# SPECIAL REPORT

**DECEMBER 17, 2012** www.defensenews.com



he U.S. defense community encompasses the best America has to offer: leadership, innovation, technology and vision. It's a combination that has helped ensure the U.S. has fielded the best-trained, best-equipped military force in the world for nearly a century.

But the U.S. military does not exist in a vacuum. The world's most powerful military operates under the civilian control of the president and his appointees and is funded through Congress; its size, shape and employment are determined by many influencers, both civilian and military. Some are elected; most are not. Some move in and out of government, alternating between stints in industry and think tanks, and others wield influence less visibly, sharing experience and wisdom behind closed doors.

This inaugural 100 Most Influential People in U.S. Defense list was compiled over five months by more than two dozen reporters and editors representing the world's biggest military newsroom and the award-winning staffs of Gannett Government Media's sector-leading publications:

Defense News. Army Times, Air Force Times, Navy Times, Marine Corps Times, Armed Forces Journal and Federal Times

Any such list requires basic rules of the road. As we began this project, we settled on a few right away:

■ President Barack Obama is not on the list. As commander in chief, he is not influencing the debate, but more often

than not, deciding.
As the ultimate "decider" — which is how his predecessor, President George W. Bush, defined the job of president -Obama is the target of influencers, so access to the president to discuss and pursue objectives in setting defense policy figured powerfully in our ranking.

■ Individuals' personal influence — not just the power that comes with their offices - was foremost in our minds. What makes someone influential? One individual on the list explains it this way: "Influence

change. it's not just celebrity. ■ More than 200 candidates were nominated by staffers and vetted through sources. Each person's clout in shaping American defense policy, strategy and capability was discussed, debated and analyzed.

is making

Once the list was pared to about 125, we began the delicate ranking process. Candidates were tagged according to their spheres of influence - policy, money, intelligence, war, Congress, homeland security, the individual military services, industry, opinion shaping, cyberwarfare and veterans issues - and relative values were assigned to each. For those with multiple spheres of influence, their primary spheres were weighted over lesser areas, to create a composite score. Bonus points were awarded in some instances for individuals whose access to the president or other key leaders deserved special consideration.

In a few instances, most notably Army Pvt. Bradley Manning, the suspect at the center of the Wikileaks scandal, influencers made the list because of how some action might have affected policy, spending or regulation. Manning affected all three - not because of any great skill, but because his massive alleged data dump drove top officials to change policies affecting everyone with a security clearance, and because those changes will continue to unfold long after his court-martial is complete.

This list represents a snapshot in time. As new Pentagon and other second-term administration leadership changes take shape in the coming weeks, names will shift — or disappear. A lot can happen in one year, so expect next year's edition to be quite different.

Finally, any list like this is inherently subjective. Does retired Gen. David Petraeus, for years considered America's most powerful general, belong at the very bottom of the list? Or is he no longer a player at all? That's where the conversation begins.

# **76** Wall Street Bankers, Analysts and Investors

As commercial companies, America's defense contractors depend on capital markets for their survival. As U.S. and European defense spending drops, the entire sector is poised for a new surge of mergers and acquisitions. Several veteran bankers from the last M&A cycle are expected to be active this time as well: Denis Bovin and Mike Urfirer, the Bear Stearns duo who founded Stone Key Partners after their legendary firm collapsed in 2008; Craig Oxman, head of the aerospace and defense group of Credit Suisse, and Anita Antenucci of Houlihan Lokey. Joe Nadol of JPMorgan Chase, Ron Epstein of Bank of America, and Doug Harned of Sanford Bernstein are the top sell-side analysts, according to Institutional Investor, and Wall Street veteran Byron Callan, now with Capital Alpha Partners, is the leading independent financial analyst covering the sector. Investors other investors watch include Steve Binder, the top-ranked former Bear analyst who's now with Adage Capital Management, John Longhurst of PIMCO, and Claude Staehly of Wellington Management. And don't forget Frank Finelli, the managing director of the defense and aerospace sector at Carlyle Group when he talks deals, people listen. Lawyer James McAleese of McAleese & Associates is a bridge between Washington and Wall Street.

The complete report follows...

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# 2 Leon Panetta Secretary of Defense

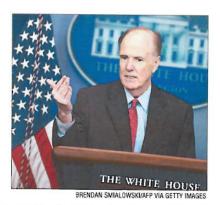
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INITIALLY SEEN AS A CARETAKER following the rigid leadership of his predecessor, Robert Gates, Panetta has suggested he's having too much fun to retire to his walnut grove in California as soon as many anticipated, and could remain in place well into the next year. Even if he does retire in 2013, as some still expect, Panetta's influence will be felt for years to come as the defense chief who helped curtail military spending and forced the Pentagon to plan for a future without the massive budget increases envisioned just a few years ago. The cutbacks began under Gates, but Panetta is credited with seeing those cuts through and adding to them; strengthening ties between the military and civilian intelligence communities; overseeing the exit strategy for the Afghanistan War; and helping to reshape U.S. national defense strategy with an aggressive tilt toward the Pacific rim. Whether he goes or stays, the former U.S. representative, CIA director and head of the Office of Management and Budget has close ties at all levels of government and inside the defense industry. He will be called upon to use them.

# Tom Donilon **National Security Adviser**

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DONILON IS ONE OF PRESIDENT Obama's closest and most trusted confidantes. He has been an integral player in every major national security policy decision and operation since assuming this position after the resignation of Jim Jones, the retired former Marine commandant and NATO commander who was Obama's first national security adviser and never quite fit in with the rest of the administration. A lawyer by training, Donilon never served in the military, and his previous administration jobs - he was a State Department spokesman and chief of staff during the Clinton administration — are not the classic background for the critical National Security Agency role. But he has Obama's ear and has played a part in everything from setting troop levels in Afghanistan to the raid on Osama bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan. Donilon has his share of critics, but his years at Obama's side mean their legacies are intertwined, and he is a likely candidate for senior positions from White House chief of staff to CIA director



# 3 Hillary Clinton Secretary of State

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AS A FOUR-YEAR SECRETARY OF STATE and a hawkish member of the White House's National Security Council, Clinton has helped define basic elements of today's national security strategy, and revived the State Department's influence after the Bush administration, which often shunted diplomats aside. Clinton earned military credibility as a thoughtful member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, where she overcame military

skeptics who doubted the former first lady's preparedness for her job. It didn't take long, however, for Clinton to win them over, establishing mutual respect through sustained efforts to understand military issues and culture. Even though Clinton has made clear her intention to step down from her post as early in Presi-



dent Obama's second term as possible, her extensive connections both nationally and internationally - and her poll position as a leading Democratic candidate for president in 2016 - she will continue to carry significant clout. No one is more likely to become

America's first female commander in chief.

# 4 John Brennan

# Deputy National Security Adviser for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, and Assistant to the President



SAUL LOEB/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

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AS PRESIDENT OBAMA'S top counter-terrorism adviser, Brennan effectively serves as director of the nation's other war: targeted killings carried out by CIA-operated UAVs against terrorist threats. With David Petraeus' unexpected resignation as CIA director in November, Brennan - a 25year CIA veteran who enjoys a tight rela-

tionship with the president - has emerged as a frontrunner on a short-list of candidates to replace the storied retired Army general. Brennan, a career CIA officer, almost got the job once before, but withdrew in 2008 in the face of opposition over his role during President George W. Bush's administration, where he was seen as complicit in policy decisions favoring harsh interrogation practices. As architect of the UAV strikes under Obama, Brennan continues to draw the ire of the liberal Democratic wing, where many view the strikes as immoral and illegal, despite the campaign's success: Predator strikes and clandestine operations have damaged al-Qaida's core leadership in Pakistan, earning Brennan significant sway. Few can match Brennan for his White House access; he has met daily with Obama for four years and the two reportedly share a similar perspective on counterterrorism and foreign policy.

# Mike Vickers

## Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence

A FORMER SPECIAL FORCES soldier who rose through the ranks from enlisted to officer and later joined the CIA, Vickers has spent decades in the shadowy realm where the military and intelligence communities overlap. As a CIA paramilitary operations officer, he was instrumental in arming Afghanistan's mujahedeen against occupying Soviet forces in the 1980s and, more recently, he has been a critical player in forging closer ties between the Pentagon and the CIA. Vickers' tenure at the Pentagon straddles the Bush and Obama administrations. He was appointed assistant secretary of defense for special operations and low-intensity conflict in 2007 and promoted to his current post in charge of defense intelligence activities in 2010.

In an often invisible war in which special operations and intelligence are America's most vital tools, Vickers is one of the nation's most critical behind-the-scenes leaders. He is regarded as a skilled bureaucratic infighter. Retired Army Gen. Stanley McChrystal, a former U.S. Special Operations Command chief and Afghanistan War commander, credits Vickers with expanding the military's fleet of armed remotely piloted aircraft, and he was a major driver in pushing the attack that nailed Osama bin Laden. Vickers is in the mix to succeed retired David Petraeus as CIA director, but even in his present role he will con-



KEY

Navy Army

# 6 Navy Adm. William McRaven

Commander, U.S. Special Operations Command



FEW PEOPLE OUTSIDE the military's special operations community knew McRaven before May 2, 2011 - and he preferred it that way. But that day members of SEAL Team 6 raided Osama bin Laden's Pakistan compound, killing the notorious terrorist leader. McRaven, a SEAL combat veteran, burst into the limelight as the mastermind behind the raid and commander of Joint Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg, N.C. But while McRaven wasn't a household name, he has long been a mover and shaker in the special operations world. His 1996 book "Spec Ops' is a must-read on special operations theory and practice. A native Texan who survived devastating injuries from a parachute collision in 2001, he took the helm of Tampa, Fla.based U.S. Special Operations Command just a month after the bin Laden raid, increasing his reach as he oversees a heavily deployed force of 66,000 commandos.

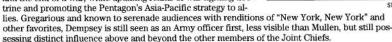
McRaven has pushed for more operational control over SOF around the globe, and will continue to be a major player as the military's conventional forces shrink and the U.S. pursues global security strategies based upon greatly enhanced special operations force, end strength, capabilities, missions and funding.



