



THE SOUFAN CENTER  
**ANNUAL  
REPORT**

---

**2023**



The Soufan Center is an independent non-profit center offering research, analysis, and strategic dialogue on global security challenges and foreign policy issues.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>I.</b>	<b>LETTER FROM THE FOUNDER</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>III.</b>	<b>ABOUT THE CENTER</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>IV.</b>	<b>TSC 2023: YEAR IN REVIEW</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>V.</b>	<b>RESEARCH AND INTEL BRIEFS</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>VI.</b>	<b>EVENTS</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>VII.</b>	<b>GLOBAL SECURITY FORUM</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>VIII.</b>	<b>POLICY ENGAGEMENT: GLOBAL</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>IX.</b>	<b>POLICY ENGAGEMENT: IN THE UNITED STATES</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>X.</b>	<b>ACADEMIC ENGAGEMENT</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>XIII.</b>	<b>IN THE NEWS</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>XIV.</b>	<b>TSC TEAM</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>XV.</b>	<b>TSC BOARD</b>	<b>33</b>

## LETTER FROM THE **FOUNDER**



Ali Soufan, Founder, The Soufan Center

Our world is one increasingly defined by crises and instability. One where international actors must contend between conflict and cooperation, one where old alliances are tested by new power arrangements and shifting geopolitical dynamics. Democracies grapple with rising populism, technological advancements risk undermining human rights, and a global climate crisis threatens every country and community.

Over 2023, our team at The Soufan Center worked tirelessly to offer research, analysis, and dialogue to better understand these many challenges and their interconnections. Our experts published seven research papers that explored how the United Nations responds to today's terrorism challenges, how Russia's notorious Wagner Group evolved and dissolved amidst conflict and opportunism, and how some state actors elect to engage in hostage-taking as a coercive form of diplomacy. Our experts also looked in-depth at Türkiye's election, France's fallout in Mali, and Somalia's enduring struggle against al-Shabaab.

Through our more than two hundred daily intelligence briefings we offered an even wider look at the world. Our daily IntelBriefs explored democratic backsliding in the United States and across other liberal states. They assessed the arc of instability that followed a series of coup d'états across the Sahel and the colossal power struggle that entangled Sudan in conflict. Russia's war in Ukraine was not forgotten, where mercenaries committed atrocities while Western support risked waning. And most recently, the conflict between Israel and Palestine erupted once more, unleashing horrors on civilians and questioning the bounds of international humanitarian law. While many states have relegated counter-terrorism to the periphery, the threats across the ideological spectrum endure. Our experts covered every region of the world and helped our readership identify the global trends and fault lines that shape modern society.

Amidst crisis and instability, the need could not be greater to build on the opportunities to cooperate, build resilience, and strengthen prevention. And so TSC's experts worked to convene the leading voices in international affairs along with over one thousand attendees at this year's Global Security Forum. Speakers from across the globe explored the impacts of the seismic geopolitical shifts away from unipolarity towards multipolarity. Through other events and conferences, our team shared knowledge and connected with counterparts working toward peace and security. The TSC team continued to engage with national and international media, giving hundreds of interviews and authoring dozens of commentaries.

Over the year, our team also grew to include new fellows and expand our knowledge base for our audiences. We warmly welcomed Adejoké Babington-Ashaye, Clara Broekaert, Vina Nadjibulla, Wassim Nasr, and Stephen White to our cohort. We also bid farewell to our Executive Director, Naureen Chowdhury Fink, who had led the TSC team for the past years and through the challenges of the global pandemic. I express my sincere thanks for her tireless work supporting our mission and her lasting friendship. And I must thank the TSC team that continues to deliver excellence each day through our program of work, under the guidance of our esteemed Board of Directors.

As I close this letter, I want to reflect on one important recognition from this year. I was honored and humbled to be selected by the Carnegie Corporation of New York to be included on its annual list of 2023 Great Immigrants, which recognizes 35 naturalized citizens who have enriched and strengthened American society and democracy. In a world wrestling with uncertainty and polarization, I was proud to stand alongside distinguished first-generation Americans—all esteemed leaders in their fields. A strong reminder that our country is strengthened through the diversity and contributions of all Americans.

And so—despite the many tensions and fissures at the international level—I will end by recognizing the important work of ordinary people and communities on the ground. I also thank each of you for supporting the activities of The Soufan Center and for following our work each day.

Thank you for another year placing your trust in us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ali Soufan', written in a cursive style.

**Ali Soufan**  
Founder

# ABOUT THE CENTER



THE  
SOUFAN  
CENTER

The Soufan Center (TSC) is an independent non-profit organization offering research, analysis, and strategic dialogue on foreign policy challenges with a particular focus on global security, conflict prevention and resolution, and the rule of law. Our work is underpinned by an emphasis on prevention, mitigation, and a recognition that human rights and human security perspectives are critical to credible, effective, and sustainable solutions. As a bipartisan organization, TSC fills a niche role by producing objective and innovative analyses and recommendations that shape strategic policy and dialogue and equip governments, international organizations, the private sector, and civil society to act effectively.

## OUR MISSION

The Soufan Center's mission is to present key decisionmakers and stakeholders – governments, international organizations, the private sector, media, and civil society – with the critical information, analyses, and recommendations needed to prevent and respond to global security challenges.

## OUR WORK

The Soufan Center undertakes research and initiatives that cover a broad spectrum of global security threats including armed conflict, terrorism, illicit actors, and geopolitical dynamics, including the impacts on civil society, humanitarian action, and the rule of law. Through our daily IntelBrief, TSC reaches a wide international audience of policymakers, academics, and practitioners with a nuanced and in-depth assessment of important stories that shape our security environment. Through our Research, we provide in-depth analysis and action-oriented recommendations for key actors making policy and on the ground. Our Events allow us to reach a unique global network and diverse audiences to drive changes in policy and practice. Our Projects aim to amplify voices and perspectives from the field and build the capacities and networks critical to delivering comprehensive and effective responses to security challenges. Working closely with a wide range of Media, we are able to share our findings, analyses, and recommendations with an unparalleled audience. Our unique channel, TSC Arabic, ensures critical research and analysis developed by The Soufan Center is made available to Arabic-speaking audiences across the globe.

## OUR HISTORY

Founded in 2017 by former FBI special agent Ali Soufan, The Soufan Center is an independent, non-partisan, and registered 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. Our Team is strengthened by diverse professional and cultural backgrounds, including experience in academia, federal, state, and local government; international organizations; law enforcement; and the military. The Soufan Center organizes the Global Security Forum, an annual international conference bringing together a dynamic group of high level government officials, senior experts, and prominent journalists for innovative exchanges on some of the most pressing international challenges and critical opportunities to prevent and resolve them.



