

## GEN CARTER F. HAM, U.S. ARMY, RETIRED

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General Ham is the president and chief executive officer of the Association of the United States Army. He is an experienced leader who has led at every level from platoon to geographic combatant command. He is also a member of a very small group of Army senior leaders who have risen from private to four-star general.

General Ham served as an enlisted infantryman in the 82nd Airborne Division before attending John Carroll University in Cleveland, Ohio. Graduating in 1976 as a distinguished military graduate, his service has taken him to Italy, Germany, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Macedonia, Qatar, Iraq and, uniquely among Army leaders, to over 40 African countries in addition to a number of diverse assignments within the United States.

He commanded the First Infantry Division, the legendary Big Red One, before assuming duties as director for operations on the Joint Staff at the Pentagon where he oversaw all global operations. His first four-star command was as commanding general, U.S. Army Europe. Then in 2011, he became just the second commander of United States Africa Command where he led all U.S. military activities on the African continent ranging from combat operations in Libya to hostage rescue operations in Somalia as well as training and security assistance activities across 54 complex and diverse African nations.

General Ham retired in June of 2013 after nearly 38 years of service. Immediately prior to joining the staff at AUSA, he served as the chairman of the National Commission on the Future of the Army, an eight-member panel tasked by the Congress with making recommendations on the size, force structure and capabilities of the Total Army.

He resides with his wife, Christi, in Arlington, Virginia.

## BG PETER B. ZWACK U.S. ARMY, RETIRED

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From 2012–2014, BG(R) Zwack served as the United States Senior Defense Official and Attache to the Russian Federation. By interacting with Russians at multiple levels since 1989, including defense, security, academia, policy, veterans, and private citizens, BG Zwack developed a unique hands-on perspective on Russia and Eurasian security affairs during a turbulent period that included the recent strife in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine.

Brigadier General Peter B. Zwack enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1980 and received his commission via Officer Candidate School (OCS). He subsequently served 34 years in Military Intelligence commanding both a Battalion and Group. Senior staff positions included the Joint Staff, and assignments as the senior Intelligence officer for U.S. Army Europe, Kosovo Force and U.S. Forces Afghanistan. He also was a Eurasian Foreign Area Officer serving in diverse and challenging duty locations including Afghanistan, Kosovo, South Korea, Russia, and West Germany.

Inducted into the OCS Hall of Fame in 2015, BG Zwack is a recipient of the Bronze Star, Distinguished Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Defense Superior Service Medal, and many other awards and citations including the Afghan Service Medal and NATO/Kosovo Medal. He was also honored as the Joint Chief's of Staff "Action Officer of the Year" for 1999. He proudly wears the Ranger Tab and Airborne Wings.

After his military retirement, Zwack worked from 2015 to 2019 as the Senior Russia-Eurasia Fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies at the National Defense University in WDC. As such he regularly taught, consulted, lectured and extensively wrote within the defense department, private industry, think tanks, and academic institutions on contemporary Russian and Eurasian security issues, and leadership lessons-learned.

Having just entered the private sector, BG Zwack continues his work and interests regarding Eurasia, especially focusing on Russia, Europe, and Northeast Asia. He has joined the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies within the Wilson International Center for Scholars as a Global Fellow. With his wide network of government, private and international associates and contacts, he continues to actively consult, speak and write on consequential foreign policy and defense topics related to these broad subject areas.

Zwack lives with his beloved wife Stephanie in Newport, RI. They have three children.

BG Zwack speaks Russian, German, Italian, and some French.

## BRIAN WHITMORE

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Brian Whitmore is a Senior Fellow and Director of the Russia Program at the Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA), in Washington D.C.

He is also the author of The Power Vertical blog and host of The Power Vertical podcast, both of which focus on Russian affairs.

Prior to joining CEPA, he was Senior Russia Analyst for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Prior to joining RFE, Whitmore worked as a foreign correspondent for *The Boston Globe* in Moscow and in Prague.

He has worked as a graduate lecturer in the Department of Government and International Studies at the University of South Carolina, and as a visiting lecturer in the History Faculty at Mechnikov National University in Odessa, Ukraine and the International Relations Faculty at St. Petersburg State University in Russia.

Whitmore's work has appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The Atlantic*, *The New Republic*, *Foreign Policy*, *Newsweek*, and elsewhere. He has appeared as an expert commentator on CNN, the BBC World Service, NPR and various other media.

Whitmore has an MA in Political Science from Villanova University and BA in Politics from St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia.

