



## Diplomacy and Violent Jihad

A Discussion of American Diplomacy  
at the Robert H. Smith Center at Montalto

Saturday, October 25, 2014

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**American Academy of Diplomacy**  
Washington, D.C.

**Robert H. Smith International Center  
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## **The American Academy of Diplomacy**

The American Academy of Diplomacy was founded in 1983 by Ambassadors Ellsworth Bunker, U. Alexis Johnson, and John J. McCloy to explore ways in which persons who had served in positions of major responsibility could cooperate to promote the highest standards in the practice of American diplomacy. Today, the Academy is dedicated to strengthening the resources and tools America brings to managing its diplomatic challenges, and accomplishes this through targeted outreach programs, distinguished awards, scholarships, writing competitions, and robust, practical, research-based publications. Through these activities, the Academy promotes an understanding of the importance of diplomacy to serving our nation and enhancing America's standing in the world.



## **The Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello**

From its beginning in 1994, the dual purpose of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies has been research and education – to foster Jefferson scholarship and to disseminate its findings. The activities of the Center are diverse and multidisciplinary. It is a residential site for individual Jefferson scholars and teachers, as well as a venue for lectures, seminars, and conferences. The Center seeks a central role in the ongoing study of Thomas Jefferson internationally by supporting a wide range of inquiry; by building a network of scholars, teachers, and resources; by helping to define new areas of investigation; and by promoting the application of new technologies to Jefferson scholarship. An Advisory Board of acclaimed scholars and statesmen helps guide the Center's activities.

# Diplomacy and Violent Jihad

Why?

The conference Diplomacy and Violent Jihad is intended to define the long-term challenges to the United States in the face of jihad. Islamic extremists, dedicated to international violent jihad, are increasingly active in the Middle East, the Caucasus, Africa and Asia. The indiscriminate nature of their attacks against civilian targets, and the challenge of how to respond, strongly suggests that terrorism based on jihad is likely to be one of the defining policy issues for the U.S. over the next several decades. The declaration of an Islamic state in Syria and Iraq has added a new dimension to violent jihad. The discussion will focus on several specific cases, with a view to developing a global focus on American anti-jihad policy and effective diplomatic responses.

This conference, co-hosted by the American Academy of Diplomacy and the Robert H Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies, is intended to define the long-term challenges to the United States in the face of jihad.

# PROGRAM

## Diplomacy and Violent Jihad:

### A Discussion of American Diplomacy

October 25, 2014

**9:30 AM** **Registration** at Monticello prior to bus boarding for Montalto

**9:45 AM** Coffee at the Repose house at Montalto

**10:15 AM** **Welcome and Introduction**

Leslie Greene Bowman, President, Thomas Jefferson Foundation

Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann (ret.), President, American Academy of Diplomacy

Andrew O'Shaughnessy, Saunders Director of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies

**10:30 AM** Ambassador Neumann will introduce the broad theme of the conference, the overarching challenge for America being how to design strategies that cope without losing sight of other national goals and values such as support for democracy, and how we judge the utility and effectiveness of authoritarian rules. In fact, can one policy encompass the full challenge and what does having a policy mean to actual diplomatic work on the ground? This discussion will set the stage for the individual presentations to follow.

# PROGRAM

**10:45 AM** The panel will look at the broad issues of policy and diplomacy in the context of three examples:

**Russia and the Caucasus:** Violent extremism is not limited to the Middle East. It is now part of politics in Russia and its neighbors. But, are jihadist terrorist threats in the region directed solely at Moscow, or is the U.S. threatened as well? How do we reconcile counterterrorist policy with other aspects of our relationship with Russia and does our response affect Russian willingness to cooperate with us?

*Ambassador William Courtney*

**Yemen:** The Arab world is the epicenter of confrontation with violent jihadism. Yemen has had to confront this even as it struggles with the crisis of changing regimes. It is a case study where antiterrorism, development and support for democratic change are all in the mix. How do we manage and prioritize our interests and our actions?

