



Peace and Security Summit
New York, 30 June – 1 July 2010

It's great to see an initiative which translates the wisdom and expertise of the world's leading experts into something that has real impact.

Peter Bergen, CNN Terrorism Analyst and author of Holy War Inc.

There is absolutely no question in my mind that the world needed this. The greater understanding that we have of the reasons a person chooses to travel down this dark road, from political activism to setting a bomb off somewhere, the better... will be our efforts to focus on root causes rather than the symptoms.

H.E. Francisco Santos Calderón, Vice-President of Colombia

The work done by ICSR is enormously important, because you have no hidden agenda other than finding the most intelligent solution to any given problem. Nowhere is this more critical than when dealing with issues like terrorism, radicalisation, and political violence.

Chuck Hagel, former United States Senator

The issues tackled by ICSR are directly relevant to people in the Middle East and beyond. ICSR brings access to... real professionals who work day in day out on questions of radicalisation.

Mohamed Chebaro, London Bureau Chief, Al Arabyia Television



June 29, 2010

Dear Friend,

We are delighted to welcome you at this year's *ICSR Peace and Security Summit*.

If you expect this conference to resolve all the world's conflicts, you will be disappointed. Conferences rarely resolve conflicts. But they bring people together, stimulate fresh ideas, and – most importantly – they clear up muddled thinking.

Good conferences enable participants to recognize new trends and subtle shifts, and they make it easier to distinguish what's important from what's not. That, indeed, is the aim of the ICSR Peace and Security Summit, and I hope that – with your help and active participation – it will be achieved.

This booklet will help you navigate the event. It contains the Summit program (from p. 12), short biographies of working group members and other speakers (from p. 17), and some useful information about ICSR and its Partners and Affiliates (from p. 5).

We are deeply grateful to our partners and supporters who have made this event possible, in particular the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA) at the National Defense University; Public Safety Canada; the Rockefeller Foundation; and – not least – Rena and Sami David.

If you have any question about the Summit, please don't hesitate to ask me or any member of our staff. And please take time to visit our website to find out more about ICSR: www.icsr.info.

Best wishes,

Dr. Peter Neumann
Director, ICSR

Dr. John Bew
Deputy Director, ICSR

We are deeply grateful for the partnership and support of the following organizations and individuals:



Rena and Sami David



Public Safety
Canada

Sécurité publique
Canada



Center on Global
Counterterrorism
Cooperation



About ICSR

- ICSR was launched in **January 2008**.
- ICSR is a global partnership that brings together **six great academic institutions**: the University of Pennsylvania; King's College London; the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya; the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy; the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi; and the Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies.
- ICSR is the first initiative of this kind in which **Arab and Israeli** academic institutions work together.
- ICSR is **independent and non-partisan**. All of its work is published. No classified research for governments or international organisations will be undertaken.
- The aim and mission of ICSR is to **bring together knowledge and leadership** to address the challenge of radicalization and political violence.

In doing so:

- ICSR produces **first-class research**, addressing the most pressing questions in the field of radicalisation and political violence. Ongoing projects look at countering online radicalisation; prison radicalisation and de-radicalisation; and the differences between trajectories of radicalisation in Europe and North America.
- ICSR facilitates **outcome-driven dialogue**, bringing together the world's leading experts with the people who can make things happen. Our bi-annual Summits have seen the participation of hundreds of leading experts and policymakers from across the world. Since 2008, we have convened dozens of workshops, seminars, and contributed to numerous international forums and conferences.
- ICSR fosters **leadership**. The Atkin Fellowship program provides young leaders from Arab countries and Israel with an opportunity to learn, study and engage in constructive dialogue during a four month stay in London. It aims to create networks of moderate leadership among young leaders on both sides of the conflict.
- For more information about ICSR, visit www.icsr.info.

