



AL QAEDA AND ITS ALLIES: THE ENDGAME
The Civilian Dimensions of Counterterrorism
The Mayflower Hotel
Washington, DC
Wednesday, October 21, 2009

Welcome/Introductions 9:00-9:15

- Steve Coll, New America Foundation
- Karen Greenberg, Center on Law and Security, New York University

Panel I: Situation Assessment: The Threat From Al Qaeda and the Situation in South Asia 9:15-9:45

- Peter Bergen, New America Foundation
- Shuja Nawaz, South Asia Center, Atlantic Council of the United States

Address I: From Liability to Asset: Fixing U.S. Detention Policy in the Field 9:45-10:45

- Major General Douglas Stone (ret), United States Marine Corps
Introduced by Karen Greenberg, Center on Law and Security, New York University

Address II: Deradicalization: The Saudi Experience 10:45-11:30

- Dr. Abdulrahman al-Hadlag, Ministry of Interior, Saudi Arabia
Introduced by Peter Bergen, New America Foundation

Panel II: Deradicalization: A Comparative Look from Indonesia to Yemen 11:30-12:00

- Kenneth Ballen, Terror Free Tomorrow
- Gregory Johnsen, Yemeni Deradicalization Expert, Princeton University
- *Moderator, Steven Simon, Council on Foreign Relations*

Lunch Address: Al Qaeda and Allied Groups: The Evolving Threat 12:00-1:00

- Philip Mudd, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Introduced by Peter Bergen, New America Foundation

Panel III: Economic Development: Challenges to Operating in Terrorist Sanctuaries 1:00-2:15

- Robert Jenkins, Department of State
- Stephen Lennon, United States Agency for International Development
- James "Spike" Stephenson, Creative Associates International
- Andrew Wilder, Feinstein International Center, Tufts University
- David Katz, Senior Foreign Service Officer
- *Moderator: Karin von Hippel, Post-Conflict Reconstruction Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies*

Panel IV: Political Reconciliation: Experience, Opportunities and Obstacles 2:15-3:30

- Noman Benotman, Libyan Islamic Fighting Group Mediator
- Michael Semple, Carr Center on Human Rights, Harvard University
- Robin Poulton, EPES Mandala Consulting; Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Expert
- *Moderator: Audrey Kurth Cronin, National Defense University*

Panel V: The View from Pakistan 3:30-4:45

- Major General Mahmud Durrani (ret), former Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States.
- Ejaz Haider, *Daily Times* and *The Friday Times*
- Lieutenant General Talat Masood (ret), Former Secretary of Defense for Production, Pakistan
- *Moderators: Peter Bergen, New America Foundation, and Paolo Ramusino, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs*

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Vincent Viola and the Madison Policy Forum and
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Panelist Biographies

Dr. Abdulrahman al-Hadlath is the General Director of the Ideological Security Directorate at the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Interior. He has organized and supervised many of Saudi Arabia's deradicalization programs, including Islamic summer programs for teenagers and programs for men returning from imprisonment at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

Kenneth Ballen is President of Terror Free Tomorrow, a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization, which conducts research on the causes of extremism. As a federal prosecutor, he successfully convicted international terrorists and prosecuted major figures in organized crime, international narcotics and one of the first cases in the United States involving illegal financing for Middle Eastern terrorists. Ballen served as Counsel to the House Iran-Contra Committee under Chairman Lee Hamilton. Ken also served as Chief Counsel to a bi-partisan Senate special investigative committee with Senators John McCain and Tom Daschle, and as Chief Counsel to the Speaker of the House, where he directed policy initiatives on crime prevention, intelligence oversight, and select national security matters for the U.S. House of Representatives. Ken received his J.D. with honors in 1980 from Columbia Law School. He is an honors graduate of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, obtaining an M.A. in International Affairs. He received his B.A. *summa cum laude* from Tufts University in 1977. Ballen's articles have recently been published in the *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, CNN.com, *Foreign Policy*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and *The Guardian*, among others.

Noman Benotman is the Director of Research and a founding member of the Libya Human and Political Development Forum. He is the former leader of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) Shura Council. Benotman is a veteran of the Afghan-Soviet war. After fighting along with other Arab volunteers under Jalaluddin Haqqani, Benotman remained in Afghanistan with other Libyans to establish and train members of the LIFG, before relocating to Sudan in 1994. Benotman split with Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda over their targeting of civilians in 2000, and in 2007 wrote an open letter to Ayman al-Zawahiri publicly calling on al Qaeda to give up its violent attacks in the West and the Arab world. Benotman now lives in London and has been intimately involved in negotiations with LIFG leaders imprisoned in Libya to renounce violence and al Qaeda.

