

**Ivan Michael Arreguín-Toft**  
The Watson Institute for International & Public Affairs  
Brown University

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### **Education**

The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois  
Ph.D. in Political Science (International Relations), 1998: *Arts of Darkness: Guerrilla Warfare & Barbarism in Asymmetric Conflict*  
M.A. in Political Science, 1992  
University of California, Santa Barbara, 1990  
B.A. in Political Science, and Slavic Languages and Literatures, *Magna Cum Laude*  
University of Maryland, European Division, 1987  
A.A. General Curriculum, with honors  
Defense Language Institute, Munich, Federal Republic of Germany, 1986  
Distinguished honor graduate, Russian refresher course  
Defense Language Institute, San Antonio, Texas, 1984  
Graduate, Russian basic course

### **Teaching and Employment Experience**

#### **Brown University, USA, July 2019–**

*Lecturer in Security Studies*, The Watson Institute for International & Public Affairs

Courses:

- **Cyber Security: Strategy & Policy**
- **Sex & War**
- **Introduction to War**

#### **University of Oxford, Autumn 2012–2019**

*Fellow*, Oxford Martin School, and *Associate Director*, *Dimension 1: Cyber Security Policy and Defense*, Global Cybersecurity Capacity Building Centre, University of Oxford

*Visiting Fellow*, Changing Character of Warfare Programme, University of Oxford

*Departmental Lecturer in Public Policy*, The Blavatnik School of Government, 2012–14

Co-convener, Security for Global Governors (Trinity Term, 2014)

Chair of Examiners, 2012–14

Cyber Doctoral Training Centre

*Convener*: Cybersecurity as a Major Policy Challenge (Hilary Term, 2014)

O.P. Jindal Global University, Summer School in International Law and Global Governance

*Convener*: Cybersecurity

### **Intelligence Community Associates Program, Autumn 2018–**

*Associate.* Tasking includes panel participation, original research and policy brief authorship, seminar presentations, contribution to program of analysis, and preparing analytic reports in response to assigned tasks.

### **Harvard University, Cambridge, MA USA, 1998–2009; 2017–2018**

*Research Fellow*, 2017–2018, Cyber Security Project, Science, Technology and Public Policy Program, Harvard Kennedy School

*Visiting Lecturer*, Government Department, Spring 2009

Course: Conflict and Cooperation in the Modern World, a large undergraduate lecture, 160 students

*Senior Research Fellow*, 2005–2009, International Security Program, The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School

*Research Fellow*, 2003–2005, International Security Program, The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School

*Fellow*, 2002–2003, The Carr Center for Human Rights, The John F. Kennedy School of Government

*Inaugural Fellow*, 2001–2002, Women and Public Policy Program, The John F. Kennedy School of Government, Joint with the Belfer Center International Security Program

*Fellow*, 1999–2001, International Security Program, The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School

*Associate*, 1998–1999, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies

### **Boston University, Boston, MA, USA, July 2009–July 2017**

*Assistant Professor of International Relations*, The Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies

Courses:

- **Cyber Security:** open to advanced undergraduates and graduate students and cross-listed with Political Science
- **Gender and War:** open to advanced undergraduates and graduate students and cross-listed with Women's Studies, and Political Science
- **Introduction to International Relations:** 300+ undergraduates, cross-listed with Political Science
- **International Security:** a seminar for advanced graduate students
- **Research Methods for International Relations Practitioners:** a seminar for graduate students

*Member*, Graduate Faculty of Political Science (June 2011–July 2017): a joint appointment in Department of Political Science

## **Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA USA, 2004–2009**

*Visiting Assistant Professor*

Courses:

- Introduction to Political Science
- Introduction to World Politics
- International Security
- Russian Politics and Foreign Policy
- Small Wars in Theory and Practice
- Gender in World Politics

## **The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL USA, 1993–2004**

*Adjunct Assistant Professor*, Department of Political Science, 2004

Course: *Small Wars in Theory and Practice*

*Teaching Assistant*, Graduate School of Business, 1998. Planned, organized, and led graduate discussion sections; and evaluated student papers in Professor Marvin Zonis's *Theories of Leadership* course.

*Teaching assistant*, 1997. Planned, organized, and led graduate discussion sections; and evaluated student papers in Professor Marvin Zonis's *Problems in the Globalization of Markets* course.

