

# J. Thomas Moriarty II

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## Current Position

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**Doctoral Candidate, Department of Politics, University of Virginia**

**Predocctoral Fellow, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University**

## Education

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### **University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia**

*Doctoral Candidate (ABD), International Affairs, May 2008-Present*

- Major Field: International Relations Theory; Minor Field: Comparative Politics
- Dissertation: "Losing is Half the Battle: Cost-Tolerant States and the Ending of Major Wars."
  - Dissertation Committee: William Quandt (Chair), Dale Copeland, Todd Secsher

### **University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia**

*M.A. in International Affairs, May 2008*

- Master Thesis: "The Vulnerability of Markets: The Anglo-Dutch and Venetian-Genoese Trade Rivalries."

### **The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania**

*B.A. in International Politics, May 2001*

- University Honors.
- Senior Thesis: "The Unchanging Nature of War: The Continued Relevance of Carl von Clausewitz in Today's Security Environment."
- Senior Honor Thesis: "Exploring Military Strategy's Causal Importance on War Outcomes: Reassessing the Schlieffen Plan."

## Publications

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### **Refereed Journal Articles**

- "The Art of (Proxy) War: Pakistan's Undeclared Wars in Afghanistan," (Forthcoming).
- "The 'Great Victory' Bias: Exploring the Critical Examination of Strategy," (Forthcoming).
- "The Vanguard's Dilemma: Understanding and Exploiting Insurgent Strategies," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 21:3 (Fall: 2010), pp. 476- 497.
- "Learning to Shatter Mirrors: Unconventional Tactics in Operation Iraqi Freedom," (Revise and Resubmit).
- "The Generational Gap: Internal Rivalries within the Muslim Brotherhood," (Under Review).

### Other Journal Articles

- “Entering the Valley of Uncertainty: The Future of Preemptive Attack,” *World Affairs Journal* 167:2 (Fall: 2004), pp. 71-78.

### Conference Reports

- *Conventional Intelligence in an Unconventional World: New Approaches*. The United States Air Force Information Warfare Center (2004).
- *The Future Challenges of Asymmetrical Warfare: Preparing for Tomorrow*. The United States Air Force Information Warfare Center (2003).

### Book Reviews

- *Counterinsurgency in Iraq (2003-2006)* by Bruce Pirnie and Edward O’Connell (RAND Corporation: 2008), in *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Forthcoming).
- *The Evolution of Strategy: Thinking War from Antiquity to the Present* by Beatrice Heuser (Cambridge University Press: 2010), in *Military Review* (Forthcoming).

### Op-Eds

- “Bring Africa Command to Virginia,” *The Virginian-Pilot*, September 14, 2010.
- “Unaffordable Luxury: Cancel the F-35 Now,” *The Daily Press*, August 12, 2009.

## Works in Progress

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- “Losing is Half the Battle: Cost-Tolerant States and the Ending of Major Wars (Dissertation).”
- “Partners in Crime & Terror: Cooperation between Transnational Criminal Enterprises and International Terrorism.”
- “Where Have all the Girls Gone?: Human Trafficking in Haiti.”
- “Double Edge Spear: Examining the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation of Terrorist Organizations.”
- “Internal Fragmentation: The De- Radicalization of Jihadists Movements in Egypt.”
- “Conceptual Confusion: Clarifying and Confronting Status-Quo and Revisionist Insurgencies.”
- “Survival of the Fittest?: Inter-Service Competition and the Transformation of the US Military.”

## Conference Presentations

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“Insurgent Operations and Strategies (Panel).” Chair at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, April 2, 2012.

“The Taliban Way of War: A Conceptual Analysis of Insurgent Strategies.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, April 2, 2012.

“Losing is Half the Battle: Cost-Tolerant States and the Ending of Major Wars.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, April 1, 2012.

“The Causes of Peace and the Conditions of War: The Termination of Major Wars.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle,

September 4, 2011.

“Where Have all the Girls Gone?: Human Trafficking in Haiti.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the INTERPOL Americas Regional Conference, Oranjestad (Aruba), July 7, 2011.

“Partners in Crime & Terror: Cooperation between Transnational Criminal Enterprises and International Terrorism.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the INTERPOL Americas Regional Conference, Oranjestad (Aruba), July 6, 2011.

“Unconventional-Conventional Deterrence: Non-Nuclear Deterrence in a Nuclear World.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 3, 2011.