Peter Bergen is the co-director of the Counterterrorism Strategy Program at the New America Foundation. He is a print and television journalist, and the author of *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden* (2001), which has been translated into 18 languages and *The Osama bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of Al Qaeda's Leader* (2006). Both books were named among the best non-fiction books of the year by *The Washington Post*, and documentaries based on the books were nominated for Emmys in 2002 and 2007. Mr. Bergen is CNN's national security analyst and a fellow at New York University's Center on Law & Security. He has written for many publications including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Vanity Fair*, *The New Republic*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *International Herald Tribune*, *The Atlantic*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Rolling Stone*, *The National Interest*, *TIME*, *Washington Monthly*, *The Nation*, *Mother Jones*, *Washington Times*, *The Times* (UK), *The Daily Telegraph* (UK), and *The Guardian* (UK). He has also worked as a correspondent for National Geographic television, Discovery and CNN. He has testified multiple times on Capitol Hill. Mr. Bergen holds an M.A. in modern history from New College, Oxford University. As a Senior Research Fellow with the American Strategy Program and Co-Director of the Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative, Mr. Bergen researches and writes on the al Qaeda network; counter insurgency and counter-terrorism, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq.

Professor Audrey Kurth Cronin came to the U.S. National War College from Oxford University (Nuffield College), where she was Director of Studies for the Oxford/Leverhulme Program on the Changing Character of War. Before that, Professor Cronin was Specialist in Terrorism at the U.S. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, where she advised members of congress in the aftermath of 9/11. In addition to her academic expertise, she has served periodically in the U.S. government, including positions in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Office of the Secretary of the Navy, and the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Professor Cronin is the author of *How Terrorism Ends: Lessons from the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*, to be published by Princeton University Press in September 2009. She also wrote *Ending Terrorism: A Strategy for Defeating Al-Qaeda*, a policy-oriented Adelphi Paper (monograph) published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in April 2008.

Major General Mahmud Durrani was Pakistan's ambassador to the US from July 2006 to April 2008, and was an advisor to Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani on National Security from April 2008 until January 2009. He also served as Pakistan's Defence and Military Attaché in Washington from 1977 to 1982. After retirement from the Army, Maj Gen. Durrani has remained actively involved in working towards peace between Pakistan and India as member of a dedicated group of Pakistanis and Indians.

Karen J. Greenberg is the Executive Director of the Center on Law and Security at the New York University School of Law. She is the author of *The Least Worst Place: Guantanamo's First 100 Days* (Oxford University Press, 2009), co-editor with Joshua L. Dratel of *The Enemy Combatant Papers: American Justice, the Courts, and the War on Terror* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) and *The Torture Papers: The Road to Abu Ghraib* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), editor of the books *The Torture Debate in America* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) and *Al Qaeda Now* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), and editor of the NYU Review of Law and Security. Her work is frequently featured in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Nation*, *The National Interest*, *Mother Jones*, TomDispatch.com, and on major news channels. She is a permanent member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Ejaz Haider is the Op-Ed Editor with the *Daily Times* and Consulting Editor with *The Friday Times*. He hosts a political talk-show "Siyasyaat," on Samaa TV. Haider's areas of interest include politics, political Islam, defense and security, theories and concepts of war and civil-military relations. He has written extensively for publications including *The Washington Post*, *International Herald Tribune*,

Beirut-based *The Daily Star*, and *The World Today*, a monthly publication of the Royal Institute for International Relations in London. Haider has been a Ford Scholar at the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Visiting Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution at Washington D.C.

Robert Jenkins is the Deputy Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization at the Department of State. He is jointly appointed by both the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Mr. Jenkins served as USAID's Acting Deputy Assistant Administrator from August 2008 until January 2009. He also chaired and led USAID's Georgia Task Force. Before assuming these leadership roles, Mr. Jenkins served as USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) Deputy Director, Operations Coordinator and Iraq Team Leader. He first joined USAID in March 1998 and has provided Washington-based support to programs in some of the most difficult development challenges such as, Iraq, Afghanistan, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Nigeria.

Gregory D. Johnsen, a former Fulbright Fellow in Yemen, is currently a Ph.D. candidate in Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. He has written for a variety of publications on Yemen including *Foreign Policy*, *The American Interest*, *The Independent*, *The Boston Globe*, and *The National*. Johnsen has also advised and consulted for a number of different organizations and agencies on issues relating to Yemen. He has appeared on the BBC, NPR and al-Hurra discussing Yemen and is often quoted in media outlets like the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. In 2001 and 2002 he was a Peace Corps volunteer in Jordan. Johnsen holds a BA in History with honors from Hastings College and an MA in Near Eastern Studies from the University of Arizona. He also runs a popular blog focused on Yemen, Waq al-waq.