# TSC 2023: YEAR IN REVIEW



## DRIVING ORIGINAL RESEARCH

The Soufan Center offers original research on leading foreign policy challenges, providing in-depth analysis and action-oriented recommendations for key actors shaping and implementing policy. This year, TSC published 7 research publications on security and foreign policy topics at the forefront of international affairs.



## PURSUING BREADTH AND DEPTH

TSC's flagship, daily analytical product allows our audiences to keep abreast of a wide range of topics covering dozens of countries and every region of the globe. In 2023, TSC published 233 daily IntelBriefs, offering our readership an understanding of the myriad security and geopolitical topics shaping the international affairs landscape.



## CONNECTING WITH DIVERSE AUDIENCES

TSC hosts events reaching a unique global network to inform practice and drive change. In 2023, TSC staff and fellows continued to deliver their expertise into real-world contexts by informing policymakers, governments, civil society, and academics. Our team proudly hosted hundreds of attendees across four events throughout the year.



## BUILDING COMMUNITY TO ADDRESS SHARED CHALLENGES

TSC's annual flagship event, the Global Security Forum, convened over one thousand attendees from government, policy, academia, civil society, media, and beyond for its fifth installment. This year's gathering focused on opportunities to cooperate, build resilience, and strengthen prevention efforts in a world increasingly defined by crises and conflict.



## SHARING RESEARCH FOR GLOBAL IMPACT

TSC endeavors to share its research, analyses, and recommendations with diverse international audiences. Over 2023, TSC engaged with international stakeholders, including governments, international organizations, nonprofits, and research communities from across the world.



## SUPPORTING DIALOGUES ON NATIONAL SECURITY

TSC supports research and activities that strengthen the security of the United States for all communities. In 2023, TSC shared expertise in congressional hearings, with U.S. government departments and agencies, with fellow think-tanks and research institutes, and other communities across the country.



## CONTINUED MEDIA COVERAGE, IMPACT, AND ENGAGEMENT

TSC's experts delivered hundreds of interviews and reached a global audience of millions through their continued work with news organizations. Over 2023, our team published over 40 opinion and commentary pieces in top-tier newspapers and policy outlets.

# RESEARCH AND INTEL BRIEFS

## RESEARCH

The Soufan Center offers original research on leading foreign policy challenges, providing in-depth analysis and action-oriented recommendations for key actors making policy and on the ground. Since its founding in 2017, TSC has published over forty research publications and presented its findings before government, policy, academic, and civil society communities. In 2023, our team continued to deliver original research on security and foreign policy topics at the forefront of international affairs. The Soufan Center published 7 research publications: two Issue Briefs, three TSC Insights – a new research product launched this year – and two Special Reports, on the private military company the Wagner Group and the practice of state hostage-taking, respectively.

### FORM OVER FUNCTION? REVIEWING THE UN GLOBAL COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGY

February 2023

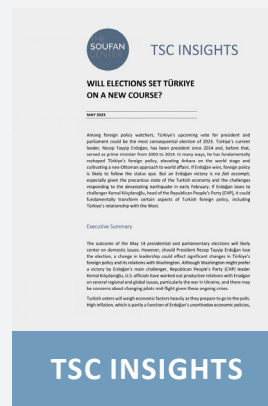
Preceding the eighth review of the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy (GCTS) and to help inform the negotiations, TSC published an Issue Brief in February by Naureen Chowdhury Fink, former Executive Director at The Soufan Center, assessing the impacts of the strategy review, including its important normative function and the challenges to its strategic practicality. The Issue Brief highlights the importance of the consensus among UN member states, making it a valuable normative tool which outlines an approach to counterterrorism that balances security, human rights, and structural conditions. Yet, the number of reviews has resulted in a lengthy and repetitive document, compromising its value as a strategic communications tool. After twenty years of the Global Strategy, it is important to reassess the UN's role and comparative advantages in the current terrorist context and ensure that its future counterterrorism efforts are responsive to contemporary dynamics and needs.



### WILL ELECTIONS SET TÜRKIYE ON A NEW COURSE?

May 2023

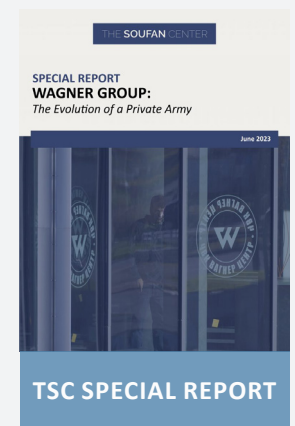
In 2023, TSC launched a new research product called 'TSC Insights,' which provides in-depth research and analysis on a topic relevant to global security issues. Our first TSC Insight was published in May, providing an overview of the consequential election and examining the domestic and foreign policy implications of the presidential and parliamentary elections in Türkiye. The Insight provided analysis on how the results of the election could impact Türkiye's relationship with the West, and which domestic factors, such as economic concerns, might influence voters' decisions going into the polls. Although pre-election polling showed a tight race between incumbent President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his challenger Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the Insight emphasized Erdogan's adept ability at utilizing nationalism and religion to offset economic or other political concerns, as well as to position himself as a steadying influence.



### WAGNER GROUP: THE EVOLUTION OF A PRIVATE ARMY

June 2023

Two days after the astonishing declaration by the Wagner Group's late leader Yevgeny Prigozhin of all-out war on the Russian state, TSC published a Special Report on the private military company (PMC) in June authored by former Senior Research Fellow Jason Blazakis, Senior Research Fellow Colin P. Clarke, former Executive Director Naureen Chowdhury Fink, and Program Officer Sean Steinberg. The report examines the functionality of the PMC, including some of its expeditionary skills and logistical capabilities, as well as the military training, information campaigns, leadership on political issues, and regime security it provides to states. The report examines the juxtaposition of Wagner as a "stabilizer" in fragile states and regions with its actions, such as documented human rights abuses and alleged war crimes, that serve to create further instability. The report also documents how the PMC generates profits and makes investments in extractive industries across Africa, as well as the range of illicit activities it is involved with, reportedly including support for sanctions evasions and facilitating the trafficking and destruction of cultural heritage. Wagner has served as more than just a PMC, as it has appeared as an extension of Moscow's foreign policy and influence, and perhaps is now more so in the wake of Prigozhin's death. Wagner's success could lead to Russia's continued expansion of PMCs. The report will serve as a foundation for readers looking to understand the inner workings of the Kremlin's foreign policy, how Moscow seeks to expand its influence throughout Africa, and the lengths that Vladimir Putin's Russia will go to evade sanctions resulting from the invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.



