Curriculum Vitae

DR. RICHARD H. SHULTZ, JR.

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PERMANENT PROFESSIONAL POSITION

Director, International Security Studies Program, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

Since 1988 has served as Director of the Fletcher School's International Security Studies Program (ISSP). Established in 1971 as one of the first programs of its kind in any public or private non-military university, the ISSP prepares American and international graduate students for public service and private sector careers in the fields of national and international security policy. The program is dedicated to graduate level teaching and policy oriented research on a broad range of conflict, defense, and strategic issues. To this end, the Director has responsibility for designing and implementing the following programmatic activities: course curriculum; annual conference co-sponsored with one of the U.S. military services; publication series; senior-level speakers series; War College Fellows program; crisis simulation exercise; and annual overseas field trip. The Director also has responsibility for fundraising. The program consists of four faculty, the ISSP Administrator, the Program and Research Coordinator, a Staff Secretary, and two Research Assistants.

Professor of International Politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

Since 1983 instructs at the graduate level. Courses are within the International Security Studies Program. Course offerings 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 Internal Conflicts and War; Seminar on Ethnic and Religious Conflict and Its Impact on Regional Security; and Seminar on Crisis Management.

SELECTED AWARDS, HONORS, GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

U.S. Army Special Operations Command, 1997-2000. Recipient of a two-year grant to conduct a study of the use of covert paramilitary operations executed by the U.S. Military Assistance Command Vietnam's Studies and Observation Group in 1964-1972 against Hanoi during the Vietnam War. Under arrangements with the Command, I was provided complete access to the records and men who executed this operation. A third year of funding to support the writing of the manuscript was received from the Smith Richardson Foundation. The study has been published by Harper Collins as a commercial/trade book under the title The Secret War Against Hanoi: Kennedy's and Johnson's Use of Spies, Saboteurs, and Covert Warriors in North Vietnam.

Harvard University Goldsmith Research Award from the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, 1999.

U.S. Marine Corps Brigadier General H.L. Oppenheimer Chair of Warfighting Strategy Professor, Academic Year 1998-1999. Served as the Oppenheimer Professor. In this capacity provided presentation and seminars to Marine Corps officers on a range of topics concerned with U.S. national security policy and strategy. The topics covered focused on both current issues as well as more historical subjects. These presentations were given in Quantico at the Command and Staff College and to Marine Commands on the east and west coast.

Olin Distinguished Professor of National Security Studies, United States Military Academy, at West Point, academic year 1994-1995. The appointment was within the Department of Social Sciences.

Honorary Senior Research Fellow, St. Andrews University, Scotland, Department of International Relations, 1993-1998.

Department of the Army's Outstanding Civilian Service Medal, 1995.

Secretary of the Navy Senior Research Fellowship, Department of Strategy, U.S. Naval War College, 1989-1990. Was a recipient of a Secretary of the Navy Senior Research Fellowship and a member of the faculty of the U.S. Naval War College. In addition to teaching the senior course on Policy and Strategy, conducted research and produced a manuscript on the subject of covert action and American foreign policy.

United States Institute of Peace Research Fellowship, Summer 1989. Research focused on the question of whether specific guidelines on the use of covert action can be conceptualized that are set within a policy framework that combines attention to strategic/vital national interests and democratic principles/ethics.

Research Fellowship, The Earhart Foundation, 1987-1988. During the summers of 1987-1988 began initial research on the issue of unconventional war and American foreign policy.

Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, Research Fellowship, 1986-1987. Was the recipient of a non-resident fellowship from the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. During this period a book on Soviet promotion of insurgent movements in the Third World was researched and prepared for publication by the Hoover Institution Press. It appeared in July, 1988.

SELECTED MEMBERSHIPS

International Studies Association.

International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Board Member, National Strategy Information Center.

Board Member, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. Inc.

Board of Editors, Comparative Strategy, Taylor and Francis, Inc., Publications.

Board of Editors, Small Wars and Insurgencies, Frank Cass Publications, Routledge.

Board of Editors, Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, Frank Cass Publications, Routledge.

Board of Editors, Terrorism and Political Violence, Frank Cass Publications, Routledge.

Member, International Advisory Board, Brassey's series on Intelligence and National Security.

