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Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center for Security Studies, Georgetown University
Non-Resident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy, Brookings Institution
Contributing Editor, *The National Interest*

Visiting Professor and core faculty member, Security Studies Program, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 2005-2012. Taught courses in:

Security Issues in the Middle East
Terrorism and Counterterrorism
International Security
Theory and Practice of Security

Director of Studies of the Security Studies Program, 2008-2012

Intelligence officer with the Central Intelligence Agency and National Intelligence Council, 1977-2005. Senior positions included:

- National Intelligence Officer for the Near East and South Asia, 2000-2005: responsible for production and coordination throughout the US Intelligence Community of National Intelligence Estimates and other Community assessments. Senior analytical officer for the Community on Near Eastern and South Asian affairs.
- Deputy Chief, Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) Counterterrorist Center, 1997-1999: shared responsibility with chief for leadership and management of the center that performs operations, analysis, warning, training, incident response, and other counterterrorist functions of the Intelligence Community.
- Chief, Analysis and Information Group, DCI Counterterrorist Center, 1993-1997: head of unit responsible for analysis and finished intelligence on international terrorism.
- Executive assistant to DCI William Webster, 1989-1991: managed flow of information, issues for decision, and follow-up on all matters involving the Director of Central Intelligence.
- Executive assistant to the Deputy Director for Intelligence, CIA, 1988-1989.
- Chief of analytical branches and divisions covering the Middle East, Persian Gulf, and South Asia, 1984-1988, 1991-1993.

Federal Executive Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1999-2000

Adjunct Professor of Security Studies, Georgetown University, 2003-2004
Adjunct lecturer in Government, Johns Hopkins University, 2005

Military service:

Army officer on active duty 1971-1973, including duty in Vietnam
Currently retired from the U.S. Army Reserve

Education (all degrees in politics and government):

Dartmouth College A.B. *summa cum laude* 1969
Oxford University B.Phil 1971
Princeton University M.A. 1975 Ph.D. 1978

Member, Council on Foreign Relations

Unclassified publications:

Books:

Intelligence and U.S. Foreign Policy: Iraq, 9/11, and Misguided Reform, Columbia University Press, 2011

Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy, Brookings Institution Press, 2001
Second edition with additional introduction, 2003

Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process, Princeton University Press, 1983

Articles and chapters in edited volumes:

“Policy Choices for the New Administration” (contribution to symposium), *Middle East Policy*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Winter 2012), pp. 1-28.

“Artificial Intelligence Reform: Social Amnesia and the Intelligence Community,” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2012), 177-183.

“We Can Live With a Nuclear Iran,” *Washington Monthly* (March/April 2012), pp. 13-19.

“Think Again: Intelligence,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 191 (January/February 2012), pp. 51-55.

“Fighting the Last (Cold) War” (book review), *The American Conservative*, vol. 11, no. 1 (January 2012), pp. 47-49.

Review of Emily Goldman, *Power in Uncertain Times*, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 126, no. 4 (Winter 2011-12), pp. 688-689.

“Alienation and Rebellion in the Arab World,” *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Fall 2011), 8-19.

“Jihadi Terrorism: A Global Assessment of the Threat,” in Rik Coolset, ed., *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge: European and American Experiences* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 7-17.

“American Perceptions of Terrorism in the Post-9/11 Decade,” *CTC Sentinel*, vol. 4, no. 9 (September 2011), pp. 1-3.

“The CIA's Man in the Middle East” (book review), *Washington Post*, July 17, 2011, p. B7.

Review of Claire Metelits, *Inside Insurgency*, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 126, no. 1 (Spring 2011), pp. 168-169.

Contribution to symposium “U.S. Policies Toward Israel and Iran: What are the Linkages?” *Middle East Policy*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Fall 2010), pp. 1-22.

“Unintelligent Design,” *National Interest*, no. 109 (September/October 2010), pp. 43-50.

“Responses to The Ten Questions,” *Journal of the National Security Forum*, vol. 36, no. 5 (2010), pp. 5157-5170.

“Don't You Know There's a War On? Assessing the Military's Role in Counterterrorism,” (with Christopher A. Preble), in Benjamin H. Friedman, Jim Harper, and Christopher A. Preble (eds.), *Terrorizing Ourselves: Why U.S. Counterterrorism Policy is Failing and How to Fix It* (Washington: Cato Institute, 2010), pp. 61-81.