# Army Gen. Martin Dempsey Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

**■ S S ®** 

DEMPSEY PERSONIFIES "OUT-OF-THE-BOX" thinking and arrived in Washington in spring 2011 with a detailed laundry list of reforms and initiatives he intended to push through as Army chief of staff. But within months of taking that job, Dempsey was named to succeed Adm. Mike Mullen as chairman, making him one of the shortest-tenured Army chiefs in history. As chairman, a job he hadn't planned for or expected, he has had the disadvantage of following Mullen, perhaps the most influential occupant of that office since Colin Powell had it during the Persian Gulf War. As principal military adviser to the president, Dempsey has settled in to the hard work before him: presiding over a downsizing military, deep budget cuts and the end of a war, while updating reams of war-fighting doc-





Air Force Marine Corps Industry Opinion shapers **U** Cyber Special Ops Veterans Policy Congress Money Coast Guard War Pacific Momeland security Intelligence

# 8 Ashton Carter

EFFECTIVELY THE PENTAGON'S CHIEF operating officer, Carter is a Washington power player and the top contender inside the building to succeed Defense Secretary Leon Panetta (No. 2) A former Rhodes scholar with a Ph.D. in theoretical physics, Carter drove the Pentagon to become more efficient while cutting hundreds of billions of dollars from defense spending over the coming decade. Carter was acquisition

chief before moving up into his present role in October 2011 and the architect of the Better Buying Power Initiative that changed how DoD developed and purchased goods and services to cut costs. He also served as the hatchet man when then-Defense Secretary Robert Gates canceled dozens of underperforming or over-cost programs in 2009, including the Army Future Combat System, the Air Force's F-22 and the Navy's DDG-1000 destroyer. As deputy secretary, Carter was the Pentagon's point person on Superstorm Sandy and is on the short-list to step up to a Cabinet secretary slot, whether at the Energy Department or to succeed Panetta. Carter's résumé also includes service on the Defense Science Board, the Defense Policy Board and former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's International Security Advisory Board

# **Deputy Defense Secretary**



# 9 Gen. Joseph Dunford

Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps, slated to become Afghanistan commander

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A RISING STAR viewed as a potential chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Dunford will soon take over as America's top war general, commanding operations in Afghanistan, the second consecutive Marine to fill that post. As assistant commandant of the Marine Corps, Dunford played a critical role in a range of initiatives, including an ongoing effort to overhaul infantry training and new policies aimed at curbing alcohol abuse, hazing, suicide and other behavioral issues. He has served in the position since October 2010. As commander in Afghanistan, Dunford will be the point man for managing the planned U.S. withdrawal of most combat troops by the end of 2014, and for turning over primary responsibility for security operations to Afghan forces. As a colonel, Dunford earned a reputation as "Fighting Joe" during the 2003 invasion of Iraq while commanding the 5th Marine Regimental Combat Team. He went on to spend 22 months in Iraq in various roles. His career really took off in December 2007 when he was nominated for his second star; just three months later he was nominated for a third star. Within two years he had a fourth star and was the Corps' No. 2 general. His coming assignment in Afghanistan will be his first in that theater.



MARINE CORPS

# 10 Andrew Marshall Director, Office of Net Assessment

MARSHALL IS THE MOST INFLUENTIAL defense thinker of his generation and generations to come, as well. Now 91 and still reporting daily to his office at the Pentagon, Marshall has helped shape Pentagon strategy under every president since Nixon. His concise analysis of conflicts and capabilities is legendary, from his deconstruction of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War to his study of the then-Soviet Union's military strategy. Indeed, in the 1980s he was among the first in the U.S.

government to predict that the Soviet Union was heading toward collapse. Marshall has written little himself, but has shaped American and international military thought through the studies he has com-



Andrew Marshall receives the 2008 Presidential Citizens Medal from President George W. Bush in the Oval Office.

missioned, including worst-case "thinking the unthinkable" scenarios that few are willing to consider, much less accurately war-game. He was a leading exponent of the revolution in military affairs, specifically, the importance of night vision, persistent surveillance and precision strike. Marshall has long predicted that the spread of precision technologies will turn the tables on a fundamental U.S. war-fighting advantage, and has urged new concepts to ensure American forces can continue to operate in the face of anti-access and areadenial approaches used by future foes. The Air-Sea Battle concept to forge closer Air Force-Navy cooperation is a result of this thinking. He also has a singular ability to spot, recruit and develop talent, mentoring the sharpest minds in American defense, among them Mike Vickers (No. 5), Deputy Navy Secretary Bob Work (No. 35), Andrew Krepinevich (No. 41), Eliot Cohen (No. 79), strategists Tom Ehrhard and Barry Watts, and former Air Force Secretary Jim Roche. Marshall got his start as an analyst at Rand Corp., where he was mentored by Charles Hitch and Herb Goldhamer, and focuses his efforts today on the future of warfare, emerging threats and technologies, and relations with China and other world powers.

#### 11 Joint Chiefs of Staff BSEINWA

The seven Joint Chiefs, who meet in "the Tank" — their paneled conference room in the Pentagon's E-Ring — are technically outside the military's operational chain of command, but they are the primary military advisers to the president and help fundamentally shape the Defense Department's future. Regardless of which political party controls the White House or Congress, these four-star officers are central to decisions about the size, mix, training and equipping of their forces. Their power has expanded in recent years as fewer civilian leaders in Washington have a military background. The Joint Chiefs' role also may be expanding into more domestic and home land security matters with the recent addition of its seventh member, the chief of the National Guard Bureau, in 2011. Led by the chairman, Army Gen. Martin Dempsey (No. 7), and vice chairman, Navy Adm. James "Sandy" Winnefeld, the other chiefs are: Army Chief of Staff Gen. Ray Odierno; Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Mark Welsh; Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Jon Greenert; Commandant of the Marine Corps Gen. Jim Amos: and National Guard Bureau Chief Gen. Frank Grass.













# 13 The Congressional Big Eight

Eight lawmakers wield great power and influence over the defense budget simply by virtue of their positions as chairmen or ranking minority party members of the House and Senate Armed Services committees and defense appropriations subcommittees. Collectively dubbed the Big Eight, they prepare the defense and national security bills for Congress and have significant administrative power to shift money between budget accounts. They're also the key lawmakers called upon by the White House and Defense Department to consult on major national security matters. On the Senate Armed Services Committee, the two key people are Sens. Carl Levin, D-Mich., and James Inhofe, R-Okla, Levin is the chairman and Inhofe the ranking minority member of the committee; he is succeeding Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., because the Republicans set term limits on how long a member can sit on a committee. On the Senate Appropriations Committee, Sen. Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii is chairman of both the full committee and its defense subcommittee. The ranking Republican is Sen. Thad Cochran. R-Miss., who will need a waiver from the Senate GOP to stay in the position because he also has reached his term limit. On the House Armed Services Committee, the chairman and ranking minority party member remain: respectively, Rep. Buck McKeon, R-Calif., and Rep. Adam Smith, D-Wash. Final decisions have not been made on who will lead the House Appropriations Committee's defense panel. but whoever they are will automatically be big players on defense issues. Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen, R-N.J., appears to be in line to become defense panel chairman and Rep. Pete Visclosky, D-Ind.,

















# 14 Steve Kosiak, Associate Director for Defense and International Affairs at the Office of Management and Budget SEE

He's not based at the Pentagon, but no one

outside that fivesided puzzle palace has more direct control over what the Defense Department spends than this career budget analyst. who came to OMB in 2009 after spending 18 years at the Center

for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. Working far out of the spotlight, Kosiak is the behind-the-scenes hand directing DoD to slash hundreds of billions of dollars in spending and putting the White House's imprint on critical budgetary decisions.

#### 15 Rep. Mike Rogers, R-Mich., Chairman, House Intelligence Committee ASZES

The House Intelligence Committee chairman has emerged as a vocal and leading critic of President Barack Obama on many national security issues - for



example, criticizing the administration over its handling of the deadly U.S. consulate attack in Benghazi, Libya. Rogers, an Army and FBI veteran, has set himself apart from the administration. Yet his knowledge and expertise have also kept him in the mix as a surprise and controversial potential replacement for David Petraeus as CIA director.

## 12 Robert Hale, Pentagon Comptroller SEE

The Pentagon spends \$74 million every hour, and Hale is the man responsible for accounting for it all. Since he knows what's being spent and where, he's also charged with making sure the Pentagon is achieving its costcutting goals. Despite the sometimes mind-numbing number

crunching he does on a daily basis, Hale



can explain with ease, candor and humor even the most complicated aspects of the defense budget. Brutally honest and upfront, the former Navy officer will be instrumental in guiding the Pentagon through what likely will be years of constrained spending

as the nation seeks to cut its deficit.

# TOP 100 MOST INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE

- Tom Donilon, national security adviser
- Leon Panetta, secretary of defense Hillary Clinton, secretary of state
- John Brennan, deputy national security adviser for homeland security and counterterrorism
- Mike Vickers, undersecretary of defense for intelligence
- Navy Adm. William McRaven commander, U.S. Special Operations Command
- Army Gen. Martin Dempsey,
- chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Ashton Carter, deputy secretary
- Marine Gen. Joseph Dunford, outgoing assistant Marine Corps commandant; incoming commander, International Security Assistance Force
- Andrew Marshall, director of the Office of Net Assessment
- The Joint Chiefs of Staff
- Robert Hale. Pentagon comptroller

- The Congressional Big Eight
- Steve Koslak, associate director. Office of Management and Budget
- Rep. Mike Rogers, chairman, 15 House Intelligence Committee
- Sen. John Kerry, chairman,
- Senate Foreign Relations Committee Army Lt. Gen. Mike Flynn, director, Defense Intelligence Agency
- Navy Adm. Samuel Locklear, commander, U.S. Pacific Command
- Army Gen. Keith Alexander, director, National Security Agency; chief, Central Security Service; commander, U.S. Cyber Command
- James Clapper, director of National Intelligence
- The New Three Amigos. Sens. Avotte. Graham and McCain
- Marine Gen. James Mattis.
- commander, U.S. Central Command Kurt Campbell, assistant secretary of state, East Asian and Pacific affairs

24 Mark Lippert, assistant secretary of defense. Asian and Pacific Security affairs

should be the ranking Democrat.

- Susan Rice, U.S. ambassador to the U.N.; potential national security
- Bob Simmons, staff director, House Armed Services Committee
- Doug Bush, minority staff member. HASC
- Richard DeBobes, staff director, 28 Senate Armed Services Committee
- Rep. Joe Wilson, chairman, House Armed Services military personnel subcommittee
- Frank Kendall, undersecretary of defense for acquisition, technology and logistics
- Congress' naval analysts
- Rep. J. Randy Forbes, chairman, House Armed Services readiness subcommittee
- The Wise Men & a Lady

- Marine Gen. John Allen
- outgoing ISAF commander, Afghanistan Robert Work, undersecretary of the Navy
- Sean Stackley, assistant secretary of the Navy for research, development and acquisition
- Brett Lambert, assistant secretary of defense for manufacturing and industrial base noticy
- Navy Adm. Mike Mullen (ret.).
- former chairman of the Joint Chiefs Marine Gen. James Cartwright (ret.), former vice chairman of the Joint
- Army Lt. Gen. Daniel Bolger commander, NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan and Combined Security Transition Command
- Andrew Krepinevich, president, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments
- Former Sen. Chuck Hagel, Atlantic Council chairman

- John Hamre, president and CEO. Center for Strategic and International Studies
- Richard Danzig, chairman,
- Center for a New American Security Rudy deLeon, senior vice president, national security and international policy, Center for American Progress
- Coast Guard Commandant Adm. Robert Papp
- Army Gen. Lloyd Austin III, vice chief of staff; slated to become CENTCOM commander
- Air Force Lt. Gen. Christopher Bogdan, program executive officer, F-35 Lightning II Joint Program Office
- Army Gen. Charles Jacoby, commander, U.S. Northern Command
- Marine Gen. John Kelly, commander, U.S. Southern Command
  - W. James McNerney Jr., chairman, president and CEO, Boeing

# KEY

- Navy Army
- Air Force Marine Corps
- Industry Opinion shapers
- **U** Cyber



- Special Ops Veterans
- Policy

Congress **Money** ☐ War

- Coast Guard
- Pacific Homeland security
- M Intelligence

# 16 Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass. chairman, Senate Foreign **Relations Committee**

# **A E**

It has been something of a running ioke in Washington for years: Isn't Kerry always auditioning for a secretary of state? But Kerry might just get the gig, now that President Obama has



been re-elected and the current secretary, Hillary Clinton, has announced plans to step down. Senate Republicans have all but campaigned for Kerry to get the job, betting that recently denosed Republican Sen, Scott Brown would be a shop-in for the job if a special election had to be held for Kerry's successor. A longtime foreign policy expert and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Kerry has already served the administration on high-profile and sensitive diplomatic trips, having been dispatched by the White House to Pakistan in 2011 to help mend relations in the aftermath of the attack on Osama bin Laden's compound there. The attack rankled Pakistani officials who were caught off guard by the attack on their own turf, and it fell to Kerry to shore up the relationship. Kerry, a Vietnam combat veteran who ran unsuccessfully for president in 2004, was noted for his passionate praise of the Obama administration's first-term foreign policy and national security moves in a speech at the

2012 Democratic National Convention in September, which some called his best speech ever. Kerry also has been talked up as a potential successor to Defense Secretary Leon

# 17 Army Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, Director, Defense Intelligence Agency Pak See

Flynn is one of the few military officers to have remained in the thick of military operations - virtually nonstop since 9/11. From his post as the chief intelligence officer for



three years at the toughest time in Iraq to his position as ISAF J-2 from 2009 to 2010, Flynn has proved to be a driven advocate for improved sharing and cooperation among the military and intelligence agencies. His 2010 report. "Fixing Intel: A Blueprint for Making Intelligence Relevant in Afghanistan, published by the Center for a New American Security, blasted the intelligence community for its fixation on terrorists and insurgents, and its inability to understand the human dimensions of what was going on in Afghan society. Such a challenge might have ended his career — instead, it accelerated it. Flynn became deputy national director of intelligence the following year, and a year later, assigned to head DIA. Now, Flynn is shepherding DIA through the process of building out the newly created Defense Clandestine Service, designed to increase the number of DIA intelligence-gatherers around the globe.