*Ambassador Edmund Hull*

**The Maghreb:** Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb is only one example of jihadist forces becoming transnational actors. Is it a threat to American interests? What policy actions are effective in dealing with the situation, and over what time frame? How deeply should we become directly engaged? To what extent do our European alliance relationships require support?

*Ambassador Herman Cohen*

**11:45 AM** Q & A

**12:15 PM** Break for Lunch

**1:15 PM** **Keynote Address** “Reflections on the Challenge of Jihad.” In Syria and Iraq the issues of violent jihad have intertwined with political protests, ethnic splits, civil war and religious controversy. Clearly, something more than a one-dimensional policy response is required.

*Ambassador Robert Stephen Ford*

**1:45 PM** **Discussion:** *Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne and Ambassador Robert Ford*

**2:00 PM** Q & A

**2:30 PM** **Closing Remarks:** *Ambassador Ronald Neumann and Andrew O’Shaughnessy*

**2:45 PM** Conference Adjourns

# PARTICIPANTS

## **Ambassador Robert Stephen Ford**

Robert Stephen Ford was ambassador to Syria from 2010 to 2013. A native of Denver, Ford earned his bachelor's degree in 1980 from Johns Hopkins University and his Master of Arts from the university's School of Advanced International Studies in 1983. After serving in the Peace Corps in Morocco, he joined the Foreign Service in 1985 as an economics officer. His early postings included Izmir, Turkey, Cairo, Egypt, Algiers, Algeria (1994-1997), and Yaounde, Cameroon. An interesting demonstration of versatility: in Algiers he served initially as economic officer, including doing technical refutations of World Bank projections and then extended for a year and produced brilliant political reporting based heavily on Arabic and French contacts.

From 2001-2004 he was deputy chief of mission in Bahrain, but he was sent to Iraq after the March 2003 U.S. invasion. He served first as the U.S. representative in the Shiite city of Najaf. After returning to Bahrain to serve as Charge from February to June 2004 he returned to Iraq as political counselor to Ambassador John D. Negroponte. He remained in Iraq until June 2006. Ford returned to Algeria as ambassador in May 2006. However, he voluntarily curtailed to return to Iraq in 2008, where he served as DCM. Ford is a recipient of several Department of State awards, including the 2005 James Clement Dunn Award for Excellence for outstanding work at the mid-level in the Foreign Service as well as three Superior Honor Awards and two Meritorious Honor Awards.

In 2012, Ford was awarded the Profile in Courage Award by the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation for his work as the U.S. ambassador in Syria amidst "repeated threats to his life" where he was doing what was characterized as "traveling around Syria to encourage and support peaceful protesters targeted by Assad's brutal crackdown". Ford speaks German, Turkish, French, and Arabic. Ford's wife, Alison Barkley, is also a US diplomat, and also served two tours in Iraq.

## **Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne**

Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne is a Life Peer in the United Kingdom's House of Lords where her duties include being Chairman of the All-Party-Parliamentary Group (APPG) for Business Development in Iraq and the Region and Vice Chairman of the APPG for Iran. She has extensive experience and expertise in the Middle East and North Africa, where she has been working in a variety of capacities for more than twenty years, including amongst other responsibilities as the UK Trade Envoy to Iraq, to which she was personally appointed by Prime Minister David Cameron in 2014; Executive Chairman of the AMAR International Charitable Foundation, which provides healthcare and education in fragile states in the region; Executive Chairman of the Iraq Britain Business Council; President of the Council of the Caine Prize for African Writing, Prize Committee Member of the Arab Gulf Program for United Nations Development Organizations, a Board Member of the Foundation for Dialogue between Civilizations established by former President Khatami of the Islamic Republic of Iran; and Honorary Adviser to the Iraqi Prime Minister in the field of health.(cont.)

# PARTICIPANTS

For ten years from 1999 she represented the South East Region of the United Kingdom in the European Parliament, where she served for seven and a half years as the Vice Chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee and subsequently as a member. Baroness Nicholson was also the Chairman of the European Parliament's Delegation for Relations with Iraq. She led the European Union's Election Observation Mission to Yemen in 2006 as Chief Observer and has observed elections in Afghanistan, Lebanon (twice), Azerbaijan, Pakistan, Iraq (twice), Armenia, Moldova and Palestine. Prior to her time in the European Parliament she was elected as a member of the House of Commons from 1987 to 1997.