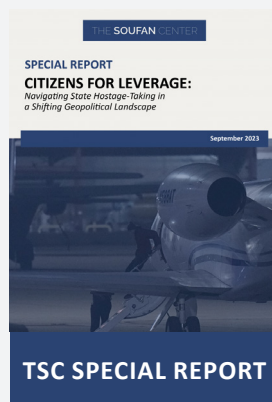
### FRANCE'S MISSED MOMENTS IN MALI

July 2023

In July, TSC published a TSC Insight by Wassim Nasr, a TSC Senior Research Fellow and journalist with FRANCE 24, and Raphael Parens, a Fellow with the Foreign Policy Research Institute's Eurasia Program, examining France's decision to withdraw its last remaining troops from Mali in 2022 – a harsh foreign policy defeat. The Insight explores France's missed moments in its nearly decade-long military mission to combat jihadist insurgents in Mali, including the opportunity for a "clean" withdrawal from the country with the arrival of Wagner Group mercenaries in 2021. The Insight highlights how the withdrawal will be perceived as both a failure to contain jihadi groups and to protect Sahelian civilians from terrorism, as well as ceding influence in the country to Russia, which has used Wagner's political success in Mali as a driver of influence elsewhere on the African continent. This Insight can help readers understand the fragility of Sahelian states and the impact of great power competition on sub-Saharan Africa, counterterrorism, and private military companies.



## RESEARCH



### **CITIZENS FOR LEVERAGE: NAVIGATING STATE HOSTAGE-TAKING IN A SHIFTING GEOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPE**

September 2023

On the margins of the opening of the 78th UN General Assembly, TSC published in September a Special Report on the practice of state hostage-taking co-authored by TSC Senior Research Fellow Vina Nadjibulla and Research Fellow Stephanie Foggett. The report examines the practice of “hostage diplomacy,” where some states – including Iran, Russia, and China – are unlawfully detaining foreign nationals within their criminal justice systems for use as foreign policy leverage. In 2022, U.S. President Joseph Biden declared hostage-taking and the wrongful detention of U.S. persons a national emergency, underscoring the rise of state hostage-taking. The conditions remain ripe for the practice to thrive and endure, as great power rivalry overshadows multilateral cooperation and authoritarian states continue to realize the utility of the practice. The report outlines policy recommendations, including: for governments to focus on punishing the perpetrators and recognize that deterrence strategies should not be achieved at the expense of people currently held hostage; that criteria be developed for designating and managing cases of state hostage-taking to assist national and multinational responses; for governments to put in place a clear national response capacity for affected citizens; that families should be treated as trusted partners working alongside their governments to release loved ones from perpetrator states, among other recommendations.

### **OPERATION BLACK LION: CHALLENGES THAT LAY AHEAD OF SOMALIA'S SECOND PHASE OF THE OFFENSIVE**

October 2023

Examining a largely ignored conflict with the potential for violent escalation – a stark reminder in the wake of Hamas’ attack of October 7 – our final TSC Insight of the year by Daisy Muibu assessed Somalia’s continued fight against al-Shabaab, arguably the most powerful of al-Qaeda’s global franchise groups. The Insight examined the second phase of the government’s offensive, called Operation Black Lion, and highlights the challenges facing its success throughout the Horn of Africa, including the need for meaningful political settlement and reconciliation. Without a clear strategy for engaging state and local forces as important components of a broader national security strategy, offensive efforts will be disjointed, yield short-term tactical successes, and result in the sort of political rivalries and fragmentation that al-Shabaab benefits from.

## INTELBRIEFS

# THE SOUFAN CENTER IntelBrief

The Soufan Center publishes hundreds of briefings each year, offering audiences a daily digest on a complex security or geopolitical topic shaping regional and international affairs. In 2023—in parallel with our broader research and analysis agenda—TSC published 233 daily IntelBriefs, each focusing on a major theme or trend in global security and international affairs. This year’s IntelBriefs covered a vast range of topics, from country developments in the United States, China, Russia, Israel, Palestine, Iran, Türkiye, Sudan, and Germany, to thematic issues such as the state of the terrorist threat landscape, the ongoing climate crisis, justice and accountability, migration, gender and security, and global hostage-taking.

The most viewed IntelBrief, published in the wake of Hamas’ October 7 attack on Israel, analyzed Egypt’s role in the future of the Gaza Strip, where Cairo has played a central role in hostage negotiations as well as the delivery of humanitarian aid. Gaza-related IntelBriefs, particularly after October 7, focused on specific challenges related to the conflict, such as urban warfare, threat escalation by Iran and its proxies (the “axis of resistance”), the complex negotiations over the release of hostages, and the deteriorating humanitarian situation in the Strip.

Sub-Saharan Africa continued to be a global hotspot for terrorist activity in 2023, and our IntelBriefs closely monitored developments. Across the African continent, including in Mali, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Niger, Burkina Faso, and even once peaceful outliers such as Senegal, political and societal instability increased, even spilling over into coastal West African states. The waning influence of Western powers across the continent also opened the door for Russian influence to grow, as some military juntas turned away from former colonial powers who had provided security assistance. Such developments are likely to have vast implications for the security situation across the continent by also worsening the conditions that drive terrorist recruitment and exacerbating security challenges.

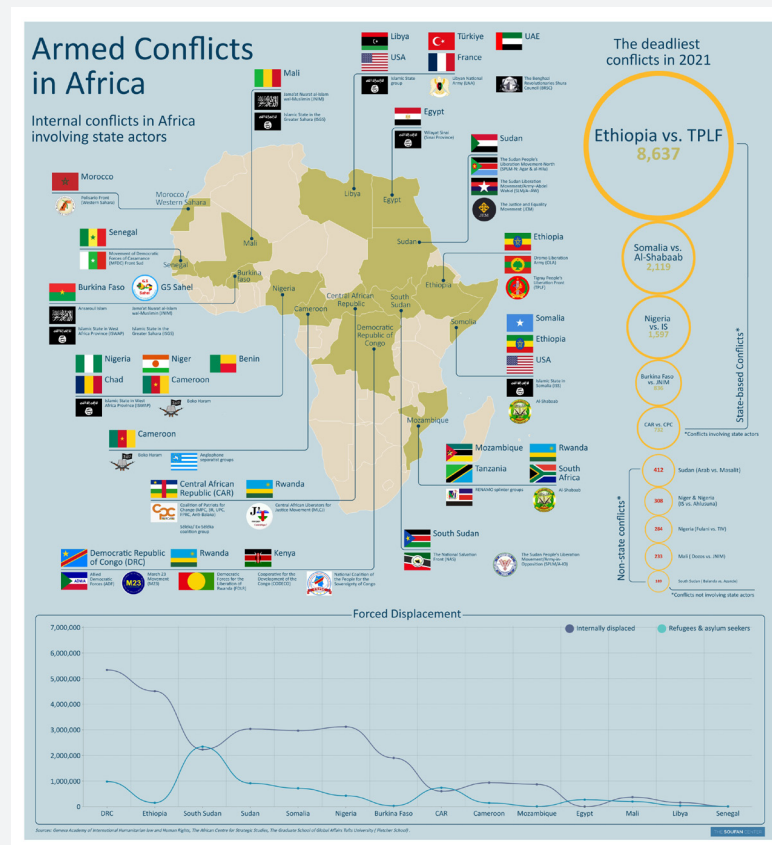
Great power competition and energy security remained frequently discussed topics, as the war in Ukraine continued to not only impact political stability in the West, but also impacted energy and food markets. TSC experts also examined climate change as a threat multiplier in conflict, and how climate-induced migration will increase as global temperatures rise. Competition for resources, including water, valuable minerals, and oil, also proved to amplify tensions between countries and among local groups, creating flashpoints with the potential to turn into larger conflicts.