## LTC LESTER W. GRAU, PHD, U.S. ARMY, RETIRED

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Dr. Lester W. Grau is a Senior Analyst for the Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO) at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He has served the U.S. Army for 52 years, retiring as an infantry Lieutenant Colonel and continuing service through research and teaching in Army professional military education. His on-the-ground service over those decades spanned from Viet Nam War to Cold War assignments in Europe, Korea, and the Soviet Union to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. As one of the U.S. Army's leading Russian military experts, he has conducted collaborative research in Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and with numerous organizations in Europe, and published extensively.

Dr. Grau is the author of 18 books and 250 articles and studies on tactical, operational and geopolitical subjects, translated into several languages. His books, *The Bear Went Over the Mountain: Soviet Combat Tactics in Afghanistan* and *The Other Side of the Mountain: Mujahideen Tactics in the Soviet-Afghan War*, co-authored with former Afghan Minister of Security Ali Jalali, remain the most widely distributed, U.S. government-published books throughout the long conflict in Afghanistan.

He received his doctoral degree from the University of Kansas. His advanced military education includes the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the U.S. Air Force War College.

## CATHERINE DALE, PHD

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Dr. Catherine Dale, Ph.D. is the Senior Advisor for Strategy at Army Futures Command. In this capacity she advises the Commanding General and the Command regarding mission and organization.

She joined AFC from the RAND Corporation where she served as the Director of the Center for Russia and Eurasia and led research teams on a wide array of national security issues. Prior to RAND, Dr. Dale served as Senior Advisor to the Commander, U.S. European Command, who is dual-hatted as NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

Previously, at the Congressional Research Service, Dr. Dale led CRS analytical efforts regarding overall defense strategy, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and U.S. Government interagency integration. She testified to Congress regarding both Afghanistan and defense strategy.

As the Senior Advisor to the Commander of NATO's International Security Assistance Force Joint Command in Afghanistan, Dr. Dale played a leadership role in synchronizing efforts at the strategic, operational and tactical

levels, and in shaping the strategic-level policy debates. She played a similar role as the Political Advisor to the Commanding General of Combined Joint Task Force-7 in Iraq.

As a Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Dr. Dale helped to shape and communicate the strategic vision of the Department of Defense. And as the Special Assistant to the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Georgia, she helped craft the UN effort aimed at achieving a political settlement of the conflict in Georgia's break-away region, Abkhazia.

Dr. Dale is a member of the Advisory Board of the Initiative to Educate Afghan Women, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a participant in the Team Red White and Blue community. She holds a Ph.D. and an M.A. in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley; an M.S. in National Security Strategy from the National War College; and a B.A. in Slavic Studies from Harvard University.

## MAJ. GEN. THOMAS E. MURPHY, U.S. AIR FORCE

Major General Thomas E. Murphy is the Director, Protecting Critical Technology Task Force, Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Pentagon, Arlington, Virginia. In this capacity, he leads the Secretary of Defense-established task force responsible for countering the loss of the department's critical information and technologies, ensuring the competitive advantage of the Joint Force.

General Murphy entered the Air Force in 1989 as a graduate of Worcester Polytechnic Institute after earning a Bachelor of Science degree in mechanical engineering. He has served in a variety of operational and training assignments in the C-5, T-38 and T-1. He has commanded the 47th Flying Training Wing, the 376th Expeditionary Operations Group and the 9th Airlift Squadron, and has served on the staffs of a combatant command, Joint Staff, Air Force headquarters and numbered Air Force. Prior to his current assignment, General Murphy was the Deputy Director of Resource Integration and Logistics Chief Information Officer, Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Engineering and Force Protection, Headquarters Air Force, the Pentagon.

## DAVID M. FINKELSTEIN

David M. Finkelstein is a Vice President of the Center for Naval Analyses (a Federally Funded Research and Development Center) as well as Director of CNA's China & Indo-Pacific Security Affairs Division.

Finkelstein received a Ph.D. in Chinese and Japanese history from Princeton University and studied Mandarin at Nankai University (Tianjin, China). He is a member of the National Committee for U.S.-China Relations and The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). He served as a consultant and contributing author to the most recent edition of *The National Geographic Atlas of China*, and regularly leads seminars at the U.S. Department of State's Foreign Service Institute and the U.S. Army War College.

A retired U.S. Army officer, Finkelstein is a graduate of the United States Military Academy, the U.S. Army Command & General Staff College, the U.S. Army War College, the U.S. Army Foreign Area Officer Course (JFK Center for Military Assistance and Unconventional Warfare), and the U.S. Army Airborne School.

