#### STEPHEN TANKEL

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY WASHINGTON, DC 20016 TANKEL@AMERICAN.EDU 202-885-1502 Twitter: @stephentankel

#### **ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

Assistant Professor, American University

Fall 2011—Present

#### **EDUCATION**

King's College London Ph.D. in War Studies 2012

Dissertation: Peripheral Jihads: The Drivers of Jihadist Group Evolution in a Pre- and

Post-9/11 World

Supervisors: Peter Nuemann (primary); Anatol Lievan (secondary) Examiners: Lawrence Freedman (internal); Martha Crenshaw (external)

London School of Economics
MSc in Global Politics 2005
Graduated with Distinction
Awarded the Global Politics Prize for academic achievement

Cornell University

B.S. in Human Services Studies 1998

Golden Key, Kappa Omicron Nu, and Gamma Sigma Delta Honor Societies.

#### PEER-REVIEWED BOOKS

With Us and Against Us: America and its Partners in the War on Terror, New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming 2018.

Storming the World Stage: The Story of Lashkar-e-Taiba, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

## PEER-REVIEWED AND REFEREED ARTICLES

"Universal Soldiers or Parochial Actors: Understanding Jihadists as Products of their Environments," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Sept. 7, 2016.

"Beyond the Double Game: Lessons from Pakistan's Approach to Islamist Militancy," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, June 16, 2016.

"Beyond FATA: Exploring the Punjabi Militant Threat to Pakistan," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28 (1), 2016, pages 49-71.

"Indian Jihadism: The Evolving Threat," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 37 (7), 2014, pages 567-585.

"Confronting Pakistan's Support for Terrorism: Don't Designate, Calibrate," The

Washington Quarterly, 39 (4), Winter 2017, pages 165-179.

#### **BOOK CHAPTERS**

"Rules for the Double Game," in *Handbook of Pakistani Defense Policy*, ed. Aparna Pande, London: Routledge, forthcoming.

"How Pakistan Plays Its Double Game: Lessons Learned Since 9/11", in *After the Wars: Lessons of Others from U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan*, ed. John A. Gentry, Washington, DC: National Intelligence Press, forthcoming.

"Islamist Terrorism in India: A Hybrid Threat," in *Handbook of Indian Defence Policy*, ed. Harsh Pant, London: Routledge, 2015.

"Pakistani Militancy in the Shadow of the U.S. Withdrawal," in *Pakistan in the Shadow of the U.S. Withdrawal*, ed. C. Christine Fair, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

"Pakistan's Militant Milieu: The Evolving Threat," in *Pakistan Labyrinths*, ed. Ravi Kalia, New York: Routledge, 2015.

# POLICY BRIEFS AND REPORTS

Art of the Possible: Restructuring the Defense Relationship with Pakistan, Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, forthcoming.

Remodeling Partner Capacity: Maximizing the Effectiveness of U.S. Counterterrorism Security Assistance, Washington: DC, Center for a New American Security, Nov. 2016 (co-authored with Ilan Goldenberg, Alice Hunt Friend, and Nick Heras).

Security Cooperation and Assistance: Rethinking the Return on Investment, Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, July 2015 (co-authored with Dafna H. Rand).

*The Indian Jihadist Movement: Evolution and Dynamics*, National Defense University, 2014.

*Jihadist Violence: The Indian Threat*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, January 2014.

Domestic Barriers to Dismantling Militancy in Pakistan, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, Sept. 2013.

"Punjabi Militancy: The Evolving Threat to Pakistan & Barriers to Confronting It" Washington, DC: National Defense University, April 2012.

"A Pakistan-based Terrorist Attack on the United States Homeland" Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, August 2011.

"Lashkar-e-Taiba: Past Operations and Future Prospects" Washington, DC: New

America Foundation, April 2011.

"Lashkar-e-Taiba in Perspective: An Evolving Threat" *Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper*, Washington, DC: New America Foundation, February 2010.

