

## Michael C. Horowitz

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| <b>University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA</b><br>Associate Director of Perry World House/Global Innovation Program | <b>July 2015-Present</b>   |
| <b>University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA</b><br>Professor of Political Science                                    | <b>July 2017-Present</b>   |
| <b>University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA</b><br>Associate Professor of Political Science                          | <b>July 2011-June 2017</b> |
| <b>University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA</b><br>Assistant Professor of Political Science                          | <b>July 2007-June 2011</b> |

### EDUCATION

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|---|-------------|
| <b>Harvard University, Cambridge, MA</b><br>PhD, Department of Government, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences | <b>2007</b> |
| <b>Emory University, Atlanta, GA</b><br>B.A., Phi Beta Kappa and summa cum laude in Political Science.          | <b>2000</b> |

### RECENT AWARDS

- Received 2017 Karl Deutsch Award from the International Studies Association. It is presented annually to a scholar under age 40, or within 10 years of dissertation defense, who is judged to have made, through a body of publications, the most significant contribution to the study of international relations and peace research.

### BOOKS

- The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).
  - Received Edgar S. Furniss Book Award from the Mershon Center for International Security Studies
  - Received Best Book Award from the International Security Studies Section of the International Studies Association
  - Received 2011 Lasswell Prize from the Society of Policy Scientists
  - Finalist for International Studies Association Best Book Award
- Why Leaders Fight (with Allan Stam and Cali M. Ellis). (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

- “Tactical Diversity in Militant Violence” (with Evan Perkoski and Philip Potter). *International Organization*. Forthcoming.
- “Droning On: The Proliferation of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and Military Innovation” (with Matthew Fuhrmann). *International Organization*. 71:2 (Spring 2017), pp. 394-418. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818317000121>.
- “Domestic Signaling of Commitment Credibility: Military Recruitment and Alliance Formation” (with Paul Poast and Allan Stam). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 61:8 (2017), pp. 1682-1710. DOI: 10.1177/0022002715612576.
- “The Consequences of Drone Proliferation: Separating Fact From Fiction” (with Sarah E. Kreps and Mathew Fuhrmann). *International Security*. 41:2 (Fall 2016), pp. 7-24. DOI: 10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00257.
- “A Deeper Look at Interstate War Data: Interstate War Data version 1.1” (with Dan Reiter and Allan Stam). *Research & Politics*. 3:4 (2016), pp. 1-3. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168016683840>
- “A Revised Look at Interstate Wars, 1816-2007” (with Dan Reiter and Allan Stam). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 60:5 (2016), pp. 956-976. DOI: 10.1177/0022002714553107.
- “Public opinion and the politics of the killer robots debate” *Research & Politics*. 3:1 (February 2016), pp. 1-8. DOI: 10.1177/2053168015627183.
- “Improving Probabilistic Predictions by Identifying and Cultivating ‘Superforecasters’ ” (with Barbara Mellers, Eric Stone, Philip Tetlock, et al.). *Perspectives on Psychological Science*. 10:3 (May 2015), pp. 267-281. DOI: 10.1177/1745691615577794.
- “Introducing the LEAD Dataset” (with Cali M. Ellis and Allan Stam). *International Interactions*. 41:4 (2015), pp. 718-741. DOI: 10.1080/03050629.2015.1016157.
- “The Rise and Spread of Suicide Bombing.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18 (2015), pp. 69-84.
- “The Psychology of Intelligence Analysis: Drivers of Prediction Accuracy in World Politics” (with Barbara Mellers, Philip Tetlock, et al.). *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied*, 21 (2015), pp. 1-14.
- “When Leaders Matter: Rebel Experience and Nuclear Proliferation” (with Matt Fuhrmann). *Journal of Politics*. 77:1 (January 2015), pp. 72-87.
- “How Prior Military Experience Influences The Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders” (With Allan Stam). *International Organization*. 68:3 (June 2014), pp. 527-559.
- “Poor Man’s Atomic Bomb? Explaining the Relationship Between Weapons of Mass Destruction” (With Neil Narang). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 58:3 (April 2014), pp. 509-535.
  - Republished in *Nonproliferation Policy and Nuclear Posture: Causes and Consequences for the Spread of Nuclear Weapons*, edited by Neil Narang, Erik Gartzke, and Matt Kroenig (New York: Routledge, 2015).
- “Allying to Kill: Terrorist Intergroup Cooperation and the Consequences for Lethality” (with Phil Potter). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 58:2 (March 2014), pp. 199-225.
- “What Determines Military Victory? Testing the Modern System” (With Ryan Grauer). *Security*