ICSR People

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- Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell
- John Sacher CBE

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- Dr Hasan Al Momani, Regional Center for Conflict Prevention, Jordan Institute of Diplomacy
- Prof. Brahma Chellaney, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi
- Prof. Sir Lawrence Freedman, Department of War Studies, King's College London
- Dr. Boaz Ganor, International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism, Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya
- Prof. Harvey Rubin, Institute for Strategic Threat Analysis and Response, University of Pennsylvania

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- Dr John Bew, Deputy Director
- Shiraz Maher, Senior Research Fellow
- Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, Research Fellow
- Dr Peter Neumann, Director
- Katie Rothman, Head of Operations

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- Odelia Englander, Press Officer, ICSR
- Taryn Evans, Conference Officer, ICSR
- Skylar Halbritter, Conference Officer, NDU
- Manar Al Rachwani, Conference Officer, ICSR
- Shani Ross, Head of New York Office, ICSR
- Nick Saidel, Conference Officer, ISTAR
- Ryan Schray, Conference Officer, NDU
- Omar Sedky, Conference Office, NDU
- Kate Shriver, Conference Officer, NDU
- Brittany Sloan, Conference Officer, CGCC
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ICSR Partners and Affiliates



Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi

The Centre for Policy Research (CPR) is an independent and non-partisan research institute and think tank. Its main objectives are to provide thought leadership and creative solutions to address pressing intellectual and policy issues. It is one of the 27 national social science research institutes recognized by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), Government of India. It is set apart by its multi-disciplinary approach and unique blend of scholarship and practical expertise. CPR's faculty have considerable impact on policy and public debates.

CPR's main objectives are:

- To develop substantive policy options for the improvement of policymaking and management.
- To carry out policy studies of various sectors of the policy, economy and society with a view to promoting national development.
- To provide advisory services to governments, public bodies or any other institutions including international agencies on matters having a bearing on the performance and optimum use of national resources for social and economic development.
- To disseminate information on policy issues through publication of journals, reports, pamphlets and other literature including research papers and books.

For more information, see <http://www.cprindia.org>.



University of London

Department of War Studies, King's College London

The Department of War Studies at King's College London is a multi-disciplinary institution devoted to the study of all aspects of war and conflict, international relations and politics.

The Department is an acknowledged leader in teaching and research. It scored the highest rating in the last Quality Assurance Agency Subject Review assessment of teaching, and was one of only three 'Politics and International Studies' departments in the United Kingdom to have received the highest possible rating in the last three Research Assessment Exercises. In the second National Student Survey, the Department of War Studies was voted one of the top five UK university 'Politics' departments in terms of student satisfaction.

A remarkable diversity of research interests, disciplinary approaches, opinion and background exists in the Department among both staff and students. Our staff draw on military and international history, strategic studies, international relations, philosophy, politics, sociology, literature and psychology. Their specialist interests extend across many regions of the world and also extend across time with colleagues focusing on topics ranging from the dynamics of ancient warfare and medieval warfare to human rights, weapons proliferation and intelligence.

For more information, see <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/sspp/ws/>.



Institute for Strategic Threat Analysis and Response, University of Pennsylvania

Many urgent national priorities are subjects of intensive study on the campus of the University of Pennsylvania. The Institute for Strategic Threat Analysis and Response's (ISTAR) scope is on international and domestic events that threaten and impact the United States and democracies around the world. Broadly-based multidisciplinary teams and individual faculty members at the Institute generate and evaluate hypotheses, applications and policies for the detection, prevention and remediation of these threats.

ISTAR stimulates, supports and generates innovative projects and programs of research, education and practice in the field of strategic threats. ISTAR remains committed to studying strategic threats in the context of a multidisciplinary institute. It recognises that the challenge is to develop research and academic programs that maintain the rigor of traditional studies while benefiting from the varied perspectives and backgrounds that can only come in an interdisciplinary setting.

For more information, see <http://www.istar.upenn.edu>.



International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya

Founded in 1996, the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) is the leading academic institute for counter-terrorism in the world, facilitating international cooperation in the global struggle against terrorism. ICT is an independent think tank providing expertise in terrorism, counter-terrorism, homeland security, threat vulnerability and risk assessment, intelligence analysis and national security and defense policy.

ICT also serves as a joint forum for international policymakers and scholars to share information and expertise through research papers, situation reports and academic publications for worldwide distribution. A number of international seminars, workshops and conferences are organized monthly by ICT to discuss and educate on global and regional issues of security, defense, and public policy making in order to better facilitate the exchange of perspectives, information and proposals for policy action.

ICT draws upon a comprehensive and international network of individuals and organisations with unique expertise on terrorism and counter-terrorism research, public policy analysis and education from all over the world, including the United States, the European Union and Israel, among others. ICT is a non-profit organisation located at the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya (IDC), which relies exclusively on private donations and revenue from events, projects and programs.

For more information, see <http://www.ict.org.il/>.



Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies

The Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) is an independent, not-for-profit research institute and think-tank. An initiative of leading Pakistani scholars, researchers and journalists, PIPS conducts wide-ranging research and analysis of political, social and religious conflicts that have a direct bearing on both national and international security.

The PIPS approach is grounded in field research. Our surveys and policy analyses are informed by the work of a team of researchers, reporters and political analysts located in different areas of conflict in Pakistan. Based on information and assessments from the field, PIPS produces analytical reports, weekly security updates and policy briefings containing practical recommendations targeted at key national and international decision-makers. We also publish survey-based reports and books, providing in-depth analysis of various conflicts or potential conflicts.

The main focus of PIPS' research is the link between religion and conflict. Studying Pakistan's jihadi organizations and religious seminaries has been a key element in this effort. We have produced ground-breaking publications on the phenomenon of jihad, madrasa education and Talibanisation in the country. Some of our publications on jihadi organizations and religious militancy have gained worldwide recognition.

For more information, see <http://san-pips.com/>.



Regional Centre on Conflict Prevention, Jordan Institute of Diplomacy

The core idea behind the Regional Centre on Conflict Prevention (RCCP) is to promote early warning and conflict prevention. In particular, RCCP aims at embracing all structural and interactive means to prevent intra- or inter-state tensions and disputes from escalating into significant violence. Moreover, RCCP aims at strengthening capabilities to resolve such disputes peacefully, and at resolving the underlying problems that caused them in the first place.

To realize its goals and objectives, RCCP develops specific 'tools' with a view to optimizing the management of policy processes in crisis and potential conflict situations. In this context, RCCP approaches conflicts through practical and research oriented activities that help, in turn, to stimulate and further advance other related aspects of conflict prevention. Therefore, RCCP builds its expertise on a network of first-rate research institutes, specialized non-governmental organisations, and high-quality independent experts.

The work of RCCP, thus, is intended to contribute additional insight into and to assist policy-makers and practitioners with concrete suggestions for the improvement of their conflict prevention and early warning policies.

For more information, see <http://www.rccp-jid.org>.



Program

All events take place at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

29 June 2010

Location: Louis XVI Suite
Protocol: ON THE RECORD

(By special invitation only)

19.15 Reception

20.00 Welcome Dinner
Hosted by *The Rockefeller Foundation*

- Henry Sweetbaum, Chairman of ICSR
- Col. David Lamm, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, NDU
- Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, former Prime Minister of Canada and Trustee of ICSR

30 June 2010

Location: Various suites, 18th floor
Protocol: OFF THE RECORD

08.30 Registration

09.00 Working Groups:
Session 1

- (1) Negotiating with Terrorists
- (2) Homegrown Radicalisation in the West
- (3) What Chance for Peace in the Middle East?
- (4) De-radicalization Programs: Leaving Terrorism Behind?
- (5) Iraq: Ready to Go It Alone?
- (6) Somalia and the Global Jihad
- (7) Afghanistan and Pakistan: What Way Forward?

- 10.30 Coffee
- 11.00 Working Groups:
Session 2
- 7 working groups ctd. – as above
- 12.30 Lunch
- 13.30 Working Groups:
Session 3
- 7 working groups ctd. – as above
- 15.00 Coffee (for working group members)
Registration (for new participants)

Location: Empire Room
Protocol: ON THE RECORD

16.00 Welcome

Dr. Boaz Ganor, ICSR Partner, Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya
Dr. Hasan Al Momani, ICSR Partner, Jordan Institute of Diplomacy

Opening plenary:
What the Working Groups Have Concluded

Throughout the day, seven working groups – comprised of senior policymakers and leading experts – have deliberated in closed session, tackling some of the most pressing security issues of our time. In this session, they present their first conclusions and recommendations.

- Gary Ackerman, START, University of Maryland
- Dr. John Ballard, National Defense University
- Dr. Randolph Kent, King's College London
- Amb. Mitchell B. Reiss, William and Mary College
- Dr. Hamed El Said, Arab Thought Forum, Amman
- Col. John Wood, National Defense University
- Dr. Michael Yaffe, National Defense University

Moderated by Dr. John Bew, Deputy Director, ICSR

17.00 Panel:
Nine Years after 9/11: Are We Safer?

In the nine years since September 11, 2001, wars have been fought and billions of dollars have been spent to make America safer. How successful have these efforts been? Has the threat changed, and what does this mean for how it needs to be fought?

