



# Emerging Al Qaeda Safe Havens and Regional Nodes

## Beyond Yemen: Somalia, the Maghreb, Sub-Saharan Africa...



A Forces Transformation and Resources Seminar  
Marshall Hall, Room 155, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, D.C. 20319  
April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010

**Wednesday, April 21<sup>st</sup>**

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**0820-0830 Welcome and Introductory Remarks**

**Dr. James M. Keagle**, Director, Transforming National Security Seminar Series, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, NDU

**0830-0930 Strategic Assessment: U.S. Options for Dismantling Terrorist Networks**

*Theme: How should success in the campaign against Al Qaeda be measured? Which U.S. agency/organization has 'the lead?' Survey of U.S. military and interagency efforts to disrupt and dismantle terrorist networks. Survey of international efforts on the African continent. Discussions may include the appropriate use of foreign aid, financial and forensic analysis, criminal investigations, public and private diplomacy, technological solutions, and military operations.*

**Mr. Garry Reid**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Combating Terrorism (DASD(SO&CT))

**0930-0945 Break**

**0945-1100 Sub-Regional Assessment: Main Actors and Issues**

**Sahel and Maghreb: Dr. Andre LeSage**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

**Horn of Africa: Ambassador David Shinn**, Adjunct Professor, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University

**1100-1200 Coordinating the Interagency Strategy**

*Theme: The future of U.S. interagency efforts to arrest the spread of Al Qaeda and*

**Mr. Christopher P. Maier**, Director for Counterterrorism, National Security Staff, Executive Office of the President

**1200- 1300 Lunch**

**1300-1400 Finding Al Qaeda: Resources, Training, Funding Streams, and Organizational Models**

*Theme: Who is Al Qaeda, and how is the organization likely to evolve? What is the significance of terrorist "havens?" "Corporate" and "affiliate" organizational models examined. Discussion of Al Qaeda's operational goals, budgetary constraints, and potential asymmetric advantages in the African context.*

**Mr. Thomas L. Delare**, Terrorism Finance and Sanctions Policy, Economic Bureau, Department of State

**Mr. Gregory Pollock**, Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, U.S. Department of Treasury

**Mr. Ahren Schaefer**, Africa Counterterrorism Analyst, U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR)

## **1400-1415 Break**

## **1415-1515 Al Qaeda and the Dynamics of Local: Institutional and Informal Networks of Support**

*Theme: Assessment of Al Qaeda tactics to win local support. How can terrorist organizations be successfully isolated from local populations and displaced? What institutional alliances can be used to most effectively discredit Al Qaeda and its affiliates in the eyes of the organization's supporters? Are there limits to American interference at the local level, and if so, what are the implications? What role can the U.S. interagency play in anticipating and pursuing Al Qaeda to its next haven*

**Mr. Andrew Black**, President & CEO, Black Watch Global

**Mr. Daveed Gartenstein-Ross**, Director, Center for Terrorism Research

**Mr. Nathan Hughes**, Director of Military Analysis, STRATFOR Global Intelligence

## **1515-1615 Diplomatic Panel**

*International perspectives on combating the Al Qaeda network. Do regional priorities differ from U.S. strategy? What positive and negative examples should American policy-makers consider when analyzing the effectiveness of military/interagency operations?*