"Long Arm of the LeT" *Policy Watch Series*, Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Studies, February 2010.

Countering Violent Extremism: Lessons from the Three Abrahamic Faiths, ed. Stephen Tankel, New York: EastWest Institute, 2007.

# ADDITIONAL ARTICLES AND BOOK REVIEWS

"Book Review: Fountainhead of Jihad," Foreign Policy, June 27, 2013.

"Lashkar-i-Tayyiba: One Year After Mumbai" CTC Sentinel, Vol. 2 No. 11, November 2009.

"Pakistan's Lashkar-e-Tayyiba remains potent" Janes Intelligence Weekly, October 2009.

"Profile: Hafiz Mohammed Saeed, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba Founder" *Janes Intelligence Weekly*, July 2009.

"Lashkar-e-Taiba: From 9/11 to Mumbai" *Developments in Radicalization and Political Violence*, April/May 2009.

"Hamas Victorious: A Grand Experiment Begins" *Civil Society and Democratization in the Arab World*, Vol. 12 No. 133, Dec. 2005 -Jan. 2006.

"The Iraqi Elections: Beyond the Results" *Civil Society and Democratization in the Arab World*, Vol. 12 No. 133, Dec. 2005 -Jan. 2006.

## **CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY**

"Protecting the Homeland Against Mumbai-Style Attacks and the Threat from Lashkar-e-Taiba" House Committee on Homeland Security: Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, June 12, 2013.

"The Threat to the U.S. Homeland Emanating from Pakistan" House Committee on Homeland Security: Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, May 3, 2011.

## **COMMENTARY**

"Pakistan Won't Let Terrorist Organizations Contest Elections. For Now.," *New York Times*, Sept. 13, 2017.

"Sixteen Years after 9/11, Are We Any Better at Fighting Terrorism?," *Washington Post*, Sept. 11, 2017.

- "How to Improve Return on Investment for Security Assistance," *Lawfare*, Aug. 27, 2017. [Co-authored]
- "The Only Way Trump's Afghanistan Plan Would Make Sense," Fortune, Aug. 22, 2017.
- "Lashkar-e-Taiba Wreaks Havoc in South Asia, Threatens the U.S.," *The Cipher Brief*, Aug. 17, 2017. [Q&A with editor]
- "Outsourcing the War in Afghanistan Is an Awful Idea" *The National Interest*, Aug. 16, 2017.
- "Trump's Plan to Defeat Terrorism is Self-Defeating," Foreign Policy, June 6, 2017.
- "Trump Seeks Greater Collaboration with Saudi Arabia, but Will This Boost Counterterrorism?," *Washington Post*, May 25, 2017.
- "This is Why Trump's Loose Longue has Compromised U.S. Security," *Washington Post*, May 16, 2017.
- "Back to First Principles: Four Fundamental Questions About Afghanistan," *War on the Rocks*, May 15, 2017.
- "National Security and Holding the Line Under Trump," War on the Rocks, Feb. 9, 2017.
- "The Art of Dealing with Pakistan," Defense One, Jan. 25, 2017.
- "Getting More Bang for Our Buck: Measuring Counterterrorism Assistance to Partner Nations," *Defense News*, Nov. 16, 2016. [Co-authored]
- "Being Smart Beats Talking Tough," The Huffington Post, Oct. 5, 2016.
- "Pakistani Militants and the State: Friends, Foes, and Frenemies," *War on the Rocks*, Jul. 5, 2016.
- "Is the United States Cutting Pakistan Off," War on the Rocks, Aug. 31, 2015.
- "Security Assistance isn't the Quick Fix the United States Thinks it is" *The Hill*, Aug. 6, 2015. [Coauthored]
- "A Deepening Defense Relationship on Republic Day," War on the Rocks, Jan. 29, 2015.
- "General Kayani's Legacy: Trying to Get Pakistan's House in Order," War on the Rocks, Dec. 4, 2013.
- "Killing Hakimullah Mehsud," War on the Rocks, Nov. 6, 2013.

