

## *Curriculum Vitae*

### **Professor Richard H. Shultz, Jr.**

#### *Current Positions*

##### **Professor of International Politics, The Fletcher School, Tufts University**

Since 1985 has taught courses and seminars at the graduate level. *Courses taught include:* The Role of Force in International Relations; The Evolution of Military Doctrine; The Origins, Conduct and Termination of War; Seminar on Intelligence, International Terrorism and National Security; Seminar on Armed Groups and Irregular Warfare; Seminar on Ethnic and Religious Conflict and Its Impact on Regional Security; and Seminar on Crisis Management. *Research Interests include:* U.S. international security policy; irregular conflict, armed groups, and 21<sup>st</sup> century security challenges; ethnic and religious violence; irregular warfare; contemporary military strategy; intelligence policy and international terrorism; special operations forces and paramilitary operations; changing roles and the changing missions of armed forces.

<http://www.fletcher.tufts.edu/Research/Faculty-Research-Profiles/Shultz>.

##### **Director, International Security Studies Program, The Fletcher School**

Director of the International Security Studies Program (ISSP) since 1988. The ISSP prepares U.S. and international graduate students for public and private sector careers in national and international security policy. The program is dedicated to graduate level teaching and research on a broad range of conflict, defense, and strategic issues. The Director has responsibility for the following programmatic activities: course curriculum; annual conference co-sponsored with one of the U.S. military services; publication series; senior-level speaker series; military fellows program; crisis simulation exercises and fundraising. The program consists of four faculty, the ISSP Administrator, the Program and Research Coordinator, a Staff Secretary, and several Research Associates.

#### ***Doctoral and Post-Doctoral Studies***

Post Doctoral Studies, *University of Michigan* (1977-1978)

Ph.D., *Miami University* (1976). *Dissertation:* "Origins and Development of U. S. Counterinsurgency Strategy: The Vietnam Case Study." Chaired by David S. McLellan.

## ***Selected Professional Activities***

- ***A Blueprint for Security Sector Reform for the 21st Century Project.*** There has been growing recognition that fragile and weak states are a principle source of conflict across the globe. To meet these challenges U.S. policymakers have begun to recognize that they need for new tools and these include ones to address the dysfunctional security sector institutions of weak states. But they lack a blueprint for Security Sector Reform (SSR)-a conceptual framework that adapts SSR theory for addressing dysfunctional security sectors of fragile states, examines the state of capabilities across the U.S. government for addressing them, and identifies gaps that need to be filled. Over the next 18 months this project will produce a study that addresses these issues. It is a joint effort Dr. Querine Hanlon of United States Institute of Peace. Support comes from the Smith Richardson Foundation.
- ***The Marine Campaign in Anbar Project.*** Completed in 2011 a three years in depth research project on the four year Marine Corps campaign in the al Anbar Province of Iraq. The period covered is from March 2004 through the first part of 2008. The research was conducted in co-operation with the History Division of the U.S. Marine Corps. This arrangement provided access to the vast oral history collection and other research materials located at the History Division offices in Quantico.
- ***Senior Fellow, U.S. Special Operations Command-Joint Special Operations University.*** As a senior fellow I go abroad with SOCOM/JSOU staff to teach as part of joint military education missions. These take the form of one-two week "Regional Seminars" for foreign military and security professionals. Recent programs included a programs held in Amman, Jordan in March 2012 and June 2010 for officers and officials from Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, UAE, Kuwait and Qatar. In April 2011 a similar program was held in Douala, Cameroon for officers and officials from Cameroon, Chad, Congo, and Gabon.
- ***Director, Armed Groups Project, National Strategy Information Center.*** Over the last two decades non-state armed groups to include terrorists, insurgents, militias, and criminal organizations have been proliferating in number and importance. They now pose major security challenges to nation states and will be a major part of the 21<sup>st</sup> century security landscape. This project sought to understand the complex nature of armed groups and to explore approaches for meeting these challenges. The project was conducted under the auspices of the Washington-based National Strategy Information Center (NSIC), building on the Center's long standing efforts to institutionalize university teaching and research on various major dimensions of international security. The report and other products from the project--*Adapting America's Security Paradigm and Security Agenda* are available at the projects website [www.strategycenter.org](http://www.strategycenter.org).
- ***Senior Fellow, Africa Center for Strategic Studies.*** The center is one of five U.S. Department of Defense regional centers for security studies. Its mission is to build a comprehensive program of seminars, conferences, research, and outreach activities to promote good governance and democratic values in the defense sectors of African nations. In the summer of 2000, I taught courses on how the national security process functions in a democracy in Botswana and Gabon. The courses were attended by defense official from over 30 African nations.
- ***Guest Lecturer, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research.*** The Emirates Center is an independent institute focusing on research and studies on security, economic and political issues of interest to the UAE and the Gulf region in particular and the Arab world in general. Between 1999 and 2003 I offered an annual short course for UAE military and security officers. Topics included internal conflict, armed groups, and crisis management.

