



SMA CENTCOM (Afghanistan) Panel Discussion

In Support of US CENTCOM

Booklet

13 June 2018

1300-1430 ET

**Dial (866) 712-4038;
Passcode 37250264#**

Strategic Multi-Layer Assessment (SMA) provides planning support to Commands with complex operational imperatives requiring multi-agency, multi-disciplinary solutions that are NOT within core Service/Agency competency. Solutions and participants are sought across USG and beyond. SMA is accepted and synchronized by Joint Staff/J-39 DDGO and executed by ASD (EC&P).

Agenda

Panel Description: On 13 June, 1300-1430, NPS will convene a follow-on panel discussion to comment further on topics discussed during their 16 May session and discuss areas related to the latest SMA/CENTCOM Reach Back Cell study, which focuses on stability and future pathways in Afghanistan. The speakers for this discussion will include:

Dr. John Arquilla (NPS)
Dr. Thomas Barfield (Boston University)
BG (Retired) Feroz Khan (NPS)
Dr. Hamdullah Mohib (Afghan Ambassador to the United States)
Dr. Afshon Ostovar (NPS)
Dr. Hy Rothstein (NPS)
Dr. Christopher Twomey (NPS)
Dr. Craig Whiteside (NPS)

The panel will discuss the questions guiding the study, listed below.

Initial Prioritized List of Study Topics:

1. What would reconciliation between the Taliban and GIRoA look like? What are the essential pre-conditions for political reconciliation? What groups would or would not reconcile? How would this affect GIRoA organizationally (potential devolution of power, etc.)? Would devolution of GIRoA power be a condition for Taliban integration? How would the reconciliation affect the power brokers (warlords) currently aligned with or part of GIRoA?
2. What would a favorable Pakistani stance to Afghanistan look like? Would it be homogeneous? Or, if not, how would groups like the ISI operate outside of the official Pakistani government stance? How does competition with India factor into Pakistan's willingness to support US (and other partner nation) objectives in Afghanistan?
3. What are the potential Russian options regarding their interference/participation in Afghanistan? What would trigger these options? How do the Taliban and the Afghan government view Russian objectives in Afghanistan?
4. What would be the effect of increasing/decreasing US relations with India on Pakistan?
5. How could China affect Pakistan/Afghanistan? What drives the Chinese decision calculus? How do key actors in Pakistan and Afghanistan view China?
6. How could a Grand Bargain between the US and China (or other permutations) manifest itself in Afghanistan/Pakistan?
7. Iran wants to limit US military influence in the region, including Afghanistan. What are Iran's strategic interests in Afghanistan? How is Iran seeking to limit US influence and increase its own in Afghanistan?
8. How do population dynamics on the ground hinder or support reconciliation?
9. What are the interests of key coalition partners in Afghanistan? In what ways do they align or differ from US interests?

Speaker Biographies

Dr. John Arquilla (NPS)

Dr. John Arquilla is professor and chair of defense analysis at the Naval Postgraduate School where he has taught in the irregular warfare program since 1993. He is best-known for having predicted, back in the mid-'90s, the rise of terrorist, insurgent, and transnational criminal networks. His books include *Networks and Netwars* (2001), *The Reagan Imprint* (2006), and *Insurgents, Raiders, and Bandits* (2011). He contributes regularly to *The New York Times*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Politico*.

Dr. Thomas Barfield (Boston University)

Dr. Thomas Barfield's current research focuses on problems of political development in Afghanistan, particularly on systems of local governance and dispute resolution. He has also published extensively on contemporary and historic nomadic pastoral societies in Eurasia with a particular emphasis on politics and economy.

Dr. Barfield conducted ethnographic fieldwork in northern Afghanistan in the mid-1970s as well as shorter periods of research in Xinjiang, China, and post-Soviet Uzbekistan. He is author of *The Central Asian Arabs of Afghanistan* (1981), *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (1989), and *The Nomadic Alternative* (1993), co-author of *Afghanistan: An Atlas of Indigenous Domestic Architecture* (1991), and editor of *Blackwell's Dictionary of Anthropology* (1997). Barfield received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 2006 that led to the publication of his newest book, *Afghanistan: A Political and Cultural History* (2010).

He is also director of Boston University's Institute for the Study of Muslim Societies & Civilization and currently serves as president of the American Institute for Afghanistan Studies.