# 18 Navy Adm. Samuel Locklear, Commander, U.S. Pacific Command aesn

A key element of the Obama administration's "Asia pivot" is increasing cooperation with allies across the vast region, and as chief of U.S. Pacific Command.



Locklear is responsible for U.S. defense interests in some 105 million square miles of ocean and land. As the point man for a strategy built around engagement with allies, no one will be more engaged in the process than Locklear, a surface warfare officer who rose to command a carrier battle group, was commandant of his alma mater, the U.S. Naval Academy, and led Naval Forces Europe, Naval Forces Africa and Allied Joint Forces Command in Naples, Italy, before taking his current job. Under his watch, U.S. ships will start forward deployments from Singapore and the Philippines and increase visits to Vietnam, while Marines increase their training cadre in Australia. With one eye on China and the other on Washington. Locklear will spend much of his time away from his Camp Smith, Hawaii, headquarters as he helps shape U.S. strategy, weapons requirements, regional posture and the allocation of resources across his broad domain.

# 19 Army Gen. Keith Alexander, commander, U.S. Cyber Command; director, National Security Agency; chief, Central Security Service OKED

Perhans the longest-serving general in a single position, Alexander has been director of NSA since 2005, and took on the additional duties when U.S. Cyber Command was formed in 2010. In the seven years since he

# **Scandal Strips** Some of Influence

In the course of a few November days, three people plummeted from the top ranks of the powerful, falling down, and in one case right off, the list.

Top editors had just finalized the top 10 for this project when retired Army Gen. David Petraeus abruptly resigned from his job as director of the CIA after admitting to an extramarital affair. The esteemed Petraeus, seen by many as destined for higher office and perhaps even the presidency, had been a fixture in the top 10 from the start.

That same day, Chris Kubasik, who had been slated to become CEO of Lockheed Martin in January, was fired for having an "improper" relationship with a fellow employee. Instead of having the bully pulpit afforded to the chief of the world's biggest defense contractor, he became a nonfactor, tumbling right off the list.

A few days later, it was Afghanistan war chief Marine Gen.

John Allen's turn. Caught up in the bizarre Petraeus scandal over emails he sent to a Tampa. Fla., socialite. Allen's nomination to take over European Command was put on hold and the confirmation of his successor was accelerated. Allen plunged from the top 10 to No. 34. His recently completed plan for the last two years of the Afghanistan war is likely to survive him under his successor, the ascendant Marine Gen. "Fighting Joe" Dunford.

But Allen's plunge was nothing compared to Petraeus, once the country's most famous and admired general, whose waning influence came close to knocking him off the list - but not quite. Petraeus survives at No. 100 because of his many acolytes throughout the military and because history shows that rarely does such an aggressive, ambitious and dynamic leader remain in the shadows for long. America forgave Bill Clinton. It will forgive David Petraeus, as well.

took command at NSA - the longest tenure in NSA history - Alexander has been part of a nucleus of military intelligence leaders who have successfully

narrowed the chasm that long divided military intelligence from civilian agencies, such as the CIA. On the cyber front, Alexander has aggressively sought legislative changes to pave the way



for a more aggressive American stance on cyberwarfare, and he has campaigned on the potential public perils of cyber attacks launched by nation-states, cyber criminals, hackers, hacktivists and terrorists.

# 20 James Clapper, Director of National Intelligence 国人家

He told David Petraeus (No. 100) to resign. That alone could have earned Clapper a See INFLUENTIAL, next page

- 52 Army Lt. Gen. Robert Lennox. principal deputy director of the Pentagon's Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation
- Rep. Jeff Miller, chairman, House Veterans' Affairs Committee
- Sergeant Major of the Army Raymond Chandler
- Sen. Patty Murray, chairwoman, 55 Senate Veterans Affairs Committee Bill Swanson, chairman and CEO,
- Arnold Punaro, CEO of Punaro Group,
- member of Defense Business Board William Cohen, former defense
- secretary and senator Michael Bayer, president and CEO,
- **Dumbarton Strategies** Army Pfc. Bradley Manning, former intelligence analyst charged with leaking
- classified material to WikiLeaks Elon Musk, founder and CEO of

- 62 Air Force Gen. Michael Hayden
- (ret.), principal, The Chertoff Group Industry spokesmen Marion Blakey, president, AIA, and Stan Soloway, Professional Services Council
- Sean O'Keefe, CEO, EADS North America
- Pierre Chao, managing partner and co-founder, Renaissance Strategic
- Army Maj. Gen. H.R. McMaster, commander, Maneuver Center of Excellence at Fort Benning, Ga.
- Marillyn Hewson, incoming CEO, Lockheed Martin
- Air-Sea Battle strategy architects Navy Cant. Philip DuPree and Air Force Col. Jordan Thomas
- John Goodman, COO, Accenture
- Michèle Flournoy, co-founder, Center for a New American Security

- 71 Army Gen. Gordon Sullivan (ret.), president, Association of the United States Army; former Army chief of staff
- Wes Bush, CEO, Northrop Grumman
- Industry Graybeards Dov and Roger Zakheim, defense advisers
- Gordon Adams, professor, U.S. foreign policy program, School of International Service at American University
- Wall Street Bankers. Analysts and Investors
- Todd Harrison, budget expert, CSBA
- David Berteau, director, international security program, CSIS
- Eliot Cohen, director, Strategic Studies Program, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International
- Loren Thompson, COO, Lexington
- Air Force Gen. C. Robert Kehler. commander U.S. Stratenic Command

- Christopher Preble, vice president for defense and foreign policy studies, Cato Institute
- Army Col. Pete Newell, director, Rapid Equipping Force
- Air Force Gen. William Fraser, commander, U.S. Transportation
- Army Gen. Peter Chiarelli (ret.), CEO, One Mind for Research
- Paul Rieckhoff, executive director and founder, Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America
- Steven Strobridge, director of government relations, Military Officers Association of America
- Frank Hoffman, director, National Defense University Press
- Army Gen. David Rodriguez, commander, U.S. Army Forces Command: nominated to head U.S. Africa Command
- Linda Hudson, president and CEO, **BAE Systems**

- Navy Adm. James Stavridis, commander, U.S. European Command: NATO supreme allied commander
- Peter Singer, director, 21st Century Defense Initiative, Brookings
- Phebe Novakovic, incoming CEO, General Dynamics
- Tom Captain, vice chairman aerospace and defense leader for Deloitte LLP
- Michael Weinstein, founder, Military Religious Freedom Foundation
- Barry Blechman, co-founder and distinguished fellow, Stimson Center
- Lawrence Korb, senior fellow, Center for American Progress
- Mackenzie Eaglen, resident fellow, American Enterprise Institute
- Dawn Halfaker, president, Wounded Warrior Project
- 100 Army Gen. David Petraeus (ret.), former CIA director

From previous page

place on this list because when Petraeus was nominated to head the CIA, a job technically subordinate to the DNI, no one in

Washington seriously thought Clapper posed much of a challenge to the most famous American general in half a century. But when Petraeus' affair with his biographer came to light, it was



Clapper, not President Obama, who told him he had to resign. A retired three-star Air Force intelligence officer who rose to the top of the nation's intelligence apparatus at a time of bureaucratic reorganization, Clapper was closely allied with former Defense Secretary Robert Gates, for whom he served as undersecretary of defense for intelligence. Like Gates, Clapper transcended politics to serve Presidents Bush and Obama despite brushes with controversy that might have sunk others' careers. In 2003, as head of the National Geospatial Intelligence Agency, he asserted that weapons of mass destruction had not been found in Iraq because they had "undoubtedly" been shipped to Syria, a point that has never been proved, and in March 2011, he broke with the White House and wrongly predicted Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi would "ultimately prevail." But Clapper, nearing 72, is a survivor, and his skill at successfully managing the intelligence community's notorious infighting has served him well - and likely will for a good while longer

#### 21 The New Three Amigos ± S □

The odds are strong that if you see one traversing the Capitol campus, you'll see another member of the

group in tow. They

often are seen sharing

a laugh or engaging

in serious conversa-

tion. Senate Armed

Services Committee

R-Ariz., is the de facto

leader. Well-known as

a Vietnam War hero,

he is one of the upper

chamber's most pas-

Ranking Member

John McCain,







McCain

signate members, a well-versed expert on everything from defense budgeting and programs to war policy. Sen. Lindsey Graham, R-S.C., has become a force on defense issues, using his legal prowess and military experience to lead the way on efforts to reform terrorist detainee policies. Graham is a

colonel in the U.S. Air Force Reserve. assigned as a senior instructor at the Air Force JAG School. The third amigo amiga, actually - is Sen. Kelly Ayotte, R-N.H., who replaced former Sen. Joe Lieberman, an independent, after he retired Dec. 12. Ayotte raised her national profile during a still-unfolding clash with the Obama White House over a deadly attack on a U.S. diolomatic facility in Libva, and the president's interest in nominating U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice (No. 25) as secretary of state. Ayotte repeatedly questioned whether Rice is qualified, and has raised concerns about information she shared with

# 22 Marine Gen. James Mattis, Commander, U.S. Central Command SFES

They call him "Mad Dog," or the "Warrior Monk," and he might be the most popular general among Marines since the legendary

Lt. Gen. Lewis "Chesty" Puller, By any name, Mattis has spent the past two years as head of U.S. Central Command, overseeing U.S. military activity in the world's most volatile region.



Mattis is best known as the hard-edged commander who led the initial invasions of both Afghanistan and Iraq, and is regarded as one of the military's top intellectuals and visionaries. With then-Army Gen. David Petraeus, he co-authored the military's modern counterinsurgency manual, but he is equally revered by grunts for his unvarnished, blunt talk, such as, "Be professional, be polite, but come prepared to kill everybody you meet." That Mattis, 62, is still in uniform is something of a surprise: He had expected to retire from his post heading Joint Forces Command in its waning days. But his career was resurrected when Army Gen. Stanley McChrystal was fired from his post in Afghanistan, and President Obama appointed Petraeus in his place. Mattis was named to succeed Petraeus at CENTCOM. Now, with a successor already named (Obama has nominated Army Gen. Lloyd Austin to succeed Mattis at CENTCOM in early 2013), Mattis is again swinging between retirement and another tour. In announcing Austin's nomination, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said he would "have more to say about Gen. Mattis" in the near future, suggesting that Mattis may be in line for another big job, perhaps to head U.S. European Command if Marine Gen. John Allen's nomination is withdrawn.