- **Research Fellow, Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, Harvard University.** 1999 recipient of a Goldsmith Research Award from the Shorenstein Center to examine military-media relations in the post-Cold War period. Attention focused on the 1991 Gulf War and its aftermath.
- **General H.L. Oppenheimer Chair of Warfighting Strategy, U.S. Marine Corps.** During the academic year 1997-1998 was recipient of the Oppenheimer Chair which is awarded annually to a senior level scholar or practitioner in national security affairs. The recipient conducts research and lectures at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College and related schools and commands.
- **Research Fellow, U.S. Army Special Operations Command 1997-1999.** Recipient of a two-year research fellowship to study the use of covert paramilitary operations by the U.S. Military Assistance Command Vietnam's Studies and Observation Group during the Vietnam War. A third year of support for the writing of the manuscript was received from the Smith Richardson Foundation. The study was published by Harper Collins under the title *The Secret War against Hanoi: Kennedy's and Johnson's Use of Spies, Saboteurs, and Covert Warriors in North Vietnam*.
- **Senior Lecturer, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies.** In the summer of 1998 offered short courses at the Center focused on ethnic and religious conflict. The Center, which is located in Germany, was established by the U.S. Department of Defense to promote a stable security environment by advancing democratic defense institutions and relationships among the nations of America, Europe, and Eurasia.
- **Olin Distinguished Professor of National Security Studies, U.S. Military Academy.** During the academic year 1994-1995 was the recipient of the Olin Distinguished Professor *chair* in the Department of Social Sciences at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. The *chair* is awarded on an annual basis to a retired general officer or senior level academic.
- **Recipient, U.S. Army Outstanding Civilian Service Medal.** In June 1995 the medal was awarded for outstanding service as the Olin Distinguished Professor of National Security Studies at the U.S. Military Academy.
- **Honorary Senior Research Fellow, St. Andrews University, Scotland,** Lectured annually on topics related to political violence and terrorism during 1993-1998 in the Department of International Relations.
- **Senior Guest Lecturer, Columbia University.** During 1991 and again in 1992 offered a lecture series on low intensity conflict for the International Security Program of Columbia University's School for International and Public Affairs.
- **Secretary of the Navy Senior Research Fellow, U.S. Naval War College.** During the academic year 1990-1991 was awarded a *chair* at the Naval War College by the Secretary of the Navy. The *chair* was awarded annually to a senior academic to teach in the Policy and Strategy Department and to conduct research.
- **Research Fellow, United States Institute of Peace.** During the summer of 1989 received a research grant to focus on the question of whether specific guidelines on the use of covert action could be conceptualized within a policy framework that combined attention to both vital national interests and democratic principles.

- **Research Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University.** During 1986-1987 was recipient of a fellowship to research a book on Soviet promotion of insurgent movements in the Third World for publication by the Hoover Institution Press. It appeared in July 1988 under the title *The Soviet Union and Revolutionary Warfare*.
- **U.S. Government Consultancies.** Since the mid-1980s served as a consultant to various U.S. government agencies concerned with national security affairs to include: the National Security Council; Department of Defense Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations, and Joint Staff; different offices within each of the U.S. military services (mainly the Army and Marine Corps); the U.S. unified military commands to include the Special Operations Command, Southern Command, and Central Command; the State Department; and the U.S. Senate and House Committees concerned with military and intelligence matters.