“The Causes of Peace and the Conditions of War: The War Termination Trinity and the Ending of Major Wars.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 3, 2011.

“Insurgency, Counterinsurgency, and Conflict (Panel).” Chair and Discussant at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 3, 2011.

“Operation Iraqi Freedom: Isolated Victory or the Future of Warfare?” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, March 17, 2011.

“Confronting an Old Foe: The Continued Relevance of the Foco Theory.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, March 17, 2011.

“New Threats to Peace (Panel).” Chair and Discussant at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 8, 2011.

“The Ghosts of Bulow: The Future of Conventional Deterrence.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 7, 2011.

“Che Guevara’s Revenge: Understanding the Theory and Logic of Insurgencies.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 7, 2011.

“Publicity and Security: The Hidden Motives for Non-State Actors.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, November 12, 2010.

“In Search for Publicity and Security: Urban vs. Rural Engagement.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association- Northeast, Baltimore, November 4, 2010.

“Unconventional Military Strategies: The Future of Warfare?” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association- Northeast, Baltimore, November 4, 2010.

“Che Guevara’s Revenge: Unpacking the Theoretical Logic and Tensions within Insurgencies.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Security Studies Section (ISSS) of the International Studies Association and the International Security and Arms Control Section (ISAC) of the American Political Science Association, Providence, October 15, 2010.

“Strategies of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency (Panel).” Chair at the Annual Meeting of the International Security Studies Section (ISSS) of the International Studies Association and the International Security and Arms Control Section (ISAC) of the American Political Science Association, Providence, October 15, 2010.

“International Relations and the Korean Issue (Panel).” Discussant at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 22, 2010.

“Military Intelligence Failure and the Need for Understanding Unconventional Military Strategies: The Case of the Iraq War.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, February 17, 2010.

“The Growing Divide: Intelligence Collection Cooperation and Competition Amongst Allies.” Paper presented at the Baltic Defense College: Conference on NATO Strategic Concept, Tartu (Estonia), February 11, 2010.

“The Vanguard’s Dilemma: Understanding and Exploiting Insurgent Strategies.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, September 3, 2009.

“The Vulnerability of Markets: War and the Anglo-Dutch Trade Rivalry.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 4, 2009.

“A Conceptual Analysis of the Foco Theory of Insurgency.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 29, 2008.

“The Vanguard’s Dilemma: Examining the Vanguard Theory of Insurgency.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 4, 2008.

“When Trade Rivalries Lead to Armed Conflict: The Venetian-Genoese Trade Wars.” Paper presented at the Annual Graduate Student Conference of the Department of Politics at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, April 1, 2008.

“The Uncertainty of Preemptive Attack: The Difficulties of Attacking Nearly Nuclear Armed States.” Paper presented at the Center for International Security and Cooperation Conference on Preventing Nuclear War in South Asia, Bangkok (Thailand), August 6, 2001.

## Invited Talks and Workshops

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### **The US-Turkish- Israeli Strategic Triangle, Center for International Studies, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia**

- Conference on US-Turkish-Israeli Strategic Relationship and its Implications for the Middle East. April 1, 2011.
  - Supported the organization, planning and logistics of conference. Conference included officials from the Obama administration, US foreign policy analysts, and participants from Turkey and Israel.

**The Fifth Annual Homeland Defense and Security Education Summit, Center for Homeland Defense and Security, University of Maryland, University College, Maryland**

- Homeland Security Conference. March 10-11, 2011.
  - Workshop on innovative Homeland Security Courses and educational methods.

**The Sixth Annual New Era Foreign Policy Conference, The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington D.C.**

- The New Era Annual Conference, "Bridging the Gap." February 20-22, 2011.
  - Workshop, Panel and Planning Sessions on identifying global security challenges over the next five years.

**The Partnership for Peace Working Group, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kabul (Afghanistan)**

- "US Department of Homeland Security: Origins, Organization, and Effectiveness." December 29, 2010.
- "Why (Internal) Wars End: The Challenges and Opportunities of Reconciliation during Internal Conflicts." December 29, 2010.
- "Nuclear Neighbors: Conventionally Deterring Nuclear Armed States." June 16, 2010.
- "International and Domestic Media's Influence on Public Opinion during Counterinsurgencies." June 16, 2010.
- "Dangerous Allies: Terrorism and Crime." June 15, 2009.