IntelBriefs also covered emerging trends such as the historic levels of global migration, including to Europe via the Mediterranean route and to the United States through the U.S. southwest border. This issue continues to demonstrate the inextricable linkages between security, human rights, humanitarian concerns, and international law. Despite prognostications to the contrary, the electoral successes of far-right populist parties across Europe in 2023 exemplified their ability to capitalize on issues such as migration and the cost-of-living crisis, as well as mainstream their policies. Yet, the success of the far-left in Slovakia indicates the enduring widespread appeal of populism more broadly, which will likely impact security alliances and foreign policy moving forward, including support for Ukraine.

Our regular infographics continued to provide context and nuance on global issues and foreign affairs for quick reference by policymakers and practitioners. In 2023, infographics covered a wide range of topics, including the Israel-Hamas war, key elections around the globe, migration, the private military company the Wagner Group, the Sahel, and others.

Our IntelBriefs were cited by world-leading publications and organizations, such as the Washington Post, the Council on Foreign Relations, AFP, the Associated Press, NBC News, Politico, Al-Monitor, the Independent, the Hill, the Straits Times, and others, with an ever-increasing global reach.



TSC Infographic on Armed Conflicts in Africa



Images Credit: Associated Press



# EVENTS

Each year, The Soufan Center hosts events reaching a unique global network to inform practice and drive change. In 2023, TSC staff and fellows continued to deliver their expertise into real-world contexts by informing policymakers, governments, civil society, and academics. The Soufan Center proudly hosted hundreds of attendees across four events throughout the year, as well as hosting over a thousand attendees at the annual Global Security Forum. Through these events, TSC facilitated discussions on a range of global security issues, from internationally prominent events like the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan to academic discussions on the pathways to radicalization, as well as important but oft-neglected topics like sexual and gender-based violence as well as the destruction and theft of cultural heritage. These conversations engaged a wide range of global stakeholders and audiences, reaching thousands of participants representing governments, international organizations, think tanks, the private sector, and the media. TSC staff and fellows also participated in over 40 events and conferences as speakers, lecturers, moderators, and participants.



Speakers: Mr. Ioannis Koskinas (top-left), Senior Research Fellow Dr. Colin P. Clarke (top-center), Dr. Arian Sharifi (top-right), former Executive Director Ms. Naureen Chowdhury Fink (bottom-left), and Dr. Amira Jadoon (bottom-right)

## AFGHANISTAN: TRENDS & DYNAMICS

May 11, 2023

With conditions deteriorating dramatically under Taliban rule following the withdrawal of the United States and its allied partners—with skyrocketing humanitarian needs and food insecurity crippling the country’s economic progress—TSC hosted a virtual panel discussion, with over 130 attendees, on Afghanistan’s status and prospects. Beyond these economic and humanitarian considerations, the conversation focused on the international response to the ascension of the de-facto Taliban government. At the time of this conversation, the international community appeared set to maintain the isolation of the Taliban so long as it continued to deny women and girls basic rights, including education and access to employment. International discussions about the possible recognition of the Taliban government illustrated tensions between the need to work with the government to address crises with the drive to reaffirm international human rights obligations. With the U.S. footprint removed from Afghanistan, regional actors including Iran, India, China, and Russia were perceived to be positioned to shape much of the country’s future, while the relationship between the Taliban and Islamic State of Khorasan Province (ISIS-K) were considered likely to determine Afghanistan’s internal security and stability for the near future.

Senior Research Fellow Colin P. Clarke moderated this conversation with an introduction by TSC’s then-Executive Director Naureen Chowdhury Fink and expert insights provided by Arian Sharifi (Princeton University), Amira Jadoon (Clemson University), and Ioannis Koskinas (Hoplite Group).



Speakers: former Senior Research Fellow Mr. Jason Blazakis (top-left), Mr. Jason Houston (top-center), Ms. Elena Franchi (top-right), Ms. Alesia Koush (bottom-left), former Executive Director Ms. Naureen Chowdhury Fink (bottom-center), and Mr. Omar Mohammed (bottom-right)

## PROTECTING CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SOFT TARGETS

June 14, 2023

TSC hosted this webinar in partnership with Gonzaga University in Florence and the U.S. Consulate General Florence, with 76 attendees, to discuss the targeting and exploitation of cultural heritage by illicit actors, including terrorists. These actors pursue this tactic to validate their narratives, for financial gain, and to marginalize and stigmatize communities. The 2001 destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban, Islamic State’s destruction of historic cultural sites like Palmyra, Syria, and the attacks and destruction of mausoleums in Timbuktu, Mali, by Ansar Dine and Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) all exemplify this phenomenon as carried out by terrorist groups. These attacks highlight that cultural heritage offers more than a financial incentive, as their destruction strengthens the narratives and propaganda of illicit groups and creates new vulnerabilities for “soft targets.”

Former Senior Research Fellow Jason Blazakis moderated this conversation, with introductions provided by TSC’s then-Executive Director Naureen Chowdhury Fink and Gonzaga University in Florence’s Jason Houston. The conversation was supported with insights by participants Omar Mohammed (Mosul Eye), Alesia Koush (RASHID International & Cannes), and art historian and journalist Elena Franchi.



Speakers: Senior Research Fellow Dr. Colin P. Clarke (top-left), Ms. Tanya Mehra (top-center), Senior Research Fellow Ms. Adejoke Babington-Ashaye (top-right), Ms. Adria de Landri (bottom-left), Mr. Jonathan Hollis (bottom-center), former Executive Director Ms. Naureen Chowdhury Fink (bottom-right)

### **BRINGING TERRORISTS TO JUSTICE: ACCOUNTABILITY FOR SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE**

*June 11, 2023*

TSC hosted this event in partnership with the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations, with more than 80 attendees, to discuss the mechanisms available to hold terrorist actors accountable for sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). The webinar focused on international efforts to deliver justice for both survivors and perpetrators, mapped the state of prosecutions for terrorist crimes at the intersection of human trafficking and sexual violence in conflict, and discussed recommendations for policymakers and practitioners to combat the terrorist use of SGBV.