Position: Professor and Chair (Fall 2016)

Education: PhD- Harvard University, MA- Harvard University, BA- University of Pennsylvania

BG (Retired) Feroz Khan (NPS)

Research Professor
South Asia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nuclear Strategy and Proliferation

Feroz Hassan Khan is a former Brigadier in the Pakistan Army, with experience in combat action and command on active fronts on the Line of Control in Kashmir and Siachin Glacier and Afghanistan border. He has worked on numerous assignments in the United States, Europe, and Asia. He served as Director Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs, in the Pakistan's Strategic Plans Division, Joint Services Headquarters. Khan had been a key contributor in formulating Pakistan's security policies on nuclear and conventional arms control and strategic stability in South Asia. He produced recommendations for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and represented Pakistan in several multilateral and bilateral arms control negotiations on peace and security in South Asia and international treaties related to weapons of mass destruction.

Brigadier Khan holds an M.A. International Relations from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), John Hopkins University, Washington DC. He has held a series of visiting fellowships at Stanford University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; the Brookings Institution; Center for Non-Proliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies and at the Cooperative Monitoring Center, Sandia National Laboratory. He also taught courses as a visiting faculty at the Department of the Defense and Strategic Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad. He has widely participated in international and national conferences on strategic issues, international security, terrorism, nuclear arms control and non-proliferation issues. He has published widely most famously his book *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb*.

Dr. Hamdullah Mohib (Afghan Ambassador to the United States)

Dr. Hamdullah Mohib has served as Afghanistan's Ambassador to the United States since September 2015. He also serves as non-resident Ambassador to Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Argentina, and Columbia. During his tenure, Ambassador Mohib has focused on redefining Afghanistan's narrative in the United States to reflect the new realities of the

country as a young democracy moving steadily on a path to prosperity and peace as a result of the social change and institutional development that has taken place over the past 16 years.

As Ambassador, he has focused on highlighting the critical yet under-credited role of cultural and peace initiatives, women, and youth in re-creating Afghanistan. To this end, his priorities have included engaging with the Afghan diaspora across the United States; elevating the efforts of Afghan women toward social, political, and economic development; engaging with active US military and veterans who have served in Afghanistan; and implementing a comprehensive cultural and public diplomacy initiative within US schools, universities, and local organizations.

In the summer of 2017, President Trump announced his administration's policy for a renewed long-term engagement in Afghanistan, a result of months of intensive dialogue between Afghanistan and the United States. Moving forward, Ambassador Mohib will focus on nurturing investment partnerships between the United States and Afghanistan, as well as focusing on the shared security objectives of the two countries.

Before being appointed Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Hamdullah Mohib served as Deputy Chief of Staff to H.E. The President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. The role included oversight of the spokesperson's office, the office of correspondence and diplomatic communications, protocol office, petitions office, and the Presidential secretariat.

During his tenure at the Presidential Palace, his role involved liaising with governmental counterparts and drafting of bilateral and multilateral agreements. Dr. Mohib also engaged in the substantive preparation and implementation of official presidential visits to over a dozen countries as part of the administration's strategy for geopolitical and economic integration. Dr. Mohib led the presidential negotiating team for several inter-government cooperation agreements and the formulation of Afghanistan's national development "Realizing Self-Reliance" reform strategy.

Dr. Mohib has a PhD and Bachelor's degree with honors from Brunel University in the United Kingdom. The university honored him with an award for social and cultural contributions to campus, and a research scholarship to pursue a Doctorate of Philosophy. Before joining the government, Dr. Mohib worked for the American University of Afghanistan and Intel Corporation.

Dr. Mohib has been an active leader in civil society among the global Afghan community. He founded the largest Afghan diaspora youth association in Europe, the Afghan Students Association of the UK. He also founded and served as Chairman of the Board for the Afghan Professionals Network (APN). As part of APN, he started a think-tank "Discourse Afghanistan", and initiated community service programming to support special needs orphans in Kabul, and to recognize achievements of Afghan women.

Dr. Mohib is fluent in English, Pashto, and Dari, with proficiency in Urdu/Hindi. He is a published writer on Afghan politics, as well as on academic research.

Dr. Afshon Ostovar (NPS)

Dr. Afshon Ostovar is an Assistant Professor of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School. He has come to NPS after a decade of experience working on Department of Defense and federally-funded projects related to national security and the Middle East. He was most recently a Research Scientist in the Center for Strategic Studies at CNA, a not-for-profit research organization in the Washington D.C. area. Previously, he was a Fellow at the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point and has taught at Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Ostovar's research focuses on conflict and security issues in the Middle East, with a specialty on Iran and the Persian Gulf. His book, *Vanguard of the Imam: Religion, Politics, and Iran's Revolutionary Guards* (Oxford University Press, 2016), examines the rise of Iran's most powerful armed force—the IRGC—and its role in power politics, regional conflicts, and political violence. The book is both the first comprehensive history of the IRGC and a thematic history of the Islamic Republic, from the roots of its revolutionary system in the Islamic revivalism of the 19th century, to the impact of sanctions and the Arab Spring on Iranian foreign involvement.