*CASPIC teaching fellow*, Autumn, 1995. Planned, organized and led seminars on conflict and cooperation in the interstate system; evaluated student research memoranda and papers in Professor Charles Lipson's *International Relations: Perspectives on Conflict and Cooperation* course.

*Teaching assistant*, Spring, 1995 and Autumn, 1993. Planned, organized and led undergraduate discussion sections; and evaluated student midterm and final examinations in Professor Stephen Walt's *Origins of Modern Wars* course.

*Teaching assistant*, Winter, 1995 and Spring, 1994. Planned, organized and led undergraduate discussion sections; and evaluated student final examinations in Professor John Mearsheimer's *Strategy* course.

*Head teaching assistant*, Winter, 1993. Coordinated teaching assistant tasking and evaluation standards in Professor Daniel Verdier's *Comparative Economic Diplomacy*. Planned, organized and led undergraduate discussion sections; and evaluated student mid-term and final examinations.

## **Marvin Zonis + Associates, Inc., Chicago, IL USA, 1996–1998**

*Director of digital information resources*. Designed and maintained commercial web site; and managed all computer systems, data, and digital communications resources for a multi-million dollar international consulting firm. Supervised all computer hardware and software evaluation, installation, training, and maintenance.

## **Institute for Reading Development, Chicago, IL USA, 1995**

*Instructor*, Spring–Summer. Planned and led intensive training seminars in professional reading strategies for adults; and taught children ages six through thirteen to read for pleasure and self-education. Training for the position introduced and developed key teaching skills, including how to structure and maintain active and productive discussions and lectures,

time management, effective presentation of complex materials, and management of a wide variety of student problems and aptitudes.

### **RAND Corporation, 1994**

*Summer Intern.* Conducted extensive research on the implications of **Russian** military doctrine for Eurasian security in the next ten-to-fifteen years for Project Air Force. Led a formal multimedia presentation of research findings, and presented twenty-page research memorandum to project associates.

### **US Army, 1983–1987**

*Electronic warfare/signal intelligence analyst, Russian language qualified (MOS98C2LRU).* Sergeant (E-5), First Operations Battalion, US Army Field Station Augsburg, Federal Republic of Germany. Security clearance: top secret/sensitive compartmented information. [Unclassified Duties]: Supervised a section of military intelligence analysts for six months. Responsibilities included presenting classified intelligence briefings to Defense Department officials and field station commander. Honorable discharge, 1987. Awarded US Army Good Conduct medal.

### **Books**

*International Security Essentials, 1<sup>st</sup> Ed.*, with Monica Duffy Toft (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming, 2020).

*Essentials of International Relations, 7th Ed.*, with Karen A. Mingst (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2016).

*Essentials of International Relations, 6th Ed.*, with Karen A. Mingst (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2013).

*Essentials of International Relations, 5th Ed.*, with Karen A. Mingst (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010).

*How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

### **Published Articles and Reviews**

“The Country as a Hole: Imagined States and the Failure of Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan,” in *War and State-Building in Modern Afghanistan*, Scott Gates and Kaushik Roy, Eds., (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

“The Meaning of “State Failure”: Public Service, Public Servants, and the Contemporary Afghan State,” *International Area Studies Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Autumn 2012).

“Asymmetric Conflict Theory in Historical Perspective,” *Terrorism & Political Violence*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Summer 2012).

“Washington's Colonial Conundrum in Afghanistan.” *Foreign Affairs*. 15 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136881/ivan-arreguin-toft/washingtons-colonial-conundrum-in-afghanistan>>.

“Counterinsurgency,” *Oxford Bibliographies Online*, 3 March, 2011 (<http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0064.xml>).

- Review: Barak Mendelsohn's *Jihadism: American Hegemony and Interstate Cooperation in the War on Terrorism*, and Audrey Kurth-Cronin's *How Terrorism Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2010).
- "Unconventional Deterrence: How the Weak Deter the Strong," in T.V. Paul, Patrick Morgan, and James Wirtz, Eds., *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in a Global Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- "Obstacles to Enduring Peace in Asymmetric Conflicts: A U.S. Perspective," Oslo Forum, 2007, Part 3, pp. 29–35.
- "Review: Beating Goliath," *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Fall 2007).
- "How to Lose a War on Terror: A Comparative Analysis of a Counterinsurgency Success and Failure," in Jan Ångström and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, Eds., *Understanding Victory and Defeat in Contemporary War* (London: Frank Cass, 2007).
- "Review: How Democracies Lose Small Wars," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March 2005).
- "Tunnel at the End of the Light: A Critique of U.S. Counter-terrorist Grand Strategy," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (October, 2002).
- "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer, 2001).