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- Studies*. 21:1 (2012), pp. 83-111.
- “When Backing Down is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information, and Audience Costs” (With Matt Levendusky). *Journal of Politics*. 74:2 (2012), pp. 323-338.
    - Received Best Paper Award from the *Journal of Politics* for articles published in 2012.
  - “Domestic Institutions and Wartime Casualties” (with Erin Simpson and Allan Stam). *International Studies Quarterly*. 55:4 (2011), pp. 909-936.
  - “Drafting Support for War: Conscription and Mass Support for Warfare” (With Matt Levendusky). *Journal of Politics*. 73:2 (2011), pp. 524-534.
  - “Non-State Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism”. *International Organization*, 64:1 (Winter 2010), pp. 33-64.
    - Republished in *Political Violence*, edited by Erica Chenoweth (New York: Sage, 2014).
  - “Long Time Going: Religion and the Duration of Crusading”. *International Security*, 34:2 (Fall 2009), pp. 162-193.
  - “The Spread of Nuclear Weapons and International Conflict: Does Experience Matter”. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53:2 (April 2009), pp. 234-257.
    - Republished in *Causes and Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation*, edited by Robert Rauchhaus, Matt Kroenig, and Erik Gartzke (New York: Routledge, 2011).
  - “Age, Regime Type, and Violence” (with Rose McDermott and Allan Stam). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49:5 (October 2005), pp. 661-685.
  - “Evolution or Revolution?” (with Stephen P. Rosen). *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28:3 (June 2005), pp. 437-448.
  - “When Does Aerial Bombing Work? Quantitative Empirical Tests, 1917-1999” (with Dan Reiter). *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45:2 (April 2001), pp. 147-173.

### PEER-REVIEWED BOOK CHAPTERS

- “The proliferation of robotics and the promise of autonomous systems: consequences for military effectiveness,” in *The Sword's Other Edge: Tradeoffs in the Pursuit of Military Effectiveness*, ed. Dan Reiter (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- “Civilian Nuclear Power, Nuclear Weapons Programs, and Militarized Disputes,” in *The Nuclear Renaissance*, eds. Matthew Fuhrmann and Adam Stulberg. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 288-312.
- “Information Age Economics And The Future Of The East Asian Security Environment,” in *The Political Economy of National Security in East Asia*, eds. Avery Goldstein and Edward Mansfield (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 211-235.
- “Leaders, Leadership, and International Security.” Book chapter for Oxford University Press Handbook on International Security.
- “Drone Proliferation” (with Sarah Kreps and Matthew Fuhrmann). Book chapter for Oxford University Press Handbook on International Security.

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### WORKING PAPERS

- “What makes Foreign Policy Teams Tick: Explaining Variation in Group Performance At Geopolitical Forecasting” (with Dustin Tingley, Brandon Stewart, Philip Tetlock, et al.). On revise & resubmit at a peer reviewed journal.
- “Sizing Up the Adversary: Leader Attributes, Credibility, and Reciprocation in International Conflict” (with Philip Potter, Todd Sechser, and Allan Stam). On revise & resubmit at a peer reviewed journal.
- “Leaders and Military Conflict” (with Matthew Fuhrmann). On revise & resubmit at a peer reviewed journal.
- “A Stable Nuclear Future? The Impact of Autonomous Systems and Artificial Intelligence” (with Paul Scharre and Alex Velez-Green)
- “The Politics of WMD Proliferation” (with Neil Narang)
- “Artificial Intelligence, War, and Nuclear Crisis Stability”
- “Labor, Capital, and the Morality of Emerging Technologies: Public Attitudes and Autonomous Weapon Systems”
- “An Introduction to Autonomy in Weapon Systems” (with Paul Scharre).

### BOOK MANUSCRIPTS IN PROGRESS

- Religious Motivations and the Politics of Warfare. Supported by grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation. Draft manuscript completed.

### OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- “Will Killer Robots be Banned? Lessons from Past Civil Society Campaigns” (with Julia Macdonald), *Lawfare*, November 5, 2016: <https://lawfareblog.com/will-killer-robots-be-banned-lessons-past-civil-society-campaigns>
- “How surprising is North Korea’s nuclear success? Picking up where proliferation theories leave off” *War on the Rocks*, September 6, 2017: <https://warontherocks.com/2017/09/how-surprising-is-north-koreas-nuclear-success-picking-up-where-proliferation-theories-leave-off/>
- “Militant groups have drones. Now what?” (with Itai Barsade), *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, September 7, 2017: <http://thebulletin.org/militant-groups-have-drones-now-what11089>
- “Drone Proliferation: Policy Choices for the Trump Administration” (with Elisa Ewers, Lauren Fish, Alexandra Sander, and Paul Scharre), *Center for a New American Security*, June 2017: <http://drones.cnas.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/CNASReport-DroneProliferation-Final.pdf>
- “The Future of War is Fast Approaching in the Pacific: Are the U.S. Military Services Ready?” *War on the Rocks*, June 2, 2017: <https://warontherocks.com/2017/06/the-future-of-war-is-fast-approaching-in-the-pacific-are-the-u-s-military-services-ready/>
- “The Ethics and Morality of Robotic Warfare: Assessing the Debate Over Autonomous

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- Weapons,” *Daedalus* 145:4 (Fall 2016), pp. 25-36.
- “Why Words Matter: The Real World Consequences of Defining Autonomous Weapon Systems,” *Temple International & Comparative Law Journal*. 30:1 (Spring 2016), pp. 85-98.
  - “Who’ll want artificially intelligent weapons? ISIS, democracies, or autocracies?” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July 29, 2016: <http://thebulletin.org/who%E2%80%99ll-want-artificially-intelligent-weapons-isis-democracies-or-autocracies9692>
  - “Ban killer robots? How about defining them first?” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, June 24, 2016: <http://thebulletin.org/ban-killer-robots-how-about-defining-them-first9571>
  - “Ensuring the Future of Naval Power Projection: The Role of Carrier Aviation.” Testimony before the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Seapower and Projection Forces, February 11, 2016: <http://michaelchorowitz.com/Documents/HorowitzTestimony2-11-16.pdf>
  - “The Role of Academic International Affairs Institute in the Public Policy Landscape” (with Bill Burke-White, Laurie Jensen, Katelyn Leader, and Mira Patel). *Perry World House Working Paper*, December 2015: [https://global.upenn.edu/uploads/media\\_items/perry-world-house-working-paper-on-policy-relevance.original.pdf](https://global.upenn.edu/uploads/media_items/perry-world-house-working-paper-on-policy-relevance.original.pdf)
  - “Rebel With a Bomb” (with Matthew Fuhrmann). *Arms Control Wonk*, November 29, 2015: <http://www.armscontrolwonk.com/archive/1200552/rebel-with-a-bomb/>
  - “How does the NFL’s Roger Goodell stay in power? By acting like a dictator.” *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage Blog*, August 24, 2015: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/08/24/how-does-the-nfls-roger-goodell-stay-in-power-by-acting-like-a-dictator/>
  - “Ban or No Ban, Hard Questions Remain on Autonomous Weapons.” (with Paul Scharre) *IEEE Spectrum*, August 20, 2015: <http://spectrum.ieee.org/automaton/robotics/military-robots/ban-or-no-ban-hard-questions-remain-on-autonomous-weapons>
  - “Joe Public v. Sue Scholar: Support for the Use of Force” (with Idean Salehyan). *Political Violence @ a Glance*, July 27, 2015: <https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2015/07/27/joe-public-v-sue-scholar-support-for-the-use-of-force/>
  - “What is Policy Relevance?” *War on the Rocks*, June 17, 2015: <http://warontherocks.com/2015/06/what-is-policy-relevance/>
  - “Should ‘Killer Robots’ be Banned?” (with Paul Scharre) *The National Interest Online*, June 26, 2015: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/should-killer-robots-be-banned-13196>
  - “The Morality of Robotic War.” (with Paul Scharre) *The New York Times*, May 26, 2015: <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/27/opinion/the-morality-of-robotic-war.html>
  - “Keeping Killer Robots on a Tight Leash.” (with Paul Scharre). *Defense One*, April 14, 2015: <http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2015/04/keeping-killer-robots-tight-leash/110164/>
  - “Autonomous Weapons at the UN: A Primer for Delegates.” (with Paul Scharre and Kelley Saylor). *Center for a New American Security*, April 2015: [http://www.cnas.org/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/Autonomous%20Weapons%20at%20the%20UN\\_040615\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.cnas.org/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/Autonomous%20Weapons%20at%20the%20UN_040615_FINAL.pdf)
  - “Meaningful Human Control in Weapon Systems: A Primer” (with Paul Scharre). *CNAS Working Paper*, March 2015: [http://www.cnas.org/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/Ethical\\_Autonomy\\_Working\\_Paper\\_031315.pdf](http://www.cnas.org/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/Ethical_Autonomy_Working_Paper_031315.pdf)

