THOMAS H. JOHNSON

Research Professor Department of National Security Affairs (NS) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943 831-656-3190 (NPS Office telephone) 831-656-2949 (NPS fax) <u>https://www.nps.edu/web/ccs/</u> (Website) <u>thjohnso@nps.edu</u> (E-mail) <u>@ThJohnsonCA</u> (Twitter)

SUMMARY OF EXPERIENCE

For over two decades, Professor Thomas H. Johnson has conducted research and written on Afghanistan and South Asia. His publications have appeared in the American Political Science Review, International Security, Journal of Politics, Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs, Central Asian Survey, Military Review, China and Eurasian Forum Ouarterly, Middle East Journal, Small Wars and Insurgencies, Strategic Insights, Public Opinion, The Brown Journal of World Affairs, Strategic Review, Politikon: South African Journal of Political Science, The Historian, Journal of Modern African Studies, Desperta Ferro: Contemporánea as well as numerous scholarly edited volumes and texts. His commentaries have appeared in numerous media outlets to recently include the Washington Post, Atlantic Monthly, Wall Street Journal, Chicago Tribune, Baltimore Sun, Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, Correio Braziliense (Brazil), Newsday, Newsweek and on PBS NewsHour, CNN's Christianne Amanpour Show, CBS, BBC, CNBC, KCBS, KOED, National Public Radio's All Things Considered and the Morning Edition and Voice of America. His edited volume Culture, Conflict and Counterinsurgency was published by Stanford University Press in 2014 and his most recent book, Afghan Taliban Narratives: The Use and Power of Stories in the Afghanistan Conflict was co-published by Oxford University Press and Hurst Publishers (London) in 2018. Johnson has taught at the University of Southern California and the Foreign Service Institute, and frequently lectures at Service Academies. Before joining the faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School, he served on the research faculty of George Mason University. In 2010, he served as Senior Political Advisor and COIN Advisor for the Commander of Canadian Force in Afghanistan.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Naval Postgraduate School, Program for Culture and Conflict Studies Director, January 2007 – Present

Naval Postgraduate School, Department of National Security Affairs

Research Professor, December 2003 – Present

Professor Johnson was appointed to the faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School's National Security Affairs Department in December 2003. He also directs the NPS Program for Culture and Conflict Studies that is sponsored by a variety of funding sources accounting for more than 1.2 million dollars of research projects annually for many years. At NPS, Johnson is teaching courses on Afghanistan, Central Asian and Eurasia crises, politics, terrorism and security. He regularly conducts field research in Afghanistan and South Asia and Central Asia. In the summer of 2010 Professor Johnson served as the Counterinsurgency Advisor to the Commander of Task Force Kandahar (Gen Jon Vance).

The Program for Culture & Conflict Studies (CCS) conducts research in support of United States initiatives in Afghanistan. This research provides comprehensive assessments of provincial and district tribal and clan networks in Afghanistan, anthropological assessments of Afghan villages, and assessments of the operational culture of Afghan districts and villages. Under the direction of Professor Johnson and coordination with the Department of National Security Affairs, CCS provides information and assessments to military personnel, academics, and the general public since 2007. Faculty members regularly hold conferences, workshops and briefs to deploying troops, as part of the Regional Security Education Program (RSEP) and Leadership Development & Education for Sustained Peace (LDESP).

Between 2002-2010, Professor Johnson served as a member of the US delegation to the NATO ATP 45 and cochairman of the sub panel of NBC Communication and Information System Interoperability and Integration and other technical panels dealing with Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Professor Johnson also serves as a Senior Research Associate for NPS's Center for Contemporary Conflict where he has conducted research on Afghanistan, *Jihadist*, and Terrorism. In 2010 he served as the Counterinsurgency Advisor for Task Force Kandahar and the Commander of Canadian Forces in Afghanistan.

Alion Science and Technology (Formerly the IIT (Illinois Institute of Technology) Research Institute, IITRI), Modeling and Simulation Technology Research Institute (MaSTRI)

Vice President, September 2002 – December 2003

Director, July 2001 – December 2003

Johnson was responsible for the technical direction and management of the Modeling and Simulation Technology Research Institute (MaSTRI). MaSTRI was established in 2001 to be a center of excellence in modeling and simulation. MaSTRI represents a collaborative effort between the *Illinois Institute of Technology Research Institute* (IITRI) and the *University of Virginia* (UVa).

He led a MaSTRI effort in the design of math, science, and social science modeling and simulation curriculum for K-12 public education for a Texas public school district.

Johnson also served as a Principal Senior Political and Military Analyst for IITRI. In this role, he supported OSD and others for *Operation Enduring Freedom* where he played a key role in the development of the initial PSYOPS campaign in Afghanistan. He briefed widely to Senior Government Decision makers in the months following September 11. 2001.

Johnson also led a major CBRN data modeling effort for the Joint Effects Model (JEM) and Joint Effects Federation (JOEF) – DoD's authoritative hazards prediction model and CBRN operational effects federation. In this role he served as the Chair of the DATSD (CBD) CBRN Data Working Group that formulated certification strategies for authoritative CBRN data and resources.

George Mason University, The Institute of Public Policy

Senior Research Associate, 1995-2001

Conducted research and instruction in support of GMU's Program of Peacekeeping Policy. Conducted research on the structure of Peace Operations and associated tasks' relevance to post-World War II international crises. This work has complemented the development of GMU/TIPP's Conceptual Model of Peace Operations.