### **Under Review, In Progress**

- Cybergeddon: Strategy and Policy after the Third Revolution* (under contract, W.W. Norton & Co., expected second quarter, 2019).
- The [F]utility of Barbarism*, currently under final review, Cambridge University Press.
- "The Commons Problem in the Practice of Counterinsurgency," article draft in progress. To be submitted for publication to *International Organization*.
- "Cyber Harm: Toward a Capacity for Technology Policy Net Assessment," article draft in progress. To be submitted for publication to *World Politics*.
- "How Barbarism Fails: A Comparative Analysis of the Third Reich's Wartime Occupation Policies, 1939–1945," article draft in progress. To be submitted for publication to *International Security*.

### **Fellowships, Grants and Special Programs**

- Co-Principal Investigator with Scott Gates, Pavel Baev, and Kaushik Roy, "Future Warfare: Prospects and Probabilities for Great, Medium and Small Powers," Security and Defense Policy Research Grant (NOK 831,000.00), the Norwegian Ministry of Defense, 15 January–31 December, 2013.
- U.S. Fulbright Scholar, Norway, 2012–2013.
- Visiting Research Fellow, Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), Oslo, Norway, July 2010.
- Visiting Research Fellow, Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, Oslo, Norway, August 2010.
- Smith Richardson Foundation Book Grant, *Theory of Asymmetric Conflict*, 2000–2001.
- Center for Strategic Education Workshop, Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, June 2000.

- Institute for the Study of World Peace Dissertation Fellowship, 1997–1998.
- Smith Richardson Foundation Dissertation Fellowship, 1997–1998.
- Trustees Fellowship, The University of Chicago, 1996–1997.
- MacArthur Foundation CASPIC Teaching Fellowship, Autumn, 1995.
- Andrew W. Mellon First-Year Dissertation Fellowship, Summer, 1993.
- Minority fellow, Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC), 1990–1994.

### **Impact**

Work cited in “Trump’s Torture Stance is Bad Counterterrorism Policy,” [TheHill.com](http://thehill.com), 01 July 2016 (<http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/defense/286303-trumps-torture-stance-is-bad-counterterrorism-policy>)

Work cited on Fared Zakaria, Global Public Square, “How the West Should Handle Russia,” 20 July 2014.

Interview, 2Paragraphs.com, “Sunni Insurgency in Iraq—Fueled by Salafi Jihadism, and Money,” The Daily Edition, 7 July 2014.

Interview, 2Paragraphs.com, “Does Torture Pay? Barbarism is Ultimately Self-Defeating, But...,” The Daily Edition, 27 March 2014.

Work cited in Moisés Naím, *The End of Power: From Boardrooms to Battlefields and Churches to States, Why Being In Charge Isn’t What It Used to Be* (New York: Basic Books, 2013).

Work cited in Malcolm Gladwell, *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants* (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 2013).

Master of Science in Defense Analysis Thesis, Kevin R. Kotula and Timothy L. Richardson, *Defeating David: Looking Beyond a Matched Strategy* (December, 2011).

Work cited in: Malcolm Gladwell, “How David Beats Goliath,” *The New Yorker*, Vol. 85, No. 13 (5/11/2009): 40-49.

### **Conference-Workshop Participation**

Panel Presenter, “The Politics of Cyber Harm in International Security.” Panel FC46: The Politics and Strategy of Cyber. International Studies Association Annual Conference, Toronto, Canada, 29 March 2019.

Joint Services Academy Cyber Security Summit 2018, “Achieving the Cybersecurity Moonshot: Bridging Vision with Strategy,” Annapolis, Maryland, 20–21 March 2018.

Breakout session convener, Tufts-Fletcher Political Risk Conference 2018, “New Frontiers: Emerging Technologies and Political Risk,” the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts, 2 March 2018.

Co-Convener, Global Cyber Security Capacity Centre annual conference, Oxford Martin School, University of Oxford, United Kingdom, 6 February 2018.