**Counterterrorism Awareness Workshop Kick-off Conference, Center for Homeland Defense and Security, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California**

- 2010 Homeland Security Conference. November 17-18, 2010.
  - Workshop included discussions on share best practices and strategies to prevent, disrupt and respond to the terrorist use of an active shooter style attack. In addition, gained an understanding of federal capabilities as well as an understanding of available resources for support.

**The C4 Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance Conference, Washington D.C.**

- 2010 Annual C4 ISR Conference, "Intelligence Fusion." October 12-13, 2010.
  - "Intel for Counterinsurgency Campaigns: Can there be Enough?" October 12, 2010.

**United States Air Force Information Warfare Center, Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas**

- "The Evolution of the Department of Homeland Security: Success, Failures, and the Way Ahead." November 21, 2010.
- "Russia Enters a New Age of Warfare: Assessing Russian Information Warfare Capabilities in Georgia." May 1, 2009.
- "Slowing a Giant: Hezbollah's Asymmetrical War with Israel and the Challenges Ahead." May 4, 2008.

**Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania**

- XXI Annual Strategy Conference, "Defining War in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." April 6-9, 2010.
  - Teaching Strategy Workshop, "Teaching Strategy in the 21st Century: What is the Curriculum, Pedagogy, and Faculty Development for Teaching Strategy?" April 17, 2010.
- XX Annual Strategy Conference, "Strategic Implications of Emerging Technologies." April 14-17, 2009.

- Teaching Strategy Workshop, "Why is the Pedagogy of Strategy Important? Is Strategy Science or Art, or Both? And Can Strategy Be Taught?" April 17, 2009.

**Department of Politics, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia**

- "War in the Middle East: A Review." *International Relations of the Middle East*, Guest lecture, February 11, 2010.
- "The Origins and Consequences of the Six-Day War from the Israeli, Syrian and Egyptian Perspectives." *International Relations of the Middle East*, Guest lecture, February 9, 2010.
- "Understanding Globalization and the Future of International Relations Theory: Time to Rethink Old Paradigms?" *Introduction to International Relations Theory*, Guest lecture, February 5, 2008.
- "The Vulnerability of Markets: The Anglo-Dutch and Venetian-Genoese Trade Rivalries." *Lansing-Lee Seminar*, Guest lecture, April 14, 2007.

**John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, Ft. Bragg, Fayetteville, North Carolina**

- "Assessing Counterinsurgency Operations: What is Success and Failure?" January 13, 2009.
- "Military Intelligence during Counterinsurgency: Time for a Doctrinal Shift?" January 13, 2009.

**Department of Military History, Korean Military Academy, Seoul (South Korea)**

- "Assessing Counterinsurgency Operations: What is Success and Failure?" December 10, 2008.
- "Deadly Encounters: Examining the Employment and Defense of Chemical Weapon Attacks during World War I and the Iran-Iraq War." December 9, 2008.

**Department of War Studies, Swedish National Defense College, Stockholm (Sweden)**

- "Uncertain Times: Deterring Nuclear Armed Rogue States." August 10, 2007.

**Center for Strategic Studies, Ecole Speciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr, Brittany (France)**

- "All is Not Quiet on the Afghanistan Front: The Growing Strength of the Taliban." August 7, 2007.
- "Invisible Dangers: Pakistani Proxy Wars and the Future Shape of Conflict." August 6, 2007.

**Royal Air Force College (RAFC), RAF Cranwell, Lincolnshire (England)**

- "Airpower in Afghanistan and Iraq: Different Wars, Different Challenges." August 4, 2007.
- "All is Not Quiet on the Afghanistan Front: The Growing Strength of the Taliban." August 3, 2007.

**Project AIR FORCE, RAND, Santa Monica, California**

- "Airpower and Insurgencies: The Role and Responsibilities of the USAF in Counterinsurgent Operations." December 11, 2004.

**The Interagency Security Committee (ISC), Department of Homeland Security, Washington D.C.**

- "Asymmetrical Warfare against the United States: A Historical Appraisal of Terrorist

Methods, Tactics and Theory.” December 2, 2004.

**Center for Strategic and International Studies’ Project on Nuclear Issues, US Strategic Command (USSTRATCOM), Offutt Air Force Base, Omaha, Nebraska**

- “Second Round Strike Capability: The Next Generation of Nuclear Deterrence.” October 14, 2004.