Also conducted research for NATO on Peace Operation tasks and force structure. Participated in the annual, internationally acclaimed Cornwallis Group annual Peacekeeping Conferences at The Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre. Johnson participated at Bosnia-Herzegovina After Action Review (BHAAR I) conducted at the US Army Peacekeeping Institute, U.S. Army War College.

Center for Foreign Policy and National Security Research

Director, 1994 - 1995

Responsible for all management and analytical direction of the Center for Foreign Policy and National Security Research. This Center served as an objective, nonpartisan research organization-serving clients in the national security and foreign policy communities. Research projects included the examinations of potential conflict resolution on the Korean Peninsula and South Asia, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the economic implications of defense spending and economic conversion.

SPARTA, Inc.

Senior Principal Investigator and Director of National Security Studies and Systems, 1990 - 1994

Responsible for analysis and management with a research and development firm dealing with national security and foreign policy systems, technologies and issues; extensive support for U.S. Government negotiations, and analysis dealing with missile defense and the national security implications of the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. Specifically, Johnson: served as a key analyst and manager examining the missions, operations and requirements for new defense systems in the post-Cold War era; examined a variety of issues related to the demise of the Soviet Union and the implications for strategic policy and stability, and analyzed a variety of regional conflict contingencies.

He also directed a major research project on the Military Technical Revolution (MTR) and the economic costs associated with MTR participation, the MTR's technology and warfighting implications and the MTR's impact on proliferation for the Office of Net Assessments/Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Johnson served as a lead analyst in supporting the Defense Intelligence Agency/Missile and Space Intelligence Center (DIA/MISC) tactical ballistic missile threat definition project and Ballistic Missile Defense Organization's (BMDO) Capstone STAR and Theater Missile Defense (TMD) country specific threat analysis studies.

The Orkand Corporation

Director of the Policy Sciences and National Security Analysis Division, 1982 - 1990

Responsible for the, management and research of the firm's programs with the Foreign Policy and National Security Communities. Johnson either managed and/or served as Principal Investigator for over forty projects for clients concerned with defense policy, intelligence, international affairs and national security.

Selected analytical projects included: an analysis of the prospects for defense economic conversion conducted for DoD's Office of Economic Conversion; detailed analyses of NATO burden sharing issues; numerous "estimative" analyses and the development of quantitative tracking systems of nearly every global "trouble-spot" of the 1980s-- research and analysis was conducted in Europe, South Asia, Near East, Asia and Latin America; policy analysis concerning international technology transfer for DoD; a major study of narcotics production and trafficking in Latin America and its consequences for regional stability--this study also evaluated roles of the U.S. military in assisting Latin American countries' anti-narcotics activities; a variety of studies that produced long-range military estimates of the Middle East, Persian Gulf, South Asia -- in particular Afghanistan and Pakistan where he lead a major government research team on South Asian conflicts-- and Africa; supported the Stillwell Commission on Intelligence and Counterintelligence through the development of resource allocation models and threat and vulnerability studies.

He also led the development and deployment of a variety of automated analyst aids, models, and simulations for the defense and intelligence communities.

CACI, Inc.-Federal (Policy Sciences Division)

Senior Research Associate, 1979 - 1981

Responsible for analytical projects and systems analysis in the areas of national security, international relations and political economics.

Research sponsors included the Defense Advanced Projects Agency (DARPA), Department of State and a major international aerospace firm.

School of International Relations, University of Southern California

Lecturer, 1976 - 1978

Responsible for course development and instruction of various undergraduate international relations, political theory and methodology courses.

International Relations Research Institute and Institute for Transnational Studies, University of Southern California

Research Associate, 1974 - 1978

Responsible for international relations and political economic studies sponsored by the National Science Foundation, the RAND Corporation and DARPA. Research conducted with Professors Harold Guetzkow, James N. Rosenau, Charles E. McClelland, Patrick McGowan and W. Ladd Hollist.

08/2021

EDUCATION

(ABD), University of Southern California, International Relations (General Examination passed with Highest Distinction, 1977). Dissertation analysis published in the *American Political Science Review*.

M.A. (high honors), University of Southern California, International Relations, 1976

B.A. (cum laude), Bradley University, International Studies/Economics, 1974

TEACHING:

Afghanistan History, Politics, and Insurgency/Counterinsurgency

Central Asian and Eurasia Strategic Studies

Terrorism and Asymmetric Conflict

Eurasia and South and Central Asian International Relations

International Relations Theory and Methodology

International Political Economy

Modeling and Simulation

AWARDS:

Nonresident Senior Fellow, Afghanistan Institute of Strategic Studies, Herat, Afghanistan, 2017-

Editorial Board Member, Small Wars and Insurgency (Cambridge University), 2012-

Summer Study Graduate Fellowship, the University of California (Berkeley, California), 1976

Charles E. Merriam Award for Outstanding Public Policy Research, 1985, University of Illinois Nominated for the International Studies Association's Annual Distinguished Scholarship Award, 1985

Nominated by Lt. Gen. Sidney Weinstein, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, U.S. Army, as the Distinguished Young AFCEAN (Armed Forces Communication and Electronics Association) of the Year, 1986

Company of Good Cheers, The Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Centre, 1997. 2011 recipient of the Colonel John J. Madigan III, U.S. Army War College Staff and Faculty Published Writing competition

Secretary of Defense Civilian GWOT Medal, February 2012.