## **Leslie Greene Bowman**

Leslie Greene Bowman is President of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc., which owns and operates Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson. Prior to coming to Monticello, she served nine years as executive director of Winterthur, the nation's greatest museum of American decorative arts. She spent the first half of her career as a curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, where she rose to become head curator of decorative arts as well as assistant director of exhibition programs. While in Los Angeles, she also enjoyed academic appointments with both USC and UCLA, where she taught American decorative arts history.

Leslie Bowman is the author of *American Arts & Crafts: Virtue in Design*, and co-author of *American Rococo, 1750-1775: Elegance in Ornament*, each amplifying scholarship on important eras in American art history. She has served at the highest levels of the museum field, both as an accreditation commissioner for the American Association of Museums and a board member of the Association of Art Museum Directors. She has recently been appointed by President Obama to the Committee for the Preservation of the White House, on which she previously served under Presidents Clinton and Bush from 1993-2010. She is currently a Trustee on the Board of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

## **Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann (ret.)**

Formerly a Deputy Assistant Secretary Ronald E. Neumann served three times as Ambassador; to Algeria, Bahrain and finally to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan from July 2005 to April 2007. Before Afghanistan, Mr. Neumann, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, served in Baghdad from February 2004 with the Coalition Provisional Authority and then as Embassy Baghdad's principal interlocutor with the Multinational Command, where he was deeply involved in coordinating the political part of military action.

Prior to working in Iraq, he was Chief of Mission in Manama, Bahrain (2001-2004). (cont.)

# PARTICIPANTS

Before that, Ambassador Neumann served as a Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Near East Affairs (1997-2000), where he directed the organization of the first separately-funded NEA democracy programs and also was responsible for the bureau's work in developing the North African Economic Initiative for Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. Before that assignment, he was Ambassador to Algeria (1994 to 1997) and Director of the Office of Northern Gulf Affairs (Iran and Iraq; 1991 to 1994). Earlier in his career, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, and in Sanaa in Yemen, Principal Officer in Tabriz, Iran and Economic/Commercial Officer in Dakar, Senegal. His previous Washington assignments include service as Jordan Desk officer, Staff Assistant in the Middle East (NEA) Bureau, and Political Officer in the Office of Southern European Affairs. Ambassador Neumann is the author of *The Other War: Winning and Losing in Afghanistan* (Potomac Press, 2009), a book on his time in Afghanistan. He is the author of a number of monographs and articles. At the Academy he has focused particularly on efforts to expand State and USAID personnel to enable these institutions to carry out their responsibilities.

Ambassador Neumann speaks some Arabic and Dari as well as French. He received State Department Senior Foreign Service pay awards in 2004, 2003, and 1999 as well as individual Superior Honor Awards in 1993 and 1990. He served as an Army infantry officer in Viet Nam and holds a Bronze Star, Army Commendation Medal and Combat Infantry Badge. In Baghdad, he was awarded the Army Outstanding Civilian Service Medal. He earned a B.A. in history and an M.A. in political science from the University of California at Riverside. He is married to the former M. Elaine Grimm. They have two children.

## **Andrew O'Shaughnessy**

Andrew O'Shaughnessy is Vice President of Monticello, the Saunders Director of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies at the Thomas Jefferson Foundation and Professor of History at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). His most recent book *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution and the Fate of the Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013) received five national awards including the New York Historical Society American History Book Prize and the George Washington Book Prize. He is a co-editor of *Old World, New World. America and Europe in the Age of Jefferson* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010) and a co-editor of the Jeffersonian America series published by the University of Virginia Press. A Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, he is editor of the *Journal of American History*.

# PARTICIPANTS

## **Ambassador William Courtney**

William Courtney is an adjunct senior fellow at the RAND Corporation and executive director of the RAND Business Leaders Forum. He was senior principal for policy strategy Computer Sciences Corporation, and earlier a career foreign service officer in the U.S. Department of State.