# 23 Kurt Campbell, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

An expert in Asian affairs and a co-founder of the Obama administration's favorite think tank, the Center for a New American Security, Campbell is the State Department's point man on America's strategic pivot to Asia. Campbell, a former naval intelligence officer, is one of the architects of that push. having pressed the case that America is a Pacific power and that the coming century will be an Asian one. Beijing's sweeping

claims to the South and East China seas and bullving of regional powers, he argued.

gave Washington the opportunity to reengage its regional allies to ensure that America retains its pre-eminent role in Asia - despite China's rise, But Campbell's role goes far beyond China.



tions with the Philippines and Vietnam, strengthening ties with Australia and Singapore, and rekindling links with New Zealand all fall to Campbell, who was also in the forefront of restoring U.S. relations with Myanmar and solving myriad crises among them, securing freedom for a prominent Chinese dissident. A former deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asia and the Pacific. Campbell also previously served as staff director at the National Security Council, both during the Clinton administration. That helped cement a particularly close working relationship with the secretary of state, which added to his influence over the past four years.

# 24 Mark Lippert, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs

A former Navy intelligence officer, Lippert earned a Bronze Star for his service in Iraq. Confirmed as the Defense Department's

assistant secretary of defense for Asian and Pacific security affairs in the spring, he will be one of the key players developing closer military ties throughout the Asia-Pacific region in the coming decade. This



includes the shifting of forces and resources. Prior to his current position, Lippert served as foreign policy adviser to then-Sen. Barack Obama from 2005 to 2008. He later served as President Obama's chief of staff for the National Security Council in 2009.

# 25 Susan Rice, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.

The American ambassador to the United Nations is much more than that - Rice also is one of President Barack Obama's most-trusted national security and foreign policy lieutenants.

Obama would prefer to hand her an even bigger role during his second term. He had hoped to make her secretary of state, but Rice withdrew her name from



13 after sustained fire from Senate Republicans over public comments she made about the consulate attack in Benghazi, Libya, that just wouldn't go away. One potential role is national security adviser. Rice was the Clinton administration's top National Security Council official for African affairs (1995-1997) and later assistant secretary of state for African affairs (1997-2001).

# 26 Bob Simmons, Staff Director, House Armed Services Committee, Majority

A former aerospace industry executive who started a second career as a legislative aide. Simmons is the top adviser to Rep. Buck McKeon, R-Calif., the Armed Services

Committee chairman. and other members. of the committee. He's responsible for the day-to-day oversight of the staff, and for being up to speed on issues facing the panel. He's hardly new to the game.



Simmons was also committee staff director under former Rep. Duncan Hunter, R-Calif., who persuaded the fellow San Diegan to bring his industry experience to the committee in 2003. It was Simmons, former chief executive officer of an engineering firm, who helped Hunter persuade the Defense Department to up-armor Humvees early in the Iraq war, a move that saved numerous lives. On a staff filled with many veterans, Simmons stands out as one of a few, including McKeon, without military experience.

### 27 Doug Bush, Minority Staff Member, **House Armed Services Committee** ASE

West Point graduate and former Army officer Bush has been on the panel's professional staff for only six years - but as the Democrats' weapons program expert, few staffers are better positioned to influence

HASC decisions than he. The former 3rd Infantry Division platoon leader not only has experience in what the military needs, but also knows how to dia into the details of

programs to discover what's working and what's not. While not solely Bush's doing, the demise of the Army's Future Combat System is partly the result of his review. His portfolio has expanded and now includes tactical aviation programs, unmanned systems, ground combat vehicles, communications equipment and missile systems. Before joining the committee staff, Bush worked for Sen. Ben Nelson, D-Neb.; Rep. Jim Cooper, D-Tenn., and Rep. Neil Abercrombie, D-Hawaii. All three lawmakers were heavily involved in defense and national security issues.

#### 28 Richard DeBobes, Senate Armed Services Committee Staff Director ASE

The Senate Armed Services Committee staff director is one of the behind-the-scenes individuals who ensures one of the last truly bipartisan panels on Capitol Hill runs efficiently. From planning hearings to helping guide annual Pentagon policy legislation

through the Senate, DeBobes' role is crucial to the Defense Department and industry. A former Navy captain, he spent 26 years in the sea service's judge advocate general corps, which comes



in handy on a panel that increasingly weighs and sets policy over a number of thorny legal issues, ranging from enhanced interrogation methods to the CIA's UAV program. And with the Senate challenged to pass even essential legislation such as the National Defense Authorization Act, DeBobes' contacts are crucial to ensuring the bill gets ample time for floor debate and a final vote each year.

# 29 Rep. Joe Wilson, R-S.C., Chairman, House Armed Services Military Personnel Subcommittee A S

When Pentagon officials proposed a blue-ribbon panel to study changes to the

military retirement system, or wanted to increase Tricare enrollment fees, or force senior retirees to pay annually for Tricare for Life, Wilson stood in their way. Even in a House filled with budget-



cutting Republicans and sitting on a committee of defense industry darlings, Wilson has been a force that nearly everyone is afraid to cross. The Pentagon may have big plans for reforming the military retirement system and cutting Tricare costs by raising fees, but those plans are unlikely to move forward as long as Wilson continues to lead this influential subcommittee.

#### 30 Frank Kendall, Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics

Kendall, the Pentagon's top acquisition official, oversees some \$400 billion in goods and services the Defense Department purchases each year, and he

just unveiled a new cost-cutting initiative called Better Buying Power 2.0. The plan aims to refine policies put in place by his predecessor, Deputy Defense Secretary Ashton Carter, Kendall, a



West Point graduate and former Army officer, served as the No. 2 acquisition official for most of President Obama's first term. moving up to the top slot when Carter was promoted in 2011. At one point in his career, Kendall oversaw Raytheon's internal research and development work, experience that could prove handy in the coming years as DoD plans to better focus R&D efforts as budgets shrink

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#### 31 Congress' Naval Analysts ATS

In a town full of analysts and experts, two naval analysts stand apart for their added clout: Ronald O'Rourke of the Congressional Research Service and Eric Labs of the Congressional Budget Office. Few things are more political, more complex, more expensive and more controversial than shipbuilding. Both have enormous influence because they can speak directly to lawmakers to control the Navy's purse strings. At CRS, O'Rourke meticulously assesses the Navy's force structure and programs — how many of what to buy, how long they'll last, what the Navy will need and why, as well as the policies that would come under congressional oversight. At CBO, Labs meticulously scrutinizes every corner of the Navy's budget - especially the service's annual 30-year shipbuilding plan - to determine whether costs will actually come in on target, and if not, why. No duo in Washington is better respected at what they do nor work more closely together as a team to produce work that is consistently of exemplary quality.

# 32 Rep. J. Randy Forbes, R-Va., Chairman, House Armed Services Readiness Subcommittee ASE

The six-term lawmaker, a fierce budget hawk and an ardent opponent of base closing, will be chairman of the seapower subcommittee in the 113th Congress. The shift has him

giving up leadership of the readiness panel that oversees one-quarter of the defense budget for a new leadership position important in his Navy-rich congressional district. His true power over the



defense budget comes not so much from the subcommittee he leads but from his tenacity in taking on the Obama administration. The former lawyer and member of the Virginia legislature led the fight to prevent additional rounds of base closing by arguing military leaders had not made an economic case for the change, and it has pushed to keep defense spending high even as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan wind down by pointing to China as a potential military and economic threat and calling for expanded cyberwarfare capabilities

#### 33 The Wise Men & a Lady

When presidents, statesmen and others who think they're influential call you for your opinion, you're in a totally different league. This group of living legends is the core of that league: American strategists who, even in their ninth decades, continue to groom follow-on generations of policy leaders and steer U.S. national security. Former national security advisers Henry Kissinger - who also served as secretary of state under Presidents Nixon and Ford - Retired

Air Force Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft (Ford and Bush) and Zbigniew Brzezinski (Carter) continue to shape policy. All have mentored generations who hold - or have held - top offices across government Former Defense Secretaries James Schlesinger (Nixon and Ford), Harold Brown (Carter), Bill Perry (Clinton) and Robert Gates (Bush and Obama) are still deeply involved in strategic issues from energy to Iran to North Korea, Former Sen, Sam Nunn remains a player from his perch as chairman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. And Madeleine Albright (Clinton), the first woman to serve as secretary of state, continues to advise American statesmen from her post at Georgetown University. Among her past students: Condoleezza Rice, the second woman to serve as secretary of state.

### 34 Marine Gen. John Allen, Commander, International Security Assistance Force, Afghanistan

Allen, the top U.S. commander in Afghanistan, was preparing to take over U.S. Furopean Command, a prestigious position that would build on the ties he forged over

two years running the Afghan war with his NATO allies. But revelations that he engaged in lengthy email exchanges with a Tampa, Fla., socialite linked to the David Petraeus



review by the Defense Department Inspector General. So instead of going to EUCOM and being viewed as a potential future Marine Corps commandant, Allen may retire out of his current post. If the IG probe derails his Supreme Allied Commander Europe appointment - and that's likely in an administration that has dropped candidates like a rock with even a hint of scandal -Allen will likely fade into the background. But at least until Gen. Joseph Dunford (No. 9) arrives in Kabul to relieve him of his duties, Allen will continue to wield enormous influence. The recommendations he recently submitted to the White House will carry the most weight, as the president and his national security team try to piece together a plan for ending the course of war in Afghanistan, pacing U.S. troop withdrawals and shaping whatever military presence remains after the official end of combat operations in late 2014.

# 35 Robert Work, Undersecretary of the Navy NES

An unabashed supporter of sea power, the

former Marine artillery colonel is well-known for enthusiastically championing the controversial littoral combat ship and the fleet size and power of the Navy. Work has taken on all comers



in his bid to bolster Navy resources, as a

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Navy M Army Air Force

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public speaker, incessant poster on Internet

halls of Congress. While his boss, Navy

the Navy's "Green Fleet" initiative and

sites and avid pounder of the pavement in the

Secretary Ray Mabus, focuses on promoting

fleetwide travel. Work is the hands-on Navy

civilian at the Pentagon, the chief operating

officer for the department that manages the

Navy and Marine Corps. It is he who handles

the lion's share of executive duties, from over-

seeing budgets and programs to force-shap-

ing and strategy. Work has implemented for-

ward-thinking concepts, including unmanned

carrier-launched aircraft, the conversion of an

staging base to support mine ships and patrol

A master planner and steady advocate for the

future fleet, Stackley oversees an annual

purse of more than \$50 billion to buy and

Academy graduate and former Senate staffer

of the aisle and shaping how the Navy con-

fronts its biggest acquisition issues, such as

the 2010 decision to buy both littoral combat

ship designs. Stackley has deftly managed to

maintain expensive shipbuilding as a funding

37 Brett Lambert, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manufacturing and Industrial Base Policy

No one has done more to make defense

Pentagon strategy than Lambert, whose

industrial policy a fundamental element of

sweeping analysis of DoD's supplier base is

giving leaders a better understanding of the

industrial implications of program decisions.

ambert assumed his position after prede-

so he's had to rebuild the office's analytical

capacity in anticipation of a wave of mergers

and acquisitions in the coming downturn. It's

cessors shrank the office and its capabilities.

priority, even as budgets are getting

has stayed on, earning praise from both sides

amphibious ship into an innovative affoat

efforts in the Arabian Gulf, and the Air-Sea

Battle concept that is fostering closer Air

Force-Navy strategic cooperation.

