



MIDDLE EAST AND
NORTH AFRICA
DEMOCRATIZATION
SEMINAR
FALL 2015

2 SEPTEMBER 2015

MARINE CORPS UNIVERSITY
GRAY RESEARCH CENTER
2040 BROADWAY STREET
QUANTICO, VA 22134

ADMINISTRATIVE NOTES

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

As the Marines are continually asked to serve in the Middle East, this seminar is designed to foster a deeper understanding of the concept of democracy in this complex security environment and encourage dialogue among students, faculty, and outside experts. We at Middle East Studies believe it is incumbent upon those of us with the knowledge, experience, and expertise to help shape this dialogue and inform the minds of our future civilian and military leaders. This seminar brings together policymakers, military and civilian subject matter experts, and scholars with different areas of expertise in the MENA region to discuss issues, including, but not limited to, United States' expectations from the expansion of democratic norms and institutions in the MENA, differences in perceptions and policies about democracy and democracy promotion among U.S. policymakers and regional actors, and the evolution of the concept of democracy in the region, especially since 9/11, the U.S. military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, events associated with the Arab uprisings, and the current upsurge of terrorist activities in the region.

PRECEEDINGS AND INFORMATION

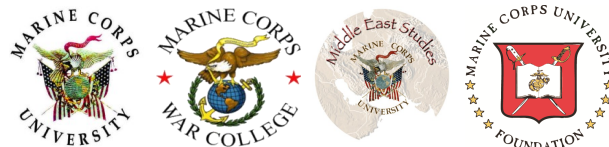
It is the intention of the organizers to publish the proceedings of this seminar and papers submitted by participants as part of the MES *Insights* and *Monograph* series. For more information and updates, please contact Mr. Adam Seitz, senior research associate for Middle East Studies at Marine Corps University, at adam.seitz@usmku.edu or (703) 432-5260.

DISCLAIMER

All opinions expressed by the speakers are their own and do not necessarily represent the views and positions of the U.S. Government, the Department of Defense, the U.S. Marine Corps, Marine Corps University, or any other governmental agency.

EVENT HOSTS AND PARTNERS

The seminar is co-hosted by Middle East Studies at Marine Corps University and the Marine Corps University Foundation and serves as part of the Marine Corps War College's "Diplomacy and Statecraft" instructional block.



AGENDA

WEDNESDAY, 2 SEPTEMBER 2015
MARINE CORPS UNIVERSITY
GRAY RESEARCH CENTER
MCB QUANTICO, VA

0815-0845 Registration

0845-0900 Introductory Remarks

BGen Helen G. Pratt, Marine Corps University

0900-0945 Morning Keynote

Dr. Jon Alterman, Center for Strategic and International Studies

-----BREAK-----

1000-1200 Panel 1: U.S. Democracy Promotion Policies and Practices

Dr. Daniel Brumberg, Georgetown University

Ms. Lisa Curtis, The Heritage Foundation

Mr. Grant Kippen, The Hillbrooke Group

Chair: Dr. James Anderson, Marine Corps University

-----NO-HOST LUNCH BREAK-----

1300-1305 Introductory Remarks

Col Keil Gentry, Marine Corps University

1305-1350 Afternoon Keynote

Amb. Karl Eikenberry, Stanford University

-----BREAK-----

1405-1605 Panel 2: Case Studies and Regional Perspectives

Mr. Mohammed Albasha, Navanti Group

Dr. Shadi Hamid, The Brookings Institution

Mr. Ahmad Nader Nadery, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit

Chair: Dr. Amin Tarzi, Marine Corps University

BRIGIDIER GENERAL HELEN G. PRATT, USMC

Brigadier General Helen G. Pratt graduated from Officer Candidate School in 1988 and completed The Basic School in 1989. Her first duty station was in Camp Pendleton, California, as a Platoon Commander with Bravo Company, 7th Motor Transport Battalion (MTBN) where she served in Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Upon her return, she served as the Alpha Company Commander for 7th Motors.