- Arif Alikhan, Assistant Secretary for Policy Development, DHS
- Amb. Cofer Black, former Director of the CIA's Counterterrorism Center
- Steve Clemons, Senior Fellow, American Strategy Program, New America Foundation
- Fran Townsend, Homeland Security Advisor to President George W. Bush

(ends 18h) Moderated by Dr. Peter Neumann, Director, ICSR

Location: Empire Room
Protocol: ON THE RECORD
Dress code: Business

(By special invitation only)

19.15 Reception

20.00 ICSR Summit Dinner
Hosted by Rena and Sami David, New York

Can Afghanistan Be Won?

A debate between Christopher Hitchens of *Vanity Fair* and Ambassador Peter Galbraith

Moderated by Dr. John Bew, Deputy Director, ICSR
Introduced by Henry Sweetbaum, Chairman, ICSR

1 July 2010

Location: Empire Room
Protocol: ON THE RECORD

08.30 Registration

09.00 Welcome

Carie Lemack
Co-founder of Families of September 11 and the Global Survivors Network

Introduced by Henry Sweetbaum, Chairman, ICSR

Panel:
Old and New Frontiers

No longer can we say that terrorist threats against America and the West originate from one place alone. How do different conflicts in Africa, Asia and the Middle East affect national security? What should America and other Western countries do about these? What must they *not* do?

- H.E. Abdulkarim Al Eryani, former Prime Minister of Yemen
- Sabri Saidam, senior adviser to Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas
- Dr. Robert Rotberg, Belfer Center, Harvard University
- Ali Jalali, former Interior Minister of Afghanistan

Moderated by Dr. John Bew, Deputy Director, ICSR

10.00 Keynote:
*Making Peace in Northern Ireland –
What Lessons to Learn?*

Rt. Hon. David Trimble;
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and former First Minister of Northern Ireland

Introduced by Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, former Prime Minister of Canada

11.00 Coffee

11.30 Panel:
Counterterrorism Cooperation: Is It Working?

Hosted in partnership with the
Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation (CGCC; www.globalct.org)

Global threats require global responses. But is international counterterrorism cooperation really working? What role should multilateral institutions play? What are the obstacles to effective cooperation, and how can they be overcome?

- Richard Barrett, head of the UN's Al Qaeda/Taliban Monitoring Team
- Amb. Bill Paterson, Australian Ambassador for Counterterrorism
- Eric Rosand, senior adviser for multilateral engagement, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, US Department of State
- Hekmat Karzai, Director, Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies, Kabul

Moderated by Dr. Peter Neumann, Director, ICSR
 Introduced by James Cockayne, Director, New York Office, CGCC

12.30 Lunch

13.30 Launch:
*Prisons and Terrorism:
 Radicalisation and De-radicalisation in 15 Countries*

Prisons matter. They are places of radicalization, yet they have also served as incubators for peaceful transformation. ICSR's latest policy report examines the policies and approaches of 15 countries, identifying key trade-offs but also principles and best practices that will help policymakers avoid costly mistakes.

- Prof. Gary LaFree, Director, START, University of Maryland
- Dr. Peter Neumann, Director, ICSR

Introduced by Dr. Hans van Miert, Senior Analyst, Dutch National Coordinator for Counterterrorism

14.00 Panel:
How Terrorism Ends

Throughout history, many terrorist and insurgent campaigns have ended in failure or partial failure. Many extremists have left their groups disappointed and disillusioned. Others entered into negotiations with the governments they originally wanted to overthrow. What can be learned from these experiences, and how can they be leveraged in the current threat environment?

- Noman Benotman, former head of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group
- Prof. Audrey Kurth Cronin, author of *How Terrorism Ends* (2009)
- Shiraz Maher, former senior member of Hizb-ut Tahrir, Research Fellow, ICSR
- Michael Semple, Carr Center, Harvard University

Moderated by Dr. Peter Neumann, Director, ICSR

15.00 Keynote

H.E. Tsipi Livni, MK
 Leader of the Opposition; former Israeli Foreign Minister

Introduced by Prof. Harvey Rubin, ICSR Partner, University of Pennsylvania

16.00 Summit adjourned



Biographies

Working group members and other speakers

Gary Ackerman is Assistant Director for Research and Communication at the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), based at the University of Maryland. Prior to taking up his current position, he was Director of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism Research Program at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey, California. His research deals with various areas relating to terrorism and counterterrorism, including terrorist threat assessment, terrorist technologies and motivations for using CBRN weapons, radicalization processes and the modeling and simulation of terrorist behavior. Ackerman possesses an eclectic academic background, including past studies in the fields of mathematics, history, law, and international relations.

