. Central Command and Commanding General of the Multi-National Force - Iraq. After his army service, Petraeus was Director of the CIA. Currently, Petraeus is a Visiting Fellow at Yale University's Jackson Institute, Co-Chairman of the Global Advisory Council at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Senior Vice President of the Royal United Services Institute and a member of the Trilateral Commission.

# THE UNITED STATES, CHINA, AND TAIWAN: A STRATEGY TO PREVENT WAR

with Robert D. Blackwill and Philip Zelikow

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What are the U.S.'s strategic objectives and national interests in Taiwan? In [this discussion](#), led by NDU CEO and President James Schmeling, Robert Blackwill and Philip Zelikow consider policy prescriptions for the U.S. relationships with both Taiwan and China. Blackwill and Zelikow explore the history of these relationships, potential future scenarios and confrontations, and the strategic options available to the U.S.

**Robert D. Blackwill** is the Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the Diller-von Furstenberg Family Foundation Distinguished Scholar at the Henry A. Kissinger Center for Global Affairs at Johns Hopkins. Previously, he served as deputy assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for strategic planning under President George W. Bush. Blackwill went to the National Security Council (NSC) after serving as the U.S. ambassador to India from 2001 to 2003. In 2016 he became the first U.S. Ambassador to India since John Kenneth Galbraith to receive the Padma Bhushan Award from the government of India .

**Philip Zelikow** is the White Burkett Miller Professor of History. He has also served at all levels of American government, including as an elected member of a town school board. He began his professional career as a trial and appellate lawyer in Texas, including work for the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals. After returning to graduate school and then teaching for the Navy, he joined the Foreign Service and served as a career diplomat, posted overseas and in Washington, including service on the NSC staff for President George H.W. Bush. His Ph.D. is from Tufts University's Fletcher School.

# INNOVATING FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

with Michael Brown



Where does technology fit into the U.S.'s national security strategy? What will be the future of technological competition with China? In this seminar, Michael Brown considers China's advantage in technologies such as 5G, semiconductors, and facial recognition. Brown also discusses "economic colonialism," and China, explains the role of the Defense Innovation Unit in federal defense acquisition, and offers suggestions to drive technological innovation in the U.S.

**Mr. Michael Brown** is the Director of the Defense Innovation Unit (DIU) at the U.S. Department of Defense. DIU, established in 2015. Previously, Michael served two years (2016-2018) as a White House Presidential Innovation Fellow at DoD. Through August of 2016, Michael was the CEO of Symantec Corporation, the global leader in cybersecurity and the world's 10th largest software company with revenues of \$4 billion and more than 10,000 employees worldwide. Michael served as a member of Symantec's Board since its merger with Veritas in 2005. Michael is the former Chairman & CEO of Quantum Corporation (1995-2003), a leader in the computer storage industry. After leaving Quantum, Michael served as Chairman of EqualLogic, a storage array company. Dell acquired EqualLogic in 2008 for \$1.4 billion, the largest all-cash deal for a venture-backed company up to that time.

Michael received his BA degree in economics from Harvard University in 1980 and his MBA degree from Stanford University in 1984.

# THE ROLE OF EUROPE IN THE NEW GREAT POWER COMPETITION

with Federica Mogherini

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How does cooperation with the EU and NATO advantage the U.S. in competition with China? In [this seminar](#), Federica Mogherini emphasizes the importance of cooperation with Europe on mutual security and economic challenges, including Russian interference in Eastern Europe, conflict in the Middle East, climate change, and ending the COVID-19 pandemic. Mogherini also discusses potential areas of competition between the U.S. and Europe.

**Federica Mogherini** has served as the Rector of the College of Europe since September 2020 and has co-chaired the United Nations High Level Panel on Internal Displacement since January 2020. She previously served as the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission, from 2014 to 2019.

Federica Mogherini is a Fellow of the Harvard Kennedy School. She is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the International Crisis Group, Fellow of the German Marshall Fund, member of the Group of Eminent Persons of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization, member of the European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, and member of the Board of Directors of the Italian Institute for Foreign Affairs (IAI). She has a degree in Political Science from the University of Rome “La Sapienza”.

# RECTOR FEDERICA MOGHERINI: REPRISE

with Federica Mogherini



Rejoining NDU after technical difficulties, Federica Mogherini takes questions from her previous seminar. In this session, Mogherini discusses global democratization and populism, common and divergent interests between the U.S. and Europe, confronting Russia, and EU coordination with NATO and the Arctic Council.

