

PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS
HOOVER INSTITUTION SPRING RETREAT
April 23-25, 2017

Ayaan Hirsi Ali is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. She served as a Member of the Dutch Parliament from 2003 to 2006. While in Parliament, she focused on furthering the integration of non-Western immigrants into Dutch society and on defending the rights of Muslim women. She has written several books including *Infidel* (2007), *Nomad: from Islam to America, a Personal Journey through the Clash of Civilizations* (2010), and *Heretic: Why Islam Needs a Reformation Now* (2015). Prior to joining the Hoover Institution, she was a fellow at the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy Project at Harvard University, and a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. She received her Master's degree in Political Science from Leiden University in the Netherlands.

Lieutenant Colonel E. Lincoln Bonner III is a National Security Affairs Fellow this year at the Hoover Institution. He received his commission in the United States Air Force in 1997 through a four-year ROTC scholarship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is a graduate of the Air Force Test Pilot School and the School of Advanced Air and Space Studies – the Air Force's school for strategy – and he is a doctoral candidate in military strategy focused on cyber power in military and national strategy. He has served in a variety of operational, acquisition, and staff assignments, including tours as an infrared missile warning satellite crew commander and flight test engineer executing high-risk developmental flight tests for Air Force and Joint aircraft development including the F-117, B-2, and F-22. Prior to his current assignment, he was assigned to the National Reconnaissance Office as commander of a space operations squadron and led a 500-member team conducting around-the-clock command, control, and communication operations for space systems valued in excess of 20 billion dollars.

Lanhee J. Chen is the David and Diane Steffy Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution. He has served as a lecturer at the Stanford Law School and in the Stanford Public Policy Program, where he is currently director of Domestic Policy Studies. His research focuses on health care policy, retirement security policy, campaigns and elections, and California policy and politics. He served as policy director of the Romney-Ryan presidential campaign and, during President George W. Bush's administration, was a senior official at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. He currently serves as a presidential appointee to the bipartisan and independent Social Security Advisory Board.

Captain Kurt Clarke is a National Security Affairs Fellow this year at the Hoover Institution. He is a United States Coast Guard officer specializing in response ashore and afloat operation. He began his career earning a commission from the Coast Guard Academy in 1994 and holds a Master's degree in Information Technology Management from the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. Captain Clarke served at a variety of operational units, conducting search and rescue, law enforcement, and maritime environmental response operations on the Gulf of Mexico, the coast of California, and Southeast Alaska. Additionally, he served as the Chief of Officer Assignments, responsible for the assignment and career management of all Coast Guard officers. Most recently, Captain Clarke was a program manager for the Department of Homeland Security's Chief Information Officer.

John H. Cochrane is a Hoover Institution senior fellow. He was previously a professor of finance at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business. He is also a research associate with the National Bureau of Economic Research and an adjunct scholar of the Cato Institute. His academic research includes financial economics and regulation; asset pricing; macroeconomic and monetary issues; inflation and deficits; and health insurance. He frequently contributes editorial opinion essays to *The Wall Street Journal* and other publications. He also maintains the *Grumpy Economist* blog.

Thomas W. Gilligan assumed the role of the Tad and Dianne Taube Director of the Hoover Institution in September 2015. A scholar in economics and political science, Gilligan also serves as a senior fellow, with areas of research including microeconomics, applied price theory, industrial organization, antitrust economics, and public choice. Gilligan has had a long-standing relationship with the Hoover Institution and Stanford University, serving as a Hoover national fellow in 1989-90 and a visiting faculty member at Stanford's Graduate School of Business in 1989-90 and again in 1994. Prior to joining the Hoover Institution, Gilligan was dean of the McCombs School of Business at The University of Texas at Austin, one of the largest and most distinguished business schools in the United States. He also served in the United States Air Force from 1972-1976.