08/2021

PUBLICATIONS:

"<u>How America Lost Afghanistan</u>," with Larry P. Goodson, Newlinesmag.com, August 18, 2021. <u>https://newlinesmag.com/essays/how-america-lost-afghanistan/</u>

"<u>Political Legitimacy: Why we are failing in Afghanistan</u>," with Larry P. Goodson, *The Strategy Bridge*, July 2221, <u>https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2021/political-legitimacy-why-we-are-failing-in-afghanistan</u>. Republished.

<u>The Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan</u> with the late Professor Ludwig Adamic, (Rowman & Littlefield, May 2021). <u>https://rowman.com/ISBN/9781538149294/Historical-Dictionary-of-Afghanistan-Fifth-Edition</u>

"The 2019 Afghan Presidential Election: An Assessment of Problematic Processes and Results," *Afghanistan Journal*, spring issue, vol. 4 no. 1, April 2021, pp. 19-46. https://www.euppublishing.com/doi/abs/10.3366/afg.2021.0062

"The Afghan Taliban and the "Peace Negotiations," An Analysis of Narratives, Stories and Messages: Are the Taliban 'De-radicalising?," in Omar Ashour, (ed.), <u>Bullets to Ballots: Transformations from Armed to Unarmed</u> <u>Activism</u>, (Oxford University Press and Edinburgh University Press, May 2021). Book also published in Arabic by Arab Centre, Doha, Qatar.

"<u>Chaos, Confusion and Fraud: An Examination of Afghanistan's 2018 *Wolesi Jirga* Elections," Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs, 7(1) pp. 57–100, April 2020. <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/64601</u></u>

"Struggling to Overcome the Afghan Taliban's Master Narratives," with Mathew C. DuPee, in Andrea J. Dew, Marc A Genest, S.C.M. Paine (eds.) *From <u>Quills to Tweets: How America Communicates About War and</u> <u>Revolution</u>, (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019), pp.228-246.*

"<u>The myth of Afghan electoral democracy: the irregularities of the 2014 presidential election</u>," *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29:5-6, 2018 1006-1039. Published in Dari at (<u>https://aiss.af/assets/aiss_publication/The_Myth_of_Afghan_Electoral_Democracy_The_Irregularities_of_the_</u>2014_Presidential_Election(Farsi).pdf.)

"Political Legitimacy: Why we are failing in Afghanistan," with Larry P. Goodson, *The Strategy Bridge*, December 13, 2018, <u>https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2018/12/13/political-legitimacy-why-we-are-failing-in-afghanistan</u>

"The Illusion of Afghanistan's Electoral Representative Democracy: The Cases of Afghan Presidential and National Legislative Elections," Small Wars & Insurgencies, 29:1, 2018, 1-37. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1404771

<u>Taliban Narratives: The Use and Power of Stories in the Afghanistan Conflict</u>, 380 pages, (Oxford University Press and Hurst Publishing, January 2018. Published in Dari by the Afghanistan Institute of Strategic Studies (May, 2019), روایت های طالبان ؛ نقش اطلاع رسانی و فرآورده های تبلیغی در جنگ افغانستان . http://www.hurstpublishers.com/book/taliban-narratives/

"La Diplomacia Estadounidense Tras El 11 De Sepiembre," (US diplomacy after the September 11), <u>Desperta</u> <u>Ferro: Contemporánea</u>, ISSN 2340-8820, <u>Nº. 14, 2016</u> (Ejemplar dedicado a: Afganistán, 2001), pp. 6-13.

"Los Taliban Origenes, Idelogia y Politicas, (The Taliban: Origins, Ideology and Policies), <u>Desperta Ferro:</u> <u>Contemporánea</u>, ISSN 2340-8820, <u>Nº. 14, 2016</u> (Ejemplar dedicado a: Afganistán, 2001).

"<u>U.S. Policy and Strategy Toward Afghanistan after 2014</u>," with Larry Goodson, (US Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2014). <u>https://press.armywarcollege.edu/monographs/479/</u>

<u>Culture, Conflict and Counterinsurgency</u>, with Barry Zellen, (Stanford University Press, 2014). <u>https://www.sup.org/books/title/?id=22293</u>

"Introduction," pp. 1-16 in *Culture, Conflict and Counterinsurgency*, with Barry Zellen, (Stanford University Press, 2014).

"Religious Figures, Insurgency, and Jihad in Southern Afghanistan," pp. 120-147 in Culture, *Conflict and Counterinsurgency*, with Barry Zellen, (Stanford University Press, 2014).

"Conclusion," pp.241-255 in *Culture, Conflict and Counterinsurgency*, with Barry Zellen, (Stanford University Press, 2014).

"The Taliban Narrative: Understanding the Group's Messages, Actions and Clues to Their Endgame," with Kevin L. Steele, in Steven R Corman (ed.), *Narrating the Exit from Afghanistan*, (Tempe, Arizona: Center for Strategic Communication, 2013), pp.71-98.

"<u>Taliban Adaptations and Innovations</u>," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, January 2013, pp. 3-27. <u>https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09592318.2013.740228</u>

Taliban: The Unknown Enemy, by James Fergusson. (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2010. Pp. 416. \$27.95.) *The Historian*, Vol. 74, No. 4, Winter, 2012, pp.815-16. (Book Review).

"Stuck in the Big Muddy: A Review Article," Middle East Journal, Vol. 66, No.4 Autumn 2012. Pp. 723-733.