- "Going Native: The Pakistanization of al-Qaeda," War on the Rocks, Oct. 22, 2013.
- "Keeping Score in the War on al-Qaeda," War on the Rocks, Oct. 1, 2013.
- "Jaw-Jaw and War-War in Pakistan," War on the Rocks, Sept. 17, 2013.
- "India's Most Wanted," War on the Rocks, Sept. 4, 2013.
- "Not Another al-Qaeda Article," War on the Rocks, Aug. 6, 2013.
- "The Abbottabad Commission Gets Realist," War on the Rocks, July 23, 2013.
- "Unpacking the Abbottabad Commission Report: Part I," War on the Rocks, July 16, 2013.
- "Pakistani Militants Plan Their Own Pivot East," War on the Rocks, July 9, 2013.
- "Egypt's Aid Dilemma," *The National Interest*, August 23, 2013.
- "The Militant Groups Next Door," Foreign Policy, April 24, 2013.
- "Pakistan's Sticky Wicket: The India-Saudi Link," Foreign Policy, July 30, 2012.
- "Sharing is Caring: Containing Terrorism in South Asia," Foreign Policy, July 20, 2012.
- "A Road Paved with Potholes," Foreign Policy, July 13, 2012.
- "The Mumbai Blame Game," Foreign Policy, July 9, 2012.
- "U.S. Confuses Carrots and Sticks in Pakistan," *The National Interest*, April 20, 2012.
- "Lashkar-e-Taiba is not the Next al-Qaeda: Contextualizing the Threat," *9/11 Compendium*, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, September 11, 2011.
- "Reaching Beyond its Home Base in Pakistan, Lashkar-e-Taiba Strives for Global Jihad," *Yale Global*, September 8, 2011.
- "Lashkar-e-Taiba's American Connections," Foreign Policy, September 6, 2011.
- "Lashkar-e-Taiba's Rise, before Mumbai" Foreign Policy, August 3, 2011.
- "Lashkar-e-Taiba, Mumbai, and the ISI." Foreign Policy, May 20, 2011
- "Who will Replace al-Qaeda?" The Times of India: The Crest Edition, May 7, 2011.
- "The bin Laden Aftermath: Pakistan's Militant Milieu" Foreign Policy, May 6, 2011.

"A Year After Mumbai, Lashkar's Threat Has Only Grown" *RAND.org*, November 25, 2009.

"India's 9/11: How it could happen again" Foreign Policy, November 24, 2009.

"Low-hanging Fruit" Foreign Policy, August 10, 2009.

"A Risky Deal in Swat" The Guardian, February 17, 2009.

"The Headless Beast" *The Guardian*, January 18, 2009.

"Who is behind the Mumbai attacks?" *The Guardian,* November 27, 2008.

"Homegrown terror, learned online" *The Guardian*, August 19, 2008.

"Spinning al-Qaida" The Guardian, April 22, 2008.

#### **TEACHING**

Terrorism and Counterterrorism (graduate course)

Seminar on Security Policy (graduate course)

Security Challenges in South Asia (undergraduate and graduate course)

Evolution of the Global Jihad (undergraduate and graduate course)

U.S. Allies in the War on Terror (undergraduate course)

Jihadists and the State (undergraduate course)

#### **SERVICE**

Member, School of International Service Search Committee for Senior Faculty Position in Transnational/International Security, 2016-17

Member, School of International Service Search Committee for Tenure-Track Position in Transnational/International Security, 2015-16

Member, School of Public Affairs Search Committee for Tenure-Track Position in Terrorism & Security Studies, 2013-2014.

Member, School of Public Affairs Assessment Committee, 2012-2013

Member, School of Public Affairs Social Committee, 2011-2012

Supervise PhD Independent Study for Jason Fritz, 2016-2017.