**Ambassador Baali Abdellah**, Embassy of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

**Colonel Iya J. Gababo**, Defense Attaché, Embassy of the Republic of Kenya

**Colonel Zanguina Soumana**, Defense Attaché, Embassy of Niger

## **1615-1630 Closing Remarks**



# SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES



## **Ambassador Abdellah Baali**

Abdallah Baali (1954- ) ; Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Diplomatic Section (Algiers, Algeria), 1977; New York University, Contemporary American Politics, 1987; Ambassador to the US (November 2008- ); Ambassador Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Special Envoy to African & Latin American States, Head of Delegation at different International Conferences, Head of Delegation to Morocco-Sahrawi negotiations on Western Sahara (2006 to October 2008); Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, New York (1996-2005); Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations Security Council (2004-2005); President of the Security Council (December 2004); President of the 6th NPT Review Conference, New York (April-May 2000); Head of delegation to the 7th NPT Review Conference (NY 2005); Vice President of the 54th & 59th sessions of the UN-GA; Member of the Algerian Delegation to the NAM, OIC, G-77 & African Union Summits; Special Envoy to Central & Latin America; Lecturer at various US & European Universities; Ambassador of Algeria to Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand & Brunei Darussalam (1992-1996); Head of Division of Information & Documentation & Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Algiers (1990-1992); Advisor to the Minister of Arab Maghreb & European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1989-1990); Member of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the UN (1982-1989); Alternate Representative to the Security Council (1988-1989); Member of the Algerian Delegation to the 3rd Conference on the Law of the Sea (1981); Head of Desk at the Division of Political Affairs (1977-1982); Editor of the Algerian Review for International Affairs (1990-1992); has published various articles on nuclear disarmament.

## **Mr. Andrew Black**

Andrew Black is the President & CEO of Black Watch Global, and is a specialist in counter-radicalization and African security affairs. He has been an adviser and consultant to the U.S. military, senior diplomats, and intelligence community as well as several international oil & gas firms. In addition to his publications for federal clients, Andrew has written numerous academic papers and journal articles on emerging trends in intelligence, warfare, and international terrorism. He is a regular contributor to the Jamestown Foundation as well as Jane's Intelligence Review and West Point's CTC Sentinel. He has presented before the Jamestown Foundation on al-Qa'ida's Resurgence in North Africa and the International Terrorism and Intelligence (ITI) Conference on terrorism and radicalization in sub-Saharan Africa. He has recently appeared as a guest on the al-Jazeera English program Inside Story and France24 International News speaking about terrorism in Algeria. Andrew is a member of AFCEA International and the Terrorism Research Initiative. He holds an MA Honours in International Relations from the University of St. Andrews (Scotland) and an MA in International Security Studies from Georgetown University.



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## **Mr. Thomas Delare**

Thomas L. Delare has been Director for Terrorism Finance and Sanctions Policy in the Economic Bureau of the Department of State since September 2009. Prior to this assignment he worked at the U.S. Embassy in Rome, Italy as Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs (2006-2009). Prior to that assignment, Mr. Delare was also Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs (2005-2006) at the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq. From 2002 to 2005, Mr. Delare was Deputy Chief of Mission and then Charge d' Affaires in Bucharest, Romania. Assignments within the Department of State included work as Deputy Director of the Office of Investment Affairs, Staff Economist on the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff, Chief Economist for Russia and later, Korea. Other experience abroad includes assignments at the U.S. Embassies in Moscow, Bonn, Prague and at the Consulate General in Milan. Prior to entering the State Department, Mr. Delare worked at the Library of Congress as an Analyst on the Soviet defense economy. He also served with the U.S. Army in 1972-1975 and was assigned to Germany as a Russian linguist. Mr. Delare's undergraduate studies were at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh, with graduate work at the University of Chicago. In addition, he studied Russian at Middlebury College, the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California and at the U.S. Army Russian Institute in Garmisch, Germany.

## **Colonel Iya Gababo**

Born in 1960, Colonel Gababo joined the Kenya Air Force as a Cadet in 1981 and after basic military training, attended several aviation courses in Kenya and overseas countries. He joined the Military Intelligence Corps in 1996 and worked on Africa Desk for several years. He attended Peace Keeping Operations related courses in Ghana and Slovenia and was an instructor at Peace Support Training Centre in Nairobi for a few months. Colonel Gababo has participated in UN Peace Keeping Missions as an observer in Liberia and Rwanda between 1993 and 1994. He did one-year liaison duties at Central Command, Florida in 2005 where he worked at the Coalition Intelligence Centre. Colonel Gababo is a graduate of Defence Staff College, Kenya and holds a Bachelor of Arts Degree in International Relations and Diplomacy from the University of South Africa. He has worked as Defence, Military, Air and Naval Attaché at the Embassy of Kenya since December 2007.