**Grants, Fellowships, and Awards**

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**Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington D.C.**

- Predoctoral Fellowship, 2012

**Presidential Management Fellowship Finalist**

**Department of Politics, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia**

- Graduate Fellowship, 2007- 2011

**Center for European Security and Peace, North Atlantic Treaty Foundation**

- Fellowship, 2010. One of ten American graduate students selected to present at the transatlantic conference on the “NATO Strategic Concept” held at the Baltic Defense College. Fellowship included support for transatlantic travel, local accommodation and research.

**College of Arts and Sciences, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia**

- Graduate Travel Grant, 2010

**The Prestage Cook Award, Southern Political Science Association**

- Travel Grant, 2010

**John C. Martial Award, United States Air Force**

- Research Fellowship Grant, 2009

**American Political Science Association**

- Travel Grant, 2009

**US Department of Homeland Security**

- Research Grant, 2007

**United States Air Force Information Warfare Center, Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas**

- Research Grant, 2003

**Department of Military Studies, Korean Military Academy, Seoul (South Korea)**

- Visiting Scholar-Research Grant, Fall 2002

**Harry R. Armstrong Leadership Award, Arnold Air Society**

- Undergraduate Fellowship, 2000

**Air Force ROTC, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania**

- Undergraduate Scholarship, 1999-2001

## Research and Teaching Interests

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- US Defense Policy
- International Affairs
- War Termination and Conflict Resolution
- Terrorism
- Insurgency and Counterinsurgency
- Military Strategy
- Intelligence Studies
- Area/ Regional Studies: Middle East and North Africa, US Foreign Policy

## Courses Taught

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### **Department of Politics, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia**

- Instructor- *International Relations Theory* (35 students)
- Teaching Assistant- *Introduction to Comparative Politics* for Dr. David Waldner
- Teaching Assistant- *Introduction to International Relations* for Dr. John Owen
- Teaching Assistant- *Grand Strategies in International Relations* for Dr. Jeff Legro
- Teaching Assistant- *International Relations of the Middle East* for Dr. William Quandt

### **United States Air Force Information Warfare Center, Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas**

- Instructor- *International Politics and Strategic Theory: An Introduction* (special topics seminar for selected personnel of the US Air Force and allied air forces: 85 students)
- Instructor- *Military Action in US Foreign Policy* (special topics seminar for selected personnel of the US Air Force and allied air forces: 55 students)

## Professional Affiliations

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- American Political Science Association
- International Studies Association
- Midwest Political Science Association
- Society for Military History
- National Military Intelligence Association
- Middle East Studies Association
- Committee for the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (CAMOS)

## Relevant Employment

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### **United States Air Force Military Intelligence Officer, Selected Positions Held, (May 2001-Present)**

- John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, Ft. Bragg, Fayetteville, North Carolina
  - Guest Instructor, Spring 2003



- Department of Advanced Studies, Korean Military Academy, Seoul (South Korea)
  - Guest Instructor, Fall 2002
- United States Information Warfare Center, Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas
  - Military Intelligence Analyst and Instructor (June 2003-May 2005)
- CJTF-C2X, Camp Victory, Baghdad (Iraq)
  - Human Intelligence Officer and Counterinsurgent Specialist/Adviser
    - Created Human Intelligence products on the activities of various insurgent and terrorist groups operating within Iraq for use by US ground and air forces.
    - Provided instruction, guidance and assessments on various insurgent and terrorist groups operating within Iraq for senior military officers.
    - Wrote daily situational reports on the Iraq insurgency for inclusion in briefs to the White House, CIA, senior policymakers and the wider intelligence community.

### **Research Assistant, Department of Politics, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, (January 2008-2010)**

- Researched and participated in the creation of a dataset examining the role of intrastate compellent threats on international affairs for Dr. Todd Sechser.

### **Teaching Assistant, Department of Politics, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, (August 2007- 2010)**

- See above

### **National Security Intern, Office of Strategic Planning, Department of Defense, Washington D.C., (Summer 2000)**

- Helped research and design an analytical reassessment of the Department of Defense's military procurement priorities for the next decade.
- Wrote monograph on spending priorities for the US military over the next decade. Monograph distributed to select military and Department of Defense officials.
- Briefed senior military officials on the conclusions of the assessment.

### **Intern, US House of Representatives, Washington D.C., (Summer 1998)**

- Office of Congressman Tom Davis

**References available upon request.**

Last Updated: July 2012