Serve as Olson Scholars Mentor for Ryan Fedasiuk, 2016-2017.

Supervise Two Undergraduate Student Internships for Caitlin Dunn and Brian Nguyen, 2012.

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence, Editorial Board

2017-Present

Engaging America Project, Co-founder

2017-Present

• Stood up an initiative at American University to promote civic engagement on U.S. foreign policy and national security by facilitating engagement between academics, policy experts, and local communities.

Journal of Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, Editorial Board

2013-Present

War on the Rocks Web Magazine, Senior Editor

2013-Present

Manuscript peer reviewer for Oxford University Press (2014), Hurst & Co. (2013, 2015), *Journal of Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (2017, 2016, 2015, 2014, 2013), *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2014), *International Security* (2012).

Grant proposal reviewer for Smith Richardson (2015), U.S. Institute of Peace (2013).

## ADDITIONAL RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Navy Reserves, Intelligence Officer

2016-Present

• Supervise the collection, analysis and dissemination of critical information, provide intelligence support to U.S. Naval forces and multinational military forces, advise U.S. policymakers, and lead Enlisted personnel in gathering and analyzing intelligence.

National Intelligence Council, Intelligence Community Associate 2015-Present

• Serve as a subject matter expert for National Intelligence Estimates relating to security issues in South Asia and terrorism worldwide. Provide briefings, organize conferences, serve as a featured speaker, contribute to reports, and act as on-call resource for members of the Intelligence Community and U.S. policymakers.

Center for a New American Security, Adjunct Senior Fellow

2015-Present

 Contribute to CNAS projects and reports, conduct independent research, participate in conferences and workshops, and brief senior US government officials.

Department of Defense, Sr. Advisor for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs 2014-2015

• Led a strategic review of U.S. defense policy in South and Central Asia and served as the lead author of the resulting strategic framework for the region. Headed up APSA-wide initiatives to contribute to the effort to counter the flow of foreign fighters from South, Central, and Southeast Asia to Iraq and Syria. Coordinated DoD contributions to the U.S.-Japan-India

trilateral, a State-led biannual engagement among the three countries. Initiated and oversaw a review of the U.S.-Pakistan bilateral defense relationship, and led a working group responsible for reforming security assistance to Pakistan.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Non-Resident Scholar 2011-2014

 Provided analysis for policymakers, contributed to seminar series and CEIP reports, conducted independent research, participated in conferences and workshops, and briefed US t officials.

## RAND Corporation, Summer Associate

2009

• Part of a team responsible for analyzing al-Qaeda Central and affiliated organizations in the areas of strategic decision-making, recruitment and 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> order effects of counterterrorism operations on the groups.

#### U.S. Combatting Terrorism Center, Lecturer

2010-2011

• Delivered lectures on issues relating to terrorism, Islamist militancy and South Asia to FBI trainees at Quantico as well as established agents and analysts at regional field offices. In addition to lecturing, also contribute to curriculum design and act as subject matter resource for agents.

EastWest Institute 2006 –2007

 Coordinated EWI research initiatives, including managing teams in the New York and Brussels offices. Guided development of publications and facilitated public events as well as private meetings among security practitioners, policymakers, academics and members of various Muslim communities in the U.S. and Europe. Designed, launched, and managed the Countering Violent Extremism Initiative to combat religious extremism and isolate extremist groups by mobilizing civil society.

Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, Associate Fellow 2006

 Provided strategic counsel on drafting and implementation of a campaign plan for electoral reform, the promotion of democracy and the promotion of human rights. Contributed articles and advised on editorial content for the Center's monthly publication.

## **CONFERENCES AND INVITED TALKS**

"No Easy Way Out: U.S. Options in Afghanistan," International Studies Association Annual Conference, 2017.

"Assessing, Monitoring, and Evaluating the Impact of Counterterrorism Assistance on Partner Nation's Domestic Security," Center for a New American Security, 2016.