36 Sean Stackley, Assistant Navy Secretary for Research, Development and Acquisition

NES

develop new ships,

aircraft and weapons.

He was appointed in

President George W.

down when President

Obama took office.

But the 1979 Naval

2008 under then-

Bush, and was

expected to step

shapers (Cyber



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his office's responsibility to review those deals on DoD's behalf. His three decades of industry and international experience, much of it with strategic business consultant DFI International, was a

good foundation for him in his role as the crucial intermediary between DoD's leadership and the defense industry

# 38 Adm. Michael Mullen, Navy (ret.) former chairman of the Joint Chiefs

Mullen retired as chairman of the Joint Chiefs in 2011, an admiral who led the military through two ground wars and rose above service distinctions.

Thoughtful and analytical, he remains wired into the community, a trusted nonpartisan figure brought in as part of the team investigating the death of

Christopher Stevens,

the U.S. ambassador to Libya who was killed during an attack on his compound in Benghazi on Sept. 11. As chairman, Mullen was a steadfast supporter of then-Defense Secretary Robert Gates, and a strong proponent of jointness among the services. He also single-handedly changed the debate over gavs in the military when he told Congress in 2010, "No matter how I look at the issue, I cannot escape being troubled by the fact that we have in place a policy which forces young men and women to lie about who they are in order to defend their fellow citizens. For me, personally, it comes down to integrity theirs as individuals and ours as an institution." Today, Mullen is an advocate for veterans and wounded warriors, but his experience and counsel remains highly valued in

# 39 Marine Gen, James Cartwright (Ret.), Former Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs

A former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and sometimes called "Obama's favorite general," Cartwright was one of the key members of the national security team that developed the administration's national cyber policy, and he was also instrumental in "Olympic Games," the U.S. cyber offensive that included Stuxnet and Flame, computer programs that targeted and disrupted Iran's

nuclear program. Cartwright failed to get a promotion to chairman due to an investiga-

tion into an alleged relationship with a junior officer in his chain of command Since retiring in 2011, Cartwright has become an outspoken advocate for the need to increase offensive cyber capability. Says

one cyber expert: "He is brilliant and out to make the point that we need more offense.

# 40 Lt. Gen. Daniel P. Bolger, NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan and Combined Security Transition Command

Whether Afghanistan continues slow progress toward joining the modern world after 2014 depends to a great degree on Bolger, who is responsible for training and

preparing 350,000 Afghan soldiers, police and special operations forces to defend their own country. That's arguably the most important job in the Army right now, A

graduate of The Citadel in South Carolina, Bolger rose through the Army ranks, holding key positions, including the Army G-3, responsible for training and operations for the Army. In his spare time, Bolger earned a Ph.D. in Russian history from the University of Chicago and wrote and published 12 books — 11 military histories and a fictional thriller called "Feast of Bones," about a Soviet veteran of the 1980s war in Afghanistan who attempts to overthrow the Soviet Union.

Krepinevich applies net assessment skills learned from his mentor, Andrew Marshall (No. 10), to make the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments one of Washington's most formidable think tanks.

CSBA fills a unique role by developing cutting-edge concepts and strategies influenced by Marshall's principles and work at the Office of Net Assessment, which the CSBA occasionally sup-

ports. CSBA's ability to generate big ideas to deal with big problems like anti-access/area denial threats or how to fight future enemies equipped with precision weapons, nightvision and cutting-edge communications have kept it in the limelight. A West Point grad who retired as a lieutenant colonel, Krepinevich has a rare ability to identify future threats and opportunities - and top talent — making him a valued and trusted adviser to DoD leaders and lawmakers. CSBA alumni include Vickers (No. 5). Work (No. 35) and Kosiak (No. 14).



## 42 Former Sen. Chuck Hagel, Atlantic Council Chairman

The former Republican senator from

Nebraska is considered by many to be a Cabinet secretary in waiting — regardless of which party occupies the White House. Currently chairman of the Atlantic Council. Hagel is on



Councit, Hagel is oil the shortlists for top jobs at the Defense and State departments, and at the CIA, and with President Obama searching for a Republican to add to his Cabinet, Hagel, a former Army infantry sergeant and Vietnam vet, is very much in the running. In his 12 years in the Senate, Hagel was a member of the Intelligence and Foreign Relations committees, earning respect from Republicans and Democrats alike, and has kept his hand in the policy game as co-chairman of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board (with former Sen. David Boren, president of the University of Oklahoma) and as a member of the Defense Policy Board.

# 43 John Hamre, President and CEO, Center for Strategic and International Studies

When it comes to heavy-hitting Washington insiders, Hamre is among the top sluggers. A former Pentagon

comptroller who rose to be deputy defense secretary under President Clinton, Hamre knows money and defense policy as well as anyone in town. His is one of a



town. His is one or small group of names that regularly surfaces as a candidate for defense secretary and other top jobs. Hamre is respected, admired and listened to because he knows how every facet of the complex machinery of government works, having seen it firsthand as a top Senate staffer, senior political appointee, and now head of a top think tank. He understands power and money and has the toughness to make bureaucracies work.

#### 44 Richard Danzig, Chairman, Center for a New American Security ☑ ■

Danzig has built a formidable reputation as one of the keenest defense minds in

Washington, as comfortable discussing technical minutiae as he is engaging on sweeping geostrategy. A committed Democrat, Danzig was then-Sen.



Obama's top national security adviser during the 2008 presidential campaign; he was the odd man out when Obama kept Robert Gales on as secretary of defense. As Navy secretary during the Clinton administration, Danzig was

known for cutting off PowerPoint briefings and trying to get to the root of thorny issues. He has used his chairmanship of the Center for a New American Security to mentor a new generation of national security thinkers, while helping shape broader policy and strategy discussions through his participation on two influential panels, the President's Intelligence Advisory Board and the Detense Policy Board.

#### 45 Rudy deLeon, Senior Vice President, National Security & International Policy, Center for American Progress

An even-keeled and respected administrator, deLeon made the Center for American Progress a force in Washington following

stints as undersecretary of the Air Force, Pentagon personelle chief and deputy defense secretary during the Clinton administration. He was staff director of the House Armed Services Committee,



where he honed his intimate knowledge of how Washington works and the art of the politically possible, helping pass the historic Goldwater-Nichols Act that reorganized the military by forming the regional combatant commands and establishing joint service experience for senior military officers. He remains involved within the Pentagon as a member of the influential Defense Policy Board.

#### 46 Coast Guard Commandant Adm. Bob Papp ☑ ☑ ☑

The Coast Guard isn't part of the Department

of Defense, but its role in national security is vital. As commandant, Papp faces a shrinking budget and aging assets at the same time as the Coast Guard's mission is expanding and the Arctic icecap



begins to melt, expanding the mission still further. "The Coast Guard has never, never in our history been resourced to do 100 percent of the jobs that are given to us," Papp said in a recent interview. "So what we do is we train leaders who make decisions on what the highest priorities are on a day-today basis, and we attack those missions first. We use whatever we have left over to get the lower-priority missions. And then when disaster strikes, everything falls aside and we respond to that," Papp, now halfway through his term as commandant, came to the job after commanding Coast Guard Atlantic Area, where he was responsible for the eastern half of global Coast Guard operations, including direct support to the Defense Department.

## 47 Gen. Lloyd Austin III, Army Vice Chief of Staff

Nominated by President Obama to succeed

Marine Gen. James Mattis (No. 22) at U.S. Central Command after less than a year as Army vice chief of staff, Austin is a general on the rise. He earned a Silver Star for his actions as assistant division commander with the 3rd Infantry Division in the open-

ing months of the fraq war, and is today the Army's highest-ranking African-American officer. The 1975 West Point graduate has held a series of high-profile commands, including



mands, including commanding general of the 10th Mountain Division and XVIII Airborne Corps, and as America's last commander in Iraq — his third deployment to that war zone — he coordinated the final withdrawal of U.S. forces there. Once at CENTCOM, he will use that experience in helping to oversee the withdrawal of combat forces from Afohanistan, as well.

#### 48 Air Force Lt. Gen. Christopher Bogdan, F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Program Manager ≦3 ☑ ☑ ☑

Bogdan is the newly appointed head of the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Joint Program

Office, where he manages the most expensive acquisition program in DoD history. As deputy program manager, Bogdan signaled a potentially confrontational style in September when he



publicly criticized JSF contractor Lockheed Martin, calling the relationship between the company and the program office "the worst I have ever seen" and suggesting that more competition could drive down costs. His words may have hit home: The week before he officially took over the program, Lockheed and DoD reached an agreement to purchase 32 JSFs for under \$4 billion, a cheaper rate than the four previous U.S. purchases. Bogdan came to the JSF program after running the Air Force's KC-46 Tanker Modernization Directorate, where he won praise for locking Boeing into a fixedprice contract in 2011 that ensures any costs over \$4.9 billion are paid by the company, not the government. Before that he was senior military assistant to the undersecretary of defense for acquisition. That combination of experience suggests still bigger roles for Bogdan in the future.

# 49 Army Gen. Charles Jacoby, Commander, U.S. Northern Command

The first Army general to head Northern Command and North American Aerospace Defense Command, Jacoby leads America's first line of defense when it comes to attacks



on the homeland. He also is responsible for the ground-based midcourse missile

defense system, an element of the ballistic missile defense system that allows combatant commanders to engage and destroy limited intermediate—and long-range ballistic missiles. An infantryman at heart, Jacoby is a 1978 West Point graduate who has commanded at various levels within the 82nd Airborne Division. After a baching stint at West Point and service with the 25th Infantry Division, Jacoby commanded I Corps and led the headquarters on its deployment to Iraq.

#### 50 Marine Gen. John Kelly, Commander, U.S. Southern Command 12 (3)

Having completed 16 months as Defense Secretary Leon Panetta's senior military assistant, Kelly assumed command at SOUTHCOM in

November, where he oversees military operations in Central and South America and the Caribbean, a region struggling with transnational organized crime, drug trafficking, nat-



ural disasters, humanitarian crises and corruntion. Having begun his service as an enlisted man, Kelly is now one of five Marine four-star generals. His tenure working for Panetta (No. 2) gives him a little extra sway, at least as long as Panetta remains SECDEF. Kelly, Panetta said as the general assumed his new command, is "a trusted confidant and a trusted friend," worthy of praise for his "judgment and blunt. honest counsel." Panetta said Kelly ensured that the "daily reality of those serving on the front lines informs and guides every decision that I've made." Both of Kelly's sons followed in his footsteps, becoming Marines and war veterans, and one, 1st Lt. Robert Kelly, was killed in 2010 in Afghanistan, Like his father, Robert Kelly also served as an enlisted Marine before becoming an officer and leading troops into battle.

#### 51 W. James McNerney Jr., Chairman, President and CEO, Boeing Co. ☑ ■

When you head the world's biggest aerospace and defense company, you carry clout. A veteran

clout. A veteran
executive of nearly
20 years at General
Electric, McNerney
lost out in a threeway competition to
succeed the legendary Jack Welch at
GE and soon left the
company to become



CEO of 3M. Four years later, he took his reputation for delivering performance on the road again, this time to Boeing, America's leading exporter in terms of total monetary value. His influence extends beyond size — he chairs President Obama's President's Export Council. McNerney is also on the leading edge in managing engineering talent, shifting workers who might otherwise be lost in the defense downturn to the company's booming commercial aircraft division, which is buoying not only Boeing,

where revenue rose 6.9 percent in 2011, but also the U.S. aerospace industry as a whole.