Courtney co-chaired the U.S. delegation to the review conference that prepared for the 1999 summit in Istanbul of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Before, he helped manage the reorganization of U.S. foreign affairs agencies, served as special assistant to the President for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia, and was Ambassador to Georgia, Kazakhstan, and the Bilateral Consultative Commission, which implements the Threshold Test Ban Treaty.

Courtney is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, where he was an international affairs fellow. He belongs to the boards of directors of the American Academy of Diplomacy and the World Affairs Council of Washington DC, and the advisory council of the Eurasia Foundation. He graduated from West Virginia University with a B.A. and Brown University with a Ph.D. in economics.

## **Ambassador Edmund Hull**

A career foreign service officer, after 9/11 Edmund J. Hull was sent as ambassador to Yemen, where he served until mid-2004. Previously, he served both Presidents Clinton and Bush as Deputy, then Acting, Coordinator for Counterterrorism in the Department of State. Ambassador Hull also served as director for Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Affairs, deputy chief of mission in Embassy Cairo, director for Near East Affairs on the National Security Council, and director for Northern Gulf Affairs (Iraq and Iran) during Operation Desert Storm.

A graduate of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School, Ambassador Hull was appointed its first diplomat-in-residence after departing Yemen. Ambassador Hull has received numerous honors including the CIA's George H. W. Bush Award for Excellence in Counterterrorism, a Presidential Meritorious Service Award for duty in Yemen and the State Department's Award for Excellence in the Direction and Management of Overseas Missions for work as Deputy Chief of Mission in Cairo.

Ambassador Hull's views on Yemen have been featured on 60 Minutes, CNN, the *New York Times*, and Al Jazeera. His op ed "Al Qaeda's Shadowland" ran in the *New York Times* on January 11, 2010. His book *High-Value Target: Countering Al Qaeda in Yemen* was published by Potomac Books in April, 2011. The American Academy of Diplomacy has selected High-Value Target for the 2011 Douglas Dillon Award for Distinguished Writing on Diplomacy.

# PARTICIPANTS

## **Ambassador Herman Cohen**

A retired career diplomat and specialist in African and European affairs, Ambassador Herman J. Cohen is president of Cohen and Woods International. Established in 1994, the firm provides strategic planning services to African and Middle Eastern governments and multinational corporations doing business in Africa and the Middle East. The firm is a member of the United States Corporate Council on Africa. Cohen's consulting activities include the development of energy-intensive industries in the Republic of the Congo, the mining of bitumen from oil sands in Nigeria, and the promotion of private investment in the Republic of Mauritania.

Cohen retired from the U.S. Department of State in 1993. His last position was assistant secretary of state for African affairs under President George H.W. Bush (1989–1993). During his 38-year career with the U.S. Foreign Service, he served in five African countries and twice in France. He was the ambassador to Senegal, with dual accreditation to the Gambia, from 1977 to 1980. During assignments in Washington, he also served as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan (1987–1989), principal deputy assistant secretary for intelligence and research, and principal deputy assistant secretary for personnel.

From 1994 to 1998, under contract to the World Bank, Cohen was a senior advisor to the Global Coalition for Africa, an intergovernmental policy forum that works to achieve consensus between donor and African governments on economic policy.

Cohen is a member of the boards of directors of the Council for a Community of Democracies and the Constituency for Africa. He has been a professorial lecturer in foreign policy studies at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies since 1998. He is a member of the panel on Transatlantic Relations of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. He is the author of a book on conflict resolution in Africa entitled *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent* (2000). This book won the award for distinguished writing on diplomatic practice for the year 2000 from the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Cohen received a bachelor's degree in political science from the City College of New York (1953) and a master's degree in international relations from the American University (1962). Cohen's honors and awards include the French Legion of Honor, the Belgian Order of Leopold II, the U.S. Foreign Service rank of Career Ambassador, and the Townsend Harris Distinguished Alumni Award of the City College of New York. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Academy of Diplomacy.



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