Other publications include, *The Rebel Alliance: Why Syria's Armed Opposition Has Failed to Unify*, a report that looks at how outside private funding encouraged fracturing within Syria's rebellion and emboldened Salafi and Jihadist groups; and "Iran's Basij: Membership in an Militant Islamist Organization," which explores the recruitment, training, and incentives for membership in Iran's largest pro-regime organization, the Basij popular militia. He currently has three articles and book chapters in preparation examining the visual culture of jihadist organizations, sectarianism and Iranian foreign policy, and Iran's way of war in Syria and Iraq.

Dr. Ostovar is a contributor to *War on the Rocks* and *Lawfare*, and his commentary regularly appears in *Politico*, *Foreign Policy*, *Vox*, *The Guardian*, and other popular media such as *New York Times*, *Reuters*, *Bloomberg*, and *National Public*

Radio. He earned a B.A., *summa cum laude*, in Near Eastern Studies from the University of Arizona and a Ph.D. in history from the University of Michigan.

Dr. Hy Rothstein (NPS)

Dr. Hy Rothstein is the director of the DoD IO Center for Research, and a member of the Center on Terrorism and Irregular Warfare, at the Naval Postgraduate School. He has a Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School, Tufts University. Dr. Rothstein has spent considerable time in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Philippines since early 2002 observing, up close and in the most remote areas, the conduct of the wars. He served in the US Army as a Special Forces officer for more than twenty-six years spending much of his time in Latin America training and advising governments threatened by active insurgencies. Dr. Rothstein has written and edited books about Afghanistan (*Afghanistan and the Troubled Future of Unconventional Warfare* (2006) and *Afghan Endgames Strategy and Policy Choices for America's Longest War* (Feb 2012)), Iraq (*The Three Circles of War* (2010)), an anthology that explores the similarities between insurgency and gang violence (*Gangs & Guerrillas* (2011)) and a comprehensive volume on deception titled, *The Art and Science of Military Deception* (2013). He is currently working on a book about "assessing war" that will be published by Georgetown University Press in 2015. Dr. Rothstein teaches courses and conducts research on the strategic utility of special operations, military deception, and psychological and political warfare.

Dr. Christopher Twomey (NPS)

Associate Professor, Associate Chair for Research, Director of CCC
International Relations, Asian Security, Chinese Foreign Policy, Strategic Deterrence

Dr. Christopher Twomey received his Ph.D. from MIT in Political Science and joined the NPS faculty in 2004, later serving as Associate Chair for Research and as Director of the Center for Contemporary Conflict from 2007-09. Today, he supports the Office of the Secretary of Defense (Policy) and the State Department on a range of diplomatic engagements across Asia and advises PACOM, STRATCOM, and the Office of Net Assessment. He has been the lead organizer of the *US-China Strategic Dialogue*, a track 1.5 diplomatic meeting on strategic nuclear issues, since its inception in 2005. He is currently a member of the Institute of International Strategic Studies, a member of the Adjunct Staff at RAND, and has consulted for the National Bureau of Asia Research (NBR) continually since 2009. His book—*The Military Lens: Doctrinal Differences and Deterrence Failure in Sino-American Relations* (Cornell, 2010)—explains how differing military doctrines complicate diplomatic signaling, interpretations of those signals, and assessments of the balance of power. Its empirical work centers on contemporary and historic Sino-American cases. He edited *Perspectives on Sino-American Strategic Nuclear Issues* (2008), and his work has appeared in journals such as *Security Studies*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Asian Survey*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *Nonproliferation Review*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Asia Policy*, *Current History*, and *Arms Control Today*, in addition to a dozen edited volumes. He has previously taught or researched at Harvard, Boston College, RAND, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, UC San Diego, and the University of California's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation. He received his bachelors degree in economics from UC San Diego, and his masters from UCSD's School of Global Policy and Strategy. He has lived in China several times, speaks and reads Chinese, and regularly travels to Asia.

Dr. Craig Whiteside (NPS)

Dr. Craig Whiteside is an Associate Professor at the Naval War College Monterey, California where he teaches national security affairs. He is a senior associate with the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island and a fellow at the International Centre for Counter-terrorism – the Hague. Whiteside's current research focuses on the doctrinal influences on the leadership of the so-called Islamic State movement and its evolving strategies. He has a PhD in Political Science from Washington State University. His recent publications on the Islamic State can be found [here](#).