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- “Does anyone make accurate geopolitical predictions?” (with Barbara Mellers). *Washington Post: Monkey Cage*, January 29, 2015: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/01/29/does-anyone-make-accurate-geopolitical-predictions/>
- “Adoption Capacity and the Spread of Suicide Bombing: A Response to Andrea Gilli and Mauro Gilli.”, *H-Diplo/ISSF*, January 13, 2015: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2550273](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2550273).
- “Do Killer Robots Save Lives?” (with Paul Scharre) *Politico Magazine*. November 19, 2014: <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/11/killer-robots-save-lives-113010.html>
- “Beyond UCLASS: Preparing the Navy for Next Generation Warfare.” (with Sam Brannen) *War On The Rocks*. July 22, 2014: <http://warontherocks.com/2014/07/beyond-uclass-preparing-the-navy-for-next-generation-warfare/>
- “Moneyballing Obama’s Foreign Policy.” *Politico Magazine*. June 1, 2014: <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/06/moneyballing-obamas-foreign-policy-107307.html>
- “Droning On.” (with Sam Brannen) *Foreign Affairs* July/August (2014)
- “The Crisis-Prevention Directorate” (with Dafna H. Rand). *The National Interest Online*. May 21, 2014: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-crisis-prevention-directorate-10500>
- “The Looming Robotics Gap.” *Foreign Policy*. Issue 206 (2014).
- “Coming Next in Military Tech.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist* 70:1 (January 2014), pp. 54-62.
- “Should ‘Systems Thinkers’ Accept the Limits on Political Forecasting or Push the Limits.” (with Phil Tetlock and Richard Herrmann) *Critical Review* 24:3 (2012), pp. 375-391.
- “Trending Upward: How the intelligence community can better see into the future.” (with Phil Tetlock). *ForeignPolicy.com*. September 6, 2012: [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/09/06/trending\\_upward](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/09/06/trending_upward)
- “How Defense Austerity Will Test U.S. Strategy in Asia” *NBR Analysis* (August 2012)
- “Information Age Weaponry and the Future Shape of Security in East Asia” *Global Asia* (Summer 2011).
- “Maintaining American Military Power In An Age Of Uncertainty” *Small Wars Journal* (February 2, 2011).
- “A Common Future: NATO and the Protection of the Commons” Chicago Council on World Affairs, Transatlantic Paper Series #3 (2010).
- “Correspondence: Long Time Going”. *International Security* 35:1 (Summer 2010), pp. 201-208.
- “Correspondence: The Limits to Partition” (with Alex Weisiger). *International Security* 33:4 (Spring 2009), pp. 203-210.
- “The Future of War and American Military Strategy” (with Dan Shalmon). *Orbis* 53:2 (Spring 2009), pp. 300-318.
- “Who’s Behind That Curtain? Unveiling Potential Leverage over Pyongyang”. *The Washington Quarterly* 28:1 (Winter 2005), pp. 21-44.
- “Don’t Take Canberra for Granted: The Future of the U.S.-Australian Alliance”. *Orbis* 48:3

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(Summer 2004), pp. 465-478.