Victor Davis Hanson is the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and chairs the Military History Working Group. He is an American military historian, columnist, former classics professor, and scholar of ancient warfare, and has been a commentator on modern warfare and contemporary politics for various media outlets. He was a professor of classics at California State University, Fresno, and has been a visiting professor at Hillsdale College since 2004. He received the Eric Breindel Award for Excellence in Opinion Journalism (2002), and was awarded the National Humanities Medal (2007) and the Bradley Prize (2008). Hanson is also a farmer and a critic of social trends related to farming and agrarianism and is author of more than eighteen books. His forthcoming book is entitled *The Second World Wars* (Basic Books).

Lieutenant Colonel Kurt Helphinstine (United States Air Force) is a National Security Affairs Fellow this year at the Hoover Institution. Lieutenant Colonel Helphinstine was commissioned in 1999 from ROTC at the University of Portland, in Oregon, where he earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Civil Engineering. He attended Pilot Training in Texas and the F-15E Initial Training Course in North Carolina. Lieutenant Colonel Helphinstine has had three operational F-15E assignments: two in England and one in Idaho. During these assignments, he flew over 900 combat hours during six deployments to the Middle East. He is also a graduate of the Air Force Weapons School at Nellis Air Force Base, Nevada, where he later taught advanced F-15E tactics for three years and led the Air Force Weapons School integration of aviation operations with cyber, information, and space operations. Additionally, he deployed to Saudi Arabia as initial cadre for the Royal Saudi Air Force Weapons School. In 2011, Lieutenant Colonel Helphinstine attended USMC Command and Staff College in Quantico, Virginia. He then served on the Joint Staff, J-35, in the Joint Operations Division. Lieutenant Colonel Helphinstine's most recent assignment was commanding the 494th Fighter Squadron in the United Kingdom. During command he deployed with 18 F-15Es in support of combat operations in the Middle East.

Edward P. Lazear is the Morris Arnold and Nona Jean Cox Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, where he chairs the Conte Initiative on Immigration Reform. He is also the Jack Steele Parker Professor of Human Resources Management and Economics at the Stanford Graduate School of Business. His areas of expertise include labor economics, personnel economics, and microeconomics. From 2006 to 2009, he served as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. He holds four honorary doctorates and is an elected fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences, the Econometric Society, and the Society of Labor Economists.

Lieutenant Commander Leonard Leos is a National Security Affairs Fellow this year at the Hoover Institution. A native of the San Francisco Bay Area, he joined the United States Navy in 1995. He is a 2001 graduate of San Diego State University. He attended the Naval Postgraduate School where he earned an M.B.A. in Financial Management and the Defense Language Institute where he studied Mandarin Chinese. Lieutenant Commander Leos' sea duty assignments include duty in the destroyers FLETCHER (DD 992) and HOPPER (DDG 70), Cruiser CHOSIN (CG 65), and Mine Sweeper ARDENT (MCM 12). He commanded the rotational Mine Countermeasure Crew REAPER, embarked in CHIEF (MCM 14), GLADIATOR (MCM 11), and SCOUT (MCM 8). Ashore, he has served as the Director of Training at Afloat Training Group Middle Pacific and as the Flag Aide to the Commander of the Pacific Fleet.

Michael W. McConnell is the Richard and Frances Mallery Professor and director of the Constitutional Law Center at Stanford Law School, and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. From 2002 to the summer of 2009, he served as a Circuit Judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit. McConnell has held chaired professorships at the University of Chicago and the University of Utah, and visiting professorships at Harvard and NYU. He has published widely in the fields of constitutional law and theory, especially church and state, equal protection, and the founding. In the past decade, his work has been cited in opinions of the Supreme Court second most often of any legal scholar. He is co-editor of three books: *Religion and the Law*, *Christian Perspectives on Legal Thought*, and *The Constitution of the United States*. McConnell has argued fifteen cases in the Supreme Court. He served as law clerk to Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. and is Of Counsel to the appellate practice of Kirkland & Ellis.