Nimco Ahmed works as a policy aide for the Vice President of the Minneapolis City Council, where she is the chief of staff of the 6th ward office. Ahmed is a member of the Homeland Security Advisory Committee's Countering Violent Extremism Working Group. She has been named a Policy Fellow at the University of Minnesota's Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs 2009-2010. Entering the political world with a strong desire to educate communities who are marginalized, she has extensive experience as an organizer for political campaigns at the state and national level.

Imtiaz Ali is Jennings Randolph Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in Washington D.C where he is pursuing his research on the genesis and rise of the Pakistani Taliban. Before coming to the U.S, Ali was a special correspondent for the Washington Post in Peshawar. Ali joined the BBC Pashto Service in late 2001 and reported extensively on the rise of the "Pakistani Taliban" and Pakistan's military operations against al-Qaeda operatives and their local Taliban supporters in the tribal region. Before joining the BBC, Ali worked for Pakistan's premier English-language newspapers, *The News* and *Dawn*.

Abdulkarim Al Eryani is a former Prime Minister of Yemen, serving between 1980-83 and, again, from 1998-2001. At various times, he held the Education, Development and Foreign Affairs portfolios in the Yemeni Cabinet and served as Deputy Prime Minister. Before entering politics, he was responsible for managing a number of agricultural and irrigation projects. He was educated at the University of Georgia and holds a PhD in Biology from Yale University. In 2001, he was appointed senior advisor to President Saleh.

Aisha Bint Al Hussein is Military Attache at the Embassy of Jordan to the United States. Her Royal Highness Princess Aisha is the daughter of HM Late King Hussein Bin Talal and Princess Muna Al Hussein. After her graduation from the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, Colonel Aisha worked with the Special Forces and graduated several parachute courses. She has been a participant in DACOWITS Conferences since 1996 and represented Jordan at the inaugural opening of the Near East South Asia (NESAs) Centre for Strategic Studies 2000.

Arif Alikhan is the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development for the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. He leads a team of policy analysts, scientists, and economists responsible for coordinating, analyzing, and developing policy issues for securing the United States against terrorists and natural threats. Prior to this appointment, Alikhan served as Deputy Mayor for Homeland Security and Public Safety for the City of Los Angeles. He is a former federal prosecutor who acted as an Assistant United States Attorney in Los Angeles. He also served approximately two years as a senior adviser to the Attorney General on intellectual property and cyber crime issues in Washington D.C.

Najim Abed Al Jabouri is a retired Major General, having served as an officer in the former Iraqi Air Defense. He was also Police Chief and later Mayor of Tel Afar, Ninevah, from 2005–08, and played a major role in the so-called Awakening Movement that significantly contributed to the decline of Al Qaeda in Iraq. General Najim is now a Senior Fellow in the Near East South Asia Center (NESA) at the National Defense University and is working with the Institute for National Strategic Studies.

Hasan Al Momani is Director of the Regional Centre on Conflict Prevention at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy. Specializing in conflict resolution, particularly international negotiations, Dr Al Momani held various senior academic positions at the Faculty of International Studies of the University of Jordan, including Assistant Dean for Academic Affairs, Coordinator of the Conflict Management Programme and Chairman of the Department for International Studies. He holds a PhD in International Relations from Keele University (UK).

Rend Al Rahim Francke is Executive Director (and one of the principal co-founders) of the Iraq Foundation. Ambassador Al-Rahim received a Senior Fellowship at the United States Institute for Peace's Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. From 2003-04, she served as Iraq's Representative to the United States and the Iraqi Chief of Mission. She represented the Iraq Foundation with government and international institutions worldwide, and has contributed to many reports and books on Iraq.

Zainab Al Suwajj is the co-founder and Executive Director of the American Islamic Congress (AIC), a non-profit organization established in the wake of the September 11 attacks to build interfaith and interethnic understanding; mobilize a moderate voice in the American Muslim community; and promote civil rights in the Muslim world. Al-Suwajj was born in Basra, Iraq, the granddaughter of Basra's leading cleric. After participating in the failed 1991 uprising against Saddam Hussein, she fled to the United States. Since 2003, she has worked in Iraq to strengthen women's rights and stability in Iraq.

