

Michael Schiffer

(b)(6)

### Professional Experience

***The Stanley Foundation***, Muscatine, Iowa, 2006 to 2009.

**Program Officer.** Responsible for project conceptualization and development of research, publication and meetings program on US national security and Asia-Pacific issues for nonpartisan private operating foundation, including management of multi-million dollar budgets and international research staff and consultants, and all phases of project implementation. Programming includes projects and publications on US policy towards China and other “rising powers”; US-China-Japan trilateral relations; America’s global role; North Korea; new power dynamics in Southeast Asia; US nuclear policy and posture; and Asian architecture.

***Council on Foreign Relations***, Tokyo, Japan, 2004 to 2005.

**International Affairs Fellow in Japan.** Selected by the Council on Foreign Relations to spend a year in Japan conducting research on the Asia-Pacific strategic environment and regional political and security issues, including U.S.-Japan relations; changing Japanese perceptions of East Asia; China; North Korea; and regional nuclear proliferation issues. Visiting Research Fellow at the National Institute for Defense Studies, the research arm of the Defense Agency of Japan.

***United States Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA)***, Washington, DC, 1995 to 2004.

**Legislative Director, 2002-2004.** Managed 25-person legislative staff, directed the development and implementation of Senator’s legislative and policy agenda, served as senior national security policy advisor and also advised Senator on a broad range of federal, state, and local policy issues. Represented the Senator in negotiations with other Congressional offices, Executive branch agencies, state and local governments, businesses and interest groups. Supervised drafting of legislation, materials for floor debate and Committee hearings and drafted policy and briefing memorandum, speeches, articles and op-eds. Extensive travel both with Senator and congressional staff delegations overseas.

**Legislative Assistant, 1995-2001.** Served as foreign policy, trade, national security, budget, tax, and economic policy advisor.

***Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, New York University***, New York City, 1989-1993.

**Director, International Security Programs, 1991-1993.** Head of Washington, DC office of university-based think tank; managed research, conference, briefing, and publication programs on European and Pacific Rim security issues, U.S. foreign policy, nuclear and conventional weapons proliferation, the former Soviet Union, and other international issues. Analyst, 1989-1990.

## Education

**New York University.** New York City. Department of Politics, New York. Concentration in American Politics, International Affairs, and Political Methodology. PhD. Dissertation Defense, October 1995. M.A., October 1991.

**London School of Economics.** London. Department of Government, London. Concentration in the politics and government of Russia. M.Sc., September 1988.

**Georgetown University.** Washington, DC. Double major in history and political theory. AB, May 1987.

## Publications

Authored book chapters, articles, and op-eds, including those published in: *The New York Times*; *Los Angeles Times*; *International Herald Tribune*; *San Francisco Chronicle*; *Washington Times*; *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*; *Des Moines Register*; *Far Eastern Economic Review*; *Arms Control Today*; *PacNet*; *Journal of International Affairs*; *Powers and Principles: International Leadership in a Shrinking World* (co-editor; Lexington Books); *Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide* (Routledge); *Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament* (Charles Scribner's Sons); *Beyond the Cold War: Soviet and American Media Images* (Sage); *Nuclear Times*; and *World Observer*, among others.