After completing her first tour of active duty in 1992, she joined the Reserves in Orlando Florida with 6th MTBN and held the following billets: Platoon Commander; Maintenance Officer; Executive Officer; and Company Commander.

As a Major she joined Headquarters & Service Battalion, Force Service Support Group, from 1999-2002, as the Operations officer. She then moved to 4th Maintenance Battalion in Charlotte, N.C. and held the billet as Executive Officer where she was deployed in Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) as one of the OIC for the Transportation Support Coordination Center, Marine Logistic Command.

After her deployment in OIF, she was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 2005 and selected as the Battalion Commander for 4th Maintenance Battalion, at which time she was mobilized in support of OIF 4.1 with the Provisional 6th Civil Affairs Group (CAG) for 11 months.

After the deployment LtCol Pratt joined Marine Forces Europe in Stuttgart Germany from 2006-2009, as the Assistant Chief of Staff G-4, IMA Detachment. Once promoted to Colonel she returned to the 4th Marine Logistics Group where she served as the Assistant Chief of Staff G-4.

Col Pratt was selected to command the 4th CAG from August 2010 to April 2012, and deployed for a year to Afghanistan with 2nd MarDiv (Fwd) in support of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). In April 2012, she was selected as the Deputy Commander for the stand-up of the new Force Headquarters Group (FHG) Marine Forces Reserve (MFR) in New Orleans, Louisiana and then was reassigned as the Deputy Commander for the 4th MLG from August 2012 to July 2014.

On July 2, 2014, BGen Pratt was assigned as the Commanding General, FHG, MFR in New Orleans, Louisiana. On November 5, 2014 BGen Pratt was also assigned as the Commanding General, Education Command, and President of the Marine Corps University.

BGen Pratt has been employed by Orange County Public Schools in Orlando Florida since 1994 and works as an "At-Risk" counselor at Glenridge Middle School, serving over 1,400 students in the 6th, 7th and 8th grade. She has an Educational Specialist Degree (Ed. S.) in School Psychology and graduated from the Army War College with a Masters Degree (M.A.) in Strategic Studies in July 2009.



DR. JON B. ALTERMAN

Dr. Jon B. Alterman is a senior vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), holds the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy, and is the director of the center's Middle East Program. Prior to joining CSIS in 2002, he served as a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State and as a special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs. He is a member of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel and served as an expert adviser to the Iraq Study Group (also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission). In addition to his policy work, he teaches Middle Eastern studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. From 1993 to 1997, Dr. Alterman was an award-winning teacher at Harvard University, where he received his Ph.D. in history. He also worked as a legislative aide to Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY), responsible for foreign policy and defense.

Dr. Alterman has lectured in more than 30 countries on five continents on subjects related to the Middle East and U.S. policy toward the region, and is the author or editor of nine books. He received his A.B. from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.



AMBASSADOR KARL EIKENBERRY



Ambassador Karl Eikenberry is the William J. Perry Fellow in International Security at the Center for International Security and Cooperation and is a Distinguished Fellow with the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University. He served as the U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan from May 2009 until July 2011 and had a 35-year career in the United States Army, retiring with the rank of Lieutenant General. His military assignments included postings with mechanized, light, airborne, and ranger infantry units in the continental United States, Hawaii, Korea, Italy, and Afghanistan as the Commander of the American-led Coalition forces from 2005–2007. He is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, has earned master's degrees from Harvard University in East Asian Studies and Stanford University in Political Science, was awarded an Interpreter's Certificate in Mandarin Chinese from the British Foreign Commonwealth Office, and earned an advanced degree in Chinese History from Nanjing University. He is also the recipient of the George F. Kennan Award for Distinguished Public Service and Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Centennial Medal. Ambassador Eikenberry serves as a Trustee for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Asia Foundation, and the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, and is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.