David J. Katz is a career officer of the Senior Foreign Service, U.S. Department of State, with the rank of Counselor. He recently completed a two-year detail as a Professor and State Department Advisor at the Naval War College in Newport, RI. He received a PhD in Anthropology from UCLA in 1982, based in part on ethnographic research he conducted in Nuristan, eastern Afghanistan. Since joining the Foreign Service in 1984, he has had assignments in Iceland, Afghanistan (during the Soviet Occupation), Yemen, Estonia, Pakistan, and Eritrea. He has spent over 10 years in positions both in Washington and abroad dealing with Pakistan and Afghanistan. Dr. Katz's most recent overseas Foreign Service assignment was as the State Department Representative at the newly established Provincial Reconstruction Team for Afghanistan's Nuristan Province (2006-7).

Stephen Lennon is the Asia and Middle East Team Leader in the OTI at USAID where he oversees programs in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Nepal and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan. His experience covers a broad array of overseas deployments and operational environments ranging from the management of camps for internally displaced person in Taliban controlled Afghanistan, to migrant affairs operations in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, to supervising humanitarian responses following the Indian Ocean Tsunami in Indonesia and in the aftermath of the Pakistan earthquake in 2005. Stephen has direct experience setting up implementing and managing post-conflict, stabilization and emergency response programs in, Afghanistan, Albania, Haiti, Indonesia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Turkmenistan, and Iraq, among others.

Lieutenant General Talat Masood served in the Pakistani Army for 39 years, retiring in 1990 as Secretary for Defense Production in the Ministry of Defense. Prior to this, Gen. Masood was chairman and chief executive of the Pakistan Ordnance Factories Board. Gen. Masood has authored several articles and book chapters and is a frequent participant and speaker in international conferences. He writes regularly on security and political issues in national newspapers and foreign magazines and is a prominent commentator on national and international television and radio networks. Gen. Masood is the chief coordinator for the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs in Pakistan.

Philip Mudd joined the FBI in 2005 as the Deputy Assistant Director of the Bureau's National Security Branch (NSB) where he oversees counterterrorism, counterintelligence, and intelligence programs. Previously, Mudd spent 20 years at the CIA, primarily at the Counterterrorism Center, where he was the Executive Assistant Director for Counterterrorism and Counterintelligence. Mudd has also served as the Director responsible for the Gulf and Middle Eastern issues at the Near East Section of the White House National Security Council and served as Deputy National Intelligence Officer for Near East and South Asia at the National Intelligence Council.

Shuja Nawaz is the Director of the South Asia Center at The Atlantic Council of the United States in Washington DC. He is a political and strategic analyst and writes for leading newspapers, ForeignPolicy.com and the Huffington Post, and speaks on current topics before civic groups, at think tanks, and on radio and television. Educated at Gordon College, Rawalpindi, where he obtained a BA in Economics and English Literature and the Graduate School of Journalism of Columbia University in New York, where he was a Cabot Fellow and won the Henry Taylor International Correspondent Award, he was a newscaster and producer for Pakistan Television and covered the 1971 war with India on the Western Front. Mr. Nawaz was the Managing Editor and then Editor of *Finance & Development*, the multilingual quarterly of the IMF and the World Bank and on the Editorial Advisory Board of the World Bank Research Observer. His latest book is *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars Within*. He is also the author of *FATA: A Most Dangerous Place*.

Robin Edward Poulton wrote his PhD on Afghan rural development in 1979 for the Ecoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, France, after earlier degrees at St Andrews in Scotland and Balliol College, Oxford. After many years working in rural development with NGOs and the US Government, the problem of violence, landmines and small arms emerged as a development problem and Dr. Poulton began to focus on micro-disarmament and conflict transformation. In 2007 he was the lead evaluator for the Afghanistan New Beginnings Program, which ran disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)

programs, and he was back in 2009 advising the UN on disarmament strategies, weapon management, and the disbandment of armed groups. Dr. Poulton is a Senior Fellow of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), in Geneva.

Paolo Cotta Ramusino is Secretary General, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, a post he has occupied since 2002. He is currently involved in writing and research on Nuclear Disarmament, Nuclear Non proliferation Treaty and conflict resolution in areas where nuclear weapons are present or where nuclear proliferation is a relevant problem. This includes the India-Pakistan-Afghanistan region (including Kashmir), Iran and Israel, Middle East and Palestine.