"<u>Analyzing the New Taliban Code of Conduct (*Layeha*): An Assessment of Changing Perspectives and Strategies of the Afghan Taliban," with Matthew DuPee, *Central Asian Survey* Vol. 31, No. 1, March 2012, 77– 91. <u>https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/45464654.pdf</u></u>

"<u>The Fog of Peace</u>," with M. Chris Mason, *Foreign Policy*, January 18, 2012, http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/01/18/the fog of peace

"<u>Déjà Vu: Afghanistan Prepares for Another Withdrawal</u>," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, October 2011, pp. 8-13. <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/46490</u>

"<u>Parallels with the Past: How the Soviets Lost in Afghanistan, How the Americans are Losing</u>," with Larry Goodson, *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 4, 2011, Fall, pp. 577-599. (Awarded the 2011 winner of the Colonel John J. Madigan III, U.S. Army War College Staff and Faculty Published Writing competition.) https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/41811

"Parallels with the Past: How the Soviets Lost in Afghanistan, How the Americans are Losing," with Larry Goodson, *Foreign Policy Research Institute E-Notes*, (Philadelphia: FPRI), April 2011.

"<u>Transition to nowhere: The limits of 'Afghanization'</u>," with Matthew DuPee, *Foreign Policy*, March 22, 2011, http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/03/22/transition to nowhere the limits of afghanization

"<u>Analyzing Taliban Taranas (Chants): An Effective Afghan Propaganda Artifact</u>," with Ahwad Waheed, Small Wars and Insurgencies, Vol. 22, No. 1, March 2011, pp. 3-31. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09592318.2011.546572

"Afghanistan is Not Ready for Democracy," with W. Chris Mason, in Noah Berlatsky (ed.), <u>Afghanistan:</u> <u>Opposing Views</u>, (London: Greenhaven Press, 2010), pp. 128-133.

"<u>Down the AfPak Rabbit Hole</u>," with W. Chris Mason, *Foreign Policy*, March 1, 2010, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/03/01/down the afpak rabbit hole.

<u>Who Speaks for Islam?: Muslim Grassroots Leaders and Popular Preachers in South Asia</u>, with Mumtaz Ahmad and Dietrich Reetz, NBR Special Report #22, (Seattle, Washington: The National Bureau of Asian Research, February 2010). <u>https://www.nbr.org/publication/who-speaks-for-islam-muslim-grassroots-leaders-and-popular-preachers-in-south-asia/</u>

"Religious Figures, Insurgency, and Jihad in Southern Afghanistan," in <u>Who Speaks for Islam?: Muslim</u> <u>Grassroots Leaders and Popular Preachers in South Asia</u>, NBR Special Report #22, (Seattle, Washington: The National Bureau of Asian Research, February 2010), pp. 41-65.

"All Counterinsurgency is Local," with W. Chris Mason in Helen E. Purkitt, (ed.) *World Politics 09/10*, (New York, McGraw-Hill, 2010).

"<u>Obama's Indecent Interval</u>," with W. Chris Mason, *Foreign Policy*, December 10, 2009, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/12/10/sorry obama afghanistans your vietnam.

"<u>Refighting the Last War: Afghanistan and the Vietnam Template</u>," with W. Chris Mason, *Military Review*, November-December 2009, pp. 2-14. <u>https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20091231_art001.pdf</u>

- "Afghanistan's Post-Taliban Transition: State Building after War," in Daniel Brumberg and Dina Shehata (eds.), <u>Conflict, Identity, and Reform in the Muslim World: Challenges for U. S. Engagement</u>, (Washington. DC: United States Institute for Peace, 2009), pp. 173-197.
- Commentary on Mia Bloom, *Dying to kill: the allure of suicide terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005)," *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol. 2, No. 2, August 2009, 349–352.

"Democracy in Afghanistan is Wishful Thinking," with W. Chris Mason, *Christian Science Monitor*, August 20, 2009, <u>http://www.csmonitor.com/2009/0820/p09s01-coop.html</u>.

"Saigon 2009: Afghanistan is today's Vietnam," with W. Chris Mason, *Foreign Policy*, August 20, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/08/20/saigon_2009.

"<u>Counterinsurgency In Afghanistan: Snatching Victory from the Jaws of Defeat</u>," in Christopher M. Schnaubelt (ed.), *Operationalizing a Comprehensive Approach in Semi-Permissive Environments: NDC Forum Paper*, (Rome: NATO Defense College Research Division, June 2009), pp. 186-205. <u>https://css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/publications/publication.html/102399</u>

"<u>Misunderstanding Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas</u>," with W. Chris Mason, *International Security*, Winter 2008/2009, Vol. 33, pp. 180-189. <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/50888</u>

"<u>Winning the War in Afghanistan: Echoes of Northern Ireland and the IRA?</u>," with Richard English, *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol XV, Issue I (Fall/Winter 2008), pp. 273-285. https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/38385

"<u>All Counterinsurgency is Local</u>," with Chris Mason, *The Atlantic Monthly*, October 2008. (Reprinted in Helen E. Purkitt (ed.), *World Politics 09/10*, (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2009), pp. 153-154.