The event arose to bring attention to an issue that was tragically all-too prominent yet had seen little concrete action to bring perpetrators to justice. Sexual violence had been recognized by the United Nations in the prior decade as a tactic of terrorism, as groups like ISIS, Boko Haram, and al-Shabaab often incorporated SGBV into both strategic and tactical approaches to assert power, marginalize and eradicate communities, and punish dissent. While the UN's Investigative Team to Promote Accountability for Crimes Committed by Da'esh/ISIL found "clear and convincing evidence" that ISIS had perpetrated genocide against the Yazidis of Iraq—with young girls, including children, subjected to sexual violence and sold into slavery—the Yazidis and other victims have struggled to see their aggressors brought to justice, while global rates of prosecutions for the use of SGBV by terrorists remains low. Meanwhile, the potential application of UN Security Council Resolution 2331, which could use sanctions to address some of these issues, remained notably under-utilized. Though some states have taken up this cause at a national level, the Securing the Future Initiative—a project in which TSC was a key founding partner—found that terrorism prosecutions overwhelmingly ignore sexual violence charges in favor of more traditional terrorism legal sanctions. Relatedly, the UN Secretary-General found in 2021 that "impunity for crimes of conflict-related sexual violence remains the norm and the pace of justice remains slow."

Senior Research Fellow Colin P. Clarke moderated the conversation, with opening reflections provided by Jonathan Hollis, the legal counselor to the UK Mission to the UN, and an introduction by TSC's then-Executive Director Naureen Chowdhury Fink. The conversation was aided by insights from TSC Senior Research Fellow Adejoké Babington-Ashaye, Tanya Mehra (International Centre for Counter-Terrorism), and Adria de Landri (International Institute for Justice and the Rule of Law).



Author and Professor Dr. Julie Chernov Hwang

### **BOOK TALK: BECOMING JIHADIS**

*June 21, 2023*

As international counterterrorism experts flocked to New York City for the UN Office of Counter-Terrorism's 2023 Counter-Terrorism week, The Soufan Center gathered a group of government officials from various Five Eyes countries for an in-office briefing on radicalization by Professor Dr. Julie Chernov Hwang, the author of the recently published book, *Becoming Jihadis: Radicalization and Commitment in Southeast Asia*. The book examines the motivations, internal and external pathways, and processes by which individuals involve themselves with and join Islamist extremist groups, and the ways in which they show their commitment and conduct activities for these groups. In her briefing, Professor Chernov Hwang brought her field research experience interviewing former extremists in Southeast Asia to bear to identify key motivations and pathways for radicalization. These included familial ties and kinship, as well as exposure to radical ideas in environments such as study sessions, conflict areas, prisons, and social media. She also explained how the need for redemption, revenge, a jihad experience, or money can make individuals susceptible or drive one to join an Islamist extremist group. Her work offers explanations on how members of different extremist organizations with differing agendas can manage to cooperate and share resources, illuminating how ideology can function as a binding agent.

The discussion offered several lessons for prevention and disengagement, the most important being the need to tailor measures to local contexts. To illustrate this point, the author pointed to a training program that offered skills of little utility in the recipients' urban context, such as farming and animal husbandry. She also spoke of the need for states to provide for the families of detainees, lest this caretaker role be usurped by violent extremist groups. Amid evidence that the global terrorism landscape was shifting to Africa, the group discussed the possibility that fighters hailing from Southeast Asia who had entered conflict zones in the Levant could make their way to Africa or South Asia. The conversation underscored the importance of paying attention to Asia—particularly areas with legacies of inter-community violence, terrorism, and violent extremist movements—even as global policymakers had appeared to downshift attention to counterterrorism.



# GLOBAL SECURITY FORUM

GSF 2023



H.E. Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim Al Thani, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar

With an overarching theme of ‘Reshaping the Global Order: Conflict, Crises, and Cooperation,’ the fifth annual Global Security Forum (GSF) brought together more than one thousand attendees, including representatives from national governments from around the world, international organizations, academia, media, and the private sector – as well as an array of experts, researchers, former officials, and thought leaders – in Doha, Qatar to discuss and analyze today’s most pressing issues. This year’s GSF addressed ongoing conflicts and insecurity in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Ukraine; regional dynamics in Africa, the Asia-Pacific, and across the Middle East; shifts in counterterrorism priorities from jihadist groups to a transnational far-right; global energy insecurity; hostages and wrongful detainees, including the release of Paul Rusesabagina; and conflict mediation and negotiation.

Our speakers represented diverse views and perspectives: we heard from the newly appointed Prime Minister of Qatar and the President of Rwanda, as well as from officials representing the United States, Qatar, Singapore, Iraq, the Maldives, and Kenya. We heard perspectives from the African Union, the

United Nations, and the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe; and from experts, journalists, and academics from all over the world. Our moderators hailed from a range of leading media outlets. These personalities included MSNBC’s Ali Velshi, Semafor’s Steve Clemons, Bloomberg’s Bobby Ghosh and Paul Wallace, the New York Times’ Mark Mazzetti, Defense One’s Kevin Baron, and Yahoo! News’ Michael Isikoff. News and commentary from this forum received coverage in the New York Times, MSNBC, Reuters, AFP, Al Jazeera, The Times of London, and Semafor, and other leading outlets.

In his first public appearance since his appointment, Qatar’s Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs H.E. Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim Al Thani inaugurated the 2023 Global Security Forum with an address emphasizing the importance of international cooperation in addressing global challenges like food and energy insecurity and discussed the intersections of security, economic, and humanitarian issues. Panel discussions highlighted the important roles played by regional and subregional organizations, such as Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as new international security partnerships, such as the trilateral security pact between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States (AUKUS) or the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue. From Africa to Asia, the Middle East to Europe, attendees heard of efforts to counter hate and intolerance; to foster energy security and enhance conflict prevention and mediation; and to deepen our understanding of the world and the complex issues facing it. This year’s forum also highlighted hotspots of tension and risk, particularly where poor governance, human rights violations, terrorists and other violent non-state actors and predatory governments coincide. In places like Africa’s Sahel region, environmental degradation, poverty, economic instability, climate change, migration, and displacement enabled violent armed groups to recruit and radicalize populations. Further, the exploitation of societal fissures by external actors created a fertile breeding ground for inter-state conflict and competition.

The event presented opportunities to cooperate, build resilience, and strengthen prevention efforts, and also focused on the benefits and risks technology offers to society. Although events like the war in Ukraine indicated that, in some ways, little had changed when it comes to modern conflict, technologies like drones and artificial intelligence appeared to impose new complexities for security and peacebuilding efforts. The use of these emerging technologies by violent actors across the ideological spectrum, including Salafi-jihadists and far-right terrorists, impressed why we must understand how these tools are utilized, and why we should protect their legitimate uses while preventing their abuse.



