

**Addressing the Accountability Gap in Statebuilding: The Case of
Afghanistan**

**Symposium
Friday, February 25, 2011**

Bechtel International Center, Encina Hall, Stanford University
Participant Biographies

Major General Nick Carter, UK Ministry of Defence

Major General Nick Carter was commissioned into The Royal Green Jackets in 1978 and saw service in Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Germany, Kosovo and Bosnia. His extensive service in Iraq and Afghanistan began with six months as Director of Plans of the US-led Combined Joint Task Force 180 in Afghanistan in mid 2002, during which time he invented Provincial Reconstruction Teams, and three months in the Cross Government Iraq Planning Unit based in the FCO leading up to and during the invasion of Iraq in 2003. In January of 2009, he took command of the 6th United Kingdom Division and was responsible for the preparation and training of the Task Forces deploying on Operation Herrick. As Commander of ISAF's Regional Command South from November 2009 to November 2010, General Carter oversaw an innovative and comprehensive approach to governance-led operations across the south of Afghanistan, including Operation Moshtarak in Central Helmand and Hamkari in Kandahar, which will be ongoing for many months.

Larry Diamond, Director, CDDRL

Larry Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, where he also directs the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. He is the founding co-editor of the Journal of Democracy and also serves as Senior Consultant (and previously was co-director) at the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy. During 2002-3, he served as a consultant to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). During January-April 2004, he was a senior advisor on governance to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, and later published an analysis of the U.S. effort there, *Squandered Victory* (2005). His latest book, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (2008), explores the sources of global democratic progress and stress, and the prospects for future democratic expansion.

Tom Fingar, Oksenberg / Rohlen Distinguished Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University

Dr. Thomas Fingar is the Oksenberg/Rohlen Distinguished Fellow, and in 2009, the Payne Distinguished Lecturer at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. From May 2005 through December 2008, he served as the first Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis and as Chairman of the National Intelligence Council. Dr. Fingar served previously as Assistant Secretary of the State

Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (2001-2003), Deputy Assistant Secretary for Analysis (1994-2000), Director of the Office of Analysis for East Asia and the Pacific (1989-1994), and Chief of the China Division (1986-1989). Between 1975 and 1986 he held a number of positions at Stanford University, including Senior Research Associate in the Center for International Security and Arms Control.

Francis Fukuyama, Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow, CDDRL

Francis Fukuyama is the Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), resident in FSI's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. Dr. Fukuyama has written widely on issues relating to questions concerning democratization and international political economy. His book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, was published by Free Press in 1992 and has appeared in over twenty foreign editions. His most recent books are *America at the Crossroads : Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*, and *Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap between Latin America and the United States*. His next book, *The Origins of Political Order*, will be published in April 2011. In 1981-82 and in 1989 he was a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the US Department of State, and in 1981-82, a member of the US delegation to the Egyptian-Israeli talks on Palestinian autonomy.

Ashraf Ghani, Former Presidential candidate and former Minister of Finance, Afghanistan

Ashraf Ghani served briefly as Hamid Karzai's chief advisor in his interim administration and eventually was chosen as Afghanistan's finance minister from 2002 - 2004, during Hamid Karzai's transitional administration. Before joining the Afghan government, Ghani held positions with the United Nations and the World Bank, and helped prepare the Bonn Agreement. Because of his success at carrying out a series of important reforms as finance minister, he was voted the best finance minister of Asia in 2003 by Emerging Markets. After serving as Chancellor of Kabul University, in 2005 Ghani co-founded the Institute for State Effectiveness, which "uses a citizen-centered perspective to rethink the fundamentals of the relationship between citizens, the state and the market in the context of globalization." In 2008, Ashraf Ghani published *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World*, with Clare Lockhart (also from the Institute for State Effectiveness).

Tarek Ghani, University of California Berkeley

Tarek Ghani is a PhD student at UC Berkeley's Haas School of Business, where his current research interests include global crime and corruption. From 2006-2009, Tarek was an Investment Manager with Humanity United, a foundation committed to ending the practices of mass atrocities and modern-day slavery. In 2002, Tarek served as special assistant to the Minister of Finance of Afghanistan, working on aid coordination, public finance reform and security sector reform. Tarek is a specialist in international security and development policy, and has analyzed post-conflict reconstruction, UN reform and U.S. foreign aid reform with the World Bank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Center for Global Development. A Truman Scholar, Tarek graduated

from Stanford University with a B.S. in Symbolic Systems and Honors in International Security.