"<u>Rethinking Afghanistan: echoes of Ulster and the IRA?</u>," with Richard English, *Policy Options*, June 2008. <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/43680</u>

"<u>No Sign until the Burst of Fire: Understanding the Pakistan - Afghanistan Frontier</u>," with W. Chris Mason, *International Security*, Spring 2008, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 41-77. <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/38801</u>

<u>Strategic Culture and Violent Non-State Actors</u>, with James Smith and Jerry Mark Long, INSS Occasional Paper No. 64, USAF Institute for National Security Studies, USAF Academy, Colorado, February 2008. <u>https://www.usafa.edu/app/uploads/OCP64_StrategicCulture.pdf</u>

"<u>On the Edge of the Big Muddy: The Taliban Resurgence in Afghanistan</u>," *China and Eurasian Forum Quarterly*, Volume 5, No. 2 (2007), pp. 93-129. <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/30470</u>

"The Taliban Insurgency and an Analysis of *Shabnamah* (Night Letters)," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, September 2007, pp. 317-344. <u>https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09592310701674176</u>

"Terrorism, Insurgency and Afghanistan," with W. Chris Mason, in James JF Forrest (ed.) *Counter Terrorism in the 21st Century, Volume III: Lessons Learned From the Fight Against Terrorism*, (New York, Praeger, 2007), pp. 453-478.

"<u>Afghanistan's Post-Taliban Transition: State Building after War</u>," in Jessica Piombo and Karen Guttieri (eds.) *Interim Governments* (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2007). <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/38800</u>

"Financing Afghan Terrorism: Thugs, Drugs, and Creative Movements of Money," in Harold A. Trinkunas and Jeanne Giraldo (eds.) <u>Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective</u>, (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 93-114. <u>https://www.sup.org/books/title/?id=10507</u>

"<u>Understanding the Taliban and Insurgency in Afghanistan</u>," with W. Chris Mason, *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 2007, pp. 71-89. <u>https://www.fpri.org/article/2007/01/understanding-taliban-insurgency-afghanistan/</u>

"<u>Afghanistan's Post-Taliban Transition: The State of State-Building after War</u>," *Central Asian Survey*, (March–June 2006) 25(1–2), pp 1–26. <u>https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02634930600902991</u>

"<u>An Introduction to a Special Issue of Strategic Insights: Analyses of the Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication</u> <u>et le Combat (GSPC)</u>" Strategic Insights, Volume V, Issue 8, (November 2006). <u>https://ethz.ch/content/specialinterest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/en/services/digital-library/publication.html/32136</u>

"<u>The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan: An Assessment of Democratic Development</u>" A Report Prepared for The Bertelsmann Foundation and the International Advisory Council, September 2006 (The Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh, Germany). <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/51484</u>

"Democratic Nation Building in the Arc of Crisis: The Case of the Presidential Election in Afghanistan," in James Russell, ed., <u>Critical Issues Facing the Middle East Security: Security, Politics, and Economics</u> (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp 125-146.

"Central Asian Terrorism: A Problem in Search of Definition and Policy," with Colin Lober in *Global Terrorism: Genesis, Implications, Remedial and Countermeasures,* Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan (ed.), pp.186-219, (Aziz-ul-Haque, Institute or Regional Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan, 2006).

"The Prospects for Post-Conflict Afghanistan: A Call of the Sirens to the Country's Troubled Past," *Strategic Insights,* Volume 5, Number 2, Monterey, CA: Center for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Post Graduate School, February 2006. (Reprinted in: *Homeland Security* Weekly, Vol 5, Issue 5, February 2006; National Defense University; Human Security Gateway). <u>https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=460115</u>

"<u>A Hard Day's Night?: The United States and the Global War on Terror</u>," with James A. Russell, *Comparative Strategy*, 24, 2, 2005, 127-151. (Reprinted in *Countering Modern Terrorism: History, Current Issues and Future Threats*, pp. 239-271 (Gesamtherstellung, Germany: W. Bertelsmann Verlag, GmbH, 2005 and Brenda J. Lutz and James M. Lutz, Global Terrorism, (London: SAGE Publications, 2008). https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/39051

"<u>Ismail Khan, Herat, and Iranian Influence</u>," *Strategic Insights,* Volume 3, Number 7 Monterey, CA: Center for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Post Graduate School, July 2004. https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/si/si_3_7/si_3_7_jot01.pdf

"<u>The Loya Jirga, Ethnic Rivalries and Future Afghan Stability</u>," *Strategic Insights,* Volume 1, Number 6 Monterey, CA: Center for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Post Graduate School, August 2002. <u>https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/25456</u>

"The Task Structure of International Peace Operations, 1964-1995," in Stuart Nagel (ed.) *Handbook on Multi-National Policy Toward World Peace*, Lexington Books, 2002.

"Scholastic Modeling and Simulation" *Modeling and Simulation Journal On-Line*, Volume 3, Number 2, Spring, 2002.

"Requirements Analysis, Mission Space Models, and the CMMS: What's This All About?" *Modeling and Simulation Journal On-Line*, Volume 1, Number 1, Fall, 1999.

"Confusion in the Midst of a 'New' Foreign Policy Force: Analyzing the Task Structure of Peace Operations," in Ted Woodcock and D.F. Davis (eds.) *Analysis for and of the Resolution of Conflict: Proceeding of the Cornwallis II Conference*, Cornwallis Park, Nova Scotia, Canada: The Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre, pp. 293-331, 1998.

Analysis of Peace Operations Tasks: Relevance and Factor Analysis, Fairfax, Va.: The Program on Peacekeeping Policy, George Mason University, September 1996, 150 pp.

"<u>Old Concepts for the Assessment of a New World</u>," with D. Davis, *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Volume III, Issue 2, Summer/Fall, 1996. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24590161?seq=1#metadata info tab contents

The Costs of Participation and Nonparticipation in the Military Technical Revolution, with David C. Isby, Bruce Russett and David Kinsella, McLean, VA: SPARTA and Washington, DC: Office of Net Assessments, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1993, 185 pp.