- *Homeland Defense: A Strategic Approach* (with Joseph J. Collins). CSIS Press: Washington, D.C. (2001).
- *Defending America in the 21st Century: New Challenges, New Organizations, and New Policies* (with Frank Cilluffo, Joseph J. Collins, Arnaud de Borchgrave, and Daniel Gouré). CSIS Homeland Defense Project. December 2000.

### DATASETS

- Interstate War Data (IWD). With Dan Reiter and Allan Stam
- Leader Experience and Attitude Descriptions (LEAD). With Allan Stam and Cali M. Ellis
- Military Recruitment Around the World, 1815-2000
- United States Uses of Forces, 1789-2012
- Global biological and chemical weapons proliferation, 1914-2010
- Unmanned Aerial Vehicle proliferation. With Matthew Fuhrmann.

### PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- ISA Best Book Award Committee Member (2017)
- Associate editor, *International Studies Quarterly* (2014-Present)
- Hosted Peace Science Society Annual Meeting (2014)
- Waltz Dissertation Prize Chair (2015-2016) and committee member (2014, 2012)
- Member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- Book review editor for *Orbis* (2012-2015)
- Associate editor, *War on the Rocks* (2016-Present)
- Member of the American Political Science Association, International Studies Association. Peace Science Society, and Institute for International Strategic Studies
- Reviewer for the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *the Journal of Conflict Resolution*, and many other journals.

### AWARDS/HONORS

- Named as Term Member at the Council on Foreign Relations (2014).
- Best Paper Award from the *Journal of Politics* (2012).
- Received Henry Teune Award given by Pi Sigma Alpha students at the University of Pennsylvania for undergraduate teaching (2010).
- Postdoctoral Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (2006-2007).
- Predoctoral Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the John F.

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- Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (2005-2006).
- Sidney R. Knafel Dissertation Completion Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (2005-2006).
- Predoctoral Fellow at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University (2004-2005).
- Awarded Distinguished Teaching Certificate for Excellence for work in Historical Studies A-12, Introduction to Conflict and Cooperation, Spring 2003.
- First place at the National Debate Tournament, the National Championship of College Debate (2000).

### OTHER DRAFT RESEARCH

- “The Evolution of Terrorist Tactics: The Case of Hijacking” (with Evan Perkoski and Philip Potter)
- “Political Knowledge And Forecasting: Does Expertise Matter” (with Philip Tetlock et al.).
- “Forecasting Political Events.” For Oxford Handbook on Behavioral Political Science.
- “Drones and Crisis Bargaining” (with Hyun-Binn Cho and Alex Weisiger).
- “Learning and Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Evidence from a Geopolitical Forecasting Tournament.”
- “Foreign Policy Bias and Geopolitical Accuracy”
- “Assessing Judgmental Accuracy in World Politics: The Limits of Objectivity” (with Phil Tetlock et al.)
- “Religion and the Costs of War”
- “Roman Counterinsurgency Strategy” (with Emerson Brooking). Unpublished Manuscript.
- “Looking Back to Move Forward: China’s Response to the Soviet Threat and its Implications for Understanding Chinese Strategy, 1966-1975”. Unpublished Manuscript.

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

**Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy** **2014-2017**  
Consultant

**Council on Foreign Relations** **2013**  
International Affairs Fellow

- Advisor to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Force Development in the Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, U.S. Department of Defense.
- Part of small team in OSD-Policy responsible for reviewing issues related to the future of UAVs and the implications for the U.S., including transfer policy and international norms. Helped lead DoD participation in interagency review process designed to produce US government approach on UAV exports.



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- Overall responsibilities included work on strategy and force structure related to the Quadrennial Defense Review, as well as examining the effects of sequestration on the defense budget and the Rebalance to the Asia-Pacific.

**Center for Strategic and International Studies** **2014-Present**  
Senior Associate

**Center For a New American Security** **2014-Present**  
Adjunct Senior Fellow

**Foreign Policy Research Institute** **2008-Present**  
Senior Fellow

**International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence** **2008-2012**  
Associate Fellow

**Center For A New American Security** **2007-2009**  
Non-Resident Fellow

**Long Term Strategy Project** **2004-2007**  
Analyst

**Science Applications International Corporation** **2003-2004**  
Researcher

**Center for Strategic and International Studies** **2000-2001**  
Research Assistant, International Security Program