"Measuring the Effectiveness of Security Assistance," U.S. Department of State, 2016.

"Adapting the U.S. Counterterrorism Architecture to Combat ISIS," Center for a New American Security ISIS Working Group Series, 2016.

"Counterterrorism Cooperation with Partner Nations: Separating Fact from Fiction," U.S.

State Department, 2016.

"The Pakistani Taliban: Down, But Not Out," Discussant, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2016.

"Exploring Safe Havens in Afghanistan and Pakistan," U.S. Intelligence Community Conference, 2016.

"The State of Militancy in Afghanistan," The Middle East Institute, 2016.

"Beyond the Double Game: Pakistan's Approach to Terrorism," National Defense University, 2016.

"Counterterrorism in the Age of ISIL and al-Qaeda," The American Legion, 2016 (talk given at request of SIS).

"Terrorism Trends in South Asia," Special Operations Command Pacific (SOCPAC), 2016.

"Security Assistance and Cooperation: Rethinking the Return on Investment," Center for a New American Security, 2015.

"By, With, and Through: The Challenges of Working with Partners to Combat Terrorism," National Intelligence Council, 2015.

"The Indian Jihadist Movement," Canadian Security Intelligence Service, 2014.

"The State of Cross Border Militancy in South Asia," India Foundation Annual Conference on Counterterrorism in Jaipur, India, 2015.

"Transnational Threats, Islamist Militancy, and U.S. Foreign Policy," The Observer Research Foundation in Delhi, India, 2015.

"Evolving dynamics and threats related to Pakistani militancy as the U.S. completes the draw down in Afghanistan," India Foundation in Delhi, India, 2015.

"Beyond Hyphenation: U.S. Relations with India and Pakistan," Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi, India, 2015.

"U.S.-Pakistan Relations in the Emerging Geopolitical Environment," Manipal University in Manipal, India, 2015.

"A Regional Look at Security in South and Central Asia," St. Aloysius College in Mangalore, India, 2015.

"A Regional Look at Security in South and Central Asia," Christ University in Bangalore, India, 2015.

- "Lakshar-e-Taiba and the Terrorist Threat to Urban Spaces," Takshashila Institution in Bangalore, India, 2015.
- "Evolving dynamics and threats related to Islamist Militancy," Karnataka State Police in Bangalore, India, 2015.
- "The U.S.-India Relationship," Gayatri Vidya Parishad College of Engineering (GVPCE) in Visakhapatnam, India, 2015.
- "A Regional Look at Security in South and Central Asia," Andhra University in Visakhapatnam, India, 2015.
- "The U.S.-India Relationship," Gandhi Institute of Technology and Management (GITAM) University in Visakhapatnam, India, 2015.
- "The U.S.-India Relationship," Indian Maritime University in Visakhapatnam, India, 2015.
- "Understanding Militant Violence in Pakistan," U.S. Intelligence Community Conference, 2015.
- "U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy in South Asia," Princeton University, 2015 (lecture for Indian Members of Parliament organized by the Center for Policy Research at Princeton).
- "Jihadist Violence: The Indian Threat," Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2014.
- "Pakistani Militancy in the Shadow of the U.S. Withdrawal: Implications for Domestic and Regional Security," International Studies Association Annual Conference, 2013.
- "Domestic Barriers to Dismantling the Militant Infrastructure in Pakistan," U.S. Institute of Peace, 2013.
- "U.S. Foreign Policy in Obama's Second Term," American University, 2013.
- "The Contours of Indian Jihadism," U.S. Department of Defense, 2013.
- "U.S.-India Homeland Security Cooperation," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2013.
- "The Future of South Asian Stability," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2013.
- "Terrorism Out of Pakistan," Royal United Services Institute Conference on Countering Terrorism Overseas, 2013.