"Post-Soviet Nuclear Forces and the Risk of Accidental or Unauthorized Limited Nuclear Strikes," with David C. Isby, Fall, 1993, *Strategic Review*, 21 (4): 8-21.

Review and Analysis of the Foreign Availability of AT-Compatible Microcomputers: An Assessment of the Department of Commerce's Findings, Silver Spring, MD: The Orkand Corporation and Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, Trade Security Policy, 1990, 130 pp.

Afghanistan: The Western Hinterland Provinces, with Philip E. Jones, John Mariz, Margo Grimm, and John Hill. Silver Spring, MD: The Orkand Corporation, 1989, 173 pp.

Afghanistan: The Southern Provinces, with Philip E. Jones, Margo Grimm, John Hill, Joseph Newman, and John Mariz. Silver Spring, MD: The Orkand Corporation, 1989, 263 pp.

Afghanistan: The Eastern Provinces, with Philip E. Jones, John Hill, Margo Grim, and Joseph Newman. Silver Spring, MD: The Orkand Corporation, 1988, 224 pp.

Afghanistan: The Northern Provinces, with Philip E. Jones, John Hill, Margo Grim, and Joseph Newman. Silver Spring, MD: The Orkand Corporation, 1988, 460 pp.

The Threat of Narco-Terrorism in Latin America and the Implications for the United States, with Michael Dixon. Silver Spring, MD: The Orkand Corporation, 1988, 133 pp.

"<u>Sixty Coups in Thirty Years -- Further Evidence Regarding African Military Coups D'Etat</u>," with Patrick J. McGowan, 1986. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 24 (3): 539-546. http://www.jstor.org/view/0022278x/ap010094/01a00100/0

"Explaining African Coups D'Etat: A Controversial Debate," with Patrick J. McGowan, March 1986, American Political Science Review, 80: 237-249. <u>http://www.jstor.org/view/00030554/di961020/96p0013y/0</u>

"Forecasting African Coups D'État," with Patrick J. McGowan, Summer, 1985. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Science*, 12 (2): 3-22. <u>https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02589348508704852</u>

"<u>African Military Coups D'Etat and Underdevelopment: A Quantitative Historical Analysis</u>," with Patrick J. McGowan, December, 1984. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 22 (4): 633-667. http://www.jstor.org/view/0022278x/ap010087/01a00060/0

"Explaining African Military Coups D'Etat, 1960-1982," with Robert O. Slater and Patrick J. McGowan, September, 1984, *American Political Science Review*, 78: 622-640. http://www.jstor.org/view/00030554/di961014/96p0003r/0

"Corporate Political Risk Analysis: A Critique," in Stephen J. Andriole (ed.) Corporate Crisis Management. Princeton, NJ: Petrocelli, 1985, 30 pp.

Analysis of the Causes of Military Coups D'Etat in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960-1982, with Patrick J. McGowan. Silver Spring, MD: The Orkand Corporation, 1983, 264 pp.

"Political-Economics of Super-Power Competition: An Analysis of Three Empirically Based Computer Simulations," with W. L. Hollist in C. Kegley, Jr. and P. J. McGowan (eds.) *Foreign Policy: USA/USSR*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1982, 30 pp.

Analytical Methods for Foreign Service Officers. Arlington, VA: CACI, Inc.-Federal and the Foreign Service Institute, 1981, 233 pp.

Sectoral Characteristics of Saudi Arabia: Their Business Importance to the Aerospace Industry. Arlington, VA: CACI, Inc.-Federal, 1980, 315 pp.

Analysis of Superpower Crisis Management Behavior: Technical Report, with Richard P. Clayberg. Arlington, VA: CACI, Inc.-Federal, 1980, 398 pp.

Analysis of the U.S. and Soviet Crisis Management Experience: Technical Report, with Robert B. Mahoney, Jr., et. al. Arlington, VA: CACI, Inc.-Federal, 1979, 366 pp.

"<u>Political Consequences of International Economic Relations: Alternative Explanations of United States/Latin</u> <u>American Noncooperation</u>," with Ladd Hollist, November 1979, *Journal of Politics*, (41): 1125-1155. <u>http://www.jstor.org/view/00223816/di976592/97p0550f/0</u> "Bibliography of Recent Foreign Policy Studies, 1974-77," pp. 293-306 in C. W. Kegley and P. J. McGowan (eds.) *Challenges to America: United States Foreign Policy in the 1980's*. Sage International Yearbook of Foreign Policy Studies, Vol. 4, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979.

"The AFRICA Project and the Comparative Study of African Foreign Policy," with Patrick J. McGowan, pp. 190-241 in M. W. Delancey (ed.) *Aspects of International Relations in Africa*. Bloomington, Indiana: African Studies Program, Indiana University, 1979.

"The International Politics of Food: Confusion in the Midst of a 'New Force," with James N. Rosenau, Los Angeles, Institute for Transnational Studies, 1976, 22 pp. (Paper commissioned by the Center for Futures Research, University of Southern California; research project's findings reported in Selwyn Enzer, Richard Drobnick, and Steven Alter, *Neither Feast nor Famine*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1978).

SELECTED RESEARCH REPORTS, PROFESSIONAL PAPERS, AND PRESENTATIONS (PARTIAL LIST AND NOT UP TO DATE):

"The Taliban Insurgency and its Tribal Dynamics: An Analysis of *Shabnamah* (Night Letters)" prepared for delivery at a "Conference on Tribal Politics and Militancy in the Tri-Border Region: The Baluch and Pashtun Tribes of Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan," Monterey, California, September 2006.