## Selected Professional Activities

Defense Transformation Fellow, Center for National Policy (2008);  
Member, US-Japan Policy Task Force, Center for New American Security (2008);  
Policy Coordinator, Asia Policy Group, and member, Nuclear Weapons and Non-Proliferation Group, Outside Policy Advisor to campaign, Obama for America (2007-2008);  
Member, International Institute of Strategic Studies (2006- );  
Co-Founder, and Member, Iowa Chapter, National Security Network (2006- );  
Fellow, Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Iowa (2006-2008);  
Member, National Committee on North Korea (2006- );  
Member, Working Group on North Korea, The Atlantic Council (2006-2007);  
Member, China Task Force, Center for American Progress (2005-2006);  
Co-Director, US-Japan-China Trilateral Relations Study Group (2005);  
Member, Kerry-Edwards 2004 presidential campaign East Asia Policy Team (2004);  
Member of the Advisory Board, Aspen Institute Middle East Strategy Group (2004);  
Director, Senate Nonproliferation and Nuclear Weapons Policy Working Group (2004);  
Selected Participant, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Global Atlanticists Program (2003-present);  
Member of the East-West Center's Congressional Asian Security Issues Working Group (2003-2004);  
Staff designee for Chair and Vice-Chair, Congressional Study Group on Japan (2000-2004);  
Member, Council on Foreign Relations Congressional Staff Roundtable (2002-2004);  
Adjunct Professor, Department of Politics, George Washington University, (1992-1994); and,  
Manager, Poipu Bed and Breakfast Inn, Poipu Beach, Kauai, Hawaii (1994).

### CURRENT EMPLOYMENT

#### Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. (Aug. 2003-Present)

- ◆ Assistant Professor, Department of Defense Analysis / Associate, Center for Terrorism and Irregular Warfare
- ◆ Expert member, Baker-Hamilton Commission, a.k.a. the Iraq Study Group (2006-2007)
- ◆ Consultant in Iraq to U.S. Central Command & Multi-National Force-Iraq commanders on strategy, intelligence architecture, counter-insurgency operations (Jan.-Feb. & Oct.-Nov. 2004, July-Aug. 2005, Dec. 2005, Nov. 2006)
- ◆ Expert witness to U.S. Congress on training of Iraqi security forces (Apr. 2005)
- ◆ Author, "Counter-Insurgency Operations," (UNCLAS), Multi-National Force-Iraq Campaign Plan (Nov. 2004)
- ◆ Principal reviewer & contributing author, U.S. Army & Marine Corps Field Manual 3-24 *Counterinsurgency Operations* (2006)
- ◆ Associate, American Enterprise Institute "Land Power Project"

### MEDIA EXPERIENCE

- ◆ Commentator on PBS *Newshour*, CNN & CNNi, NPR, BBC, ABC *World News Tonight*, C-SPAN, etc. (Present)
- ◆ Consultant to *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, etc., on Iraq and Afghanistan (Present)

### EDUCATION

- ◆ Ph.D., American Diplomatic History, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (2002)
- ◆ A.M., History, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1994)
- ◆ M.M.A.S., (Military Art & Science), U.S. Army Command & General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, Ks. (1992)
- ◆ B.A., *cum laude*, English, The Citadel, Charleston, S.C. (1975)

*Ph.D. Dissertation Title:* "The Evolution of U.S. Military Strategy in the Central American Campaign, 1979-1991."

*M.M.A.S. Thesis Title:* "Resettlement in Civil Wars: Population Relocation in Counter-Insurgency Operations."

### SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXPERIENCE

#### U.S. Special Operations Command, Ft. Bragg, N.C. (2002)

- ◆ Consultant to Campaign Support Group

#### U.S. Embassy-San Salvador (U.S. Military Group), El Salvador (1989-1990)

- ◆ Advisor in capital and western military zones, Salvadoran Civil War
- ◆ Human Rights investigation and enforcement
- ◆ Counter-mine measures and combat testing
- ◆ Civic action, refugee support and humanitarian assistance

#### 7th U.S. Army Special Forces Group, Ft. Bragg, N.C., and Latin America (1987-1989)

- ◆ Special Forces detachment & company commander
- ◆ Special reconnaissance / combat operations, Panama
- ◆ Show-of-force deployment, Honduras
- ◆ Drug interdiction, Costa Rica / U.S. Border Patrol on Texas-Mexican border
- ◆ Humanitarian assistance and bridge construction, Bolivia
- ◆ Attached to *9a Brigada de Fuerzas Especiales Ecuatoriana*, Ecuador

#### 2d Ranger Battalion, Ft. Lewis, Wash. (1977-1979)

- ◆ Ranger company fire support officer

#### U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, Ft. Monroe, Va. (1997-1999)

- ◆ Special Operations Representative, "Army After Next / Army Transformation" Project,
- ◆ Member, U.S. Special Operations Command Future Concepts Working Group, MacDill A.F.B., Fla.