Elissa Golberg, Director-General, Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force, Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Elissa Golberg is currently Director-General of the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) in the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, a position she has held since April 2009. Ms. Golberg has been with the Canadian diplomatic service since 1996 working on a range of peace and security issues. From February 2008 to January 2009, she served as the Representative of Canada in Kandahar, the senior Canadian civilian envoy in southern Afghanistan, leading a multi-agency team responsible for delivering on Canada's governance and development objectives. Prior to that, Ms. Golberg was the Executive Director of the Independent Panel on Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan ("the Manley Panel") at the Privy Council Office, from October 2007 to January 2008. Ms. Golberg has had a variety of responsibilities with the Department of Foreign Affairs, including serving as the Senior Director of the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force, and Director of the Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Response Division. Ms. Golberg has participated in the management of Canadian Government responses to several conflicts including Afghanistan, Sudan and Lebanon, and has played a leading role in Canada's response to major natural disasters, most recently as the Co-coordinator of the Government of Canada's 2010 Haiti Earthquake Task Force. Ms. Golberg holds a Master's degree in International Relations. She was named a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum in 2010, and has published several articles on humanitarian related matters.

Minna Järvenpää, former Head of Analysis, UNAMA

Minna Järvenpää previously worked in Kabul, Afghanistan, as the Head of Analysis and Planning in the UNAMA mission and currently works out of Oxford and the European Stability Initiative on a project on interventions and statebuilding. Before joining the UN in Afghanistan, she worked as the Head of Lessons Learning for the British Government's Stabilisation Unit, and as Senior Advisor to Nobel Peace laureate Martti Ahtisaari, supporting his work in Northern Ireland and throughout the Balkans. Altogether, Minna was involved in the Balkans – Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia - for nine years during which she spent two years working for UNMIK in Kosovo as Strategy Advisor to the Special Representative of the Secretary General and then municipal administrator in the divided town of Mitrovica. Minna holds degrees in international relations from the London School of Economics and in Slavic languages from Harvard University.

Ambassador Said Jawad, Afghan Ambassador to US 2003-10

His Excellency Said T. Jawad, former Ambassador of Afghanistan to the United States, Chairman of the Foundation for Afghanistan, and Chief Executive Officer of Capitalize LLC, recently joined the Future of Diplomacy Project at the Harvard Kennedy School as the inaugural Fisher Family Fellow and diplomat in residence. Ambassador Jawad returned to Afghanistan after 9/11 to assist in the statebuilding process, where he played a versatile and crucial role in government, serving as President Karzai's Press Secretary,

Chief of Staff and Director of the Office of International Relations. Under his leadership as Afghan Ambassador to the United States, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico from December 2003 until October 2010, the Embassy of Afghanistan emerged as one of the most successful missions in Washington, D.C.

Erik Jensen, Co-Director, Rule of Law Program, Stanford Law School; Senior Research Scholar, CDDRL

For the last 25 years, Erik Jensen has taught, practiced and written about the field of law and development in 30 countries. He has lived and worked for 14 years in Asia, including six in Pakistan. During this time, he served as a consultant to The World Bank and The Asian Development Bank, and as a representative of The Asia Foundation, where he currently serves as Senior Advisor for Governance and Law. His publications include, among others, *Beyond Common Knowledge: Empirical Approaches to the Rule of Law* (2003) as an editor with Thomas C. Heller, and “Justice and the Rule of Law,” in *Building States to Build Peace* (2008). As Co-Director of the Rule of Law Program at Stanford Law School, he teaches “Statebuilding and the Rule of Law” and is the faculty advisor to three field-based projects in Afghanistan, Bhutan and Timor Leste. All three projects focus on excellence in legal education; the pioneer among these three projects is the Afghanistan Legal Education Project (ALEP) that features a partnership between the American University of Afghanistan and Stanford Law School.

Grant Kippen, Chair of the Electoral Complaints Commission of Afghanistan in 2005 and 2009

Grant Kippen has been involved in electoral politics and democracy strengthening activities over the last 30 years, both in Canada and internationally. He has published a number of articles on such issues as e-democracy, electoral financing within post-conflict countries, the impact of information technology on electoral campaigns as well as on elections, and democracy in Afghanistan. He has been employed by the United Nations, IFES, the National Democratic Institute, Democracy International, the International Organization for Migration, Elections Canada and the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs. He was the Country Director in Afghanistan for the National Democratic Institute in 2003 – 2004. He has also worked on elections in Algeria, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Egypt, Georgia, Kosovo, Moldova, Nepal, Pakistan, Sudan, Timor Leste, and Ukraine. Appointed to the ECC by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, he was elected as its chairman by the consensus of its members.