H.E. Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda



H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat, Chairperson, African Union Commission

The 2023 Global Security Forum was hosted by The Soufan Center and the Qatar International Academy for Security Studies (QIASS). GSF worked with a diverse range of local and international partners, which in 2023 included the UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), the Center on National Security at Fordham Law, the Airey Neave Trust, Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Defense One, New America, Strong Cities, The Soufan Group, and Qatar Airways.



# GLOBAL SECURITY FORUM

GSF 2023



Mr. Ali Velshi, Ambassador Roger Carstens, Ms. Diane Foley, Mr. Christopher O'Leary, Ms. Vina Nadjibulla, Mr. Sam Goodwin (from left to right)



Hon. R. Clarke Cooper, H.E. Djibril Bassolé, H.E. Dr. Monica Juma (from left to right)



Ali Velshi, Hon. Christopher Miller (from left to right)



H.E. Akbar Al Baker



Mr. Jason Blazakis, Ambassador Nathan Sales, Dr. Bilyana Lilly, Dr. Kacper Rekawek (left to right)



Mr. Kevin Baron, H.E. Hassan Al-Thawadi (from left to right)



H.E. Dr. Mohammed bin Abdulaziz Al-Khulaifi



Mr. Ali Velshi, Ambassador Timmy T. Davis (from left to right)



## POLICY ENGAGEMENT GLOBAL

Building on our program of work, The Soufan Center endeavors to disseminate its research, analyses, and recommendations to diverse international audiences. Over 2023, TSC continued to engage with international stakeholders, including governments, international organizations, nonprofits, and research communities from across the world. Our team presented original research, briefed decision-makers, and shared knowledge with actors looking to understand and respond to today's leading security challenges.

Based in New York, our team engages extensively with the United Nations community, including with UN staff, Permanent Missions, the UN counterterrorism architecture, and with other civil society organizations working in support of and alongside the UN agenda. In 2023, TSC contributed to conversations at several high-level United Nations events addressing how the global terrorist threat has evolved and terrorists' exploitation of new technologies for their own purposes. TSC's former Executive Director Naureen Chowdhury Fink and Program Officers Michaela Millender and Sean Steinberg participated in the high-level UN 'Counter-Terrorism Week,' including several side events on the use of artificial intelligence and biometrics by violent extremists and terrorists, and good practices for law enforcement and other stakeholders to respond to the threat. During the 78th UN General Assembly 'High-level Week,' Program Officer Sean Steinberg met with the UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate's (CTED) biometrics team to discuss the use of such technologies by some states to suppress dissent, and the risk of such technology being used by violent extremists and terrorists. During the UN 'Counter-Terrorism' week, TSC staff continued to engage with government representatives, civil society, UN bodies, and other scholars through bilateral meetings to discuss TSC's research and work.



Former Executive Director Ms. Naureen Chowdhury Fink

Justice and accountability for those impacted by terrorism remained a key theme in UN advocacy during 2023. During the UN high-level week, Senior Research Fellow Colin P. Clarke and Program Officers Michaela Millender and Sean Steinberg participated in a gathering of the Global Research Network – of which TSC is a founding member – hosted by CTED. During the gathering, Dr. Clarke shared TSC's

research on the evolution of the terrorist threat landscape, and how pre-existing tools, such as sanctions, can be applied to mitigate new threats. Ms. Millender also shared our research on far-right violent extremism and terrorism, the destruction of cultural heritage by illicit actors, and how protection efforts contribute to accountability and transitional justice efforts. Further, during UN high-level week, a high-level dialogue on the initiative against arbitrary detention in state-to-state relations was co-hosted by Canada, Costa Rica, Malawi and the United States. The event called for the international community to stand against the practice of arbitrary detention for diplomatic leverage, which undermines international human rights and shared values. Several speakers at the event referenced TSC's newly published special report on state hostage-taking co-authored by Senior Research Fellow Vina Nadjibulla and Research Fellow Stephanie Foggett.



Senior Research Fellow Ms. Vina Nadjibulla

TSC staff contributed to conversations with the UN community on the intersection of security and human rights. Program Officer Michaela Millender spoke with a group of scholars from across Germany at the New York office of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, a German think tank. Ms. Millender's presentation was on far-right violent extremism and terrorism, focusing on how far-right hate speech and propaganda proliferates online and the centrality of upholding human rights in responses to the threat. Ms. Millender also participated in a closed-door roundtable hosted by International Peace Institute and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung assessing the impact of the humanitarian carveout in the UN sanctions regime. The roundtable gathered government representatives, civil society actors, and UN actors to discuss how the carveout can be enhanced to further safeguard principled humanitarian aid delivery, uphold human rights, and counter terrorism.



Senior Research Fellow Ms. Susan Sim and Research Fellow Ms. Stephanie Foggett

TSC also continued its engagement with other intergovernmental organizations. Under the Swedish Presidency, our experts briefed the European Union Working Group on Counter-Terrorism (COTER) on the topic of far-right and far-left terrorism. The briefing highlighted the evolution of the threat, the implications for Europe, and the challenges and opportunities for policy responses and international cooperation. On the topic of maritime security, Senior Research Fellow Susan Sim participated in the Maritime Operational Awareness for Joint Operations Course conducted by the Maritime Security Centre of Excellence (NATO MARSEC COE) in Istanbul, Türkiye. She presented on the topic 'Global Maritime Risks and Threats,' especially noting the security challenges posed by advanced technology.

TSC experts also continued to engage with NATO's Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism (COE-DAT) in Ankara, Türkiye. Susan Sim and TSC Research Fellow Stephanie Foggett participated as lecturers at a COE-DAT course on 'Efficient Crisis Management to Mitigate the Effects of Terrorist Activities.' The course explored aspects of crisis management and associated counter-terrorism issues, and was attended by military officers, law enforcement officials, and civilian equivalents with a professional interest or background in counter-terrorism and crisis management. Ms. Sim and Ms. Foggett also delivered lectures for a course on 'Defence Against Suicide Attack,' which sought to better understand the ideology and threat of suicide terrorism and response options from national and international entities. Ms. Sim delivered further lectures over the year on topics including the modus operandi of terrorist groups, developing a national counter-terrorism policy, and media and terrorism. At the COE-DAT 2023 Terrorism Experts Conference, she presented on the implications of emerging technologies for the global terrorist threat landscape.