#### Additional Assignments:

- ◆ 82d Airborne Division, Ft. Bragg, N.C. (1975-1977)
- ◆ 2d Infantry Division, Oujungbu, Korea (1981-1983)
- ◆ 11<sup>th</sup> Armored Cavalry Regiment, Bad Hersfeld, Germany (1983-1986)

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## ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. (Aug. 2003-Present)

- ◆ Assistant Professor, Department of Defense Analysis
- ◆ Courses taught include: "American Small Wars," "History of Special Operations," "Military Classics"
- ◆ Research includes: Counterterrorism Strategy, Unconventional Warfare, Stability Operations
- ◆ Finalist, 2006 Schieffelin Award for Excellence in Teaching (top 5% of faculty as voted by students)

Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1999-2001)

- ◆ Resident Scholar in History, Eliot House
- ◆ Winner, 2000 Heimert Award for Excellence in Teaching

U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y. (1994-1997)

- ◆ Chief, International Division, Department of History, & Assistant Professor of History
- ◆ Courses taught include: "Insurgencies and Guerrilla Wars Seminar," "International History," "Military History," "Leadership," "Infantry Tactics," "Honor Code," "Senior Thesis in History"

## SELECT PUBLICATIONS

"Best Practices in Counterinsurgency," *Military Review* (May-June 2005). Published in English, Arabic, Spanish, and Portuguese.

*Weapon of Choice: U.S. Army Special Operations in Afghanistan*, with R. Kiper, J. Schroder, C. Briscoe (Fort Leavenworth: CGSC Press, 2004).

Forward to *Counter-Guerrilla Operations; the Philippine Experience* (New York: Greenwood-Praeger, 2006)

"Case Study: The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal" (RAND, 2003).

"Uprising at Qala-i Jangi," "Armed Convoy to Kabul," "The Campaign in Transition," "'Deminimus Activities' at the Bagram Clinic," "Change of Mission," "Meeting the 'G-Chief,'" *Special Warfare* (Fall 2002).

"The Renaissance Force," with Brig. Gen. R.W. Potter, Jr., chapter in *Leadership: The Warrior's Art* (Carlisle: Army War College Foundation Press, 2001).

"Die atomare Vision. Der Einfluß von Nuklearwaffen auf die Führung der US Army 1952 bis 1958," chapter in *Fuehrungsdanken in europaeischen und nordamerikanischen Steitkraeften im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, trans. Gerhard Gross (Berlin: MGFA, 2001).

## SELECT PAPERS

"Leaving to Win? The U.S. Strategic Choice in Iraq," Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Conference on Iraq, Washington, D.C., 2 November 2005.

"The Role of Counterinsurgency Today," Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, College Park, Maryland, 25 June 2005.

"Nepal: The Maoist Insurgency and U.S. Options," U.S. Special Operations Command-Pacific International Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, 17 February 2004.

"Making Strategy Without Policy: Gen. Wallace Nutting and the Central American Campaign of the Cold War, 1979-1983," Society of Military History Conference, Quantico, Virginia, 30 April 2000.

"Finding the Kamikazes: The Utility of Wargaming in Concept Development and Long-Range Planning," U.S. Special Operations Command Strategic Planning Seminar, MacDill Air Force Base, Florida, 21 June 1998.

## SELECT AWARDS

- ◆ United States Army Combat Infantryman's Badge
- ◆ Department of the Navy Superior Civilian Service Medal

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## JOHN ARTHUR SHAW

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### SUMMARY

- Exceptionally well developed analytical skills and critical capabilities in economic, financial, and management fields.
- Demonstrated management skills at senior executive level across a spectrum of organizations from focused team projects and research institutes to private international corporations and government departments.
- Broad knowledge of international, economic, political, social, and financial affairs, with particular expertise on Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.
- Superlative written and verbal skills. (b)(6)
- Extensive experience dealing with senior international corporate and governmental executives, and consequent broad network of contacts in that arena.

### EDUCATION

#### Cambridge University (Magdalene College)

Ph.D., 1972  
M.A., 1967  
B.A. (Cantab.), 1964

#### Williams College

A.B. 1962

#### Harvard Business School, Advanced Management Program, 1977

### EXPERIENCE

#### American Overseas Clinics Corporation (AOCC), Baltimore, MD and Washington, D.C.

*President.* AOCC is a joint venture with Johns Hopkins Healthcare, Inc. to create a variety of for-profit diagnostic clinics tied in telemedically to Hopkins in up to 50 countries around the world. Responsible for drawing up business plan for initial clinic in Manila together with prototype for subsequent clinics in Bombay and Shanghai; developing capitalization for both parent company and initial clinic; establishing requisite client base of executives for Manila site; and developing administrative structure and personnel for on-site clinics and U.S. coordinating base. (1998 - Present)

#### Cambridge Consulting Group, Washington, D.C.

*Managing Director.* International trade and development consultants. Projects have included revision of Export Administration Act controlling chemical and high-tech U.S. exports; passage of North American Free Trade Agreement; restructure and implementation of Saudi Arabian offset investment program; development of strategy and funding for bilateral and multilateral assistance to Palestinian Authority; technical assistance to create local government and fiscal structure in Gaza and West Bank; strategy and negotiations with 14 countries ranging from Morocco to Indonesia for satellite communications licenses; marketing surveys of medical services possibilities and patient base in Egypt, Philippines, India, China, Thailand, and Korea. Adjunct Senior Fellow at Center for Strategic and International Studies. (1993 - 1998)

**EXPERIENCE**  
(continued)**U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.**

*Associate Deputy Secretary.* Acted as an alternate deputy to the Secretary and Chief Operating officer for the department, comprising 9 principal agencies, 34,000 employees, and a budget of \$4.8 billion. Responsibilities included oversight of departmental budget development and MBO process; the international technology transfer and licensing process; the 1990 census and the revamping of the Economic and Statistical Administration; the computerization of the Patent and Trademark Office and the National Trade Data Bank; international trade development, with an emphasis on European Community regulations and relations on the one hand and APEC countries on the other; enhancement of U.S.-Middle Eastern trade in wake of the Gulf War; and the improvement of U.S. competitiveness worldwide; senior member of trade/technology missions to Japan, Korea, Thailand, and China; extensive speechmaking and Congressional liaison. (1989 - 1993)

**Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C.**

*Vice President and Director of Washington Operations.* Responsible for Washington arm of Indianapolis think tank comprising 70 full time professionals and the management of Center for Naval Analyses with 450 employees. Hudson Institute traditionally has specialized in multi-disciplinary, future oriented research, with a focus on national security and international economic concerns. Headed task force evaluation of Agency for International Development (1988) analyzing AID's policies or programs in light of changing world economic and trade patterns. (1987 - 1989)

**Saint Phalle International Group (SPI), Washington, D.C.**

*Managing Partner* in an international merchant banking and consulting firm specializing in trans-border mergers and acquisitions, and providing management consulting services in the areas of trade, privatization, multinational investment and finance, government regulation and licensing. Acquired, ran, and then sold Business Computing International, a public corporation selling virtually the entire range of business and educational software, hardware, and services in the Middle East and Indian subcontinent, and possessing the best Arabic programming capability in existence. Taught (1984-86) courses on Oil and Development in the Middle East at Georgetown, Williams, and Yale. (1984 - 1987)

**Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS),  
Georgetown University**

*Senior Fellow in Middle Eastern and International Business Affairs.* Responsible for providing current political, economic and strategic assessments of Middle East and North African developments for the senior management of CSIS corporate clientele; Directed (1980-82) the CSIS Saudi Arabian Project: Responsible for developing, funding, and producing the most comprehensive assessment available of the implications of Saudi Arabian modernization. Performed extensive Middle East consulting for a cross-section of major corporations, both foreign and domestic, in the energy, defense and chemical/pharmaceutical industries. (1980-1984)

**EXPERIENCE**

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**Booz, Allen and Hamilton International, Washington and Riyadh**

*Vice President and Team Leader, Jubail and Yanbo Project, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.* Booz, Allen was tasked with the development of organization and management plans for every institutional aspect of two industrial cities being built in Saudi Arabia. The cities represented an outlay of 142 billion dollars and contained a population of 200,000 each by the year 2000. Responsible for running a team of 30 professionals and for developing plans for all the regulatory functions ranging from customs and immigration to commercial, industrial and financial operations within the cities. These plans reflected world-wide best practice and included all manpower, training, cost and budget, and implementation needs of the cities. Together the cities constituted the largest single development project in the world. (1978 - 1980)

**U.S. Department of State, Washington**

*Assistant Secretary of State, Inspector General of Foreign Assistance.* With a professional staff of fifty, I had the responsibility to oversee the efficiency of the entire American economic aid program and foreign military sales totaling 17 billion dollars. Major successes during my tenure included the first comprehensive review of foreign military sales policy, demonstrable savings of \$140 million, and a simultaneous reduction in office staff and budget. (1975 - 1977)

**The White House, Washington**

*Associate Director, Presidential Personnel Office.* Was responsible for the control of Presidential appointments throughout 25% of government (the Economic and Financial Resources sector that included Treasury, Commerce, Federal Reserve, World Bank and IMF, Export-Import Bank, OPIC and AID). Responsible for the recruitment, screening, and recommendations of candidates to the President. This function required considerable assessment of the policy implications of the appointments. (1974 - 1975)

**Government Research Corporation; Washington**

*Vice-President for Corporate Research.* Responsible for the reorganization, management and marketing of the *National Journal* magazine's National Policy Forum, a comprehensive monitoring and forecasting service focused on Federal policy as it affects major corporations. Client group comprised 40 corporations, including most of the principal energy companies. Responsibilities included coordinating a staff of 70 to assure a flow of accurate and timely information to our client corporations and for the development of a joint venture with a major New York bank to provide similar monitoring for major European corporations and foreign governments. (1972 - 1974)

**Cambridge University, Williams College, and Institute des Sciences Politiques**

*Lecturer in European History.* Taught courses in European diplomatic and economic history, energy and development economics, and international trade policy. Also engaged in a series of successful ventures in oil/gas exploration and development drilling. (1967 - 1972)

**PUBLICATIONS**

*Saudi Arabian Modernization: The Impact of Change on Stability* (Prager, 1982)  
*Vergennes, the Rhine, and the Principalities of Germany* (Cambridge, 1976)

**POLITICAL  
EXPERIENCE**

- 1972: Executive Assistant to the Chairman, European Republican Committee, Presidential Election.
- 1973: Finance Chairman and Campaign Coordinator, 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District of Maryland, Special Primary and General Elections to fill House vacancy.
- 1974 - 1976: Finance Chairman, 1st District of Maryland; Coordinator of Senatorial Campaign, 1974.
- 1977: Maryland State Campaign Chairman.
- 1978: Campaign Chairman, Bauman for Congress (1st District of Maryland).
- 1979 - 1980: Member, RNC Advisory Commission on National Security and Foreign Affairs: Middle East Subcommittee.
- 1980: Charter Member, Marylanders for Reagan Committee; Member, Transition Trust Personnel Effort: As part of campaign planning effort drew up comprehensive assessments, position descriptions, and priorities for all Departments in the Human Resources segment of government and for the Department of State.
- 1981: Presidential Transition - Was Director of Personnel for Department of Education, responsible for all appointments for its restructuring; acted in advisory role for Departments of HHS, HUD, Labor, State and AID.  
 Was Specialist in White House Personnel for D.Ed., then White House Liaison at Department of State. (Feb. - June 1981)
- 1982: Finance Chairman, Hopkins for Congress Committee, First District of Maryland
- 1984: Member, National Advisory Council, Businessmen for Reagan-Bush '84.
- 1988: Chairman, Maryland Bush/Quayle Committee; Member, National Finance Committee.
- 1989: Presidential Transition - Director of Transition for Department of Commerce; Advisor to Presidential Personnel for Departments of State, Defense, AID, USTR.
- 1996: Dole/Kemp Presidential Campaign: Policy Division
- 2000: Bush-Cheney volunteer at Convention and in S.E. Pennsylvania. Bush loyalist and supporter since 1972.
- Consistent conservative involvement in Eastern shore and Maryland Republican politics for two decades.
  - Family controlled or strongly influenced Pennsylvania Republican politics for over thirty years. Elective positions held ranged from municipal and state offices to the Congress and United States Senate.



**Mitchell Everett Shivers**

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***Professional Experience***

**2004 – 2005**

**Senior Advisor and Economic Chief, Afghanistan Reconstruction Group (ARG), U.S. Department of State, U.S. Embassy, Kabul**

Served, for one year, as principal economic advisor to Special Presidential Envoy and U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad, and his successor, Ambassador Ronald E. Neumann. Headed a team of ARG senior advisors for economics and finance, agriculture, natural resources, private sector development and privatizations. Served as a key advisor to the Afghanistan Ministers of Finance, Economy and Commerce and led a variety of important international initiatives for the US and Afghanistan governments. (b)(6)

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Kabul based.

**2001 – 2004**

**Advisor, Private Investor**

**1993 – 2001**

**Managing Director, Merrill Lynch & Co. Inc.**

Head, Global Public Credit Origination (responsible for Merrill's global investment banking relationships with sovereign governments, federal agencies and international financial institutions). New York based.

Head of global preparations, across all business lines, for business and operational transition in anticipation of European Monetary Union. London based.

**Mitchell Shivers...p. 2**

President and Chief Executive Officer of Merrill Lynch's leading joint-venture investment bank in Jakarta, Indonesia. Played key role in equity privatization of Indonesia's largest enterprises (and largest to date, non-Japan, Asian IPOs) and development of local equity and debt capital markets. Member, Jakarta Stock Exchange. Jakarta based for three years (1995-1998).

**1991 - 1993**

**Private Investor**

**1985 - 1991**

**President and Chief Executive Officer, Kleinwort Benson Government Securities Inc. (and its successor firm Fuji Securities Inc.) and Kleinwort Benson Inc.**

Responsible for Kleinwort Benson's U. S. based investment securities businesses. Board Member, Kleinwort Benson, London (Britain's largest merchant bank). Personal Member, Primary Dealers' Committee, Public Securities Association; Member, NYSE; Member, Chicago Board of Trade; Member, Chicago Mercantile Exchange; Principal, NASD; Board Member, GOVPX. New York and Chicago based.

**1984 - 1985**

**Limited Partner, L.F. Rothschild, Unterberg, Towbin**

Global responsibility for international debt security products. New York based.

**1981 - 1984**

**Executive Director, Samuel Montagu & Co. Limited.**

Member of the global Board, the Management Committee and Deputy Head of International Capital Markets Division for Britain's third largest merchant bank. Board member of American, Kuwaiti and Swiss banking subsidiaries. London based.

**Mitchell Shivers...p. 3**

**1973 – 1981**

**Vice President, Merrill Lynch & Co. Inc.**

Head of International Debt Securities in New York with responsibilities for the Americas. Vice President and Head of the Asian Currency Unit for Merrill Lynch International (Asia) in Singapore in 1977 and 1978.

***Military Experience***

**Infantry Officer, United States Marine Corps, 1970-1973, resigned with rank of Captain, combat veteran.**

***Education***

**New York University, Graduate School of Business Administration, International Finance.**

**B.S., Business Administration, Monmouth University, 1970. *Distinguished Alumnus Award 1986***

**Member, New Jersey Commission on Higher Education, appointed by Governor Christine Todd Whitman, 1994.**

***Professional Affiliations***

**Board Member, International Securities Markets Association (ISMA), Zurich, Switzerland (elected by ISMA's 500+ international member firms to a three year term – 2000-2003).**

**Member – NYSE (CEO of Kleinwort Benson subsidiary during bank's application for membership); NASD; CBT; CME; AIBD; PSA; JSE; two expert panels for the European Commission (1998) on integrating national financial markets and pan-European regulatory reform.**

**Licenses – previously held all principal US securities licenses (equity, commodity and supervisory).**

**Mitchell Shivers...p. 4**

***Appointments, Awards and Recognition***

**Recipient of Presidential Award for Excellence from President Hamid  
Karzai, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2005**  
**Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service, U.S.  
Department of Defense, 2006 (presented by Secretary Rumsfeld)**  
**Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees, New Jersey Cultural Trust (appointed by  
Governor Christine Todd Whitman).**  
**Honor Graduate, U.S. Marine Corps, The Basic School, 1971**  
**Member, The Guild of International Bankers, London**  
**Trustee, Finance Chair, Board of Trustees, Monmouth University**  
**Distinguished Alumnus Award, Monmouth University, 1986**  
**Founder and Past Chairman, Barnegat Bay Charities Inc., 2002**  
**Distinguished Service Medal, State of New Jersey, 2002**  
***Who's Who in America, 2007, Marquis***  
***Who's Who in the World, 2007, Marquis***  
***Who's Who in Finance and Industry, 2007, Marquis***

**Abram N. Shulsky**  
**Curriculum Vitae**

Personal

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Education

**University of Chicago**

M.A. in political science, 1966

Ph.D. in political science (economics minor), 1972

Fields of concentration in political science:

American politics: parties, interest groups, public policy

Constitutional law

International relations: international systems, diplomatic history

Political philosophy: ancient, medieval, modern political thought

Outside (minor) field:

Economics: price theory, national income theory

Doctoral dissertation:

Topic: "The 'Infrastructure' of Aristotle's Politics" An examination of the role of Aristotle's economic views in his political thought

Chairman: Dr. Leo Strauss

**Cornell University**

B.A., distinction in all subjects, mathematics major, 1964

Work Experience

Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Office of the Secretary of Defense, October 2001 to present

Consultant on national security affairs, RAND Corporation, May 1993 to October 2001

Deputy for Asia and Defense Strategy (after June 1992) and Director, Atlantic-Pacific Issues

(through June 1992), Office of Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary of Defense, May 1991 to May 1993

Preparation of policy papers on a wide range of issues dealing with defense and national security issues.

Senior Fellow, National Strategy Information Center, Washington, D. C., January 1986 to May 1991

Writing book on major issues in the field of intelligence.

Acting Representative of the Secretary of Defense to the Nuclear and Space Talks (Defense and Space Group), Geneva, Switzerland, January 1987 to March 1987

Member of U.S. Delegation to the Nuclear and Space Talks with the Soviet Union, assigned to group dealing with Defense and Space issues.

Visiting Professor, Committee on Social Thought, and Senior Fellow, John M. Olin Center, University of Chicago, January 1985 to December 1985

Courses on Intelligence and National Security, Arms Control, The Media and the American Political System.

Director, Strategic Arms Control Policy, Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), August 1982 to January 1985

Directed office responsible (within OSD) for formulation of policy with respect to Strategic Arms Reduction Talks and deliberations of the Standing Consultative Commission concerning compliance with existing strategic arms agreements.

Minority Staff Director, Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, January 1981 to August 1982

Co-directed (under the Staff Director) the work of the Committee's essentially bi-partisan staff.

Professional Staff, Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, July 1977 to January 1981

Staff assistant to Senator Moynihan (D.-N.Y.) with respect to work of the Select Committee on Intelligence

Political Analyst, Center for Naval Analyses, July 1974 to July 1977

Papers on the political use of naval forces in the September 1970 Jordanian crisis, on the Soviet perception of the strategic arms race, on naval planning. Co-author of Soviet Naval Diplomacy. In non-defense-related work, case study on the termination of government programs.

Assistant Professor of Politics, Catholic University of America, 1972 to 1974

Courses on political theory, liberalism, American political science as a discipline.

Assistant Professor of Government (visiting), Cornell University, 1968 to 1970

Courses on political theory, including seminars on Aristotle, Hobbes, Spinoza, Adam Smith

Part-time teaching positions; summer jobs as actuarial trainee and computer programmer

### Other Experience

Treasurer and Member of Investment Committee, Telluride Association  
Member of committee responsible for investing trust fund (approximately \$9 million) of the Telluride Association, an education trust fund based in Ithaca, N.Y.

### Research Skills

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Computer Programming (APL, Basic, Pascal)

### Publications

Patterns in China's Use of Force (with Mark Burles) (RAND, 2000)

Deterrence Theory and Chinese Behavior (RAND, 2000)

The Virtual Corporation and Army Organization (with Francis Fukuyama) (RAND, 1997)

"The Future of U.S. Intelligence," (with Gary J. Schmitt) (National Strategy Information Center, Working Group on Intelligence Reform, 1996)

Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Intelligence (McLean, VA: Brassey's (US), 1991)

"The Concept of Private Property in the History of Political Economy" in From Political Economy to Economics ... And Back?, James H. Nichols, Jr. and Colin Wright, eds., (San Francisco: Institute of Contemporary Studies Press, 1990)

"The 'Infrastructure' of Aristotle's Politics: Aristotle on Economics and Politics," in Essays on the Foundations of Aristotelian Political Science, Carnes R. Lord and David K. O'Connor, eds. (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991)

"The Theory and Practice of Separation of Powers: The Case of Covert Action" (with Gary J. Schmitt) in The Fettered Executive (Washington: AEI, 1989)

"The Iran-Contra Affair and the Intelligence Oversight Process" in Houston Journal of International Law, vol. 11, #1, 1988

"From 'Arms Control' to Arms Reductions: The Historical Experience" (with Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr.) in The Washington Quarterly, Summer 1987

"Intelligence and Arms Control Policy" in Comparative Strategy, vol 6, #2, 1987

"Human Rights and the International System" in Human Rights in Our Time, Marc F. Plattner, ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984)

Contributions to Soviet Naval Diplomacy, Bradford Dismukes and James M. McConnell, eds., Center for Naval Analyses, Pergamon Policy Studies, #37, 1979

"The Revolt of the Upper-Middle Class," review of Fred Hirsch, Social Limits to Growth, in The Public Interest, #50, Winter, 1978

"There's No Refuge from Politics," review of Frederic Malek, Washington's Hidden Tragedy, George Shultz and Kenneth Dam, Economic Policy Beyond the Headlines and William Simon, A Time for Truth, in Fortune, June 5, 1978

"Gorshkov on Naval Arms Limitations: Kto Kogo?" in Naval Power in Soviet Policy, Paul J. Murphy, ed., USAF Studies in Communist Affairs, vol. 2, 1978

"Abolishing the District of Columbia Motorcycle Squad" in Policy Sciences (Special Issue on Termination of Policies, Programs and Organizations), June, 1976

Review of Robert A. Nisbet, The Sociology of Emile Durkheim, in Commentary, January, 1975

"Impeachment: Pushing Against an Open Door" (Critique of the House Judiciary Committee staff report, "Constitutional Grounds for Presidential Impeachment") in The Alternative, June, 1974

Review of Herbert S. Parmet, Eisenhower and the American Crusades, in The Alternative, October, 1973

#### References

Available on Request