## ***Publications***

### **Books and Monographs:**

- The Marines Take Anbar: The Four-Year Fight to Defeat al Qaeda in Iraq. (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press 2013). Dust cover endorsements include Gen. James Conway, USMC (Ret.); Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, USMC (Ret.); Robert D. Kaplan, author of *Imperial Grunts* and *The Revenge of Geography*; Professor Eliot A. Cohen; and Professor Bruce Hoffman. Reviews have appeared in several publications including *The Wall Street Journal*, *Publishers Weekly*; *San Diego Union-Tribune*; *Marine Corps Gazette*; *Magazine of the Marines-Leatherneck: Australian Defence Force Journal*; *The Small Wars Journal*; *The Diplomat*. ). For a roundup of the book's publicity and the Publisher's Weekly review go to <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/News-and-Media/2013/03/13/Shultz-Book-Feature-Marines-Iraq>.
- Organizational Learning and the Marine Corps, Monograph (Newport, RI: U.S. Naval War College, Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups, 2013). <http://www.usnwc.edu/Departments---Colleges/Center-on-Irregular-Warfare---Armed-Groups.aspx>.
- Adapting America's Security Paradigm and Security Agenda, Special Report (Washington, DC: National Strategy Information Center, 2010) Co-authored with Roy Godson, Querine Hanlon, and Samantha Ravich. [http://www.strategycenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/adapting\\_the\\_paradigm.pdf](http://www.strategycenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/adapting_the_paradigm.pdf).
- Insurgents, Terrorists, and Militias: The Warriors of Contemporary Combat (Columbia University Press, 2006; Paperback 2009) Co-authored with Andrea Dew. Dust cover endorsements include Senator John McCain, Seymour Hersh, Professor Rohan Gunarata, Professor Brice Hoffman and Sir Richard Dearlove. Reviews appeared in several publications including *Wall Street Journal*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Publishers Weekly*, *International Herald Review*, *Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) Journal*, *Military Review*, and *Parameters*.
- The Secret War Against Hanoi: Kennedy and Johnson's Use of Spies, Saboteurs, and Covert Warriors in North Vietnam (New York: Harper Collins, 1999, paperback 2000). Dust cover endorsements include John McCain, Casper Weinburger, Frank Carlucci, General Wayne Downing, Professor Colin Gray and Seymour Hersh. Reviewed widely in many publications including *The New York Times*, *Economist*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *New York Review of Books*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Harpers*, and *Kirkus Review*.

- *Strategic Culture and Strategic Studies: An Alternative Framework for Assessing Al Qaeda and the Global Jihadi Movement*, Monograph (Tampa, FL: USSOCOM/Joint Special Operations University Press, 2012). [https://jsou.socom.mil/Documents/12\\_4\\_Shultz\\_051512\\_Final.pdf](https://jsou.socom.mil/Documents/12_4_Shultz_051512_Final.pdf).
- *Armed Groups and Irregular Warfare: Adapting Professional Military Education*, Monograph (Washington, DC: National Strategy Information Center, 2009). Co-Authored with Roy Godson and Querine Hanlon.
- *Global Insurgency Strategy and the Salafi Jihad Movement*, Monograph (Boulder, CO: Institute for National Security Studies, 2008). <http://www.usafa.edu/df/inss/docs/StrategicCulture.pdf>.
- *Armed Groups: A Tier-One Security Priority*, Monograph (Boulder, CO: Institute for National Security Studies, 2004). Co-authored with Itamara V. Lochard and Doug Farah. <http://www.usafa.edu/df/inss/OCP/ocp57.pdf>.
- *Security Studies for the Twenty-First Century* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1997). Co-editor and author with Roy Godson and George Quester.
- *The Role of Naval in 21st Century Operations* (Washington, DC: Brassey's International Defense Publishers, 2000). Co-editor and author with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.
- *Security Studies for the 1990s* (New York: Brassey's, 1993). Co-editor and author with Roy Godson and Ted Greenwood.
- *Ethnic and Religious Conflict: Emerging Threat to US Security*, Monograph (Washington, DC: National Strategy Information Center, 1994). Co-authored with William Olson.
- *In the Aftermath of War: US Support for Reconstruction and Nation-Building in Panama Following Just Cause*, Monograph (Montgomery, AL: Air Force University Press, 1993). [http://uploads.worldlibrary.net/uploads/pdf/20121010185755aftermathofwar\\_pdf.pdf](http://uploads.worldlibrary.net/uploads/pdf/20121010185755aftermathofwar_pdf.pdf).
- *Soviet Union and Revolutionary Warfare* (Stanford, CA: The Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1990, paperback 1992). Dust cover endorsements include Professor Paul Seabury, Professor Roger Kanet, David Ottaway of the Washington Post, and Senator David Durenberger. Forward by John Collins, Senior Defense Analyst, Library of Congress. Reviewed in *Foreign Affairs*, *Slavic Review*, *American Political Science Review*, *Problems of Communism*, *Commentary*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Washington Times*, and *National Review*.
- *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy* (New York: Brassey's, 1984, paperback 1985). Co-authored with Roy Godson. Dust cover endorsements include Professor Adam Ulam, Professor Fred Barghoorn, and Professor Uri Ra'an. Forward by Sidney Hook. Five printings and republished as a mass paperback by Berkeley Publishing Group. Translated into French, Spanish, Greek, and Portuguese. Widely reviewed in numerous publications including the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Economist*, *National Review*, *New Republic*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Commentary*.
- *Ethnic Conflict and Regional Instability: Implications for US Policy and Army Roles and Missions* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1994). Co-editor and author with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.
- *Naval Forward Presence Missions and the National Military Strategy*. Annapolis, MD: Naval