## **Dr. Daveed Gartenstein-Ross**

Described as "a rising star in the counterterrorism community" by the International Herald Tribune, Daveed Gartenstein-Ross is the Director of the Center for Terrorism Research. His research interests include homegrown terrorism, radicalization, jihadist ideology, al-Qaeda's safe havens, and energy security. Gartenstein-Ross co-authored two major reports in 2009, Homegrown Terrorists in the U.S. and U.K. and Terrorism in the West 2008. The former is an empirical examination of the radicalization process in 117 homegrown jihadi terrorists



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that provides a new framework for understanding the impact of religious ideology. Renowned terrorism expert Brian Michael Jenkins, senior advisor to the president of the RAND Corporation, described the work as “an important study that adds to our knowledge of terrorist radicalization.” Gartenstein-Ross has presented his research on radicalization at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Marine Corps University, National Defense University, and to international delegations from Denmark and Russia, among others. In addition to his academic research on terrorism, Gartenstein-Ross seeks to craft practical solutions to some of the field’s vexing problems. His consulting work has included live hostage negotiations, work on border security issues, and story development for major media companies. He frequently leads training for the U.S. military and federal, state, and local law enforcement; in 2009 he received a Leader Development and Education for Sustained Peace Support Excellence Award from U.S. Army Central Command for this work. Gartenstein-Ross has also served as a Subject Matter Expert designing and delivering training for the U.S. State Department’s Office of Antiterrorism Assistance, and was recently an expert witness in a successful asylum case where the asylee feared retribution from Somalia’s al-Shabaab due to his family’s support of the country’s transitional federal government. Gartenstein-Ross has testified before the U.S. Senate’s Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee and Georgia’s state legislature. His writings on the war on terror have appeared in Reader’s Digest, The Wall Street Journal Europe, The Weekly Standard, The Times of India, The National Post (Canada), The Washington Times, Middle East Quarterly, and many other publications. He has published four monographs, and co-edited the book *From Energy Crisis to Energy Security* as well as the forthcoming volume *The Afghanistan-Pakistan Theater: Militant Islam, Security and Stability* (FDD Press 2010). His memoir *My Year Inside Radical Islam* (Tarcher/Penguin 2007) details Gartenstein-Ross’s work in his early twenties for an international Wahhabi charity that has been named a specially designated global terrorist entity by the U.S. Treasury Department, an experience that provides him a unique perspective on Islamic extremism. His personal story was featured on CNN’s acclaimed 2007 special *God’s Warriors*, and other media appearances he has made include BBC, NPR, PBS, MSNBC, Fox News Channel, and al-Jazeera. A Ph.D. candidate in world politics at the Catholic University of America, Gartenstein-Ross earned a J.D., magna cum laude, from the New York University School of Law, where he was a member of the Law Review. He received his B.A., magna cum laude, from Wake Forest University, where he was a Nancy S. Reynolds Scholar and won the 1997 the national championship in intercollegiate policy debate. Gartenstein-Ross was selected for the Claremont Institute’s prestigious Lincoln Fellowship in 2007. He can conduct research in several languages, including Arabic, Italian, Spanish, and French.

## **Mr. Nathan Hughes**

Nathan Hughes is STRATFOR’s Director of Military Analysis, covering strategic defense



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issues around the globe and providing military context for wider geopolitical analysis. He monitors ongoing military conflict and emerging trends including missile technology proliferation, ballistic missile defense and the weaponization of space. His focus areas include the war in Afghanistan, naval developments and strategic nuclear forces. Mr. Hughes, a veteran of the U.S. Marine Corps, has had work published in the Marine Corps Gazette and National Defense Magazine. He has been interviewed and cited by several major media outlets including Newsweek, Popular Mechanics, Christian Science Monitor, Xinhua, Radio Free Europe, ISN Security Watch and The National Journal. Mr. Hughes holds a bachelor's degree in English literature from Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Oregon.