In Southeast Asia, TSC continued to participate in regional dialogues on security. At the ASEAN-U.S. Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (PCVE) Workshop on Building Community Resilience, TSC's Susan Sim spoke on the topic of rehabilitation and reintegration

(R&R) of returning foreign fighters and their families. At the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights Consultation on Victims-Oriented Protection to Prevent and Counter Radicalism and Violent Extremism, she spoke on good practices and lessons learned from Singapore's experience in community engagement and what other states in the region could learn from the model. Ms. Sim also delivered lectures at several NATO COE-DAT courses on regional topics including counter-terrorism strategies in Southeast Asia and a case study on Jemaah Islamiyah and international cooperation in counter-terrorism.

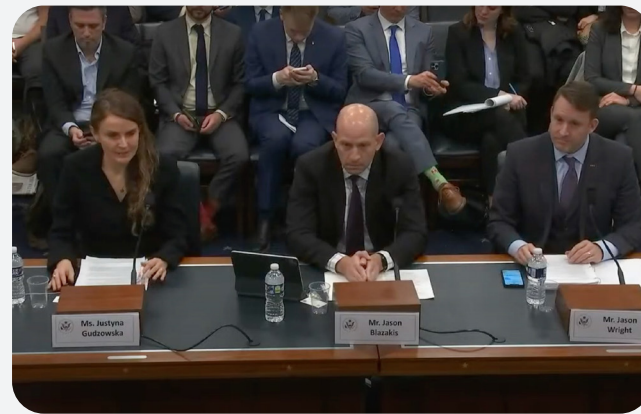


Senior Research Fellow Ms. Susan Sim



## POLICY ENGAGEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The Soufan Center works to support research and activities that strengthen the security of the United States for all communities. TSC has a longstanding body of work to highlight the threat posed by domestic violent extremism, including from white supremacists and violent anti-government groups. Over 2023, TSC also engaged with national stakeholders to discuss the impacts of major U.S. foreign policy developments over the year, including the ongoing impacts of Russia’s war in Ukraine, the use of mercenaries in armed conflict, the fallout from the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, contemporary hostage-taking, domestic terrorism, and disinformation trends. In 2023, TSC shared expertise in congressional hearings, with U.S. government departments and agencies, with fellow think-tanks and research institutes, and other communities across the country.



Former Senior Research Fellow Mr. Jason Blazakis (center)

In March 2023, months before the Wagner Group embarked on a mutiny against the Russian state amid the war in Ukraine, former Senior Research Fellow Jason Blazakis addressed the U.S. government’s Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (also known as the U.S. Helsinki Commission) to discuss potential tools to counter the Russian private military company. In his testimony, Mr. Blazakis – a leading sanctions expert who previously led efforts to designate entities at the U.S. Department of State – said that Wagner’s status as “a foreign-based organization engaged in terrorist activity that is a direct threat to U.S. national security interests” fulfills the necessary criteria to designate it as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO).

In April, Senior Fellow Ambassador Nathan Sales testified before a hearing held by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism, Law Enforcement, and Intelligence. The hearing discussed the 2021 U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, which led to the deaths of 13 U.S. service members and at least 170 Afghans in a terrorist attack orchestrated by the Afghanistan-based ISIS affiliate known as Islamic State of Khorasan Province (ISIS-K). In his testimony, Ambassador Sales – who previously served as the principal adviser to the U.S. Secretary of State on international counterterrorism matters and led the State Department’s Counterterrorism Bureau – noted the deteriorating “terrorist threat environment in Afghanistan” since the withdrawal, which he ascribed



Senior Fellow Ambassador Nathan Sales

“to a combination of Taliban-provided safe haven, the Taliban’s lack of counterterrorism capability, and the absence of sustained counterterrorism pressure from the United States.”

In the spring, Senior Research Fellow Dr. Colin P. Clarke attended the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) Defense Counterintelligence Conference, where he discussed TSC research related to the role of Russia in stoking disinformation and pushing far-right narratives in the West. In July 2023, Dr. Clarke addressed the United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) where he delivered a lecture on violent extremists’ use of social media, while also discussing potential policy options with a range of government stakeholders.

The Soufan Center team members also regularly engage with U.S. government stakeholders, including various agencies within the intelligence community, in off-the-record briefings to share research and discuss various counter-terrorism-related challenges.

TSC contributed to national conversations on the topic of hostages and wrongful detainees. TSC’s founder, Ali Soufan, spoke on a panel hosted by New America in Washington D.C., where he joined hostage experts and U.S. government officials to discuss the importance of freeing American hostages held abroad by both state and non-state actors. The discussion took place just days after a prisoner deal between the United States and Iran, which highlighted how certain state actors continue to detain foreign nationals for political leverage. The topic of state hostage-taking was explored in detail with the release of TSC’s special report *Citizens for Leverage: Navigating State Hostage-Taking in a Shifting Geopolitical Landscape*.



Ms. Sarah Levinson Moriarty, Ms. Elizabeth Whelan, TSC Founder Mr. Ali Soufan, Ambassador Roger Carstens (from left to right)

On the topic of terrorism, TSC’s former Executive Director Naureen Chowdhury Fink participated in an event hosted by the American Bar Association, where she spoke on the evolution of human rights language in UN Security Council counterterrorism resolutions, the lack of accountability mechanisms to ensure states uphold their human rights obligations, and some practical ways that states can push for accountability within the UN system. Dr. Clarke participated in the 2023 Eradicate Hate Global Summit in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; an event which grew out of the deadliest anti-Semitic attack in U.S. history. He joined a working group on identifying warning signs of violent extremism in individuals that could presage and possibly prevent mass casualty attacks, as well as moderating a discussion on the use of manifestos in mobilizing actors to violence. Dr. Clarke also participated in an event hosted by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) which addressed political violence, polarization, and domestic terrorism in the United States.



Senior Research Fellow Dr. Colin P. Clarke

In 2023, U.S. audiences were particularly interested in following global developments related to Russia’s Wagner Group. TSC’s Colin P. Clarke was hosted by the Los Angeles World Affairs Council to discuss the Wagner Group’s involvement, influence, and activities in various countries around the globe. At the event, he presented the findings from TSC’s special report *Wagner Group: The Evolution of a Private Army*. In conversation with The Freedom Academy with Asha Rangappa, Dr. Clarke discussed the topic of disinformation from a range of contexts, including its use by non-state actors like the Wagner Group. TSC Senior Research Fellow Wassim Nasr joined the Brookings Institution to discuss Wagner’s military, political, economic, and misinformation operations. Specifically, he spoke about the group’s activities in Mali and across parts of Africa and how the Russian private military company was operating alongside security forces in Mali and beyond.

## ACADEMIC ENGAGEMENT

Over 2023, TSC experts continued to engage with academic communities in both the United States and globally. At the start of the year, Senior Research Fellow Dr. Colin P. Clarke joined experts at an event hosted by Singapore's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. Focusing on 'Global and Local Terrorism: Evolutions in 2023 and Beyond,' the discussion addressed extremism developments in both local and global contexts. Dr. Clarke's lecture focused on the different factors and variables that contribute to radicalization, as well as the threat posed by lone actors, including those who seek to master a range of emerging technologies, such as unmanned aerial systems, 3-D printing, and artificial intelligence.



Research Fellow Ms. Stephanie Foggett (right)

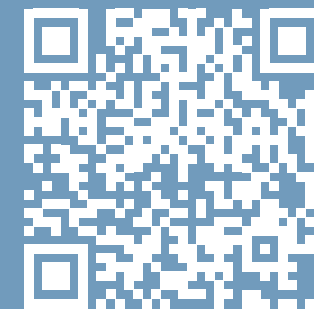
The TSC team continued to speak with student and alumni networks. TSC Founder Ali Soufan spoke with Villanova University's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences on career advice for aspiring professionals in global security. He recognized the pivotal role that his Villanova graduate education played in influencing his professional career. "My time at Villanova allowed me to grow my academic understanding of the world," he concluded. TSC Research Fellow Stephanie Foggett spoke at an Undergraduate Fellows Breakfast with the Clements Center for National Security at The University of Texas at Austin. The discussion helped students in preparing for a career in foreign policy and international security, especially early career development. Her discussion touched upon recent trends in counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism, both domestically and internationally. Students were able to ask questions about starting a career in national and international security, working at an international organization, and researching at a think-tank.



Senior Research Fellow Dr. Colin P. Clarke (right)

Over 2023, TSC's founder Ali Soufan continued to support the work of the McCain Global Leaders Program, led by the McCain Institute which is part of Arizona State University and based in Washington, D.C. The fellowship program supports character-driven leaders from across the world who embody Senator John McCain's legacy and mission. Mr. Soufan also spoke with the Harvard International Review, a student-run publication of Harvard College. In his interview on the state of global terrorism, he remarked "if you look at the situation in the Middle East and other regions, you will see an arc of instability going all the way from the western shores of Africa to Southeast Asia."

Scan the code to subscribe to TSC's daily, weekly, and periodical newsletters for analysis, updates, and announcements sent directly to your inbox.





# IN THE NEWS

The Soufan Center continued to engage with national and international news organizations over 2023. Our experts offered their expertise, commentary, and analysis on a range of topics including geopolitics, security, human rights, and technology. TSC experts were featured by a range of news and media organizations including the New York Times, Washington Post, Vanity Fair, NPR, NBC News, BBC, the Guardian, AP, AFP, and Reuters. Our experts delivered hundreds of interviews and reached a global audience of millions through their continued work with news organizations. TSC also connected with its global audience through dedicated social media channels, and in 2023 TSC content generated millions of impressions.



Senior Fellow Ambassador Nathan Sales with BBC News



TSC Board Member Mr. Christopher Costa at the Global Security Forum



Senior Research Fellow Dr. Colin P. Clarke with Scrips

## VIDEO & TELEVISION

TSC's experts offered live television and video interviews to a range of national and international media outlets and are featured regularly on MSNBC, CNN, Fox News, Al Jazeera, and BBC World News, among others. Our experts offered insights on breaking news developments, as well as providing commentary on investigations and other news stories. TSC's experts spoke on topics including Russia's ongoing war in Ukraine, disinformation and national security, instability across the Sahel, releasing Americans held hostage abroad, the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, and a range of other topics.



Senior Fellow Dr. Kenneth Katzman with Channel 4 News



Senior Research Fellow Mr. Wassim Nasr with Al Jazeera English

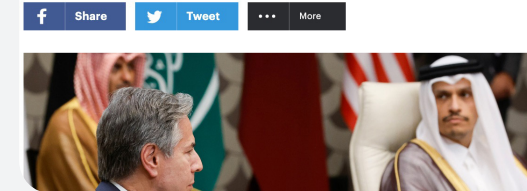
## OPINION & COMMENTARY

TSC experts authored over 40 opinion and commentary pieces in prominent media outlets and policy institutes, including the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, Foreign Policy, Newsweek, Los Angeles Times, Lawfare, and Defense One – among others. Topics covered this year included Russia's Wagner Group, domestic terrorism, instability in the Sahel, hostage-taking, and great power competition. In partnership with Defense One, TSC experts authored several pieces on the major themes and topics covered at this year's Global Security Forum.



### Can Qatar navigate fraught hostage negotiations with Hamas?

BY CHRISTOPHER P. COSTA, OPINION CONTRIBUTOR - 11/16/23 8:30 AM ET



## PODCASTS & RADIO

The TSC team offered more in-depth insights through interviews with radio stations and podcasts. Our experts joined entities—including BBC Radio, NPR, The World, Backstory with Dana Lewis, the Global Politics of Counter-Terrorism, among others—to discuss the latest developments and emerging trendlines on security, foreign policy, and human rights.





## THE SOUFAN CENTER TEAM



**ADEJOKÉ BABINGTON-ASHAYE**  
SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW



**RICHARD BARRETT**  
SENIOR FELLOW



**CLARA BROEKAERT**  
RESEARCH ANALYST



**COLIN P. CLARKE**  
SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW



**JESSICA DAVIS**  
SENIOR VISITING FELLOW



**CARLOS FERNANDEZ**  
SENIOR FELLOW



**STEPHANIE FOGGETT**  
RESEARCH FELLOW



**KAREN J. GREENBERG**  
SENIOR VISITING FELLOW



**KENNETH KATZMAN**  
SENIOR FELLOW



**MICHAELA MILLENDER**  
PROGRAM OFFICER



**VINA NADJIBULLA**  
SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW



**WASSIM NASR**  
SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW



**ERIC ROSAND**  
SENIOR VISITING FELLOW



**NATHAN SALES**  
SENIOR FELLOW



**MOHAMED EL SHAWESH**  
DIGITAL MEDIA COORDINATOR



**Susan Sim**  
SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW



**ALI SOUFAN**  
FOUNDER



**SEAN STEINBERG**  
PROGRAM OFFICER



**MEREDITH STRICKER**  
SENIOR FELLOW



**STEPHEN WHITE**  
SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW

## THE SOUFAN CENTER BOARD



**ALI SOUFAN**  
DIRECTOR



**LORI WACHS**  
DIRECTOR



**EDWARD STROZ**  
DIRECTOR



**COL. CHRISTOPHER P. COSTA (RET.)**  
DIRECTOR



**CARLOS FERNANDEZ**  
DIRECTOR



**JOHN MILLER**  
DIRECTOR



**HEIDI FINK**  
TREASURER



**STEPHANIE FOGGETT**  
SECRETARY



THE  
**SOUFAN**  
CENTER