

BUILDING FREEDOM, BUILDING SECURITY: AMERICA'S CHALLENGE FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS LIBERTY AND NATIONAL SECURITY CONFERENCE

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES

Co-Chairs of the Conference

Thomas H. Kean served as Chair of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (also known as the 9/11 Commission) from 2002 to 2004. He was Governor of the state of New Jersey from 1982 to 1990, and President of Drew University in Madison, New Jersey from 1990 to 2005. Governor Kean is currently President of THK Consulting and Chair of the 9/11 Public Discourse Project. He is also co-author of *Without Precedent: The Inside Story of the 9/11 Commission* (Knopf, 2006).

Gary W. Hart is an author, lecturer, teacher, scholar, and attorney, who served as a Democratic Senator from Colorado from 1975 to 1987. Most recently, Senator Hart co-chaired both the U.S. Commission on National Security in the 21st Century and the Council on Foreign Relations task force on homeland security. He is the author of more than 18 books, including *The Cloack and the Shield: The Security of the Commons* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

Speakers and Moderators

Hady Amr is the Director of the Brookings Doha Center, Qatar and a Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. An expert in the Arab-Israeli conflict, Lebanon, Jordan, the economic development and democratization in the Arab World, and Jewish-Christian-Muslim relations, Mr. Amr served as a Clinton appointee at the U.S. Department of Defense, helping launch the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies at National Defense University, and since 2001 has managed an independent consulting practice, the Amr Group. Mr. Amr is the author of numerous publications including *The Need to Communicate: How to Improve U.S. Public Diplomacy with the Islamic World* (Brookings, 2004). He has also published in *Newsweek* and the *International Herald Tribune*.

James E. Baker was appointed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces on September 19, 2000. Judge Baker previously served as Special Assistant to the President and Legal Advisor to the National Security Council (NSC) (1997–2000), where he advised the President, National Security Advisor, and NSC staff on U.S. and international law involving national security. He also served as Deputy Legal Advisor to the National Security Council (1994–1997) and as Counsel to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and Intelligence Oversight Board. In addition, Judge Baker has served as a line attorney at the State Department, a Senate aide, and a Marine Corps infantry officer. He is the author of *In the Common Defense: National Security Law for Perilous Times* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) and, with Michael Reisman, *Regulating Covert Action* (Yale University Press, 1992).

Milt Bearden spent 30 years in the CIA, during which time he ran covert operations in Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion; was station chief in Pakistan, Moscow, and Khartoum; and received the CIA's highest honor, the Distinguished Intelligence Medal. Since the 9/11 attacks, Mr. Bearden has been a frequent commentator on TV and in print. He is the author of the novel, *The Black Tulip: A Novel of War in Afghanistan* (Random House, 1998), and co-author of *The Main Enemy: The Inside Story of the CIA's Final Showdown with the KGB* (Random House, 2003).

James Johnson, a partner in Debevoise & Plimpton LLP's Litigation Department, focuses his practice on white collar criminal defense, internal investigations, corporate compliance, and corporate crisis management in connection with internal investigations. Mr. Johnson is recognized as a leading lawyer in white collar criminal defense and is commended in Legal 500 US (2007) for his "calm and methodical demeanor" as well as his "clear sense of high ethics and morals." Previously, he held several senior positions in the United States Department of the Treasury, including Under Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement (1998-2000) and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement (1996-1998). Mr. Johnson is the Chair of the Board of the Brennan Center for Justice.

Kenneth Karas was appointed United States District Judge for the Southern District of New York on June 30, 2004, and entered duty on September 7, 2004. He graduated from Georgetown University with a B.A. degree in 1986, and received a J.D. degree from Columbia University School of Law in 1991. After serving as a law clerk to the Hon. Reena Raggi, Judge Karas served as an Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York from 1992 until 2001, and Chief of the Organized Crime and Terrorism Unit from 2001 until his departure from the office in June 2004. While at the U.S. Attorney's Office, Judge Karas worked on numerous terrorism investigations into associates of several terrorist groups, including al Qaeda, Hamas, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, and the IRA.

Farhana Khera is the first Executive Director of the National Association of Muslim Lawyers (NAML) and Muslim Advocates. Prior to joining NAML and Muslim Advocates in 2005, Ms. Khera was Counsel to the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Property Rights. In the Senate, she worked for six years directly for Senator Russell D. Feingold (D-WI), the Chairman of the Constitution Subcommittee, focusing substantially on the USA PATRIOT Act, racial and religious profiling, and other civil liberties issues raised by the government's anti-terrorism policies since 9/11. Prior to her service with the Senate Judiciary Committee, Ms. Khera was an associate with Washington, D.C. law firms.