Paul Narain is a National Security Affairs Fellow this year at the Hoover Institution. A career diplomat with the United States Department of State, he was most recently the Deputy Counselor for Economic Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Greece, responsible for macroeconomics and the political-economy of the Greek economic crisis. Prior to that, he was head of the internal political affairs team at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, India. In Washington, he served on the Executive Secretariat staffs of Secretaries Clinton and Rice and served as a Watch Officer in the Operations Center, the State Department's 24-hour crisis management team. Overseas, he has also served as a Political Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Baku, Azerbaijan, and as Assistant Public Affairs Officer and Consular Officer at the U.S. Consulate in Kolkata, India. He has received several superior and meritorious honors awards as well as the American Foreign Service Association's Matilda Sinclaire Award for outstanding foreign language study. A native New Yorker, Paul earned a B.A. from Johns Hopkins University and an M.A. in Law and Diplomacy from Tufts University's Fletcher School.

Margaret "Macke" Raymond is the director of the Center for Research on Education Outcomes at the Hoover Institution, which analyzes education reform efforts around the country. CREDO's mission is to enhance the impacts of education innovations on student achievement in public K-12 education. Their mantra is "Let the Data Speak." CREDO is the foremost research group studying the academic progress of students in charter schools. With over 20 studies of state and national impacts of charter schools, its work has been cited in over 1000 media outlets, thousands of academic papers, and state and national policy debates. Raymond holds a B.A. *summa cum laude* from Boston University, along with three Masters degrees and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Rochester.

Condoleezza Rice is currently the Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow on Public Policy at the Hoover Institution, the Denning Professor in Global Business and the Economy at the Stanford Graduate School of Business, and a professor of political science at Stanford University. She is also a founding partner of RiceHadleyGates, LLC, an international strategic consulting firm. From 2005 to 2009, Rice served as the sixty-sixth Secretary of State of the United States, the second woman and first African American woman to hold the post. Rice also served as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs for President George W. Bush from 2001 to 2005, the first woman to hold this position.

Peter Robinson graduated *summa cum laude* from Dartmouth College in 1979, majoring in English. He continued his education at Christ Church, Oxford University where he pursued a second Bachelor's degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics, graduating in 1982. Upon graduation, Peter became chief speechwriter to Vice President George Bush and in 1983 special assistant and speechwriter to President Ronald Reagan. In 1987, Peter wrote the historic Berlin Wall address in which President Reagan called on Mikhail Gorbachev to "tear down this wall!" After President Reagan's term ended, Peter pursued an M.B.A. at Stanford University, graduating in 1990. After working on the east coast for two years, Peter returned to Stanford in 1993 to join the Hoover Institution as a research fellow. Peter edits Hoover's quarterly journal, the *Hoover Digest*, and hosts Hoover's video series *Uncommon Knowledge*.

Kiron K. Skinner is the W. Glenn Campbell Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution and director of the Institute for Politics and Strategy at Carnegie Mellon University. Her areas of expertise are international relations, international security, U.S. foreign policy, and political strategy. Skinner coauthored *Reagan, In His Own Hand* (2001) and *Reagan, A Life in Letters* (2003), both *New York Times* best sellers; and coauthored *The Strategy of Campaigning: Lessons from Ronald Reagan and Boris Yeltsin* (2007) with Serhiy Kudelia, Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, and Condoleezza Rice. She has written opinion essays for *Forbes.com*, *The New York Times*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. She was a member of the U.S. Defense Department's Defense Policy Board (2001–07) and served on the Chief of Naval Operations' Executive Panel (2004–2015). Professor Skinner holds M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in political science and international relations from Harvard University and undergraduate degrees from Spelman College and Sacramento City College.