MR. MOHAMMED ALBASHA



Mr. Mohammed Albasha works as a Food Security Analyst for the Virginia based Navanti Group. In his current capacity, Mr. Albasha supports the work of international aid agencies working in Yemen. He previously served as the Spokesperson for the Embassy of the Republic of Yemen in Washington, DC. Mr. Albasha attended Purdue University and holds a master's degree from the School of Public Policy at George Mason University. He has completed intensive course-work in the fields of international relations and conflict resolution at the Johns Hopkins University and the University of Maryland. For the past decade, Mr. Albasha also participated in numerous international events, conferences and workshops as an expert on Yemen. Remarks by Mr. Albasha continuously appear in major Arabic and English news organizations. He is presently active in social media and you can follow him on twitter @Yemen411.



DR. JAMES H. ANDERSON

Dr. James H. Anderson serves as the Vice President for Academic Affairs, Marine Corps University. Prior to becoming Vice President in June 2015, he served three years as Dean of Academics and Deputy Director at the Marine Corps War College. Dr. Anderson has also held a variety of academic and policy positions outside of Marine Corps University.

From 2009 to 2012, he served as Professor of International and Security Studies at the George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies, where he directed the Program in Advanced Security Studies.

Dr. Anderson served in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from September 2001 to January 2009, where he was Director of Middle East Policy in International Security Affairs, among other positions. He is a recipient of the Defense Exceptional Public Service Award.

Prior to his Pentagon service, he worked as an Associate Professor of International Relations at Command and Staff College, Marine Corps University; an Associate at DFI International, a private consulting firm; and a Research Fellow at The Heritage Foundation, a major think tank in Washington, DC. In addition to his full-time teaching positions, Dr. Anderson has taught courses at National Defense University, George Washington University, Lasell College, and the University of Phoenix. He has lectured and conducted seminars at several academic and policy institutions overseas.

Dr. Anderson is the co-author of *Leading Dynamic Seminars: A Practical Handbook for University Educators* (2013). He is also the author of *America at Risk: The Citizen's Guide to Missile Defense* (1999), and more than sixty articles on a wide range of national security topics. His current research interests include grand strategy, international terrorism, the Middle East, and China. Dr. Anderson earned his doctorate in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and his undergraduate degree from Amherst College.

Prior to earning his doctorate, he served three years on active duty as an intelligence officer in the United States Marine Corps. He attained the rank of Major in the reserves before receiving his honorable discharge in 1998.

**DR. DANIEL M. BRUMBERG**

Dr. Daniel Brumberg is a Special Adviser at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), where he focuses democratization and reform in the Middle East and wider Islamic world, and Co-Director of Democracy and Governance Studies at Georgetown University. Prior to coming to Georgetown University, he was a Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Science at Emory University, a Visiting Fellow in the Middle East Program in the Jimmy Carter Center, and a Lecturer at the University of Chicago's Social Science Masters Program. The author of *Reinventing Khomeini, The Struggle for Reform in Iran*, (University of Chicago Press), and the Co-editor (with Dina Shehata) of *Conflict, Identity and Reform in the Muslim World, Challenges for US Engagement* (USIP Press), he has published many articles on political and social change in the Middle East. Dr. Brumberg has served as a consultant to the U.S. Department of State and the United States Agency for International Development, has lived in Egypt and France, and has conducted research in Egypt, Kuwait, Algeria, Tunisia, and Indonesia. Dr. Brumberg's co-edited book (with Farideh Farhi) *Power and Political Change in Iran*, will be published by Indiana University Press in Spring, 2016.



Ms. LISA A. CURTIS

Ms. Lisa Curtis is Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center at the Heritage Foundation. Since joining Heritage in August 2006, Ms. Curtis has appeared on major broadcast networks, including CNN, Fox News, PBS, and BBC, to comment on developments in South Asia and testified multiple times before Congress on issues related to U.S. policy toward India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh. Her commentary has appeared in *The Los Angeles Times*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Foreign Policy*, and *The National Interest*, and in South Asian publications such as *The Hindu*, *India Today*, *The Friday Times*, *The News*, and *Express Tribune*.