#### 52 Army Lt. Gen. Robert Lennox, Principal Deputy Director, Cost Analysis and Program Evaluation, Office of Secretary of Defense

Lennox has the defense secretary's ear when it comes to purchasing gear and developing — or canceling — defense

programs, so he wields more influence than many three-star officers. His recommendation carries significant weight in programs such as the Ground Combat Vehicle and Joint Light Tactical



Vehicle, and he is the point man if programs run amok. Lennox has solid credentials, having been responsible for Army integration and programming for the previous 21/2 years, during which he helped push through the mine-resistant, ambushprotected All Terrain Vehicle and helped cut the Future Combat Systems and Joint Tactical Radio System. Lennox doesn't back down easily: When Congress and industry pressed to keep tanks rolling off the assembly line this year, Lennox argued the Army had other priorities; he lost that fight, but he was willing to make his case in the face of 173 congressmen who saw tanks as jobs, rather than a weapons program.

## 53 Rep. Jeff Miller, R-Fla., Chairman, House Veterans' Affairs Committee

A five-term congressman who represents a Florida Panhandle district, Miller never

served in the military but has proved in his two years as committee chairman to be strong advocate for veterans and their families while demanding more accountability from the Veterans Affairs



Department about how well its programs work. He has pushed major improvements in programs to help unemployed veterans, including the chronically unemployed. He has also overseen major upgrades to the Post-9/11 GI Bill and has steered efforts to expand VA support for veterans suffering from post-traumatic stress and traumatic brain injury. The war may be drawing to a close, but veterans issues will be with us for decades to come.

# 54 Sergeant Major of the Army Raymond Chandler

The Army's top enlisted man was tasked with getting the service back to its professional roots after a decade at war, and he has been a force of nature in tackling the task. Chandler, more than any other service's senior enlisted adviser, challenged the status quo and instituted change, bringing back mandatory professional

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development programs and schooling for noncommissioned officers, tightening

orooming standards and taking a hard line on ending the careers of soldiers who fail to meet standards whether those are for behavior. appearance or professionalism. With



the Army in line to cut at least 80,000 soldiers over the next five years, Chandler's unapologetic quest to keep the best and cut the rest will draw the ire of many caught in the crossfire, but his focus will remain on ensuring that those who survive this drawdown are the most worthy.

#### 5 Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., Chairwoman, Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee AES

In addition to chairing the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, Murray is a member of the Senate

Democratic leader ship, giving her greater power to maneuver for issues that concern her. Among her top issues: getting the Veterans Affairs and Defense departments



to do more on mental health issues for vets and to provide caregiver benefits for families caring for severely disabled veterans. Having grown up as the daughter of a disabled veteran and having worked, however briefly, at a VA hospital, she has personal experience with veterans concerns, and as the number of Iraq and Afghanistan war veterans seeking help with medical claims and services grows, Murray's continued advocacy will be vital.

# 56 William Swanson, Chairman and CEO, Raytheon

No executive of his generation has been more closely linked with his firm -- nor so

intimately shaped it in his image — than Swanson with Raytheon. He has instituted the most metrics-based company in the business, driving internal process improvement, cut-



ting waste and improving performance by tracking everything from executive meetings to whether they're productive. The 42-year Raytheon veteran has been critical of rival CEOs for overstating the potential fallout from sequestration, describing a financial situation he sees as not only manageable, but potentially profitable for Raytheon. Swanson's technical savvy and experience is why he serves on more government defense panels and advisory boards than any of his counterparts, and his passion for education - he's a longtime proponent of better science, technology, engineering and math education - drives his push for improved vocational institutions and community colleges to provide technical training for the future workforce.

#### 57 Arnold Punaro, CEO, The Punaro Group

Few in Washington have a résumé to match Punaro's: A retired Marine Corps major general, Punaro earned a Bronze Star for

valor in Vietnam and also served in operations Desert Shield, Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom. A former senior staffer for then-Sen, Sam Nunn, the Georgia Democrat, Punaro was staff director for



the Senate Armed Services Committee for eight years, then spent more than a dozen years as a top executive at SAIC. He was a key advocate for reforming the military personnel and retirement systems, and called for the legislation that added the chief of the National Guard Bureau to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Among his many current positions and assignments, he chairs the Reserve Forces Policy Board and heads the Defense Business Board task force on acquisition reform, a position where his considerable skills could help redefine how the Pentagon does business.

### 58 William Cohen, Former Senator and Defense Secretary, Founder of The Cohen Group $\mathbf{A}$

Cohen walks through foreign defense shows like royalty, and crowds part in def-

erence. It's a sign of respect for Cohen's lasting influence and gravitas, earned through six years as a Republican in the House, 18 years in the Senate and four years as secretary of



defense under President Bill Clinton. After retiring from public service in 2001. Cohen went into business, trading on the connections and knowledge built up over three decades in Washington to build an internationally recognized consulting firm, The Cohen Group, which leverages all that experience and expertise for governments and foreign and domestic business clients, offering both lobbying and strategic business advice. Cohen's team roster reads like a who's who of top officials, including retired Air Force Gen. Joseph Ralston (former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff); Nicholas Burns (former undersecretary of state); retired Gen. Paul Kern (former commander of Army Materiel Command and president of AM General): and retired Adm. James Loy (former Coast Guard commandant and acting secretary of homeland security).

### KEY

- Mavy Navy Army Air Force **Marine Corps**
- Industry Opinion shapers
- (V) Cyber
- Special Ops Veterans
- Policy
- Congress Money Coast Guard ■ War **Pacific**
- 3 Homeland security ☑ Intelligence

### 59 Michael Bayer, President and CEO, Dumbarton Strategies and CTO, SpaceX

The defense insider's defense insider, Bayer is unique in Washington for his role

as adviser, strategist and sounding board to DoD's top civilian and military leaders. Bayer - a retired Army Reserve colonel - is past chairman of the Defense Business Board and has long



been a member of a series of other defense and Air Force, Army and Navy advisory panels. Bayer since 2001 has helped shepherd top political appointees, including Joint Chiefs chairmen, service chiefs and combatant commanders through an orientation process that culminates in their confirmation. He also has helped highlight looming strategic issues, advising top defense leaders to begin thinking about cuts well before defense spending peaked so they could prepare for an orderly drawdown. At dinners in his Georgetown home. he regularly hosts a who's who of the nation's sharpest defense minds to cue senior officials to thorny issues and debate

# 60 Army Pfc. Bradley Manning, Former Intelligence Analyst, 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 10th Mountain Division ,≯S ±

Sent to court-martial for the largest suspected leak of classified material in U.S. history, Manning allegedly transmitted

hundreds of thousands of diplomatic cables and classified military reports. much of it published by WikiLeaks. Whether you see the alleged leaks as the criminal act of a petulant junior sol-



dier or critical to exposing questionable battlefield actions and diplomatic conduct. their release helped fuel the Arab Spring. The leaks also proved a wake-up call over lax security and potential insider threats throughout the military, diplomatic and intelligence communities. Manning's case embarrassed the government and forced massive reforms over how information is accessed and distributed that will be felt for decades.

## 61 Elon Musk, Founder, CEO

Inventing PayPal made him a billionaire, but launching satellites for the military could really take off for the South African-born Musk His newest passion is SpaceX, a compa-



### 62 Retired Air Force Gen. Michael Hayden, Principal, The Chertoff Group O U &

enterprise cannot be ignored.

Former director of both the National Security Agency and the CIA, Hayden has been a leading authority on the need to

improve information sharing between the public and private sectors as a measure to combat increasing cyber attacks. The son of a welder. Hayden once was the equipment manager

and military brass.

for his hometown Pittsburgh Steelers. He went on to establish a sterling leadership pedigree that opens

### 63 The Industry Spokesmen

doors and carries weight with lawmakers

When it comes to shaping policies that affect federal contracting and the industrial base, perhaps no voices are as influential as those of Marion Blakey and Stan Soloway. Not only do they represent hundreds of the nation's biggest contractors Soloway as CEO and president of the Professional Services Council and Blakey

as president and CEO of the Aerospace Industries Association -- but each excels at

translating complex policy shoptalk into persuasive, plainspoken advocacy. Both also carry heavy-duty Beltway credentials, including previously serving as senior federal executives. Soloway oversaw the Pentagon's acquisition reform effort during the Clinton administration while Blakey ran the Federal Aviation Administration in the George W. Bush





administration and before that, held numerous political appointments throughout the executive branch. Such backgrounds demonstrate clear commitments to public service, a critical credential when sitting across from federal leaders and lawmakers, which they do frequently. Both keep their respective trade associations in overdrive, responding to countless proposed regulations, pending legislation, congressional hearings and news reports concerning their pet issues. Whether the topic is Pentagon budget cuts or the minutiae of the Federal Acquisition Regulation, these high-powered voices have

#### 64 Sean O'Keefe, CEO, **EADS North America**

With a rare grasp of the details in both the legislative and operational functions of gov-

ernment the Republican O'Keefe is one of the elder statesmen in the defense industry, one whose prior service in the federal government garnered close connections with powerbrokers and



endowed him with detailed knowledge of the politics of defense. A former Navy secretary, Pentagon comptroller and NASA administrator, O'Keefe is one of the Republican defense elite. Along with his son, he survived a 2010 plane crash in Alaska that killed former U.S. Sen. Ted Stevens and four others. As chief of EADS North America, he's now the American face of a company bent on expanding its foothold in the U.S. defense market, and perhaps no one could be better suited to the role.

# 65 Pierre Chao, Managing Partner and Co-founder, Renaissance Strategic Advisors and Enlightenment Capital

In the four years since Chao founded Renaissance Strategic Advisors, the company has become one of the fastest growing defense consultancies in Washington, grabbing work and top talent from competitors and driving a few of them out of the market. Chao, 46, spent a decade on Wall

Street as a topranked analyst and investment banker before becoming the defense industry fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He serves



on numerous advisory panels, including the Defense Business Board, and recently launched his private defense investment firm. Enlightenment Capital

### 66 Army Maj. Gen. H.R. McMaster, Commanding General, Maneuver Center of Excellence • • E

The young tank captain who in 1991 won fame for outfighting a far larger Iraqi force at the Battle of 73

Easting is the intellectual voice of the Army, to whom the service turns when it needs to examine policy, doctrine and professionalism. McMaster's outspoken style almost



derailed his career when he was passed over for promotion to brigadier general. But having been part of the team that helped Gen. David Petraeus rewrite the book on counterinsurgency in 2006, he has found support for his vision, tolerance for his candor, and a place among the Army's small cadre of rising stars.

# 67 Marillyn Hewson, Incoming CEO, Lockheed Martin

Hewson may be the surprise CEO of Lockheed Martin come Jan. 1, but her key role in the company's leadership has been

mapped out for vears. So when CEO-elect Christopher Kubasik had to step aside because of an inappropriate relationship in November. Hewson was the logical choice to suc-



ceed Robert Stevens as the top officer at the world's biggest defense contractor. Now 120,000 employees and \$47 billion in annual sales are her responsibility, at a time when defense budgets are falling and Lockheed's and the Pentagon's - biggest program, the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, is under intense pressure. Hewson will have to draw on all her powers to hold down costs, keep multinational customers satisfied and absorb engineering risks to keep the program going or to manage its demise, if necessary.