Omar Ashour is Director of Middle East Studies Program at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter (UK). He is the author of the first comprehensive study on jihadist de-radicalization processes and programs, *The Deradicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements* (London, New York: Routledge, 2009). Dr. Ashour has written extensively about Islamist movements and ideologies, democratization, terrorism and insurgency, and ending political violence. His published works cover the Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Arab and Muslim Communities in the West, and have appeared in various academic journals.

Maha Azzam is Associate Fellow of the Middle East and North Africa Programme at Chatham House in London. His areas of interest are political Islam, Islam and Globalisation, Middle East Politics, Islamist Groups in the Middle East (with particular reference to Egypt), and the ideology of al-Qaeda. He has published widely on these issues. Prior to joining Chatham House, where he currently leads a major programme ('Political Islam Revisited'), he worked at the Royal United

Services Institute and was a Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, both in London.

Gawdat Bahgat is a Professor at the NESAC Center at the National Defense University. Prior to this position, which he took up in late 2009, he was director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. For 20 years, Dr. Bahgat has taught political science and international relations in several universities. His areas of expertise include energy security, counter-terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, International political economy, the Middle East, Caspian Sea/Central Asia, and American foreign policy. Bahgat is the author of six books and about 200 scholarly articles.

John R. Ballard is Dean of Faculty and Academic Programs and Professor of Strategic Studies at the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies in Washington, D.C. He previously served as Professor of Strategic Studies at the National War College, Professor of Joint Military Operations at the Naval War College, as Foundation Professor of Defense Studies at Massey University, and as Professor of History at the Joint Forces Staff College. Dr. Ballard's final military assignment was as chief of staff of the combating terrorism directorate within the Office of the Secretary of Defense in the Pentagon.

Richard Barrett has been the Coordinator of the Al-Qaida/Taliban Monitoring Team of the United Nations Security Council in New York since 2004. He is also a member of the Secretary-General's Task Force, established to promote the implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy which was adopted by the General Assembly in 2006. Before working for the United Nations, he had a full career with the British Government and served both in the United Kingdom and abroad. He was in charge of overseas counter-terrorist work before and after the attacks in the United States in 2001.

Nesreen Barwari is a Professorial Lecturer and Kurdish politician. As a former Minister of Municipalities and Public Works in Iraq, she was the top Iraqi official in charge of water treatment, waste management, environmental sanitation, and municipal facilities. From 1999 until 2003, she was the Regional Minister of Reconstruction and Development in the Kurdistan Regional Government in Northern Iraq. Prior to her work in Government, she was with various UN agencies, culminating in her appointment to lead the UN Habitat field office as the first local and woman head of a UN agency in the Iraq program.

Noman Benotman is Director of Research at the Libyan Human and Political Development Forum. He fought in Afghanistan with the Mujahideen against the Soviet occupation. He then worked to establish the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) to lead the struggle against the Libyan regime during the early 1990s. At that time he met several of the leaders of Al Qaeda, including Osama Bin Laden. Since 2007, Benotman has dedicated himself to reconciliation between the Libyan government and the LIFG. In doing so he has worked closely with Saif al-Islam, the son of Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, seeking common ground and dialogue.

John Bew is Deputy Director of ICSR and Lecturer in War Studies at King's College. Before joining King's, he was Lecturer in Modern British History, Harris Fellow and Director of Studies at Peterhouse, Cambridge University (2007-10). From 2005-7, he was a Junior Research Fellow, also at Peterhouse. Dr Bew's most recent book is *Talking to Terrorists: Making Peace in Northern Ireland and the Basque Country* (Hurst and Columbia, 2009), co-written with Martyn Frampton and Iñigo Gurruchaga. It has been reviewed widely in the international media and was listed in *Foreign Policy Magazine's* Global Thinkers Book Club in December 2009.

Tore Bjørge is Professor of Police Science at the Norwegian Police University College and Senior Research Fellow at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. A social anthropologist by

training, Dr. Bjørge's main fields of research have been political extremism and terrorism, racist and right-wing violence, delinquent youth gangs, and crime prevention. He has authored or edited eleven books, including most recently *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement* (2009, co-editor). Based on his doctoral research, in 1996/97 he initiated the first "Exit" project to facilitate disengagement from violent racist and right-wing groups.