Before joining Heritage, she was Professional Staff Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, handling the South Asia portfolio for then Committee Chairman, Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN). From 2001 to 2003, Ms. Curtis served as Senior Advisor in the State Department's South Asia Bureau, where she advised the Assistant Secretary on India-Pakistan relations. In the late 1990s, Ms. Curtis served in the Central Intelligence Agency as a political analyst on South Asia. She also served as a political officer to the U.S. embassies in Islamabad and in New Delhi from 1994 to 1998.



COLONEL KEIL GENTRY, USMC



Colonel Keil Gentry is currently the Director of the Marine Corps War College.

Upon graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1986, he was commissioned and subsequently trained as an artillery officer. Throughout his career, he served in a variety of command and staff billets. As a lieutenant, he served as 2d Platoon Commander and Executive Officer, Battery F, 2d Battalion, 12th Marines. As a captain, he served in a variety of billets in the 2d Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company and, later, as Commanding Officer, Battery T and Operations Officer, 5th Battalion, 10th Marines. As a major, he served as a fire support officer with the Joint Special Operations Command and as Executive Officer, 2d Battalion, 11th Marines. As a lieutenant colonel, he served as the Logistics Officer and Operations Officer, 11th Marines; the Fires and Information Operations Officer, 1st Marine Division; Executive Officer, Regimental Combat Team 1; and Commanding Officer, 2d Battalion, 11th Marines. As a colonel, he served as the Head of National Plans, Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps; Commanding Officer, 12th Marines; and Deputy Legislative Assistant to the Commandant of the Marine Corps.

His education includes a B.S. in English from the U.S. Naval Academy and an M.A. in National Security and Strategic Studies from the College of Naval Command and Staff. Additionally, he completed non-degree producing courses of study in Joint Professional Military Education at the Armed Forces Staff College, Strategic Studies at the NATO Defense College, and Foreign Politics, International Relations, and the National Interest as a Massachusetts Institute of Technology Seminar XXI Fellow.

He participated in multiple named contingency operations to include: PROVIDE COMFORT, PROVIDE PROMISE, JOINT ENDEAVOR, ASSURED RESPONSE, QUICK RESPONSE, ENDURING FREEDOM, IRAQI FREEDOM, AL FAJR, and TOMODACHI.



DR. SHADI HAMID

Dr. Shadi Hamid is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center for Middle East Policy and the author of *Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East* (Oxford University Press), which was named a Foreign Affairs Best Book for 2014. An expert on Islamist movements, Dr. Hamid served as director of research at the Brookings Doha Center until January 2014. Prior to joining Brookings, he was director of research at the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED) and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. He is currently vice-chair of POMED's board of directors and a contributing writer to *The Atlantic*. His articles on the Middle East and U.S. policy have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New Republic*, *The National Interest*, and many other publications. He has been a guest on such programs as the PBS NewsHour, The Charlie Rose Show, NBC Nightly News, MSNBC's "Morning Joe," CNN GPS with Fareed Zakaria, and CNN's Amanpour. Dr. Hamid received his B.S. and M.A. from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, and his Ph.D. in political science from Oxford University.



MR. GRANT KIPPEN



Mr. Grant Kippen was recently the Chief of Party for the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) in Yemen from December 2011 to June 2015. He has spent the past 30 years involved in electoral politics and democracy strengthening activities.

Internationally, Grant has worked in Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Egypt, Georgia, Jordan (in support of the 2005 Iraq elections), Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Kosovo, Libya, Moldova, Nepal, Pakistan, Sudan, Timor Leste, Ukraine and Yemen. During this time he has been employed by the United Nations, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the National Democratic Institute (NDI), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Elections Canada and the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs. He was the Chairman of the Electoral Complaints Commission (ECC) in Afghanistan for the 2009 Presidential and Provincial Council elections and the 2005 Wolesi Jirga and Provincial Council elections, as well as Country Director for NDI in Afghanistan in 2003-2004.