Commissioned in the Signal Corps, he held various command and staff positions to include service with the 86th and 40th Signal Battalions of the 11th Signal Brigade, the U.S. Army Communications Command, the 505th Signal Company, and with the United Nations Command Joint Security Force in Panmunjom, Korea—an infantry battalion in the Demilitarized Zone. In the Pentagon, he served as Assistant Defense Intelligence Officer for East Asia & the Pacific, and later as Director for Asian analyses on the Joint Staff (J-8). He also served on the faculty of the history department at West Point where he taught Chinese history, Japanese history, and the history of warfare in Asia.

His edited volumes include *Chinese Warfighting: The PLA Experience Since 1949*; *China's Revolution in Doctrinal Affairs: Developments in the Operational Art of the People's Liberation Army*; *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea*; and *China's Leadership in the 21st Century: The Rise of the Fourth Generation*. His historical monograph, *From Abandonment to Salvation: Washington's Taiwan Dilemma, 1949-50*, was hailed in

*Presidential Studies Quarterly*. His recent paper, “Breaking the Paradigm: Drivers Behind the PLA’s Current Period of Reform” is the lead chapter in *Chairman Xi Remakes the PLA: Assessing Chinese Military Reforms* (NDU Press, 2019).

## COL LARRY WORTZEL, PHD, U.S. ARMY, RETIRED

Dr. Larry M. Wortzel had a distinguished 32-year military career, retiring as an Army colonel in 1999. His last military position was director of the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College. Presently, he is Adjunct Research Professor at the U.S. Army War College. After three years in the Marine Corps and some college, Dr. Wortzel began his professional career assessing political and military events in China as a soldier in the U.S. Army Security Agency in 1970. He gathered communications intelligence on Chinese military activities in Laos and Vietnam during the Vietnam War. After Infantry Officer Candidate School, Ranger and Airborne training, he was an infantry officer for four years. He moved back into military intelligence in 1977. In the Indo-Pacific Theater he has served in the 3rd Battalion, 27th Marines; 7th Radio Research Field Station, Thailand; 1st Battalion, 9th Infantry in Korea; U.S. Pacific Command; attached to the Defense Attaché Office in Singapore; and he served two tours of duty as military attaché at the American Embassy in China. After retiring from the Army, Dr. Wortzel was Asian Studies Center Director and then Vice President at The Heritage Foundation, a public policy think tank in Washington D.C. He has served as a commissioner on the congressionally-appointed U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission since 2001. A graduate of the U.S. Army War College, he earned his B.A. from Columbus College, Georgia, and his M.A. and PhD from the University of Hawaii.

## MAJ ORIANA MASTRO, PHD, U.S. AIR FORCE RESERVE COMMAND

Oriana Skylar Mastro is an assistant professor of security studies at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University where her research focuses on Chinese military and security policy, Asia-Pacific security issues, war termination, and coercive diplomacy. Dr. Mastro is also a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute where she is working on a book about China’s challenge to U.S. primacy. Mastro continues to serve in the United States Air Force Reserve for which she works as a Senior China Analyst at the Pentagon. For her contributions to U.S. strategy in Asia, she won the Individual Reservist of the Year Award in 2016. She has published widely, including in *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security*, *International Studies Review*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *The National Interest*, *Survival*, and *Asian Security*, and is the author of *The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime*, (Cornell University Press, 2019). She holds a B.A. in East Asian Studies from Stanford University and an M.A. and PhD in Politics from Princeton University. Her publications and other commentary can be found on Twitter @osmastro and [www.orianaskylarmastro.com](http://www.orianaskylarmastro.com).

## DEAN CHENG

Dean Cheng is currently the Research Fellow for Chinese Political and Military Affairs at the Heritage Foundation. He is fluent in Chinese and uses Chinese language materials regularly in his work.

Prior to joining the Heritage Foundation, he was a senior analyst with the China Studies Division (previously, Project Asia) at the Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) from 2001–2009. He specialized on Chinese military issues and authored studies on Chinese military doctrine, Chinese mobilization concepts, and Chinese space capabilities.

Before joining CNA, he was a senior analyst with Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC) from 1996–2001. From 1993–1995, he was an analyst with the U.S. Congress’ Office of Technology Assessment in the International Security and Space Division, where he studied the Chinese defense industrial complex.

He is the author of the book *Cyber Dragon: Inside China’s Information Warfare and Cyber Operations* (NY: Praeger Publishing, 2016), as well as a number of papers and book chapters examining various aspects of Chinese security affairs.