Panelist, “A Conversation on Cyber Futures,” Cyber Center for Education and Innovation Fall Symposium, University of Maryland University College, 10 October 2017.

Lecturer, Workshop on the Future of Government: Major Vectors of Disruption–Demography, Robotics, and Data: “Security Shock: Citizen Security in an Era of Non-Linear Technological Change,” 3–6 April 2017, Christ Church College, Oxford, United Kingdom.

Co-Convener, Global Cyber Security Capacity Centre annual conference, Oxford Martin School, University of Oxford, United Kingdom, 6–8 February 2017.

- Making Social Media Matter, Social Media Analysis: Principles and Practices for Big Data, Boston University College of Communication, 13 January 2017.
- Panel discussant and chair, FD29: violence against civilians in counterinsurgency, International Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, 18 March 2016.
- Panel presenter, “The Short and the Long of It: Forgotten Lessons of the Murid Wars, 1816–1859, International Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, 18 March 2016.
- Co-Chair, Asymmetric Warfare Roundtable, Student Conference on United States Affairs, “Confronting Inequality: Wealth, Rights, and Power,” 4–7 November, 2015, US Military Academy, West Point.
- Conference convener, with Atlantic Council: Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security, “Global Risks Assessment Project: Costs and Opportunities of Emerging Cyber Challenges, Oxford Martin School, 8 June 2015, Oxford, United Kingdom.
- Oxford Martin School, Global Cyber Security Capacity Centre and Boston University Delegate, Global Conference on Cyber Space 2015, 16–17 April, The Hague, Netherlands.
- Oxford Martin School, Global Cyber Security Capacity Centre and Boston University Delegate, The Hague Institute for Global Justice, “Reconciling Policy Priorities of the Global North and South: Implications for Norms of Responsible State Behaviour in Cyberspace,” 15 April 2015, The Hague, Netherlands.
- Oxford Martin School, Global Cyber Security Capacity Centre Delegate, European Commission- International for Security Studies Cyber NEEDS and Development Conference, 23–24 February 2015, Brussels, Belgium. “From Analog to Digital? The Problem of Resilience in Future Wars,” paper to be presented at the PRIO Future of War conference, 1–2 November 2013, Oslo, Norway.
- Panel presenter, “The Walking Dead: Challenges to Cybersecurity and the Importance of Societal Resilience,” Seoul Conference on Cyberspace 2013, 17–18 October, Seoul, South Korea.
- “Military Literacy and War in the 21st Century,” Changing Character of War lunchtime seminar presentation, University of Oxford, United Kingdom, 22 January 2013.
- “Why Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan Always Fails,” paper presented at the conference “COIN in Afghanistan: From Mughals to the Americans,” Oslo, Norway, 12–13 February, 2012.
- Panel presenter, “The Illusion of Choice: Killing Power, Cross-Audience Utility and the Culture Problem,” International Studies Association, San Diego, California, April 2012.
- Panel discussion chair, “Religion, Radicalization, and Counter-terrorism / Faith and Politics.” A GR:EEN (European Commission Seventh Framework Program) workshop, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, March 6, 2012.
- “Escalation Processes in Irregular Warfare.” Experts workshop, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands, September 17–18, 2010.
- “Unconventional Deterrence: How the Weak Deter the Strong.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, New York, 15–18 February 2009.
- “The Practice of Counterinsurgency.” Paper presented at “The Practice Turn in International Relations,” University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 21, 2008.
- Chair and panel discussant: “The Ethics and Effectiveness of Asymmetric Warfare” (Panel 18-7). Annual convention of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August 2008.