In Canada, Mr. Kippen has worked within the Prime Minister's Office, as an Advisor to a federal Cabinet Minister, a Special Assistant to a Member of Parliament, as well as the Director of Organization for a national political party. He has written a number of published articles on such issues as e-democracy, electoral dispute resolution, electoral financing within post-conflict countries, the impact of information technology on electoral campaigns as well as on elections and democracy in Afghanistan.

Mr. Kippen has a B.A. from The University of Western Ontario and an M.B.A. from the University of Ottawa.

MR. AHMAD NADER NADERY

Mr. Ahmad Nader Nadery is Director of Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. He is also the founder and chairman of the Free and Fair Election Foundation of Afghanistan. He served for 7 years as Commissioner of the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC).

Mr. Nadery is also chairman of board of directors of Open Society Foundation-Afghanistan. Mr. Nadery represented Afghan youth at the main UN peace talks for Afghanistan in the Bonn Conference in 2001, where the post Taliban interim government was formed. Prior to his appointment at the AIHRC he served as the director of Global Rights an organization he founded in 2002 in Kabul. He also served as the Spokesperson for the Emergency Loya Jerga (Grand Assembly) that elected head of transitional government) in 2002. He was elected as a delegate for the ELJ and served as representative of civil society in 2002 ELJ. He co-founded Afghan Civil Society Forum, and foundation for civil society and culture. He has written extensively on politics, human rights, women rights and democracy in Afghanistan. Mr. Nadery taught constitutional law at the American University of Afghanistan in 2012. He is also serving as member of Global Agenda Council on Fragile State of World Economic Forum. Mr. Nadery led No Peace Without Justice support missions in Libya since the 2012 revolution.

He is also a member of Board of Editors of the *International Journal on Transitional Justice* and appears regularly on *BBC*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and other national and international media.

In 2005 he was recognized as an "Asian Hero" by *Time* magazine and named as Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum in 2008. He studied law and political sciences at Kabul University and earned his master's degree in International Relation from George Washington University, he also studied leadership at Kennedy School of Government at Harvard.



DR. AMIN TARZI

Dr. Amin Tarzi serves as the inaugural Director of Middle East Studies at the Marine Corps University (MCU) in Quantico, Virginia. In his position, Dr. Tarzi supports MCU by providing a resident scholar with expertise on the Middle East and South/Central Asian, analyzes current events, regional trends, U.S. policy decisions and strategies, and the culture and history of the broader Middle East and South/Central Asia. He represents Marine Corps at various academic and professional forums, teaching at the Marine Corps War College and other Marine Corps and sister service Professional Military Education programs, and mentoring the AfPak Hands Marines assigned to MCU. He is also a Senior Fellow, Program on the Middle East, at the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Prior to joining MCU, he was with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's Regional Analysis team focusing on Afghanistan and Pakistan and inaugurated and compiled the weekly informational and analytical publication "Afghanistan Report." While working at RFE/RL, he also taught courses in political Islam, cultural intelligence, terrorist organizations and similar topics at the Washington-based Center for Advanced Defense Studies. Before joining RFE/RL, Dr. Tarzi worked as Senior Research Associate for the Middle East at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, where he established the Middle East section. He primarily researched Iran and its missile and nuclear developments and policies and taught a graduate seminar at the Monterey Institute on Middle East security policies and threat perceptions with focus on Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Israel. Dr. Tarzi's prior experience includes holding the post of Political Advisor to the Saudi Arabian Mission to the United Nations dealing with the conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Balkans and Somalia; the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty extension; Iranian behavior in the United Nations; and Security Council expansion. After his tenure with the Saudi government, Dr. Tarzi held the position of Researcher/Analyst on Iranian affairs at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi.

Dr. Tarzi has PhD and master degrees from the Department of Middle East Studies at New York University and a bachelor degree in philosophy and political science from Queens College of the City University of New York.



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