Michael Semple is a regional specialist on Afghanistan and Pakistan, with twenty-five years of experience in the two countries. He currently holds a fellowship with the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School. As a political officer with the United Nations he contributed to the building up of the post-2001 Afghan political order and from 2004 to 2007 served as Deputy to the European Union Special Representative for Afghanistan. He is widely travelled in both Afghanistan and Pakistan and has interacted with a broad spectrum of political and military actors since the latter days of the anti-Soviet jihad. He has recently authored a book on reconciliation in Afghanistan, published by the United States Institute of Peace and articles in international publications such as *Foreign Affairs*. His interests include political economy of the conflict, sub-national governance, peace processes, ex-combatant integration, reconciliation and transitional justice.

Steven Simon is adjunct senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the Goldman Sachs visiting professor in public policy at Princeton University. Mr. Simon served at the White House for over five years under President Clinton as director for global issues and senior director for transnational threats. During this period, he was involved in U.S. counterterrorism policy and operations as well as security policy in the Near East and South Asia. These assignments followed a fifteen year career at the U.S. Department of State. Simon coauthored *The Next Attack* (Henry Holt, 2005), which examines the evolution of jihad since September 11, 2001, and America's response, and was a finalist for the Lionel Gelber Prize in 2006. Mr. Simon has published widely in major newspapers and magazines, and is a frequent guest on CNN, BBC, ABC, *60 Minutes*, *Nightline*, *The NewsHour* with Jim Lehrer, Fox, and NPR. Mr. Simon has a BA from Columbia University in classics and Near Eastern languages, an MTS from the Harvard Divinity School, and an MPA from Princeton University. He was a university fellow at Brown University and an international affairs fellow at Oxford University.

James "Spike" Stephenson is a retired senior Foreign Service officer with twenty-eight years of experience in rebuilding states at war or recovering from war. He was the USAID mission director in Lebanon and in Serbia and Montenegro prior to assuming the position of mission director in Iraq. He also served in Egypt, Grenada, and El Salvador. A decorated Vietnam War veteran, Stephenson is a recognized expert on post-conflict transition, civilian-military cooperation, and counterinsurgency. Currently he is a senior adviser for security and development at Creative Associates International, Inc.

Major General Douglas Stone deployed to Iraq in 2007 as the Multi National Force-Iraq Deputy Commanding General for Detainee Operations and Commanding General of Task Force 134, Baghdad, Iraq. Gen. Stone is credited with reforming Detainee Operations by separating moderates from extremists within internment facilities and offering empowerment opportunities to moderates to help them reintegrate into Iraqi society and marginalize the influence of violent extremists. He has also advised Gen. David Petraeus on reforming the prison system in Afghanistan, and has also given recommendations for dealing with the prison at Guantanamo Bay. His "COIN behind the wire" innovations have been praised for reducing recidivism rates and reducing violence in internment camps. Currently, Stone is a Marine Corp Reservist. In the civilian sector he has been the CEO of numerous software development firms and has earned advanced degrees from Pepperdine University, Stanford University, the US Naval War College, and the University of Southern California.

Karin von Hippel is the co-director of the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project and a senior fellow with the International Security Program at CSIS. She is currently on the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Fragile States and has direct experience in over two dozen conflict zones. Previously, she was a senior research fellow at the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London, and spent several years working for the United Nations and the European Union in Somalia and Kosovo. In 2004 and 2005, she participated in two major studies for the United Nations—one on UN peacekeeping and the second on the UN humanitarian system. In 2002, she advised the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development on the role of development cooperation in discovering the root causes of terrorism. Von Hippel directed a project on European counterterrorist reforms funded by the MacArthur Foundation and edited *Europe Confronts Terrorism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). She was a member of Project Unicorn, a counterterrorism police advisory panel in London. Additional publications include *Democracy by Force* (Cambridge, 2000), which was short-listed for the Westminster Medal in Military History. She received her Ph.D. in international relations from the London School of Economics, her M.St. from Oxford University, and her B.A. from Yale University.

Andrew Wilder is the research director for politics and policy at the Feinstein International Center at Tufts University. Andrew's areas of interest include state-building, governance, and aid-effectiveness, with a specialization on Afghanistan and Pakistan. Prior to joining the Center he worked in Afghanistan where he established and was the director of Afghanistan's first independent policy research institution, the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU). Between 1986 and 2001, Andrew worked for several different international NGOs managing humanitarian and development programs in Pakistan and Afghanistan. He is the author of *The Pakistani Voter* (Oxford University Press, 1999), a co-author of *A Guide to Government in Afghanistan* (AREU, 2004), and the author of several book chapters, journal articles and briefing papers. His recent research and publications have looked at police reform policies in Afghanistan, Afghan refugee education policy in Pakistan, the politics of civil service reform in Pakistan, electoral politics and policies in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the politics of sub-national administration in Afghanistan. Andrew has a BSFS degree from Georgetown University, and a MALD and Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.