**Federica Mogherini** has served as the Rector of the College of Europe since September 2020 and has co-chaired the United Nations High Level Panel on Internal Displacement since January 2020. She previously served as the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission, from 2014 to 2019. Federica Mogherini is a Fellow of the Harvard Kennedy School. She is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the International Crisis Group, Fellow of the German Marshall Fund, member of the Group of Eminent Persons of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization, member of the European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, and member of the Board of Directors of the Italian Institute for Foreign Affairs (IAI). She has a degree in Political Science from the University of Rome “La Sapienza”.

# GEOECONOMICS REVISITED

with Dr. Edward Luttwak

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The national security community primarily looks at great power competition with China through a military lens. The greater threat to US interests and influence, however, is arguably economic in nature. China's growing economic influence threatens to displace not only U.S. and allied economic interests, but the liberal, rules-based world order.

**Dr. Edward Luttwak** has served as a consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the National Security Council, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force, and a number of allied governments as well as international corporations and financial institutions. He is a frequent lecturer at universities and military colleges in the United States and abroad and has testified before several congressional committees and presidential commissions.

# INNOVATION AMONGST ALLIES NOW - GREATER THAN THE SUM OF THE PARTS

featuring a panel of experts

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Allies and international networks are central to innovation, as illustrated by cutting-edge research in AI by Google’s UK-based pioneering AI unit DeepMind or by scientific networks to tackle COVID-19. But even amongst the most established alliances, such as the “Five Eyes” community, effective collaboration requires understanding that each partner has distinct—as well as shared—national interests and perspectives. This panel brings together leading UK and US voices with deep expertise in science and innovation related to national security to ask how such allies can collaborate—as they have so effectively before—to provide the networks needed to meet global challenges now.

**Panelists include:**

- **Professor Anthony Finkelstein**, Chief Scientific Adviser for National Security, UK
- **Ms. Claire Hancock**, Deputy Chief Scientific Adviser for National Security, UK
- **Dr. Timothy Grayson**, Director, Strategic Technology Office at DARPA, US

**Moderated by:**

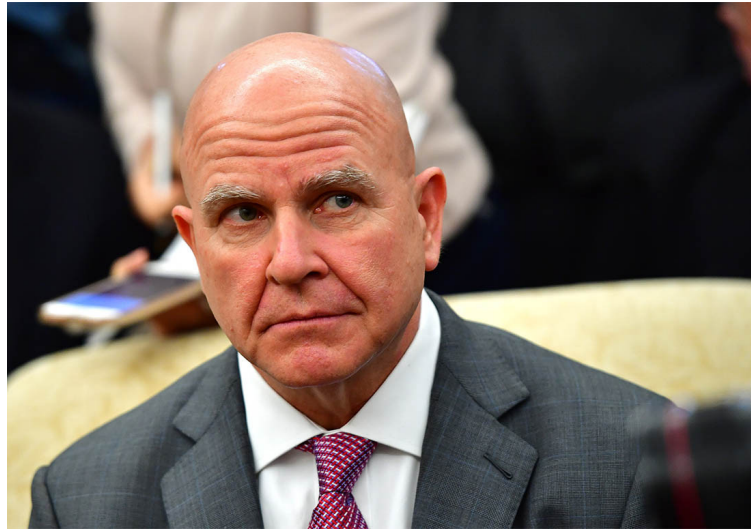
- **Dr. Nicholas Wright**, Intelligent Biology, Georgetown University Medical Center, University College London, and New America



## WHAT DOES CHINA WANT?

with Lieutenant General  
H.R. McMaster (retired)

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Despite bipartisan consensus on China's threat to US national security interests, different views persist on how to meet the challenge of contemporary great power competition and China's view of the future world order. LTG (Ret.) H. R. McMaster will discuss great power competition and the threat China poses to U.S. national security.

**Dr. H. R. McMaster** is the Fouad and Michelle Ajami Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He is also the Bernard and Susan Liautaud Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute and lecturer at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business. He was the 26th assistant to the president for National Security Affairs. Upon graduation from the United States Military Academy in 1984, McMaster served as a commissioned officer in the United States Army for thirty-four years before retiring as a Lieutenant General in June 2018.

# THE UNITED STATES, CHINA, AND RUSSIA: AN INNOVATION NET ASSESSMENT

featuring a panel of experts



U.S. strategy for global competition and cooperation in innovation cannot be charted without considering innovation in China and Russia, as well as the relationships between these three actors. Here, we bring together world-leading experts to examine each of these three innovators—the U.S., Russia, and China—and to place them in context. The U.S. faces a global challenge with capable competitors that is both a marathon and a sprint, and U.S. strategy must mitigate its (inevitable) relative weaknesses and harness its (significant) relative strengths.