Institute Press, 1993. Co-editor and author with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

- *The Future of Air Power in the Aftermath of the Gulf War*. Montgomery, AL: Air University Press, 1992. Co-editor and author with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.
- U.S. Defense Policy in an Era of Constrained Resources (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989). Co-editor and author with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.
- Guerrilla Warfare and Counterinsurgency: U.S.-Soviet Policy in the Third World (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1988). Co-editor with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Uri Ra'anan, and William Olson.
- Hydra of Carnage: The International Linkages of Terrorism (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985). Co-editor and author with Uri Ra'anan, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Ernst Halperin, and Igor Lukes.
- Special Operations in US Strategy (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1985). Co-editor with Frank R. Barnett and B. Hugh Tovar.
- Power, Principles and Interests: A Reader in World Politics (Lexington, MA: Ginn Press, 1985). Co-editor and author with James P. O'Leary and Jeffrey Salmon.
- Lessons from an Unconventional War: Reassessing U.S. Strategies in Preparing for Future Conflicts (New York: Pergamon, 1982). Co-editor and author with Richard Hunt.
- Responding to the Terrorist Threat: Security and Crisis Management (New York: Pergamon, 1980). Co-editor with Stephen Sloan.

## **Articles:**

- "States in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," *Geopolitics, History and International Relations* 4:1 (2012)  
Co-author with Querine Hanlon, Roy Godson, and Samantha Ravich.
- "A QDR for all Seasons," *Joint Forces Quarterly* (Sept. 2010).  
<http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/a-qdr-for-all-seasons>
- "The Sources of Instability in the Twenty-First Century Weak States, Armed Groups, and Irregular Conflict," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Summer 2011).  
<http://www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/2011/summer/shultzgodsonhanlonravich.pdf>
- "Intelligence Dominance A Better Way Forward in Iraq," *The Weekly Standard* (July 31, 2006). Richard H. Shultz Jr. & Roy Godson.  
<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/012/474cffnb.asp#>
- "Tactical Deception and Strategic Surprises in Al-Qai'da's Operations," *MERIA Journal* (Summer 2004). Co-authored with Ruth Beitler.  
<http://fletcher.archive.tusm-oit.org/faculty/shultz/pdf/MERIA%20Article-1.pdf>
- "Showstoppers: Nine Reasons Why We Never Sent Our Special Operations Forces after al Qaeda Before 9/11," *The Weekly Standard* (January 26, 2004).

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/003/613twavk.asp#>

- “It’s War! Post-11 September Global Terrorism,” Terrorism and Political Violence (Spring 2003). Co-authored with Andreas Vogt.
- “State Disintegration and Ethnic Conflict: A Framework for Analysis and Case Study,” ANNALS (Fall 1995).
- “Iranian Covert Aggression: Support for Radical Political Islamists Conducting Internal Subversion Against States in the Middle East/Southwest Asia Region,” Terrorism and Political Violence (Spring 1995).
- “Emerging Regional Conflicts and U.S. Interests: Challenges and Responses in the 1990s,” Studies in Conflict and Terrorism (January 1994). Co-authored with J. Marlow Schmauder.
- “The Post-Conflict Use of Military Forces: Lessons from Panama, 1989-1991,” The Journal of Strategic Studies (June 1993).
- “Compellence and the Role of Airpower as a Political Instrument,” Comparative Strategy (Fall 1992).
- “The Low-Intensity Conflict Environment of the 1990s,” ANNALS (September 1991).
- “Low Intensity Conflict: Future Challenges and Lessons from the Reagan Years,” Survival (July/August 1989).
- “Discriminate Deterrence and Low Intensity Conflict: The Unintentional Legacy of the Reagan Administration,” Conflict (June 1989).
- “Covert Action and Executive-Legislative Relations: The Iran-Contra Crisis and its Aftermath,” Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy (June 1989).
- “Can Democratic Governments Use Military Force in the War Against Terrorism? The U.S. Confrontation with Libya,” World Affairs (Fall 1986).
- “Soviet Use of Surrogates to Project Power into the Third World,” Parameters (Fall 1986).
- “Soviet Active Measures: Distinctions and Definitions,” Defense Analysis (No. 2, 1985).
- “The Role of External Forces in Third World Conflict,” Comparative Strategy (Fall 1983).
- “Low Intensity Conflict and American Strategy in the 1980s,” Conflict Quarterly (Winter 1982).
- Co-authored with Roy Godson a special issue of International Studies Notes (Winter 1983) devoted to teaching foreign intelligence. The three articles prepared for the issue include:”Teaching Foreign Intelligence;””Intelligence: the Evolution of a New Teaching Subject;” and”Resource Materials on Intelligence.”
- “Reassessing U.S. Strategy in Vietnam: The Impact of Past Lessons on Future Planning for Low Intensity Conflicts,” International Security Quarterly (Winter, 1980-1981).