Kate Martin has been Director of the Center for National Security Studies since 1992, where she has litigated and written about national security and civil liberties issues, including government secrecy, intelligence, terrorism, and enemy combatant detentions. Ms. Martin has taught Strategic Intelligence and Public Policy at Georgetown University Law School and also served as general counsel to the National Security Archive, a research library located at George Washington University.

Wyndee Parker is Deputy Staff Director and General Counsel of the U.S. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Deborah Pearlstein is currently a Visiting Research Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs at Princeton University. An expert in U.S. constitutional law, her work focuses on U.S. counterterrorism and national security policies, executive power, and the role of the courts. She has published numerous popular and academic writings on the Constitution, executive power, and national security. From 2003–2006, Ms. Pearlstein served as the founding director of the Law and Security Program at Human Rights First, where she led the organization's efforts in research, litigation, and advocacy surrounding U.S. detention and interrogation operations. She has also served as law clerk to Justice John Paul Stevens on the US Supreme Court.

Louise Richardson is Executive Dean of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University. She teaches courses on terrorism at Harvard College, Graduate School, and Law School. A political scientist by training, Richardson has specialized in international security with an emphasis on terrorist movements. Her recent publications include *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat* (Random House, 2006); *The Roots of Terrorism* (Routledge, 2006); and *Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons from the Past* (United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007), with Robert J. Art, along with numerous articles on international terrorism, British foreign and defense policy, security institutions, and international relations.

Alasdair Roberts is a professor of public administration in the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University and an Honorary Senior Research Fellow of the School of Public Policy, University College London. His last book, *Blacked Out: Government Secrecy in the Information Age* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), received the 2006 Book Award from the National Academy of Public Administration, among other honors. His next book, *The Collapse of Fortress Bush: The Crisis of Authority in American Government*, will be published by New York University Press in January 2008. His web address is www.aroberts.us.

Stephen J. Schulhofer is the Robert B. McKay Professor of Law at New York University and a distinguished scholar of criminal justice. He has written more than fifty scholarly articles and six books, including the leading casebook in the field and widely cited work on a wide range of criminal justice topics. His most recent book, *The Enemy Within: Intelligence Gathering, Law Enforcement and Civil Liberties in the Wake of September 11* (Century Foundation Press, 2002), written for The Century Foundation's Project on Homeland Security, has attracted wide attention as a careful and balanced critique of domestic measures being implemented as part of the "war on terrorism."

Ian Shapiro is Sterling Professor of Political Science at Yale University, where he also serves as Henry R. Luce Director of the MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies. He has written widely on democracy, justice, and the methods of social inquiry; his most recent book is *Containment: Rebuilding a Strategy against Global Terror* (Princeton University Press, 2007). His current research concerns the relations between democracy and the distribution of income and wealth.

Suzanne Spaulding is a Principal with Bingham Consulting Group and a recognized expert on national security issues, including homeland security, terrorism, intelligence, and law enforcement. Ms. Spaulding developed her expertise over a career spanning 20 years, working on national security issues in the Executive Branch and for Congress. She has chaired and served on numerous task forces, working groups, and committees related to national security. She is a frequent lecturer, and has been quoted regularly in media outlets around the country, offering analysis and insight into issues related to national security.

Khurram Wahid is a Partner at Wahid, Vizcaino & Maher LLP, a criminal and civil litigation firm with offices in Manhattan, Miami and Fort Lauderdale. A devoted advocate for human and civil rights, Mr. Wahid has fought tirelessly to protect civil liberties from unwarranted government encroachment and to educate the public about the importance of safeguarding our constitutional protections, especially in times that try our nation's conscience. He has represented scores of individuals detained by the government since September 11, 2001. Recently he helped found the Center for Voter Advocacy, designed to educate minorities about the benefits of political engagement. He has appeared as a guest commentator on CNN, MSNBC, Fox News, National Public Radio, and various other television and radio shows across the nation.

Shaarik H. Zafar serves as a Senior Policy Adviser in the Office for Civil Rights & Civil Liberties at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. He provides legal and policy advice to Department leadership on issues at the intersection of civil rights and homeland security in addition to working with other Federal agencies to develop and strengthen the U.S. Government's civic engagement, public outreach and public diplomacy initiatives. Prior to joining DHS, Mr. Zafar served as the Special Counsel for Post 9/11 National Origin Discrimination at the U.S. Department of Justice. Mr. Zafar is the 2006 recipient of the North American South Asian Bar Association's annual "Access to Justice" award, and is a Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations.