

Curriculum Vitae

Seth G. Jones, Ph.D.

Director,

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

RAND Corporation

Director, International Security and Defense Policy (ISDP) Center. Oversee RAND research and analysis for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, combatant commands (such as U.S. European Command, U.S. Central Command, U.S. Pacific Command, U.S. Africa Command, and U.S. Special Operations Command), and other U.S. Department of Defense organizations; other U.S. government agencies, such as the U.S. State Department; foreign governments; and foundations, such as the MacArthur Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, and Smith Richardson Foundation. ISDP conducts policy research and analysis on the international political, strategic, and economic environment – including such areas as defense strategy, counterterrorism, counterinsurgency force posture, wargames and simulations, building partner capacity, and military campaigns. Also leading research projects on counterterrorism and counterinsurgency, including the Islamic State and al Qa’ida. 2014–present.

Johns Hopkins University

Adjunct Professor. Teach classes on insurgency and counterinsurgency in the Strategic Studies Department in the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). The courses examine such issues as: What causes insurgencies? How have insurgent strategies and tactics changed over time? How do insurgencies end? They examine a range of case studies from the French and British colonial efforts to more recent cases in Syria, Libya, Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Iraq. 2012-present.

U.S. Special Operations, Office of the Secretary of Defense

Representative for the Commander, U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM), to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations / Low Intensity Conflict and Interdependent Capabilities. Worked on a range of issues, such as the December 2010 Afghanistan Pakistan Annual Review for the President of the United States. Conducted a range of assessments for U.S. Special Operations Command, including “Al Qa’ida in Afghanistan.” 2010–2011.

U.S. Special Operations, Afghanistan

Advisor and Plans Officer for the Commanding General, U.S. Special Operations Forces. Worked on a range of strategic and operational issues for Combined Forces Special Operations Component Command–Afghanistan (CFSOCC-A), based out of Kabul, Afghanistan. 2009.

RAND Corporation

Senior Political Scientist. Led studies on terrorism, counterinsurgency in Afghanistan, counterinsurgency in Pakistan, and how terrorist groups end. Participated in research on nation-

building and state-building efforts including the United States, Europe, and United Nations from 1945 to the present. 2003–2009, 2011-2014.

EDUCATION

- *The University of Chicago*: Ph.D. (2004), M.A. (1999) in Political Science.
- *Bowdoin College*: A.B. (1995) with High Honors in Government, Phi Beta Kappa, Summa Cum Laude.

BOOKS

- *End of an Empire: Reagan's CIA, Poland, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (W.W. Norton, forthcoming).
- *Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Vietcong to the Islamic State* (Oxford University Press, 2016).
- *Hunting in the Shadows: The Pursuit of Al Qaeda Since 9/11* (W.W. Norton, 2012).
- *In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan* (W.W. Norton, 2009). Won the Council on Foreign Relations Silver Medal for 2010 – Arthur Ross Book Award.
- *The Rise of European Security Cooperation* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

PUBLICATIONS IN PEER-REVIEWED JOURNALS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- “Al Qaeda Terrorism in Afghanistan,” in Bruce Hoffman and Fernando Reinares, eds., *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
- “The Future of Insurgency,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2013, pp. 1-25 (with Patrick Johnston).
- “The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency,” *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 4, Spring 2008, pp. 7-40.
- “Fighting Networked Terror Groups: Lessons from Israel,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 2007, pp. 281-302.
- “The Rise of a European Defense,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 121, No. 2, Summer 2006, pp. 241-267.
- “The UN's Record in Nation-Building,” *Chicago Journal of International Law*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Winter 2006, pp. 703-723 (with James Dobbins).
- “Terrorism and the Battle for Homeland Security,” in Russell Howard, James Forest, Joanne Moore, eds., *Homeland Security and Terrorism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006), pp. 266-271.
- “The European Union and the Security Dilemma,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Spring 2003, pp. 114-156.

REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS IN POLICY JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES

- *Strategic Reversal in Afghanistan*, Council on Foreign Relations Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 29, June 2016.
- “Afghanistan After Mansour: Kabul's Poor Prospects,” *Foreign Affairs* (foreignaffairs.com), June 2016.
- “ISIS's South Asia Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs* (foreignaffairs.com), June 2015.
- “Syria's Growing Jihad,” *Survival*, Vol. 55, No. 4, August-September 2013, pp. 53-72.

- *Afghanistan After the Drawdown*, Council Special Report (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, November 2013) (with Keith Crane).
- “The Mirage of the Arab Spring,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1, January / February 2013, pp. 55-63.
- “Think Again: Al Qaeda,” *Foreign Policy*, May / June 2012, pp. 47-51.
- “Imperial Britain’s Afghan Agony,” *The National Interest*, No. 118, March / April 2012, pp. 52-58.
- “Al Qaeda in Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* (foreignaffairs.com), January 30, 2012.
- “Why the Haqqani Network is the Wrong Target,” *Foreign Affairs* (foreignaffairs.com), November 6, 2011.
- “Security from the Bottom Up,” *Time*, October 7, 2011.
- “The Terrorist Threat from Pakistan,” *Survival*, Vol. 53, No. 4, August-September 2011, pp. 69-94.
- “Beating Back the Taliban,” *Foreign Policy*, March 2011.
- “It Takes the Villages,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 3, May / June 2010, pp. 120-127.
- “Pakistan’s War Within,” *Survival*, Vol. 51, No. 6, December 2009–January 2010, pp. 161-188 (with C. Christine Fair).
- “Community Defense in Afghanistan,” *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Issue 57, 2010, pp. 9-15.
- “How to Save Karzai,” *Foreign Policy*, July 2008.
- “Cellphones in the Hindu Kush,” *The National Interest*, No. 96, July/August 2008, pp. 42-51 (with Bruce Hoffman).
- “Pakistan’s Dangerous Game,” *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 1, Spring 2007, pp. 15-32.
- “Averting Failure in Afghanistan,” *Survival*, Vol. 48, No. 1, Spring 2006, pp. 111-128.
- “Arming Europe,” *National Interest*, No. 82, Winter 2005/2006, pp. 62-68 (with F. Stephen Larrabee).
- “Measuring Power: How to Predict Future Balances,” *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Summer 2005, pp. 54-58 (with Gregory Treverton).
- “The Rise of a European Defense Industry,” *US-Europe Analysis Series*, Brookings Institution, May 2005.
- “Law and Order in Palestine,” *Survival*, Vol. 46, No. 4, Winter 2004-05, pp. 157-178 (with K. Jack Riley).
- “An Independent Palestine: The Security Dimension,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 2, March 2004, pp. 203-219 (with Robert Hunter).

RAND STUDIES

- *Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency in Somalia: Assessing the Campaign Against Al-Shaba’ab* (Santa Monica, RAND, 2016) (lead author).
- *A Persistent Threat: The Evolution of al Qaeda and other Salafi-Jihadists* (Santa Monica, RAND, 2014) (sole author).
- *Afghanistan’s Local War: Building Local Defense Forces* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2010) (lead author).
- *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2010) (lead author).
- *Occupying Iraq: A History of the Coalition Provisional Authority* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2009) (co-author).
- *How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering Al Qaeda* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2008) (lead author).
- *Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2008) (sole author).

- *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2007) (co-author).
- *Securing Tyrants or Fostering Reform? U.S. Internal Security Assistance to Repressive and Transitioning Regimes* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2006) (lead author).
- *Securing Health: Lessons from Nation-Building Missions* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2006) (lead author).
- *Establishing Law and Order after Conflict* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005) (lead author)
- *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: From Congo to Iraq* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005) (co-author).
- *Building a Successful Palestinian State* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005) (co-author).
- *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Japan* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003) (co-author).

NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES

- Over four dozen articles for such newspapers and magazines as the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, *Financial Times*, and others.

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

- "The Syrian Refugee Crisis and U.S. National Security," Testimony presented before the House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Immigration and Border Security, November 19, 2015.
- "The Terrorism Threat to the United States and Implications for Refugees," Testimony presented before the House Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, June 24, 2015.
- "Historical Lessons for the Wars in Iraq and Syria," Testimony presented before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, April 30, 2015.
- "Breaking the Bank: Undermining Terrorist Financing," Testimony presented before the House Financial Services Committee, Task Force to Investigate Terrorist Financing, April 22, 2015.
- "Jihadist Sanctuaries in Syria and Iraq: Implications for the United States," Testimony presented before the House Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, July 24, 2014.
- "Counterterrorism and the Role of Special Operations Forces," Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Non-Proliferation, and Trade, April 8, 2014.
- "Back to the Future: The Resurgence of Salafi-Jihadists," Testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, February 4, 2014.
- "The Extremist Threat to the U.S. Homeland," Testimony before the House Homeland Security Committee, January 15, 2014.
- "The Terrorist Threat from Al Shabaab," Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, October 3, 2013.
- "Re-Examining the Al Qa'ida Threat to the United States," Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, July 18, 2013.
- "The Terrorist Threat from Syria," Testimony before the House Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, May 22, 2013
- "After the Withdrawal: A Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan," Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Joint Subcommittee on Middle East and North Africa and Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, March 19, 2013.

- “The Future of Irregular Warfare,” Testimony before the House Committee on Armed Services, Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities, March 27, 2012.
- “The Future of al Qa’ida,” Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade, May 24, 2011.
- “Transitioning to Afghan-Led Counterinsurgency,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 10, 2011.
- “The al Qa’ida Threat in Pakistan,” Testimony before the House Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Intelligence, Information Sharing and Terrorism Risk, May 3, 2011.
- “Stabilization from the Bottom Up,” Testimony before the Commission on Wartime Contracting, February 22, 2010.
- “Stabilization from the Bottom Up,” Testimony before the Commission on Wartime Contracting, February 22, 2010.
- “U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Middle East and South Asia, April 2, 2009.
- “Defeating Terrorist Groups,” Testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Terrorism and Unconventional Threats and Capabilities, September 18, 2008.
- “Getting Back on Track in Afghanistan,” Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, April 2, 2008.
- “The State of the Afghan Insurgency,” Testimony before the Canadian Senate National Security and Defence Committee, December 10, 2007.