Board of Trustees, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1995-present.

Advisory Board, Joint Special Operations Forces Institute, United States Special Operations Command, 1995-present.

Selection Committee of the Vietnam Fulbright Program, American Council of Learned Societies, 1996-present.

Advisory Board to the President, U.S. Naval War College, 1995-1999.

Special Operations Policy Advisory Group, U.S. Department of Defense, 1985-1988.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL ACADEMIC AND PUBLIC POLICY ACTIVITIES

Director, "Intelligence and the Challenge of Non-State Armed Groups," the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence. Directed a two-year project, interviewing two categories of former practitioners: those from diverse cultures who have confronted non-traditional security threats posed by non-state armed groups; and those with former members and defectors from non-state armed groups. Based on these interviews CSI will identify effective intelligence practices and methods used elsewhere to counter non-traditional threats. These findings will serve as the basis for a series of recommendations to transform the U.S. intelligence community to meet 21st century challenges. CSI will also develop performance indicators to measure progress in this transformation.

Re-Examination of the Curriculum in Security Studies. Since 1991, has served as codirector (with Roy Godson of Georgetown University, Ted Greenwood of Columbia University and George Quester of the University of Maryland) of a major project to review and revise the curriculum in security studies in the aftermath of the Cold War. Spanning three years, the project brought together thirty leading scholars and directors of security studies programs to evaluate existing and new courses and to begin to develop a post-Cold War security studies curricula. The project resulted in a volume entitled Security Studies for the 1990s, published by Brassey's in September 1993. Each chapter provides an in-depth review of a major security course, presenting key concepts, methods, suggested course structure, bibliography, and model syllabi. The project entered a second phase in 1994 and a revised volume with several new chapters was published in 1997. The title of the revised volume is Security Studies for the Twenty-First Century. The publisher is Brassey's, US.

Organizer and Chair, Symposium on "The Impact of Ethnic and Religious Based Regional Conflict on US Interest", National Strategy Information Center, Washington, DC. The program brought together specialists from government, the military, academia, the media, and private sector to discuss the proliferation of ethnic and religious conflict; linkages between ethnic and religious groups and states; the projected impact of ethnic and religious conflict on U.S. domestic interests; the impact of ethnic and religious conflict on U.S. foreign policy and interests abroad; and linkages between ethnic groups and organized crime. A monograph was published in 1994.

Adjunct Professor, School for International and Public Affairs, Columbia University. During 1990 and 1991 taught a graduate seminar on Low Intensity Conflict.

Co-Director and Lecturer, National Faculty Seminar on Teaching National Security, Bowdoin College. During July 1991 and July 1992, served as co-director and lecturer for a week-long seminar that brought together 25 professors from across the United States who teach in the field of security studies. They heard presentations and took part in discussions based on the draft volume Security Studies for the 1990s.

Resident Faculty and Co-Director, Summer Seminars on Intelligence for University Teaching Faculty, Bowdoin College. Sponsored by the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, this summer seminar brings together selected academicians of a variety of ranks and disciplines from twenty-five universities (the United States., Canada, Britain and Israel) to participate in ten days of intensive lectures and discussions focused on how to teach a graduate or undergraduate course on "Intelligence and National Security." The seminar discusses the major elements of intelligence in comparative perspective and focuses on teaching and research on the subject as it relates to national security, foreign policy, law, and ethics. Held during the summers of 1981, 1982, 1984, 1988, 1990 and 1992, the seminar has made an instrumental contribution to this part of the field of international security studies.

Project on Strengthening World Order and the U.N. Charter System Against Secret Warfare and Low-Intensity Warfare, United States Institute for Peace. This project consisted of a series of conferences held during the 1988-1990 period. Participated in the project as a paper writer and discussant.

Chairman, Intelligence Studies Section of the International Studies Association (ISA). Assisted in the establishment in 1984 of this section, and as its chairman (1984-1989), in conjunction with the executive committee, had responsibility for the organization of panels and other intelligence related programs that take place under the auspices of ISA.

Founding Member, Soviet Strategy Project, Hoover Institution on War, Peace and Revolution, Stanford University. Established in 1984, this project focused on the Soviet use of surrogates in foreign and national security policy. As a founding member, was involved in the work of the project and took part in its various conferences and other meetings through 1987.