Shelby Steele is the Robert J. and Marion E. Oster Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution. A prominent voice on the subject of affirmative action, race relations, and multiculturalism, he has received numerous awards, including an Emmy Award in 1991, a National Humanities Medal in 2004, and a Bradley Prize for Outstanding Achievement in 2006. In addition to having authored four books, he has written extensively for major publications including *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

Colonel Michael J. Turley is a National Security Affairs Fellow this year at the Hoover Institution. Colonel Turley entered military service in 1985, as a United States Marine. He served on active duty until 1995 when he transitioned into a civilian career and the Utah Army National Guard, attaining the rank of Staff Sergeant. Since commissioning as a Combat Engineer Officer in 1997, he has served as Combat Engineer Platoon Leader, Combat Engineer Company Commander, OCS Company Commander, Recruiting Battalion Commander, Engineer Battalion Commander, and Brigade Deputy Commanding Officer. Colonel Turley was employed by SmartTalk, Inc. and McKesson Corporation as a Product Specialist. He returned to active duty as an Active Guard/Reserve Soldier in 2007. He has deployed to the western pacific, Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Operations Enduring Freedom/Iraqi Freedom, Hurricane Katrina/Rita, and Flooding in Colorado. Colonel Turley's awards include the Bronze Star Medal, Meritorious Service Medal, Army Commendation Medal, Army Achievement Medal, Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal, Humanitarian Service Medal, Combat Action Badge, Airborne Badge, Air Assault Badge, and numerous personal, campaign, and unit awards. He has a B.S. in Business from Chapman University in Orange, CA and an M.B.A. from the University of Phoenix.

Eric Wakin is the deputy director of the Hoover Institution and the Robert H. Malott Director of the Institution's Library & Archives, overseeing their strategic direction and operations. Before joining Hoover, he was Herbert H. Lehman Curator for American History and curator of manuscripts at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, where he also taught in the history department. Wakin has also worked in the private sector in strategy, business development, and competitive intelligence roles. He is the author of *Anthropology Goes to War: Professional Ethics and Counterinsurgency in Thailand*.

Kevin Warsh is the Shepard Family Distinguished Visiting Fellow in Economics at the Hoover Institution and a lecturer at the Stanford Graduate School of Business. He advises several private and public companies, including service on the board of directors of UPS. Warsh is a member of the Group of Thirty (G30) and the President's Strategic and Policy Forum. He served from 2006 to 2011 as a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. He also served as the Fed's representative to the Group of Twenty (G-20) and as its emissary to the emerging and advanced economies in Asia. From 2002 to 2006, he served as Special Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and as executive secretary of the White House National Economic Council. Previously, Warsh was vice president and executive director of Morgan Stanley's mergers and acquisitions department.

Amy Zegart is the Davies Family Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution; co-director of Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation; a senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute; and professor of political science, by courtesy, at Stanford. In addition, Dr. Zegart oversees Hoover's Cyber Policy and National Security Affairs Fellows programs. She is a member of the Arctic Security Working Group. She has written books and articles about organizational

challenges in American national security policy, including *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*; *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI and the Origins of 9/11*; and *Eyes on Spies: Congress and the United States Intelligence Community*. She was appointed to the board of directors of Kratos Defense & Security Solutions in September 2014. Zegart was featured in the *National Journal* as one of the ten most influential experts in intelligence reform. She served on the Clinton administration's National Security Council staff and as a foreign policy adviser to the Bush-Cheney 2000 presidential campaign. She has testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee, provided training to the Marine Corps, and advised officials on intelligence and homeland security matters.

Colonel Dave Zinn is a National Security Affairs Fellow this year at the Hoover Institution. Zinn was commissioned as an armor officer in the United States Army after graduating from the United States Military Academy in 1995. He has served as an armor and cavalry officer in command and staff positions from the platoon level to the squadron level. His units of assignment include the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, the 4th Infantry Division, the 82nd Airborne Division, and the 25th Infantry Division. Colonel Zinn has also served as Aide-de-Camp to the III Corps Commander, Aide-de-Camp to the Commanding General of Training and Doctrine Command, and as an instructor in the Department of Physics at the United States Military Academy at West Point. He has combat service in Iraq in eastern Baghdad, Ba'Qubah, and Ma'dain Province, and has participated in regional training exercises in South Korea and the Philippines. Zinn is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and holds a Master of Science in Physics from the University of Chicago. Most recently, he served as the Military Assistant to the Secretary of the Army.