- "The Great Debate: Is Afghanistan the Right War?" (with John Nagl) *National Interest*, no. 106 (March/April 2010).
- "Democracy and Counterterrorism: Multiple Issues, Varied Effects," in Steven W. Hook, ed., *Democratic Peace in Theory and Practice* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2010), pp. 243-261.
- "Foreword" to Michael Heazle, *Uncertainty in Policy Making: Values and Evidence in Complex Decisions* (London: Earthscan, 2010).
- "The Perils of Politicization," in Loch K. Johnson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 472-484.
- "The Diffusion of Terrorism," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 1 (Winter 2010), pp. 1-14.
- "Pakistani Patronage," (op ed) *New York Times*, October 4, 2009, p. 10.
- Review of *Population Resettlement in International Conflicts*, edited by Arie M. Kacowicz and Pawel Lutomski, *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 7, no. 3 (September 2009), pp. 714-715.
- "Who's Afraid of a Terrorist Haven?" (op ed), *Washington Post*, September 16, 2009, p. A23.
- "Informed Decisions: Process before Policy," in James M. Ludes, ed., *Iraq Uncensored: Perspectives* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2009), pp. 3-6.
- "Parthian Shot," *National Interest*, no. 101 (May/June 2009) pp. 89-96.
- "How to Write Good Intelligence," in "Take This Advice Today: 25 Amazing Alums, 25 Amazing Ideas," *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, January 2009.
- "The Tao of the Arab Center," *National Interest*, no. 98 (November/December 2008), pp. 7-16.
- "Foreword" to Thomas Graham, Jr. and Keith A. Hansen, *Preventing Catastrophe: The Use and Misuse of Intelligence in Efforts to Halt the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, forthcoming).
- "Intelligent Design? The Unending Saga of Intelligence Reform," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 87, no. 2 (March/April 2008), pp. 138-144.
- "No Torture. No Exceptions," *Washington Monthly*, Jan/Feb/Mar 2008, p. 41.
- "Predictive Intelligence: Policy Support or Spectator Sport?" *SAIS Review*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Winter-Spring 2008), pp. 25-35.
- "Counterterrorism," in Paul D. Williams, ed., *Security Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2008)
- "Jihadi Terrorism: A Global Assessment of the Threat in the Post al-Qaeda Era," in Rik Coolsaet, ed., *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe* (London: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 7-12.
- "Counterterrorism," in William A. Darity, Jr., ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd edition (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 154-156.
- "The Right Stuff," *The National Interest*, no. 91 (September/October 2007), pp. 53-59.
- "What to Ask Before the Next War," (op ed), *Washington Post*, February 4, 2007, p. B7.
- Book review of Brian Michael Jenkins, *Unconquerable Nation: Knowing Our Enemies, Strengthening Ourselves*, in *Journal of Strategic Studies* (February 2007)
- "The Politicization of Analysis," in Richard L. Rees, ed., *A Handbook of the Psychology of Intelligence Analysis* (Washington: Centra Corporation, 2008), pp. 236-240.

- "The Greater Middle East: Problems of Priorities and Agendas," in Donald Daniel and Sharon Wiharta, eds., *Prospects for Peace Operations: Institutional and National Dimensions* (Georgetown University Press, 2008)
- "Adapting Intelligence to Changing Issues," in Loch Johnson, ed., *Handbook of Intelligence Studies* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 148-162.
- "The Democracy Deficit: The Need for Liberal Democratization," in James J.F. Forest, ed., *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 42-55.
- "Good Literature and Bad History: The 9/11 Commission's Tale of Strategic Intelligence," *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 21, no. 6 (December 2006), pp. 1022-1044.
- "Governance and National Unity" in Ellen Laipson and Maureen Steinbruner, eds., *Iraq and America: Choices and Consequences* (Washington: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2006), pp. 7-17.
- "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 2 (March-April 2006), pp. 15-27.
- "Crash Course: Bin Laden By the Book," *Washington Post*, February 26, 2006, p. B5.
- "Great Expectations: Intelligence as Savior," *Harvard International Review*, vol. 27, no. 4 (Winter 2006), pp. 16-21.
- "Superpower Foreign Policies: A Source for Global Resentment," in James J. F. Forest, ed., *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005), vol. III, pp. 31-44.
- "Perceptions of Terrorism: Continuity and Change," in *Law vs. War: Competing Approaches to Fighting Terrorism* (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, July 2005), pp. 3-10.
- "A Scapegoat Is Not a Solution" (op ed), *New York Times*, June 4, 2004, p. A29.
- "Counterterrorism after Al Qaeda," *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Summer 2004), pp. 101-113.
- "Intelligence," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Georgetown University Press, 2004).
- "Metaphors and Mantras: A Comment on Shultz and Vogt's Discussion of Terrorism, Intelligence, and War," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 15 (Summer 2003), pp. 139-151.
- "Fundamental Dilemmas" (book review of Alan Dershowitz, *Why Terrorism Works*), *The New Leader*, July/August 2002, pp. 25-26.
- "Dealing with Transnational Threats," in *The Directorate of Intelligence: Fifty Years of Informing Policy, 1952-2002* (Center for the Study of Intelligence, 2002), pp. 237-241.
- "The Nature of Modern International Terrorism and Our Response," in David L. Boren and Edward J. Perkins, eds., *Democracy, Morality, and the Search for Peace in America's Foreign Policy* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).
- "Fighting International Terrorism: Beyond September 11th," *Defense Intelligence Journal*, vol. 11 (Winter 2002), pp. 17-26.
- "Terrorism Goes Global," *Brookings Review*, Fall 2001, pp. 34-37.
- "Is the Terrorist Threat Misunderstood?" *Security Management*, May 2001, pp. 134-136.