Cofer Black is an internationally acknowledged U.S. Government leader and expert in counterterrorism and national security. From 2009, he has been Vice President for Global Operations at Blackbird Technology International. During 2005-08, he provided strategic guidance and business development expertise as Vice Chairman of Blackwater Worldwide and as Chairman of Total Intelligence Solutions. During 2002-2005, at the Assistant Secretary of State level, he reported to the Secretary of State for developing, coordinating, and implementing American counterterrorism policy as Coordinator. He had a 28-year career in the CIA, reaching Senior Intelligence Service (SIS-4) level as Director, Counterterrorist Center.

Laila Bokhari is a Pakistan-based research fellow with the Afghanistan and Pakistan Programme of the Department of Security and Crisis Management, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), and an Associate Fellow at ICSR. Her research interests are terrorism, radicalization and de-radicalization processes, and the evolution of radical Islamism and political violence with a particular focus on Pakistan and Afghanistan. From 2001-09 she worked with the Terrorism and Security project of the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI). During that period (2006-08), she also worked with the UN al-Qaida/Taliban Monitoring Team in New York.

Christopher Boucek is an associate in the Carnegie Middle East Program where his research focuses on security challenges in the Arabian Gulf and Northern Africa. He is a leading authority on rehabilitation and disengagement programs for Islamist militants and extremists and a recognized expert on terrorism, security, and stability issues in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. His current research projects include clerical politics in Saudi Arabia and the confluence of challenges to Yemeni stability. Before joining the Carnegie Endowment, he was a postdoctoral researcher at Princeton University and lecturer in Politics at the Woodrow Wilson School.

Matt Bryden is an analyst and author who specialises in peace and security issues in the Horn of Africa, with a focus on Somali affairs. A former Canadian Forces Reserve infantry officer, he began working in Somalia for the United Nations in 1990, and has since worked in various capacities for non-governmental organizations, the United Nations and donor governments. In 1992-93, Matt was appointed Special Advisor to the Canadian Ambassador on Somali Affairs. Between 1996 and 2003 he established and led the WSP-International (War-torn Societies Project) Somali Programme, and co-founded three leading Somali think-tanks.

Andrew Burns is a retired senior British diplomat. A career member of the British Diplomatic Service from 1965 to 2003, Sir Andrew was British Ambassador to Israel from 1992-95, British Consul-General in Hong Kong and Macau from 1997-2000, and High Commissioner to Canada from 2000-03. He was Deputy Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO; 1995-1997), Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Asia (1990-1992) and Foreign Office Press Spokesman and Press Secretary to successive Foreign Secretaries from 1988 to 1990. His other diplomatic postings included India, Romania and the US where he was Head of the British Information Services from 1983 to 1986. He is a member of ICSR's Advisory Board.

Kim Campbell served as Canada's nineteenth and first female Prime Minister in 1993. She previously held cabinet portfolios as Minister of State for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Minister of Justice and Attorney General, and Minister of National Defence and

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Carie Lemack is co-founder of Families of September 11 and the Global Survivors Network. She advocated for the creation of the 9/11 Commission and for passage of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004. The Global Survivors Network, which she is currently spending most of her time on, is comprised of people working to prevent future acts of terror. Hailing from six continents and representing many religions, the network aims, through public events, its online community and a documentary film, to show to people all over the world that violence only causes pain and suffering, most often to people just like them. Lemack's mother, Judy Larocque, was on American Airlines Flight 11.

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Tzipi Livni was Israeli Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2006-09. With the establishment of the current government in 2009, she became leader of the opposition. She served as an officer in the IDF, and later in the Mossad. A lawyer by profession, she was first elected to the Knesset in 1999. Two years later, Livni was appointed Minister for Regional Cooperation and Agriculture. After 2003, she held various portfolios, including Immigrant Absorption, Housing and Construction, and Justice. Livni was a member of the Likud Party until the end of 2005, when she – together with other prominent political figures in Israel – formed the Kadima Party, of which she was elected chairperson in 2008.

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Mitchell B. Reiss is an internationally recognized negotiator and President-elect of Washington College. From 2003-05 he served as Director of the Office of Policy Planning at the U.S. State Department; in December 2003, he was asked to serve concurrently as the President's Special Envoy for the Northern Ireland Peace Process with the rank of Ambassador, which he did until February 2007. Starting in 1999, Reiss held a number of leadership positions at the College of William & Mary, including Vice Provost for International Affairs, and Dean and Director of the Reves Center for International Studies. His latest book, *Negotiating with Evil: When to Talk to Terrorists*, will be published later this year.

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