- “Strategic Choice and Multiple Audiences: Why the United States Loses Contemporary Small Wars.” Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August 2008.
- “The Practice of Counterinsurgency.” Roundtable discussion at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, California, January 2008.
- “The [F]utility of Barbarism: Assessing the Impact of the Systematic Harm of Noncombatants in War.” Paper presented at the Program for International Security and Policy, the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, November 2007.
- Panel discussant, “Big Threats from Small Actors” (43-12). Annual convention of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2007.
- “Unconventional Deterrence: How the Weak Deter the Strong.” Paper presented at “Deterrence: A Complex Paradigm,” McGill University, Montreal, Canada, May 5, 2007.
- Panel discussant, “War as a Policy Instrument: How Great Powers Win all the Battles and Lose the Peace.” Divisions 18 (international security) and 20 (foreign policy). Annual convention of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 2006.
- “Crossing the Line: The Problem of Interstate Boundaries as Insurgent Sanctuary.” Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2005.
- “Self-Inflicted Wounds: Evaluating the Costs of Barbarism as a Coercive Strategy in War.” Paper presented at the annual convention of the International Studies Association, Honolulu, Hawai’i, March, 2005.
- “How to Lose a War on Terror: A Comparative Analysis of Counterinsurgency Successes and Failures.” Paper prepared for the annual convention of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2004.
- “The [F]utility of Barbarism: Assessing the Impact of the Systematic Harm of Noncombatants in War.” Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 2003.
- American Political Science Association annual convention: Boston, Massachusetts, September 2002.
- International Studies Association annual meeting: New Orleans, Louisiana, March 2002.
- “Stability and Justice for All: The Dilemma of Intervention in Civil Wars,” with Monica Duffy Toft. Paper presented at the annual convention of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, September, 1999.

### **Media and Policy Outreach**

- Associate, Intelligence Council Associates Program, National Intelligence Council, Washington D.C., August 2018–
- Editorial consultant, National Intelligence Council Global Trends Project, “Russia and Eurasia,” and “How We Fight,” September 2016.
- “Beyond the Headlines: Cybersecurity: the FBI vs. Apple,” panel discussion with Professors Sharon Goldberg (Computer Science) and Professor of Practice John Woodward (Pardee School), the Pardee School for Global Studies, 6 April, 2016.
- “The Future of Afghanistan and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 15 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/features/collections/the-future-of-afghanistan-and-us-foreign-policy>>.



*The Davis Fund for Russian Area Studies*: Panel discussion, Wellesley College, 20 September 2010. “Russian Military Reforms,” with Nathalie Roulman, Adam Van Arsdale, Nina Tumarkin, and Marshall Goldman.

*The Davis Fund for Russian Area Studies*: Panel discussion, Wellesley College, 4 September 2008. “Russia v. Georgia: Crisis in the Caucasus,” with Phil Kohl, Nina Tumarkin, and Marshall Goldman. Full talk available at [iTunes U](#).

*Reuters Television*: Interview with Reuters’ Deborah Lutterbeck, 28 June 2008. “[Echoes of Vietnam in Iraq](#).”

*Nieman Watchdog*: Commentary, 23 March 2007. “[How a Superpower Can End up Losing to the Little Guys](#).”

*Nieman Watchdog*: Commentary, 30 March 2007. “[Why Victory Became Defeat in Iraq](#).”

*U.S. 20th Engineering Brigade*: Fort Bragg, North Carolina, February 2007. Briefed U.S. Army’s 20th Engineering Brigade commander and senior staff on obstacles to effective counterinsurgency and recent research on the dynamics of **asymmetric conflict** prior to the unit’s deployment to Iraq.

*PRI’s The World*: Interview with Athena Desai, 18 January 2006. “NATO and the War in Afghanistan.”

*The Boston Globe*: “‘Peace with Honor’ in Iraq,” with Monica Duffy Toft, October 25, 2004, p. A15.

### **Professionalization Training-Exchanges**

- Boston University Academic Exchange, U.S. Naval War College, “Thinking Strategically,” Newport, Rhode Island, 8 April 2016.
- Center for Strategic Education Teachers Workshop, Basin Harbor, Vermont, 19 June–1 July 2000.

### **Professional Associations and Qualifications**

- Individual Member, International Institute for Strategic Studies (May 2015–)
- Visiting research fellow, Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), March–August 2013.
- Ph.D. dissertation defense opponent for Kersti Larsdotter, School of Global Studies, University of Göteborg, Sweden, February 2011.
- Member, International Studies Association (2004–present).
- Member, American Political Science Association (1992–present).
- Outstanding reviewer for *International Security*, 2010–11.
- Reviewer for *International Security*, *International Organization*, *The American Political Science Review*, *European Journal of International Affairs*, MIT Press, *Perspectives on Politics*, *World Politics*, *Security Studies*, and *International Studies Quarterly*.
- Proficient in written and spoken Russian; working knowledge of French and Spanish.

*References and teaching evaluations available upon request.*