Farhaan Ladhani, Director of Strategic Communications, Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team, 2009-2010

Farhaan Ladhani recently returned from a 13-month posting as the Head of the Strategic Communications section at the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Kandahar City (KPRT) where he worked in close collaboration with a number of key U.S., international, and ISAF partners to direct the execution of strategic communication and public diplomacy initiatives throughout Kandahar Province. Prior to his posting in Kandahar, Farhaan was based at the Canadian International Development Agency’s Afghanistan Task Force as a Senior Communications Advisor. From 2006 to 2008, Farhaan was based

in Washington, D.C. at the Embassy of Canada where he focused on the development of social and new media advocacy initiatives.

Shuvaloy Majumdar, Former Country Director for Afghanistan, International Republican Institute

Shuvaloy Majumdar, a Visiting Foreign Policy Scholar at the University of British Columbia Liu Institute for Global Issues, led democracy initiatives in Iraq and Afghanistan from 2006 to 2010 for the International Republican Institute. Prior to this, he worked for former Leader of the Opposition Preston Manning, and helped him establish the Manning Centre for Building Democracy. As a founder of The Future Group, he led three successive deployment teams to combat human trafficking in Southeast Asia for which he received the Queen's Golden Jubilee Medal.

Ambassador Ron Neumann, U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan 2005-2007

Formerly a Deputy Assistant Secretary, Ronald E. Neumann served three times as Ambassador: to Algeria, to Bahrain and to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan from July 2005 to April 2007. In February 2004, Mr. Neumann served in Baghdad with the Coalition Provisional Authority and then as Embassy Baghdad's principal interlocutor with the Multinational Command. Before Iraq, he was Chief of Mission in Manama, Bahrain (2001-2004). Mr. Neumann has served in innumerable additional postings throughout the Middle East and North Africa, including time in the Bureau of Near East Affairs (1997-2000), where he directed the organization of the first separately-funded NEA democracy programs. Ambassador Neumann is the author of *The Other War: Winning and Losing in Afghanistan* (Potomac Press, 2009), a book on his time in Afghanistan, and currently serves as president of the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Roland Paris, Director, Centre for International Policy Studies, University of Ottawa

Roland Paris is University Research Chair in International Security & Governance and founding Director of the Centre for International Policy Studies at the University of Ottawa. Previously he was Director of Research at the Conference Board of Canada, the country's largest think tank; Policy Advisor in the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Privy Council Office of the Canadian government; Assistant Professor at the University of Colorado-Boulder; and Visiting Researcher at the School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C. He has written extensively on peacebuilding, statebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, including the book *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict* (Cambridge 2004), which won the Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order.

Ben Rowswell, Visiting Fellow, CDDRL

Ben Rowswell is a Canadian diplomat with a specialization in statebuilding and stabilization. As Representative of Canada in Kandahar from 2009 to 2010, he directed the Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team, leading a team of more than 100 American and Canadian diplomats, aid workers, civilian police and other experts in strengthening the provincial government at the heart of the Afghan conflict. Previously, he served as Deputy Head of Mission for the Canadian Embassy in Kabul. Following two

stints as Canada's Chargé d'Affaires in Iraq between 2003 and 2005, Rowswell co-edited the book *Iraq: Preventing a New Generation of Conflict* (2007).

Gerard Russell, former UNAMA political officer

Since joining the UK Foreign Service in 1995, Gerard Russell has headed one of Britain's diplomatic missions (as Consul General in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia) and two of its largest political teams in Embassies overseas - in Baghdad and Kabul. Between 2001 and 2003 he designed and headed up the Islamic Media Unit, the UK's initiative to reach out to opinion in the Arab and broader Islamic world. After working on European and Iraq policy in London, he went to Baghdad in 2005 to be an adviser to the Iraqi Prime Minister. He then became head of the British Embassy's political team in Baghdad, served as Consul-General in Jeddah, and became head of the British Embassy's political team in Kabul. He later returned to Kabul in 2009 as a senior staffer at the United Nations mission. He left the UN and the British Government in 2009 to take up a Research Fellowship at the Carr Center, in Harvard's Kennedy School for Government.