"The Bonn Process, Elections, and the Afghan Government: A Magical Mystery Tour," Leadership Development and Education for Security and Peace Program (LDESP) Presentation for 3-141 AR Monterey, CA., 7-10 February 2005.

"A Hard Day's Night?: The United States and the Global War on Terror," prepared for delivery at the Conference on Countering Modern Terrorism – History, Current Issues and Future Threats, Berlin Germany, 16-17 December 2004.

"Afghanistan: Drugs, Thugs, and Shaky Neighbors – Political Interests of Regional Countries and of the United States," Leadership Development and Education for Security and Peace Program (LDESP) Presentation for 41 Infantry Brigade (Sep), Monterey, CA., 16-18 November 2004.

"Winning the Peace in Afghanistan: More Difficult then Winning the War," prepared for delivery at the USS Harry Truman (CVN 7) Strike Group Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), 29 October-9 November 2004.

"Jihadists: The World Through their Eyes," prepared for delivery at the USS Harry Truman (CVN 7) Strike Group Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), 29 October-9 November 2004.

"WMD: The Daunting Security Dilemna," prepared for delivery at the USS Harry Truman (CVN 7) Strike Group Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), 29 October-9 November 2004.

"Islam and the Middle East: A Primer," prepared for delivery at the USS Harry Truman (CVN 7) Strike Group Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), 29 October-9 November 2004.

"The Importance of Information of CBRN Information Stewardship: After All, It Starts and Ends with Data, prepared for delivery at The Conference on Science and Technology for Chem-Bio Information Systems, Williamsburg, VA, 19-21 October 2004.

"NBC Communication and Information Systems Interoperability," prepared for delivery at the NATO ATP-45 Sub-Committee 6 Meeting, Antwerp, Belgium, 6-8 January 2004.

"CBRN Data Management," prepared for delivery at The First Joint Conference on Battle Management for Nuclear, Chemical, Biological and Radiological Defense, Williamsburg, VA, 4-8 November 2002.

<u>Biological Warfare Data for Joint Warfare Systems</u> (JWARS) with Edward F. Brinko, San Diego, CA and Arlington, VA, SPAWAR/JOEF Project Office and Joint Warfare System Project Office, January 2003.

"Somalia and the Horn of Africa: Next Stop in the War on Terrorism," prepared for delivery at the Bonhomme Richard Amphibious Ready Group and the Thirteenth MEU (SOC) Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), December 2001-January 2002.

"Winning the Peace in Afghanistan: More Difficult then Winning the War," prepared for delivery at the Bonhomme Richard Amphibious Ready Group and the Thirteenth MEU (SOC) Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), December 2001-January 2002 and a lecture delivered to the National Security Affairs Department of the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, December 12, 2001.

"Afghanistan: Not Your *Typical* Internal Conflict Intervention," prepared for delivery to a Conference on Intervention in Internal Conflict, a National Intelligence Council Project Jointly managed by The Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland and The Center for International Development and Conflict Management University of Maryland, College Park, MD, December 7, 2001.

"Afghanistan, the Taliban, bin Laden, and the U.S. Response," Alexandria, VA, IITRI, September 2001 (Modified for delivery at the USS Stennis Battle Group Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), November 10-16, 2001).

"Somalia: A Land of Never Ending Turmoil," prepared for delivery at the USS Stennis Battle Group Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), November 10-16, 2001.

"Afghanistan: PSYOPS and CONOPS Considerations," Alexandria, Va, IITRI, October 2001.

"Afghanistan "Power Brokers: An Assessment," Alexandria, Va, IITRI, October 2001.

"A Methodology for the Development of a PRISM Joint Model," Charlottesville, VA, National Ground Intelligence Center, Charlottesville, Va., August 2001.

"The Development of the Joint Military Capability Spectrum Model," paper prepared for presentation to the 69th MORS Symposium (MORSS), US Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD, June 2001.

<u>PRISM Naval Data Population: Final Report</u>, Contract Number DSCA01-00-D-004, Delivery Order 001, Charlottesville, VA, National Ground Intelligence Center, September 2000.

"Conceptual Models of the Mission Space," briefing prepared for presentation at the Simulation Interoperability Standards Organization 1998 Fall Interoperability Workshop, Orlando, Florida, September 1998.

"<u>Research Schema and Logic for Common Semantics and Syntax (CSS) Term Data Capture</u>," Alexandria, VA, The Defense Modeling and Simulation Office, August 1998.

"Mission Space Modeling and Simulation Development and Reuse," paper prepared for presentation to the 66th MORS Symposium (MORSS), Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, June 23-25, 1998.

"The Task Structure of International Peace Operations," paper prepared for presentation to the 39th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 17-21, 1998, 50pp.

"Mission Space Model Development, Reuse and the Conceptual Models of the Mission Space Toolset," paper prepared for presentation at the Simulation Interoperability Standards Organization 1998 Spring Interoperability Workshop, Orlando, Florida, March 9-13, 1998, 10pp.

"Mission Space Model Construction Using Conceptual Models of the Mission Space and Data Engineering Tools," briefing prepared for the 19th Annual Interservice/Industry Training Systems and Education Conference, Orlando, Florida, December 1-4, 1997.