- “Coercive Force and Military Strategy: Deterrence Logic and Counterinsurgency,” Western Political Quarterly (December 1979).
- “Explaining American Intervention: Review Essay,” Journal of Politics November 1979).
- “Responding to International Terrorism: Prevention and Control,” International Studies Notes (Spring 1979).
- “The Limits of Terrorism in Insurgency Warfare: The Case of the Viet Cong,” Polity (Fall, 1978).
- “Breaking the Will of the Enemy During the Vietnam War: The Operationalization of the Cost-Benefit Model of Counterinsurgency,” Journal of Peace Research (No. 2, 1978).
- “Conceptualizing Political Terrorism.” Journal of International Affairs (Summer, 1978).

### **Book Chapters:**

- "The Real Intelligence Failure on 9-11 and the Case for a Doctrine of Striking First," in Terrorism and Counterterrorism, ed. by Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002). Co-authored with Andreas Vogt
- “Can American Democracy Employ Covert Action as an Instrument of Statecraft,” in Legal and Moral Constraints on Low Intensity Conflict, ed. by Alberto Coll, James Ord, and Stephen Rose (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1995).
- “Conceptualizing Political Terrorism,” in International Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes and Controls, ed. by Charles W. Kegley (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990).
- “Covert Action,” in Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s, ed. by Roy Godson (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989).
- “Low Intensity Conflict: A Comparative,” in International Security and Arms Control, vol. II, ed. By Edward Kolodziej and Patrick Morgan (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989).
- “Psychological Operations in Revolutionary Warfare: Threats, Opportunities and U.S. Policy,” in Psychological Operations and Political Warfare in US Strategy, ed. by Carnes Lord (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1989).
- “Soviet Intelligence Operations,” in The USSR Today and Tomorrow: Problems and Challenges, ed. by Uri Ra’anan and Charles M. Perry (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1986).
- “Soviet Strategy and Organization: Active Measures and Insurgency,” in The Red Orchestra, ed. by Dennis L. Bark (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1986).
- “Active Measures in Soviet Strategy,” in Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World, ed. by Erik Hoffmann and Robbin Laird (Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Co., 1986).
- “Countering Third World Marxist-Leninist Regimes: Policy Options for the United States,” in Vulnerabilities of Third World Marxist-Leninist Regimes: Implications for U.S. Policy (New York: Pergamon-Brassey’s, 1985).



- “The Role of the Soviet Union in Promoting Insurgency in the Third World,” in National Security Strategy: Choices and Limits, ed. by Stephen Cimbala (New York: Praeger, 1984).
- “Low Intensity Conflict: The Nature of the Soviet Role,” in Strategic Response to Conflict in the 1980s, ed. by William J. Taylor, Jr. (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984).
- “American Strategies during the Vietnam War,” in Non-Nuclear Conflict in the Nuclear Age, ed. by Sam Sarkesian (New York: Praeger, 1980).
- “Conceptualizing Political Terrorism: A Typology,” in International Terrorism (New York: School for International Affairs, Columbia University Press, 1980).

### **Op-eds:**

- “Counterinsurgency, by the Book,” The New York Times (August 7, 2006). Co-authored with Andrea J. Dew. [http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/07/opinion/07shultz.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/07/opinion/07shultz.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)
- “Al Qaeda’s Growing Sanctuary,” The Washington Post (July 14, 2004). Coauthored with Douglas Farah. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A48221-2004Jul13.html>
- “How Kennedy launched his Secret War in Vietnam,” The Boston Globe Jan. 31, 2000).
- “McCain has the Muscle to make Foreign Policy Work,” The Detroit News (February 21, 2000).