- "Assessing U.S. Drone Policies," Reuters Thomson Global Security Seminar, 2013.
- "The Drivers of Alliance with al-Qaeda," U.S. State Department, 2013.
- "The Threat to U.S. Interests from Overseas Terrorism," National Counterterrorism Center, 2013.
- "Trends in Terrorism and Counterterrorism," Osher Lifelong Learning Institute (OLLI) at American University, 2013.
- "Trajectories for Lashkar-e-Taiba: Looking Beyond 2014," National Counterterrorism Center, 2013.
- "Combatting Lashkar-e-Taiba: Threats and Opportunities," RAND Corporation, 2013.
- "Trajectories for Lashkar-e-Taiba: Looking Beyond 2014" Canadian Security Intelligence Services, 2013.
- "Storming the World Stage: The Story of Lashkar-e-Taiba"
  - King's College London in London, U.K., 2012
  - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012
  - New America Foundation, 2012
  - U.S. Department of Defense, 2012
  - Defense Intelligence Agency, 2012
  - National Security Agency, 2012
- "Domestic Barriers to Dismantling the Militant Infrastructure in Pakistan"
  - U.S. Department of Defense, 2012.
  - Danish Institute for International Studies in Copenhagen, Denmark, 2012.
  - Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses in Delhi, India, 2012.
- "Beyond FATA: The Threat from Punjabi Militancy in Pakistan"
  - U.S. Department of Defense, 2012.
  - U.S. Department of State, 2012.
- "Assessing America's Role in Ending Pakistan-Sponsored Terrorism," Observer Research Foundation in Delhi, India, 2012.
- "The Roots of Indian Jihadism," Vivekananda International Foundation in Delhi, India, 2012.
- "Keynote Address," Symposium on Lashkar-e-Taiba, Book Launch for *Computational Analysis of Terrorist Groups: Lashkar-e-Taiba*, 2012.
- "Transition in Afghanistan: Implications for South Asian Security through 2014 and Beyond," National Defense University, 2012.

"Punjabi Militancy: The Evolving Threat & Barriers to Confronting It," National Intelligence Council, 2012.

"The State of al-Qaeda," National Counterterrorism Center Conference, 2012.

"Assessing the Drivers Behind Affiliation with al-Qaeda," City College of New York, 2012.

"Combating Jihadist Recruitment in Europe: Lessons Learned," Pak Institute for Peace Studies in Islamabad, Pakistan, 2011.

"U.S. Policy Toward Pakistan," German Marshall Fund's India Forum in Stockholm, Sweden, 2011.

"Assessing U.S. Strategies to Combat Lashkar-e-Taiba," NDU Conference on Lashkar-e-Taiba, 2011.

"The Future of Militant Groups inside Pakistan" Jamestown Fifth Annual Terrorism Conference, 2011.

"The Evolution of Lashkar-e-Taiba"

- New America Foundation: The End of al-Qaeda Conference, 2011.
- The Jamestown Foundation's 4th Annual Terrorism Conference, 2010.

#### **GRANTS AND AWARDS**

Dean's Summer Research Award, American University School of International Service, 2017 (\$4,000)

Research Grant, Smith Richardson, 2012-13 (\$39,000)

Research Grant, National Defense University, 2012 (\$16,000)

Research Grant, National Defense University, 2011 (\$20,000)

Public Policy Scholar – summer term, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2012 (\$10,000)

King's College London School of Social Science and Public Policy Studentship Award, 2008-11, full tuition and stipend, one of two annual recipients awarded this scholarship for doctoral research

British Government, Overseas Research Award for doctoral research in the United Kingdom, 2008-11, (\$45,000)

# OTHER PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Non-resident Fellow, Nation Defense University

Associate Fellow, International Center for the Study of Radicalization 2008—2011

Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation Summers 2012/13

Visiting Fellow, Pak Institute for Peace Studies 2008—2009

Davis Peace and Security Fellow, EastWest Institute 2007—2009

# **LANGUAGES**

Arabic: Intermediate