## Panelists include:

- **Dr. James Mulvenon**, Director, Intelligence Integration, Intelligence Solutions Group
- **Dr. Robert Atkinson**, President, Information Technology and Innovation Foundation
- **Dr. Walter Hudson**, COL, US Army (Ret.); Associate Professor, Eisenhower School, National Defense University; Global Fellow, Wilson Center
- **Dr. Loren Graham**, Professor Emeritus of the History of Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology & Harvard University

## THEIR SILENT INTENTIONS

with Kevin Mandia

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The United States and its allies have recently come under relentless attacks in cyber space. While some of these attacks have been relatively harmless, some have been seriously consequential, and their potential to harm U.S. national security interests is growing. While cyberattacks are difficult to trace and attribute some retaliatory action must be taken as least to demonstrate credible deterrence. Kevin Mandia, the CEO of FireEye—one of the world’s leading cybersecurity companies—refutes the argument that these attacks are benign, and that rather they signal our adversaries’ “silent intentions.” FireEye was the firm that detected the recent “SolarWinds” hack and warned the U.S. government.

**Kevin Mandia** has served as FireEye Chief Executive Officer since June 2016 and was appointed to the company’s Board of Directors in February 2016. He was previously President of FireEye from February 2015 until June 2016. Kevin joined FireEye as Senior Vice President and Chief Operating Officer in December 2013, when FireEye acquired Mandiant, the company he founded in 2004.

# INDUSTRIAL POLICY DEBATE

with Dr. Robert Atkinson  
and John Thornhill

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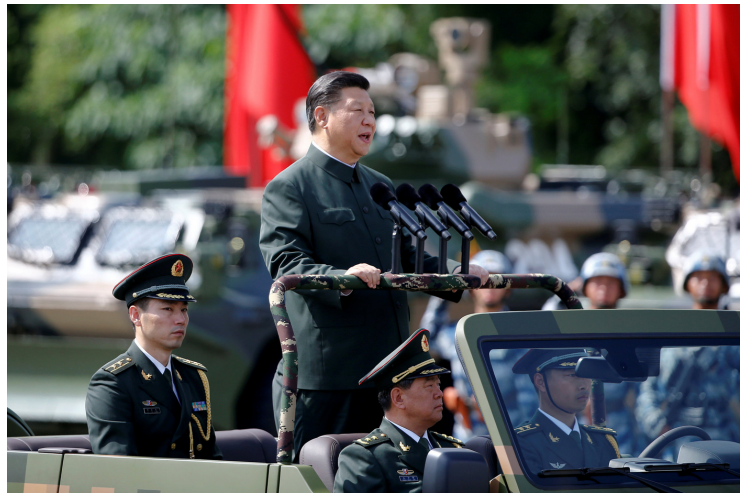


The concept of industrial policy has been neuralgic in the United States for quite some time. In recent years economic orthodoxy—along with many Americans and a substantial majority of members of Congress—has argued that “the market” is the best mechanism to spur innovation. Our strategic competitors—China in particular—uses state subsidies, restrictive and unfair trade practices, intellectual property theft, and abundant state research resources to catalyze technological innovation, and are threatening American security and economic interests. America has not always been adverse to industrial policy, and some are arguing for a new approach to industrial and innovation policy.

- **Dr. Robert Atkinson**, President, Information, Technology and Innovation Foundation
- **John Thornhill**, Innovation Editor at the Financial Times

# HOW TO ENGAGE WITH CHINA

featuring a panel of experts



Although consensus appears to have been reached in the United States on the adversarial nature of our relationship with China, opinions on how to engage—or disengage—with China are diverse. Secretary of State Antony Blinken says the U.S. – China relationship will be “competitive when it should be, collaborative when it can be and adversarial when it must be.” Is that a viable approach, or is it naïve?

**Panelists include:**

- **Dr. Anna Ashton**, Vice President, Government Affairs, US-China Business Council
- **Ms. Rachel Odell**, Research Fellow in the East Asia Program at the Quincy Institute
- **Dr. Kori Schake**, Director of Foreign and Defense Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute

# THE THREE-BODY PROBLEM; THE U.S., CHINA, AND RUSSIA

with Michele Flournoy

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The Cold War was the first time in over a century that the United States faced a truly existential threat, the threat of all-out, strategic, nuclear war. The strategic response designed to avoid such a catastrophe was mutual assured destruction, a deliberate reciprocal deterrence. Today the United States faces two near peer competitors, Russia and China. In this strategic triangle each needs one of the others to deter the third, resulting in a constant state of dynamic tension. The challenge for the United States is to counter China without driving it toward Russia, and to counter Russia without driving it toward China.