## **Dr. James Keagle**

Dr. James M. Keagle is the Director of the Transforming National Security seminar series at the Center for Technology and National Security Policy at the National Defense University. Prior to this position, Dr. Keagle was the National Defense University's Provost (effective 2004) and Vice President for Academic Affairs. Prior to these positions, he served as a professor of National Security Strategy at NDU. In that role Dr. Keagle worked as a research faculty member assisting with NDU's modeling and simulation and work with interagency education and training. Accepting an appointment to the U.S. Air Force Academy, he graduated second academically in his class in June 1974. Following graduation, he went to the University of Pittsburgh to complete his Master's of Arts degree in political science and earned a graduate certificate in Latin American studies. After a tour as a munitions maintenance officer, Dr. Keagle went on to become an assistant professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy. In 1980, he went on to Princeton University where he completed both a Master's of Arts degree and Ph.D. in politics. He proudly notes his honorary Ph.D from the Military Technical Academy of Romania--the only United States citizen so honored. Following his extensive education, Dr. Keagle's next six tours were political-military assignment that included direct access and interaction with Cabinet-level government officials on national security related matters. These assignments included work for two Combatant Commanders as a senior strategist; for the Office of Secretary of Defense pertaining to Cuba; Deputy Director, Office of the Secretary of Defense Bosnian Task Force; and for the Deputy Under Secretary of the Air Force in International Affairs as Senior Strategist. Military medals include the Defense Superior Service Award, the Legion of Merit, and the Purple Heart. Since leaving military service, Dr. Keagle has held the position of adjunct professor at a number of institutions to include: Syracuse University, American University, Central Michigan University, Catholic University, University of Colorado, and Lake Superior State College. He also holds an honorary professorships with Transilvania University in Brasov, Romania, as well as the Mongolian Defense University--again, the only American so honored . Dr. Keagle and wife Kay are the proud parents of three children.



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## **Dr. Andre LeSage**

Dr. Andre Le Sage is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) at the National Defense University in Washington, DC. He conducts analysis of critical and emerging security issues in Africa that confront United States decision makers. His current research focuses on irregular, non-state threats in Africa, including terrorist and organized crime networks across the continent, and dynamics related to peace and security in the Horn of Africa. From 2005-2009, Dr. Le Sage served as Assistant Professor and Academic Chair for Counterterrorism at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, a Regional Center of the US Department of Defense. Previously, he worked across the Horn of Africa, East Africa and Central Africa with the United Nations, Médecins Sans Frontières and other organizations. Dr. Le Sage is the author of *African Counterterrorism Cooperation: Regional and Sub-Regional Initiatives* (NDU Press / Potomac Books). His other publications have focused on militia-faction politics and Islamic movements in Somalia, as well as counterterrorism efforts in the Trans-Sahara area. Dr. Le Sage holds an M.A. in International Relations from Yale University, and a Ph.D. from Cambridge University's Faculty of Social and Political Science.

## **Mr. Christopher Maier**

Chris Maier serves as Director for Counterterrorism at the National Security Council. Prior to joining the National Security Council staff, Mr. Maier was the Senior Group Chief of Strategic Assessments in the Directorate of Strategic Operational Planning (DSOP) at the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) from October 2007 to August 2009. In this position he had responsibility for leading development and implementation of the National Implementation Plan (NIP)—the nation's strategic interagency plan for counterterrorism—as well as developing strategic assessments of progress on US Government counterterrorism priorities. Prior to becoming head of Strategic Assessments, Mr. Maier served as the Chief of Staff in NCTC/DSOP from August 2006 to October 2007. As the Chief of Staff, he was instrumental in evolving the Directorate from a single mission focus during its initial days to an organization capable of handling a wide variety of interagency planning and implementation initiatives, ranging in scope, time, and complexity. Before joining NCTC, Mr. Maier was a strategy and management consultant to a wide variety of commercial, government, and nonprofit organizations, for which he provided strategic planning, organizational design, strategic positioning, and analysis services. His last consulting assignment was in helping transition the Terrorism Threat Integration Center (TTIC) to the NCTC. Mr. Maier began his government career as an analyst on counterterrorism and Africa issues. He holds a BA in Political Economy from the University of California, Berkeley, and a MALD in International Economics/Development and Security Studies from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.