“Ending Limited War: The Psychological Dynamics of the Termination Process,” in Betty Glad, ed., *Psychological Dimensions of War* (Sage, 1990), pp. 252-263.
 “Mosca Revisited,” *Review of Politics*, 38 (January 1976), 109-115.

Publications online:

Daily blog at nationalinterest.org (since August 2010)
 Occasional contributor to *National Journal* security experts' blog
 “Shedding Light on Targeted Killing Program,” (with Mary McCarthy), *Washington Times*, 15 March 2013
 “Good While It Lasted: Petraeus at the CIA,” foreignpolicy.com, 13 November 2012
 “What's Good for Exxon is Not So Good for America,” (book review), *Washington Monthly*, May 2012
 “Author's Response,” H-Diplo Roundtable Review of Intelligence and U.S. Foreign Policy, vol. III, no. 15 (2012), pp. 36-43.
 “Q&A on Iran's Nuclear Program, Sanctions, and Tensions with the U.S.,” muftah.org, January 2012
 “What Impact Did 9/11 Have on America?” *Guardian Cif America*, September 2011
 “Bringing Closure to a Disruptive Decade,” *ISN Insights*, June 2011
 “Where Luck Comes In,” nytimes.com/roomfordebate, May 2011
 “Don't Blame the Spies: An Interview with Paul Pillar,” *The Politic*, April 2011
 “What Is the U.S. Plan for Libya?” nytimes.com/roomfordebate, March 2011
 “Don't Blame the Spies,” foreignpolicy.com, March 2011
 “Yes, America is Exporting Terrorism,” foreignpolicy.com, August 2010
 “The Semantics of Terrorism,” cato-unbound.org, February 17, 2010.
 “The Price of Hindsight,” politico.com, February 5, 2010.
 “Getting Ready for Terror: Reduce the Shock Value,” thedailybeast.com, February 4, 2010.
 “The Al-Qaeda Fallacy,” nationalinterest.org, December 14, 2009
 “Afghanistan is Not Making Americans Safer,” foreignpolicy.com, November 19, 2009
 “Grading Obama,” (contributor), foreignpolicy.com, November 2, 2009
 “Obama's Report Card” (contributor), foreignpolicy.com, April 2009
 “The Bully Wins,” nationalinterest.org, June 15, 2009
 “How to Discourage the Speaking of Truth to Power,” foreignpolicy.com, March 12, 2009
 “Questions for the New Administration Regarding the Use and Misuse of Intelligence,” niemanwatchdog.org, January 6, 2009.
 “Even Hyped Threats Can Be Real” and “Counterterrorism Gives, Iraq Takes Away,” *Foreign Affairs* online roundtable, September 2006
 “Outlook: On Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda,” (with John Brennan), washingtonpost.com, February 27, 2006.
 “Pillar to Press: Don't Get Fooled Again,” niemanwatchdog.org, February 27, 2006.
 “The Instruments of Counterterrorism,” *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda* (State Department electronic journal), vol. 6 (November 2001).

Speaking and lecturing experience includes:

- Guest lecturer at numerous universities, including University of California (Berkeley and San Diego), Columbia University, Dartmouth College, University of Delaware, Princeton University, Georgetown University, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Texas A&M University, George Washington University, University of Virginia, College of William and Mary, Washington and Lee University, Virginia Military Institute, Michigan State University, and U.S. Military Academy
- Guest lecturer at military institutions, including National War College, Army War College, Naval War College, and Joint Military Intelligence Training Center
- Guest lecturer at training programs in civilian government agencies, including Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State, Department of the Interior, National Security Agency, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and Central Intelligence Agency
- Speeches to public and closed forums on international affairs, including at the Council on Foreign Relations, Pacific Council on International Policy, U.S. Institute of Peace, Brookings Institution, Heritage Foundation, RAND Corporation, and Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
- Public speeches to world affairs councils in San Antonio, Charlotte, Richmond, Coachella Valley, CA, Vero Beach, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Naples FL
- Testimony to Congressional committees, including public testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House and Senate intelligence committees, House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Intelligence, Information Sharing, and Terrorist Threat Assessment of the House Homeland Security Committee, and the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform
- Testimony to Congressional caucuses, including public testimony to the Senate Democratic Policy Committee and the Progressive Caucus
- Presentations to a variety of academic and other conferences

Major areas of expertise:

- Terrorism
- Intelligence
- Middle East
- South Asia
- Force and diplomacy
- National security decision-making