### 68 Air-Sea Battle Architects: Air Force Col. Jordan Thomas and Navy Capt. Philip Dupree

These two officers have been endowed with power far above their paygrade to shape the Air-Sea Battle concept, a doctrine that will shape force structure, requirements

and weapons capabilities for both services over the coming decades. No new operational concept has been touted as more important, nor more hotly debated in the past year than ASB, which aims to improve collaboration between the Air Force and the Navy to allow U.S. forces to operate against increasingly heavily defended foes such as China and Iran, For example, ASB would be instrumental in cracking China's increasingly sophisticated anti-access, area-denial systems aimed at pushing American forces as far from its shores as possible, including long-range conventional hallistic missiles to threaten ships and regional bases. But the toughest fight to be faced by Dupree and Thomas and their office may not be building out the concept but convincing critics that ASB is not a ploy to steal funding from the Army - in fact, both the Army and Marines have representatives in the office.

# 69 John Goodman, Chief Operating Officer, Accenture Federal Services

The Pentagon's former industrial base chief during the merger-and-acquisition craze of

the 1990s now chairs the Defense Business Board, which advises the secretary of defense on improving the Pentagon's business and management processes With industrial base concerns on the front



burner, and with the department prioritizing efficiency, the board and the man who leads it will be critical in every aspect of Pentagon business operations in the coming years.

## 70 Michèle Flournoy, co-founder, Center for a New American Security nee

After a tour in the Pentagon as the undersecretary for policy, Flournoy is back at the

think tank she co founded in 2007 with Kurt Campbell (No. 23) after helping on the Obama campaign. But not for long, Respected for her insight, pragmatism and ability to build con-



sensus, Flournoy is in the running for top jobs close to the president, perhaps as a successor to Tom Donilon (No. 1) at the National Security Council. As for CNAS, it's gone from newbie to heavyweight with a list of illustrious members like Chairman Richard Danzig (No. 44) and former CNAS president John Nagl.

# 71 Retired Army Gen. Gordon Sullivan, President, Association of the United States Army

Call him the chairman of the board of the United States Army, There isn't any such job, but if there were, it would be Sullivan. More than 17 years after he retired as chief of staff of the Army, Sullivan, now 75, uses his position as chief of America's biggest professional military booster organization to fight for his beloved service and against threats, such as Air-Sea Battle.



resources the Army won over the past 11 years of war. As Army chief, he led the service through the post-Desert Storm drawdown and transition from a Cold War construct, then transformed the sleepy Association of the United States Army during his 14 years as president into a vibrant advocate for Army programs, soldiers and their families. AUSA links the Army and its industrial base, pushing for programs and requirements, such as a new Ground Combat Vehicle. When the Army wants to sell a program, Sullivan and AUSA are almost always part of the plan.

#### 72 Wes Bush, Chairman, President and CEO, Northrop Grumman

Aggressive, decisive and thoughtful, Bush has been at the forefront of several key

trends in the defense industry since taking over Northrop Grumman in 2010. His move to divest Northrop's ship-building businesses spinning off Huntington Ingalls Industries, paved the



way for others: Since then, L-3 and ITT have also spun off less profitable operations. In reinventing Northrop after its failed bid to build the next Air Force tanker, he has moved the company's headquarters from California to Virginia to be closer to his customers, and emphasized prudent fiscal decision-making over flash, leading a new generation of senior executives to trim payroll and other expenses well ahead of the defense downturn. Outspoken in his criticism of Congress and the administration over sequestration, he gains a bigger pulpit in 2013 when he takes on the additional role of chairman of the Aerospace Industries Association's board of gover-

#### 73 Industry Graybeards

They're no longer running their own companies, but these former industry leaders are still fully engaged, whether advising presidential campaigns, mentoring future defense leaders or chairing government task forces. The man who made Lockheed Martin the world's biggest defense contractor, Norm Augustine, advised the president on revamping the U.S. education system to improve science, technology, engineering and math skills. Former TRW chief executive Phil Odeen continues to advise companies on strategy and is a member of the Detense Business Board, and Paul Kaminski, the father of the world's first stealth aircraft, heads the Defense Science Board.

#### 74 Dov and Roger Zakheims, Defense Advisers TA E

GOP presidential nominee Mitt Romney populated his team of defense and foreign policy advisers with

several up-and-comers in conservative national security circles, but he also included veteran Washington hands Among them. Dov Zakheim has two decades of experience in Washington battles over national security policy and budget matters. He oversaw the early years of the post-9/11 defense spending spree when he was Pentagon comp-



troller under President George W. Bush. He is a member of numerous study groups, and also exerts influence as an oft-quoted media source. His son, Roger Zakheim, is the deputy staff director and general counsel for the House Armed Services Committee. More of a behind-the-scenes player than his father, the younger Zakheim is regarded as one of the top GOP young guns. A critic of the Obama administration's strategic pivot to Asia. Roger told reporters in October that the strategy is "hollow."

# 75 Gordon Adams, Professor, U.S Foreign Policy Program, School of International Service at American University, and Distinguished Fellow, Stimson Center

Adams is one of Washington's foremost experts on national security and foreign affairs budgeting, having served in the Clinton administration as the associate direc-

tor for national security and international affairs at the Office of Management and Budget. A lifelong Democrat, he draws bipartisan respect for his intimate knowledge of federal and defense budgeting



His insights are sought by federal officials. lawmakers and journalists. Adams has become a leading voice arguing sizable Pentagon spending cuts are necessary and manageable - to help reduce the federal deficit. He has long argued that nothing drives more thoughtful reform than budget cuts. Adams will be a major thought leader over the coming year as U.S. defense spending continues to decline.

# Wall Street Bankers, **Analysts and Investors**

As commercial companies, America's defense contractors depend on capital markets for their survival. As U.S. and European defense spending drops, the entire sector is poised for a new surge of mergers and

acquisitions. Several veteran bankers from the last M&A cycle are expected to be active this time as well: Denis Bovin and Mike Urfirer: the Bear Stearns duo who founded Stone Key partners after their legendary firm collapsed in 2008; Craig Oxman, head of the aerospace and defense group of Credit Suisse, and Anita Antenucci of Houlihan Lokey. Joe Nadol of JPMorgan Chase, Ron Epstein of Bank of America, and Doug Harned of Sanford Bernstein are the top sell-side analysts, according to Institutional Investor, and Wall Street veteran Byron Callan, now with Capital Alpha Partners, is the leading independent financial analyst covering the sector. Investors other investors watch include Steve Binder, the top-ranked former Bear analyst who's now with Adage Capital Management, John Longhurst of PIMCO, and Claude Staehly of Wellington Management. And don't forget Frank Finelli, the managing director of the defense and aerospace sector at Carlyle Group when he talks deals, people listen. Lawyer James McAleese of McAleese & Associates is a bridge between Washington and Wall Street.

# 77 Todd Harrison, Senior Fellow for Defense Budget Studies, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

The most radinactive elements of the U.S. military budget involve the pay and benefits of military members, retirees and their families. Harrison is one of the few to target those for overhaul, warning in a 2012 report that without change, "mil-



itary personnel costs will consume the entire defense budget by 2039." A former Air Force officer, his evaluations of defense programs and spending can greatly boost new initiatives - or raise serious doubts about them.

#### 78 David Berteau, Director, International Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies

There's little that involves defense

strategy, budget or policy that Berteau hasn't heard of. known of, or been a part of. Coveted for his judgment and



experience that help him gauge where things stand politically, how they're likely to unfold and the challenges to be faced along the way, the nonpartisan Berteau may be the best defense policy observer in Washington. Having served four administrations - both under Democrats and Republicans - and with 15 years in industry, Berteau has held positions overseeing weapons production, readiness, budget and policy. Consulted routinely by the Pentagon, Berteau has highlighted concerns about the health of the U.S. defense industrial base.

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79 Eliot Cohen, Director of Strategic Studies, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University

Cohen is considered one of America's leading strategists and has shaped some of the

leading conservative minds in U.S. defense. Sometimes labeled a neocon, he served as a counselor to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice from 2007 to 2009, advising her on Iraq, Afghanistan,



Iran, Pakistan and Russia, as well as on general strategic issues. Cohen's standing as a serious scholar at SAIS, a prestigious Washington institution, makes him one of the more authoritative voices on Middle East policy and NATO among conservatives.

# 80 Loren Thompson, COO, Lexington Institute, and CEO, Source Associates

Having transitioned from Washington's most plugged-in and guoted defense industry analyst to American

national security's most prolific commentator, Thompson's views are read more widely than ever before. Leading defense contractors still pay him to give advice and to



shape the public debate on systems, strategies and policies, but his independent streak has prompted some of his biggest sponsors to fire him. Yet Thompson's unique franchise, breadth of experience and insights keep him in hot demand as adviser, columnist and media source. And as the former deputy director of Georgetown University's Security Studies Program, Thompson has taught many of the men and women who are now leaders in uniform, industry, government or the Hill.

### 81 Air Force Gen. C. Robert Kehler, Commander, U.S. Strategic Command ₩ O E

As the man in charge of all U.S. nuclear bomber aircraft submarines and intercontinental ballistic missiles. Kehler is certainly a player in nuclear stockpile reduction



discussions. He also oversees the Defense Department's space-based deterrence and military cyber operations. Kehler has commanded the Air Force's largest ICBM operations squadron and headed Air Force Space Command.

## DIDN'T MAKE THE LIST

So, who's not on the list? Lots of people. Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolita didn't score high enough to break into the top 100.

Neither did Douglas Elmendorf, director of the Congressional Budget Office, or Defense Department General Counsel Jeh Johnson, whose December resignation sealed his fate. No journalists were included. Although a number of members of the Fourth Estate

arguably could be on this list, as could some news organizations, we ruled out including them to avoid even the appearance of a conflict of interest.

Several military bloggers came close to making the list, but in the end fell short because, while some influence specific communities - admirals have been known to read and respond to Sailor Bob, for example, and Doctrine Man has a following in the Army, to name just two - none has the kind of broad policy influence that goes beyond a narrowly defined community or cuts across all services.

This doesn't mean they aren't influential; they just didn't make the top 100. Maybe next year.

#### 82 Christopher Preble, Vice President for Defense and Foreign Policy Studies, CATO Institute ns

When some think tanks are arouing for a

larger defense budget, Preble brings his classically libertarian message to the debate: Defense cuts, he argues, will actually make America's defense stronger. Now that thinking is gaining traction with



the likes of Sen. Tom Coburn, R-Okla,, arguing in his report, "The Department of Everything," that the Pentagon budget is so larded with special-interest pork that it easily can be cut by more than \$60 billion if all those nondefense add-ons are eliminated. CATO doesn't have the sway of a CNAS, but Preble, a former Navy surface warfare officer, might be onto something.

# 83 Army Col. Pete Newell, Director, Rapid Equipping Force OS

Newell's finger is on the pulse of every soldier in the fight. Relying on after-action

reports, operational needs statements and chow hall chatter. Newell identifies soldiers' needs and finds solutions. His Rapid Equipping Force is designed to cut through red tape to ensure soldiers



get that gear in months rather than years, whether by buying commercial off-the-shelf solutions or rapid-development items. From the Packbot and Air Robot to the Route Clearance Camera and Phraselator, he's been able to get the Army or Congress to write the check for just about anything soldiers have needed. Embraced by industry leaders, Newell's approach will help shape urgentneeds acquisition strategy for years to come.