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## **Mr. Gregory Pollock**

Mr. Greg Pollock is an Africa analyst in the Department of the Treasury's Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, where he analyzes for Treasury officials and other senior policymakers the methods al-Qaida and affiliated groups use to fund terrorist attacks. Greg leads a team of analysts in applying targeted financial sanctions to terrorists and their supporters, disrupting their ability to exploit the global financial system. While at Treasury, Greg has served as a Presidential Management Fellow, a Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholar, and a Harold W. Rosenthal Fellow. Prior to joining the Department of the Treasury, Mr. Pollock worked as an Advocacy and Research Officer at the International Crisis Group. He has an M.S. from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where he served as a teaching assistant to former Secretary of State Dr. Madeleine Albright.

## **Mr. Garry Reid**

A veteran with 28 years of military service in Special Operations, Garry Reid serves as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Combating Terrorism, under the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations, Low Intensity Conflict, and Interdependent Capabilities (SO/LIC&IC). Mr. Reid is the principal advisor to the ASD (SOLIC/IC) for DoD policies, plans, authorities, and resources related to special operations and irregular warfare, with special emphasis on counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, unconventional warfare, sensitive special operations, and other activities as specified by the Secretary of Defense. He represents the Secretary of Defense on various working groups in the interagency arena and maintains an active liaison with those agencies that have responsibility for national security policy as it relates to special operations and combating terrorism. Mr. Reid is also the principal crisis manager supporting the ASD (SOLIC/IC) in response to international and/or domestic activities related to special operations and combating terrorism. Throughout his military service, Mr. Reid planned, conducted, and led a wide range of military operations, including Foreign Internal Defense, Special Reconnaissance, Advance Force Operations, Counterterrorism, Counternarcotics, Humanitarian Assistance, and Disaster Relief. Mr. Reid joined the Office of the Secretary of Defense in January 2007. He has served as the Director for Special Operations Policy, the Director for Counterterrorism Policy, and the Principal Director for Special Operations Capabilities.

## **Mr. Ahren Schaefer**

Mr. Ahren Schaefer is the Africa Counterterrorism Analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Office of Terrorism Narcotics and Crime (INR/TNC). He has written numerous terrorism assessments on topics including North Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Sahel, and Radicalization. Prior to joining the Department of State, he was a National Security Education Program graduate fellow. He has M.A. from the Elliott School of International



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Affairs at George Washington University, where he worked as a Research Assistant on Islamic Terrorism.

## **Ambassador David Shinn**

David Shinn served for 37 years in the U.S. Foreign Service with overseas assignments in Lebanon, Kenya, Tanzania, Mauritania, Cameroon, Sudan and as ambassador to Burkina Faso and Ethiopia. He was the State Department coordinator for Somalia during the international intervention in 1993 and subsequently the director for East African Affairs. He has been teaching at George Washington University for the past 10 years. His areas of specialization are East Africa and the Horn and China-Africa relations. He has a PhD in political science from George Washington University.

## **Colonel Zanguina Soumana**

Colonel Soumana Zanguina is the Defense Attache for the Embassy of Niger. He has served for nearly a decade in that position with great distinction, first in Morocco, and currently in Washington, DC. Throughout his 27 year military career, Colonel Zanguina has commanded at every level in the Niger Armed forces, from squadron officer, to Chief of the Joint Staff. Colonel Zanguina has distinguished himself with numerous decorations and awards, including the Defense Distinguished Cross of the Valor with Palms, and the France Defense Distinguished Silver Medal. Before joining the armed forces, Colonel Zanguina earned a Bachelor of Science from the Kadiogo Military Institute. He is married, and has four children.