Coordinator, Canadian-American Conference on Intelligence, York University, Toronto, May 7-8, 1984. Co-sponsored with the Program in Strategic Studies at York University.

Coordinator, British-American Colloquium on 20th Century Intelligence, Royal United Services Institute, London, September 8-9, 1984. Co-sponsored with the British Study Group on Intelligence.

Manuscript Reviewer, Western Political Quarterly, Polity, Armed Forces & Society, Conflict Quarterly, Lexington Books, Brassey's, Harper Collins, and Naval Institute Press.

Proposal Reviewer, The Donner Foundation, Bradley Foundation, Earhart Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, and U.S. Institute of Peace.

SELECTED GOVERNMENT CONSULTING

What follows is a selection of consultant activities undertaken since the mid-1980s with various U.S. government agencies concerned with national security affairs. Not all activities are listed.

Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict. Since 1991 has served as a consultant to the OASD for SO/LIC and conducted studies on the non-traditional use of military forces. These included: one, a study on U.S. support for reconstruction and nation-building in Panama following Just Cause; two, a study on "Post-Conflict Reconstruction Assistance Missions: The Role of Military Forces;" and three, a study on "Explaining the Harlan County Debacle: A Study of the Failure of the Interagency Process." These reports were all completed under the auspices of OASD for SO/LIC and the US Special Operations Command.

Consultant to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations during 2002-2003 to conduct a study of the use of Special Mission Units to preempt terrorists. The findings were briefed to the senior leadership of the Office of the Secretary of Defense and are contained in a report to that office.

- *U.S. Naval War College.* During 1988-1989 served as a consultant and adjunct faculty member. During the Spring of 1989, gave a series of ten lectures as part of a special course for junior and senior officers on low intensity conflict and revolutionary warfare.
- *U.S. Senate and House Committees on Intelligence.* During 1984-1988 worked with different professional staff members on various issues of concern to the intelligence committees. Also provided testimony on the following topics: covert action and the Intelligence Oversight Act, and defectors from communist political systems.

Special Operations Policy Advisory Group. Department of Defense. The Special Operations Policy Advisory Group (SOPAG) was established in 1983 to advise the Office of the Secretary of Defense on key policy issues related to Special Operations Forces and Low Intensity Conflict. From 1985 to 1988 served on the SOPAG with GEN Robert C. Kingston, USA (Ret.), GEN Edward C. Meyer, USA (Ret.), ADM James L. Holloway, USN (Ret.) and GEN Richard G. Stilwell, USA (Ret.) among others. Was the only civilian at that time nominated and appointed to serve on this advisory group.

National Security Council Staff/President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. During 1985-1987 served as a consultant to the NSC Staff and PFIAB on several issues related to Soviet defectors and low intensity conflict.

U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services. During 1985-1986 served as a consultant to the Committee on issues related to special operations and low intensity conflict that lead

to the establishment of the US Special Operations Command and the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict.

U.S. Information Agency. During 1986 served as Chief Investigator of a USIA sponsored project to develop a "Handbook on Current Soviet Propaganda Themes." From 1984 to 1989 served as a consultant to USIA on issues related to Soviet active measures.

U.S. Army/JFK Special Warfare Center. During 1983-1985 served as a consultant to the JFK Special Warfare Center at Ft. Bragg on issues related to low intensity conflict and Soviet active measures.

PUBLICATIONS

AUTHORED BOOKS

Warriors: How Non-State Armed Groups Fight. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. Co-authored with Andrea Dew. (Forthcoming)

The Secret War Against Hanoi: Kennedy's and Johnson's Use of Spies, Saboteurs, and Covert Warriors in North Vietnam. New York: Harper Collins, 1999.

This book was the subject of news stories, columns, and reviews in several publications including *The New York Times, Washington Post, Baltimore Sun, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, Boston Globe, International Herald Tribune, Daily Telegraph* (London), *The Economist, New York Review of Books* and *Kirkus Reviews*.

The Soviet Union and Revolutionary Warfare: Principles, Practices, and Regional Comparisons. Stanford, CA: The Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1989.

Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy. New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984. Authored with Roy Godson. Five printings by Pergamon and re-published as a mass paperback by Berkeley Publishing Group. Translated into French, Spanish, Greek, and Portuguese.

AUTHORED MONOGRAPHS

Armed Groups: A Tier-One Security Priority. Boulder, CO: Institute for National Security Studies U.S. Air Force Academy, 2004. Co-authored with Itamara V. Lochard.

Ethnic and Religious Conflict: Emerging Threat to US Security. Washington, DC:

National Strategy Information Center, 1994.

In the Aftermath of War: US Support for Reconstruction and Nation-Building in Panama Following Just Cause. Montgomery, AL: Air University Press, 1993.

CHAPTERS IN BOOKS EDITED BY OTHER AUTHORS

"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. This is a reprint of an article published in Vol. 38 of the *Journal of International Affairs* of 1978.

"Covert Action," in *Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s*, ed. by Roy Godson. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989.

"Low Intensity Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of the Policy and Strategy of the United States, France, Great Britain, and Israel," 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.

"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.

"Low Intensity Conflict and U.S. Policy: Regional Threats, Soviet Involvement, and the American Response," in *Low Intensity Conflict and Modern Technology*, ed. by David Dean. Montgomery, AL: Air University Press, 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.

"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.

"Soviet Strategy and Support for International Terrorist Groups," in *The 1980s: Decade of Confrontation?* Washington, DC: The National Security Affairs Institute, 1982.

"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*. Published through Avery Publishing Group by the School for International Affairs, Columbia University, 1980.

ARTICLES IN PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS AND NEWSPAPERS

"Al-Qaeda's Growing Sanctuary," *The Washington Post*, July 14, 2004. Co-authored with Douglas Farah.

"Tactical Deception and Strategic Surprises in Al-Qai'da's Operations," *MERIA Journal*, 8:2 (Summer 2004). Co-authored with Ruth Margolies Beitler.

"SHOWSTOPPERS: Preempting Terrorists Was Not an Option in the 1990s," *The Weekly Standard* (January 26, 2004).

"It's War! Fighting Post-11 September Global Terrorism Through a Doctrine of Preemption, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15:1 (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).

"Oral History: A Neglected Dimension of Sovietology," Strategic Review (Spring 1987).

"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 - Journal of the US Army War College* (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 Review* (Winter 1980-1981).

"Coercive Force and Military Strategy: Deterrence Logic and Counterinsurgency," Western Political Quarterly (December 1979).

"Explaining American Intervention: A 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).

EDITED BOOKS

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.

War in the Information Age. Washington, DC: Brassey's International Defense Publishers,

1997. Co-editor and author with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

Security Studies for the Twenty-First Century. Washington, DC: Brassey's US, 1997. Coeditor and author with Roy Godson and George Quester.

Security Studies for the 1990s. New York: Brassey's, 1993. Co-editor and author with Roy Godson and Ted Greenwood.

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. Coeditor and author with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

Marine Expeditionary Forces: Into the Twenty-First Century. Originally published in two issues of the journal Perspectives on Warfighting, the manuscript was published as a single volume by the Marine Corps in 1993. 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 Watfare and Counterinsurgency: U.S.-Soviet Policy in the Third World. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1988. Co-editor and author with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Uri Ra'anan, and William Olson.

US-Soviet Doctrines and Technologies: Global and Regional Implications. Lexington, MA:

Lexington Books, 1987. Co-editor and author with Uri Ra'anan and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

Hydra of Carnage: The International Linkages of Terrorism. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985. Co-editor and author with Un 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 and author with Stephen Sloan.

LECTURES AND SPEAKING APPEARANCES

Has presented lectures and speeches to audiences across the United States and in numerous foreign countries. Has also appeared on various television and radio news programs including The News Hour, Crossfire, Charlie Rose Show, National Public Radio, among others.

EDUCATION

Post Doctoral Studies, University of Michigan (1977-1978); Ph.D., Miami University (1976). Dissertation: "Origins and Development of United States Counterinsurgency Strategy: The Vietnam Case Study."

PERSONAL

Born, October 25, 1947, in Harrisburg, PA. Marital Status--Married. Children--One Son.

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