"NATO Peace Support Operations Tasks and Their Relevance To Historical Peace Operation Missions: A Research Note," The Program on Peacekeeping Policy, George Mason University, November 1997, 20 pp.

"Confusion in the Midst of a "New" Foreign Policy Force: Analyzing the Task Structure of Peace Operations," paper prepared for presentation at Cornwallis II Conference: Analysis for and of the Resolution of Conflict, The Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre, Cornwallis Park, Nova Scotia, Canada, April 8-10, 1997, 48 pp.

"Conceptual Models of the Mission Space (CMMS) Common Syntax and Semantics (CSS) and the CMMS Verb Dictionary," Washington, DC, Department of Defense, Defense Modeling and Simulation Office, January 1997, 188 pp.

08/2021

"Common Semantics and Syntax Collection: Supporting CMMS," Washington, DC, Department of Defense, Defense Modeling and Simulation Office, (CMMS Technical Working Group Meetings, April 1996; July 1996, August 1996), 79 pp.

"An Application of Bayesian Networks to Peace Operations Tasks," Fairfax, Va.: The Program on Peacekeeping Policy, George Mason University, May 1996, 20 pp.

"Common Semantics/Syntax for Domain Analysis in the Context of the CMMS and Simulations," Washington, DC, Department of Defense, Defense Modeling and Simulation Office, January 1996, 29 pp.

"CMMS Tools and Methodologies Evaluation," Washington, DC, Department of Defense, Defense Modeling and Simulation Office, January 1996, 111 pp.

"Military Spending, Economic Performance, and Defense Conversion: Challenges Awaiting the Clinton Administration," paper prepared for the Office of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Transition, Washington, D.C., November 1992, 18 pp.

"Post-Soviet Afghanistan and the Problem of Narcotic Production and Transport," paper presented at State Department/IND Sponsored Conference on Narcotics in Southwest Asia, Washington, D.C., June 1992, 25 pp.

"Global Points of Explosion: Regional Conflicts in the 1990's," paper presented at an SDIO sponsored seminar on Conflict Potential in the "New World Order," Washington, D.C., April 1991, 31 pp.

"A Critique of Dynamic Modeling Techniques and their Relevance to Intelligence Production," paper presented at a U.S. Government sponsored conference on Modeling and the Intelligence Community, Washington, D.C., March 1988, 20 pp.

"The Future of South Africa and its Implications on the Southern African Regional Subsystem," with Herbert Adam and Steve Davis. Silver Spring, MD: The Orkand Corporation, 1987, 35 pp.

"Forecasting African Coups D'Etat," with Pat McGowan, paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 29 - September 1, 1985, 30 pp.

"Coups and Counts: A Simulation of African Military Coups D'Etat," paper presented to the 26th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., February 20-23, 1985, 37 pp. (Paper nominated for the *International Studies Association's Distinguished Scholarship Award*.)

"An Examination of Competing Models of Military Intervention in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960-1982," paper presented to the 24th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Mexico City, Mexico, April, 1983, 51 pp.

"The Crisis Relevance of U.S. and Soviet Policy Goals," paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-21, 1980, 55 pp.

"Political-Economics of Super-Power Competition: An Analysis of Three Empirically Based Computer Simulations," with W. Ladd Hollist, paper presented to the Annual Convention of the North American Peace Science Association, Chicago, IL, November 13-15, 1978, 51 pp.

"Initial Assumptions and the Validity of Arms Race Models," with W. Ladd Hollist and Robert Boydston, paper presented to the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Washington D.C., February 22-25, 1978, 25 pp.

"Modeling United States/Latin America Cooperation and Conflict: Dependencia Arguments," with W. Ladd Hollist, paper presented to the Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 1977, 37 pp.

"Testing Dependency Explanations of International Cleavages: United States/Latin American Relations," with W. Ladd Hollist, paper to the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, St. Louis, MO, March 16-20, 1977, 46 pp.

"The Southern Africa Regional Subsystem at Cross Roads: A Structural and Behavioral Analysis of Conflict in the Region, January 1973 - December 1975, International Relations Research Institute, University of Southern California, 1976, 51 pp.

"An Analysis of International Relations During the 1973 October War: An Application of Structural Balance and Graph Theoretic Notions," School of International Relations, University of Southern California, 1976, 27 pp.

"International Relations Forecasting: Procrastination in Prognostication or Lagging Behind in Looking Ahead," paper presented to the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association West, San Francisco, CA, March 18-20, 1976, 16 pp.

"A Preliminary Examination of Foreign Conflict Behavior in Independent Black Africa, 1964-66," paper presented to the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association west, San Francisco, CA, April 3-5, 1975, 32 pp.

RECENT LECTURES AND INTERVIEWS (PARTIAL):

NATO Defense College (Rome), Commonwealth Club of California, World Affairs Council of Northern and Central California, Middlebury Institute of International Studies (MIIS), United States Air Force Academy, Oakridge National Laboratories, National Defense University (NDU), Cambridge University, Queens College (University of Belfast), St. Andrews University, University of London (Kings College), University of California, Newsweek Magazine, Atlantic Monthly, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, San Francisco Chronicle, KCBS, British Broadcasting Company (BBC), Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC), National Public Radio (NPR), Voice of America, PBS Newshour, and others.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS:

The Cornwallis Group, Canada: The Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre

American Political Science Association (APSA)

International Studies Association (ISA)

Military Operations Research Society

Armed Forces and Communications and Electronics Association

Society of Buckeye

Editorial Board of Small Wars and Insurgencies (Cambridge University)