Michael Semple, Carr Center for Human Rights, Harvard University

Michael Semple is a Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, conducting research on the Afghan Taliban Movement and approaches to reconciliation in the region. Michael has worked on Afghanistan and Pakistan since 1985 and speaks Urdu, Dari and Pashto. From 1988 to 1997, he managed an NGO humanitarian assistance program in Afghanistan and Pakistan. From 1998 to 2002, he worked with a series of United Nations missions in Afghanistan, initially in humanitarian coordination and subsequently as a political officer. From 2004 to 2008, he worked with the European Union, serving as deputy to the Special Representative to Afghanistan. Since 2008 he has worked as a scholar and adviser, focusing on opportunities to end the conflict in Afghanistan and the region. Through his career Michael has sought to be a reflective practitioner. His work on Afghanistan since the latter days of the PDPA regime there has allowed him to maintain a dialogue with some of the key actors in the different stages of the country's conflict. In recent years he has been a proponent of political approaches to the conflict, including "talking to the Taliban." He has published widely on this subject, including a 2009 USIP book *Reconciliation in Afghanistan*.

Stephen Stedman, Senior Fellow, Freeman-Spogli Institute, Stanford University

Stephen Stedman joined CISAC (Center for International Security and Cooperation) in 1997 as a senior research scholar, and was named a senior fellow at FSI and CISAC and professor of political science (by courtesy) in 2002. Stedman's research addresses the future of international organizations and institutions, an area of study inspired by his work at the United Nations. In 2003, he was recruited to serve as the research director of the U.N. High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, which analyzed global security threats and proposed far-reaching reforms to the international system. Upon completion of the panel's report, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, Kofi Annan asked Stedman to remain at the U.N. as an assistant secretary-general to help gain worldwide support in implementing the panel's recommendations. Following the U.N. world leaders' summit in September 2005, during which more than 175 heads of state

agreed upon a global security agenda developed from the panel's work, Stedman returned to CISAC.

James Traub, Contributing Writer, New York Times Magazine

James Traub is a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine*, where he has worked since 1998. From 1994 to 1997, he was a staff writer for *The New Yorker*. He has also written for *The New York Review of Books*, *Foreign Affairs*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The New Republic* and elsewhere. He has written extensively about international affairs and especially the United Nations. In recent years, he has reported from Iran, Iraq, Sierra Leone, East Timor, Vietnam, India, Kosovo and Haiti. He has also written often about national politics and urban affairs, including education, immigration, race, poverty and crime. Most recently, Traub authored the critically acclaimed book, *The Freedom Agenda: Why America Must Spread Democracy (Just Not the Way George Bush Did)*. He is a senior fellow at the Center on International Cooperation at NYU and a member on the Council on Foreign Relations where he writes a column for Foreign Policy called Terms of Engagement.

Joanne Trotter, Aga Khan Foundation U.S.A., Director of Programs

Joanne Trotter, the Aga Khan Foundation's Director of Programs since May 2008, is responsible for cultivating and coordinating partnerships between the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) and US Government, private, philanthropic and multilateral agencies. She currently chairs the DC-based NGO Working Group on Afghanistan. For the previous three years, Joanne was AKDN's Head of External Relations and Program Management in Afghanistan. This included leadership of the NSP Facilitating Partners' Representative Group, oversight of AKDN's NSP facilitation, and coordination of AKDN's multi-sector rural development programming in Bamiyan, Baghlan and Badakhshan. Prior to this posting, Joanne was responsible for fund-raising and donor relations in Europe on behalf of AKDN programs in Afghanistan, South Asia and East Africa. Joanne obtained her MSc in International Development from the University of Bath with a special focus on citizenship, civic education and governance.

Andrew Wilder, U.S. Institute of Peace

Dr. Andrew Wilder joined the United States Institute of Peace in August 2010 as the director of Afghanistan and Pakistan Programs. Prior to joining the Institute, Dr. Wilder served as research director for Politics and Policy at the Feinstein International Center at Tufts University. From 2002 to 2005, Dr. Wilder served as founder and director of Afghanistan's first independent policy research institution, the Kabul-based Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU). This was preceded by more than ten years managing humanitarian and development programs in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Dr. Wilder is the author of "The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab" (Oxford University Press, 1999). He has written extensively and his recent research explores issues relating to statebuilding, reconstruction, and stabilization efforts in Afghanistan, specifically the effectiveness of aid in promoting stabilization objectives in Afghanistan. Dr. Wilder has also conducted extensive research on sub-national

governance, elections and police reform efforts in Afghanistan, and on electoral politics and the politics of civil service reform in Pakistan.