**Michèle Flournoy** is Co-Founder and Managing Partner of WestExec Advisors, and former Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), where she currently serves on the board. Michèle served as the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy from February 2009 to February 2012. In 2017, she co-founded WestExec Advisors, a strategic advisory firm.

# AI WILL CHANGE WAR

with General John  
Allen (retired) and  
Amir Hussein



Artificial Intelligence (AI) could lead to “Hyperwar”—a type of conflict and competition so automated that it would collapse the decision action loop, eventually minimizing human control over most decisions. America’s challenge is to encourage the organizational transformation necessary to adopt safer, more explainable AI systems to maintain our competitive edge, now that the technical transformation is at our doorstep.

·**John R. Allen** is the president of the Brookings Institution, a retired United States Marine Corps four-star general, and former commander of the NATO International Security Assistance Force and U.S. Forces – Afghanistan (USFOR-A)

·**Amir Husain** is a Pakistani-American artificial intelligence entrepreneur, founder of the Austin-based company, SparkCognition, and author of the book, *The Sentient Machine*

# SHAREHOLDER VERSUS STAKEHOLDER: CORPORATE NATIONAL SECURITY RESPONSIBILITY

with Dr. Paul Krugman

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As the economic competition between the United States and China intensifies companies find themselves caught in the crossfire. Western companies hesitate to offend China and possibly lose access to China’s “super-large market.” They are accused of having “corporate Stockholm Syndrome.” At the same time, they must be careful of crossing the national security redlines imposed primarily by the United States. Milton Friedman argued that a company’s only responsibility is to its shareholders. Recently companies have accepted that they have certain social responsibilities; do they also have national security responsibilities?

**Dr. Paul Krugman** is an American economist who is the Distinguished Professor of Economics at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and a columnist for The New York Times. Dr. Krugman is the recipient of the 2008 Nobel Prize in Economics.



# CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS?

with Dr. Niall Ferguson

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When Samuel Huntington described the “clash of civilizations” in 1993, he was criticized for reinforcing a self-fulfilling prophecy. Today we face a tectonic global clash, but not necessarily of the type Huntington foresaw; clashing are two conflicting visions of the future global order. One, championed by autocratic states like China and Russia, advocates a return to “a 19th-century global order where great powers rule over their own distinct spheres of influence.” The world’s democracies want an order based on the international rule of law, democratic governance, and individual rights. How this clash evolves will be the story of the 21st century.

**Niall Ferguson** is the Milbank Family Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and a senior faculty fellow of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard. He is also a visiting professor at Tsinghua University, Beijing.

# DEVELOPMENT IN GREAT POWER COMPETITION

with Samantha Power

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The Belt and Road Initiative is China's ambitious flagship effort to reshape and redefine the global order using infrastructure, economic development, finance, and its overall economic power to serve Chinese national interests. If successful this will replace the development paradigm dominated by the Bretton Woods institutions, and displace the United States from its previous dominant position as a foreign aid provider. The U.S. Agency for International Development leads U.S. economic and political development efforts and must rise to meet this challenge.

**Samantha Jane Power** is an American academic, diplomat and government official who is currently serving as the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development. She previously served as the 28th United States Ambassador to the United Nations from 2013 to 2017.

# THE EMPIRE VERSUS THE FEDERATION

with Kevin Rudd

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The China challenge has impact far beyond the United States. Australia—a member of the Five Eyes coalition and a stout ally of the United States—stood against Chinese trade, intellectual property, and human rights abuses. Australia led the global insistence on an objective investigation of the origins of the COVID-19 virus. In retaliation China imposed diverse economic sanctions against Australia and threatened more. China has also interfered in the Australian political system. A major challenge for the world’s democracies is “will they stand united in meeting the China challenge?”

**Kevin Michael Rudd AC** is an Australian Labor Party politician who was the 26th Prime Minister of Australia, serving twice, from December 2007 to June 2010 and again from June 2013 to September 2013. He is currently the President of the Asia Society.

# SHAREHOLDERS VERSUS STAKEHOLDERS; CORPORATE NATIONAL SECURITY RESPONSIBILITY

To be confirmed



The Nobel Prize winning economist Milton Friedman famously argued that the only responsibility of a business is to its owners—or shareholders. Yet companies operate within an environment that rests on much broader vested interests and values than those of their shareholders alone. Today companies acknowledge limited social responsibility; but are reluctant to jeopardize potential revenue and profit as a cost of meeting those responsibilities. This is especially true today of the profit potential of the “super-large” Chinese market. How should companies balance U.S. national security concerns which impact all of their stakeholders and the primarily profit concerns of their shareholders? When and how should the government intervene in corporate activity. At what point and how might the Defense Production Act be invoked