#### 84 Air Force Gen. William Fraser, Commander of U.S. Transportation Command ¥7. S

A bomber pilot by trade, Fraser, 60, is considered among the most joint-thinking generals in the Air Force, which is why the former Air

Force vice chief of staff was tapped to our TRANSCOM. The whole Afghanistan campaign rests on the command's ability to deliver bombs, bullets and butter to the troops fighting there,



# 85 Retired Army Gen. Peter Chiarelli, CEO, One Mind for Research

Chiarelli, the former Army vice chief of staff, is the nation's most outspoken and high-profile champion for soldiers

suffering from posttraumatic stress and traumatic brain injury. and though others in uniform have picked up his push to curb suicides in the ranks. he remains relentless on that front even in



retirement. While most retiring four-stars take high-paying corporate and consulting gigs, Chiarelli pursued a passion, becoming CEO of One Mind for Research, a Seattle-based nonprofit. There, he teams health care providers, researchers, scholars and the health-care industry in the search for better understanding of - and cures for - traumatic brain injury. post-traumatic stress, depression and other neurological conditions afflicting active duty troops and veterans. Though more than 280,000 soldiers received treatment or counseling from behavioral-health specialists in 2011, no one stepped up to fill Chiarelli's shoes when he retired in early 2012 - perhaps no one could.

#### 86 Paul Rieckhoff, Founder and Executive Director, Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America

The newest generation of veterans didn't quite fit in with their fathers and grandfathers at the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. And thanks to this former rifle

platoon leader, they don't have to. Rieckhoff, 37, is the most powerful voice advocating for the 900 000 troops who have served in Iraq and Afghanistan. He

has ruffled feathers along the way, with body shots to the Department of Veterans Affairs and President Obama's White House for not doing enough. One of the key drivers behind the Post-9/11 GI Bill. Rieckhoff is currently focused on keeping jobs, education, mental health treatment and a faster disability process on the front burner in Congress and at VA.

# 87 Steven Strobridge, Government Relations director, Military Officers Association of America

No major personnel-related legislation has been enacted since 1994 without Strobridge's

imprint. A retired Air Force colonel and cochairman of the Military Coalition, the umbrella group of more than 30 military and veterans associations that lobbies in lockstep on most mili-



# 88 Frank Hoffman, Director, National Defense University Press

Hoffman has coined the term hybrid war, and he has shaped battlefield strategies, major acquisition programs and defense reviews. A retired Marine Corps

Reserve lieutenant colonel, Hoffman is director of the National Defense University Press and a senior research fellow with the university's Institute for National

Security Studies. Hoffman developed the concept of hybrid warfare, in which an adversary simultaneously use conventional capabilities, irregular tactics, large-scale terrorism and criminal actions to gain their objectives, while at the Marine Corps' Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities. A thought leader, he has contributed to each Quadrennial Defense Review since 1993 and was a staffer on the Hart-Rudman Commission, which called for the creation of the Homeland Security Department.

# 89 Gen. David Rodriguez, commanding general, U.S. Army Forces Command

One of the Army's rising stars, Rodriguez heads the Army's largest command, responsible for manning, equipping and training 550,000 active-duty soldiers and 560,000

members of the Army National Guard and Reserve. But he won't be there long: Nominated to head U.S. Africa Command, he will soon be responsible for military relations with 54 countries in



an unstable region of the world where crime, corruption and terrorism are rising threats, and where China is competing with the United States to curry favor. In announcing the nomination. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta praised Rodriguez for his role in the Atohanistan surge and post-surge strategy. calling him "a key architect of the successful campaign plan that we are now implementing." A 1976 West Point graduate, Rodriguez is credited with standing up the International Security Assistance Force Joint Command, or LIC the three-star-level command in charge of day-to-day operations in Afghanistan.

# 90 Linda Hudson, President and CEO, BAE Systems Inc.

Consistently named one of the most powerful women in Washington, or even "the first lady of defense." Hudson leads BAE Systems' North American operations, the British com-

pany's largest component. Hudson took over the unit in 2007, just as the Army and Marine Corps were buying huge numbers of mine-resistant. ambush-protected vehicles, and has enjoyed the fruits of



that work. Now she's being joined by a new group of female defense CEOs, including Phebe Novakovic (No. 93), who is slated to take over General Dynamics, and Marillyn Hewson (No. 69), who will become CEO at Lockheed Martin, both in early 2013.

# 91 Adm. James Stavridis, Commander, U.S. European Command & Supreme Allied Commander, NATO NES

Stavridis, 57, established a reputation as a strategic thinker and inspirational leader early on, commanding a destroyer, a fleet and then major combatant commands SOUTHCOM

and EUCOM, Viewed as a top contender to succeed Adm. Mike Mullen as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, an inspector general complaint about travel expenses hung him up for a year, dooming his



chances for the military's top job. Former National Security Adviser Gen. Jim Jones (who also once held Stavridis' job at EuCom) once praised the admiral as "an officer firmly grounded in the naval and military arts who has also lifted his gaze above and beyond the military matters to take into account the

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political, economic, social, cultural and geopolitical implications of his job." A rare four-star with a Ph.D., he earned his in international relations from the prestigious Fletcher School at Tufts University. As the first director of the Naval Operations Group. known as Deep Blue, he helped foster innovations like sea swap, a means for keeping ships forward deployed; the expeditionary strike group; and the afloat forward staging base concept. After serving as military assistant to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, he helped reinvigorate U.S. Southern Command before becoming the first admiral to serve as Supreme Allied Commander NATO, Likely to retire in 2013, Stavridis, like Jones, is unlikely to fade away. Look for him to continue to have a say - and sway the national security debate

# 92 Peter Singer, Director, 21st Century Defense Initiative, Brookings Institution



In a town where analysts back weapons programs, Singer is unique in asking what new technologies - particularly unmanned systems - will change war-



fare morally, legally and intellectually. Just as critical as his work on new realms of con-

#### KFY

- Navy Army
- Air Force ¥
- **Marine Corps** Industry
- Opinion shapers
- **O** Cyber
- - Special Ops Veterans

Policy

- Congress Money S **Coast Guard**
- War **Pacific**
- Homeland security

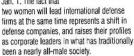
M Intelligence

flict, including cyberwarfare, is Singer's measured approach to the threat of defense cuts. While analysts routinely fill the airwaves with proclamations of doom, acting as expert town criers, Singer continues to say defense cuts can be managed if implemented intelligently. His brainpower on 21st-century warfare is well established: At age 29, he was the youngest senior fellow in Brookings' history. Now 38, he has written three books on warfare, its impacts and its future.

# 93 Phebe Novakovic, incoming CEO, General Dynamics

A former CIA operations officer, Novakovic joined General Dynamics in 2001. After more than two years running GD's Marine Systems division, builder of Navy warships and other vessels, she's now poised to take control of the whole company. She was special assistant to William Cohen when he was secretary of defense and a deputy associate director in the Office of Management and Budget. Both

Novakovic, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, and Lockheed Martin's Marillyn Hewson (No. 67) will ascend to the top ranks of their companies on Jan. 1. The fact that



94 Tom Captain, Vice Chairman, Deloitte LLP



With the defense facing budget cuts and

perched industry on the brink of a new era of consolidation. Captain will be one of the people in the middle, helping companies devise strategies and solu-



# 95 Michael Weinstein, Founder, Military Religious Freedom Foundation

A former Air Force officer and White House lawyer during the Reagan administration. Weinstein is today a one-issue whistle-blower who has driven real change in religious policy throughout the

military. Advocating

for secularism in the military through the Military Religious Freedom Foundation he founded in 2005, Weinstein has fought a campaign against public prayer and proselytizing by Air Force officers, particularly at the Air Force Academy, his alma mater, where he says he

and his sons experienced religious discrimination. Weinstein has been accused of tilting at windmills in his struggles, but he scored a major victory in 2011, when the Air Force suspended a training course for nuclear missile launch officers that used Bible passages and religious imagery in a PowerPoint presentation about the ethics of war. Weinstein's public persistence continues to influence Pentagon religious policies, including new rules released in 2012 restricting the sale of Bibles adorned with military insignia

# 96 Barry Blechman, Co-Founder and Distinguished Fellow, Stimson Center

A thoughtful, strategic and longtime advocate of eliminating nuclear weapons,

Blechman now has a White House that shares his inclination, Blechman, who founded one of Washington's most successful defense consulting firms, DFI International, in 1984, and the



Stimson Center in 1989, has served in the Pentagon, State Department and the Office of Management and Budget and has served on a series of top advisory panels, including the Defense Policy Board and the State Department's Advisory Committee on Transformational Diplomacy. An advocate for creating a new defense strategy that would make tailored investments and cut

See INFLUENTIAL, next page

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# Collaborating in the Clouds

A Joint Discussion between Industry and Government

January 14, 2013

8:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m

The Ritz-Carlton, Pentagon City, Arlington, VA

INVITED SPEAKERS:

Date: Monday, January 14, 2013 Time: 8:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. Location: The Ritz-Carlton Pentagon City, Arlington, VA

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- · Migration Strategies
- · Maximizing Industry/Government Partnerships
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billions of dollars from military spending, he recently co-wrote." A New U.S. Defense Strategy for a New Era." The report, released in November, is already mandatory reading for the Pentagon quadrennial defense review and budget planning teams — it's likely to be mandatory for others before long. Not bad for a guy who started his career as a Fuller Brush Man.

97 Lawrence Korb, Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress

A former Navy captain who became

assistant secretary of defense for manpower, reserve affairs, installations and logistics during the Reagan administration, Korb is a thought leader and frequent critic of



Pentagon spending. Even before the current fiscal crisis, he argued that the Defense Department could easily manage a massive reduction in spending, and he has built on that argument as he's advocated for reforming military compensation.

98 Mackenzie Eaglen, Resident Fellow, Marilyn Ware Center for Security Studies, American Enterprise Institute Eaglen, who joined AEI this year, is considered a rising star among conservative defense analysts, advising Republican leaders in Congress as well as serving on Republican presi-

dential candidate Mitt Romney's defense team. A hawk, she continues to advocate for more Pentagon spending while acknowledging the need for cheep reforms.

Our latest white paper,

America's Veterans and

the American Workforce,

is available on our website



# 99 Dawn Halfaker, President, Wounded Warrior Project

West Point graduate Dawn Halfaker's response to losing her arm in a rocketpropelled grenade attack in Iraq — and her

chance at a military career — was to find a way to help fellow wounded veterans. Her route to tounding the Wounded Warrior Project included stops as military liaison at the House



Armed Services Committee and a stint at the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. As president of the Wounded Warrior Project, which is dedicated to helping wounded vets become the bestadjusted veterans in history, she has seen the organization grow and helped raise awareness and support for the challenges faced by wounded veterans and their families. In 2006, Halfaker founded Halfaker and Associates, a Washington-based security consulting firm, which has grown quickly and today employs 150 people, half of them veterans and 10 percent of them wounded warriors. The company's rapid rise is a testament to her abilities and her connections.

# 100 Retired Gen. David Petraeus, Former CIA Director

When Petraeus, 60, retired from his celebrated Army career, Joint Chiefs Chairman Adm. Mike Mullen compared him to gener-

Adm. Mike Mullen co.

John J. Pershing,
George Marshall and
Dwight D.
Eisenhower as one of
the "great battle captains of American
history." How fast
the mignty fall.
Petraeus, the com-



mander who masterminded the counterinsurgency strategy in Iraq and led surge forces in quelling the insurgency, retired, took charge of the CIA and then abruptly resigned under pressure in November after admitting to an affair with his biographer, Paula Broadwell. Few expect him to stay underground for long. As a battlefield commander, Petraeus built a new appreciation for the warrior-academic and fostered a generation of leaders who embraced the unconventional in military thought and operations. published differing opinions and shaped new tactics and strategies. His command of the conventional and unconventional in warfare and understanding of the complexities of America's enemies will remain valuable for years to come.



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