

Michael C. Horowitz

- University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA** July 2015-Present
Associate Director of Perry World House
- University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA** July 2011-Present
Associate Professor of Political Science
- University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA** July 2007-June 2011
Assistant Professor of Political Science
- Harvard University, Cambridge, MA** September 2001-June 2007
PhD, Department of Government, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
- Emory University, Atlanta, GA** August 1996-May 2000
B.A., Phi Beta Kappa and summa cum laude in Political Science.

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
 - Finalist for International Studies Association Best Book Award
 - Received 2011 Lasswell Prize from the Society of Policy Scientists
- *Why Leaders Fight* (with Allan Stam and Cali M. Ellis) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

- “Public opinion and the politics of the killer robots debate”. *Research & Politics*. Forthcoming.
- “Domestic Signaling of Commitment Credibility: Military Recruitment and Alliance Formation.” (with Paul Poast and Allan Stam). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Forthcoming.
- “Improving Probabilistic Predictions by Identifying and Cultivating ‘Superforecasters’.” (with Barbara Mellers, Eric Stone, Philip Tetlock, et al.). *Perspectives on Psychological Science*. Forthcoming.
- “Introducing the LEAD Dataset.” (with Cali M. Ellis and Allan Stam). *International Interactions*. 41:4, pp. 718-741
- “The Rise and Spread of Suicide Bombing” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18, pp. 69-84.
- “A Revised Look at Interstate Wars, 1816-2007” (with Dan Reiter and Allan Stam). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Forthcoming.

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- “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, 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, Forthcoming).
- “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 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

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- “Information Age Economics And The Future Of The East Asian Security Environment,” *The Political Economy of National Security in East Asia*, eds. Avery Goldstein and Edward Mansfield (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 211-235.
- “Civilian Nuclear Power, Nuclear Weapons Programs, and Militarized Disputes,” *The Nuclear Renaissance*, eds. Matthew Fuhrmann and Adam Stulberg. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 288-312.

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES OR CHAPTERS UNDER REVIEW OR CLOSE TO REVIEW

- “The Consequences of Drone Proliferation: Separating Fact From Fiction” (with Sarah E. Kreps and Mathew Fuhmann)
- “An Introduction to Autonomy in Weapon Systems” (with Paul Scharre)
- “Droning On: The Proliferation of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and Military Innovation.” (with Matthew Fuhrmann)
- “Tactical Diversity in Militant Violence” (with Evan Perkoski and Philip Potter)
- “Sizing Up the Adversary: Leader Attributes, Credibility, and Reciprocation in International Conflict” (with Philip Potter and Allan Stam)

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS IN PROGRESS

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

GRANTS

- MacArthur Foundation (with the Center for a New American Security, Autonomous weapons)
- Intelligence Advanced Research Projects Activity (Forecasting)
- Minerva Initiative/Department of Defense (Terrorist group behavior)
- National Science Foundation (Leaders and international politics)
- Smith Richardson Foundation (Religion and war)

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- “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>
- “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>

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- “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
- “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
- “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.
- “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
- “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, 1011).
- “A Common Future: NATO and the Protection of the Commons” Chicago Council on World

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- 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 (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, 1914-2000
- Unmanned Aerial Vehicle proliferation. With Matthew Fuhrmann. In Progress.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- Associate editor, *International Studies Quarterly* (2014-Present)
- Hosted Peace Science Society Annual Meeting (2014)
- Member of the board of the Conflict Processes Section of APSA and the International Security Studies Section of ISA
- Waltz Dissertation Prize Chair (2015) and committee member (2014, 2012)
- Member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- Book review editor for *Orbis*
- 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.

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DRAFT ARTICLES/CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS/OTHER

- “The proliferation of robotics and the promise of autonomous systems: consequences for military effectiveness.” Presented at Military Effectiveness Conference sponsored by Kessler Foundation, June 2015.
- “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”
- “The Evolution of Terrorist Tactics: The Case of Hijacking” (with Evan Perkoski and Philip Potter)
- “Some Things Never Change: Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Roman Empire” (with Emerson Brooking)
- “Modeling The Diffusion of Military Technologies” (with Christopher Brown)
- "Leader Backgrounds, Risk, and International conflict". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2014.
- "Droning On: The proliferation of UAVs." With Matt Fuhrmann. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2014, and the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, February 2015.
- Learning and Foreign Policy: Evidence from Crowd-Sourced Geopolitical Forecasts." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, February 2015.
- "Terrorist Tactical Diversity." With Evan Perkoski and Phil Potter. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the the Peace Science Society, October 2014.
- “Leader Backgrounds, Risk, and International conflict." With Allan Stam. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 2013.
- “The Life-Cycle of Terrorist Innovation: The Case of Hijacking." With Phil Potter. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, March 2012.
- “The Family Backgrounds of Leaders and Militarized Disputes." With Allan Stam. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Peace Science Society, Los Angeles, October 2011.
- “How Prior Military Experience Influences Future Militarized Behavior." With Allan Stam. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September 2011.
- “Partisanship and the Use of Force: Do Party Reputations Matter” (with Matt Levendusky)
- “Does Where You Stand Depend On If You Served: Military Service and International Conflict.” With Allan Stam. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2010.
- “Terrorist Strategy and the Links Between Terrorist Movements: Quantitative Tests” (With Phil Potter). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, New

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Orleans, LA, February 2010

- “Arms Control Treaties and US foreign policy”. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 2009.
- “Does Religion Matter? The Impact of Religious Belief on Warfare”. 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.
- *Research Report on the Use of Identity Concepts in Comparative Politics* (with Peter Bruland). Completed for the Harvard Identity Project. April 2003.
- *Research Report on the Use of Identity Concepts in International Relations*. Completed for the Harvard Identity Project. July 2002.

AWARDS/HONORS

- Best Paper Award from the *Journal of Politics* (2012)
- Named as Term Member at the Council on Foreign Relations (2014)
- Received 2010 Henry Teune Award given by Pi Sigma Alpha students at the University of Pennsylvania for undergraduate teaching.
- Postdoctoral Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (2006-2007).
- Awarded Dissertation Research Funds from the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (November 2005).
- Invited to participate in the 6th Annual “New Faces” conference sponsored by the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Duke University (September 2005).
- Predoctoral Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the John F. 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).
- Graduate Student Associate at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (2003-2004).
- Awarded two Early Dissertation research grants from the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (April 2003 and November 2003).
- Awarded two Summer Study research grants from the Department of Government, Harvard University (May 2002 and May 2003).
- 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).

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 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 UAVs.
 - 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
- Research and analysis on international security topics for the Office of Net Assessment in the Department of Defense. Projects included studies on the nature of religious warfare and the future of American grand strategy.
- Science Applications International Corporation** **2003-2004**
Researcher
- Conducted research projects directly under the supervision of the Director of the Office of Net

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Assessment. Completed project on the geography of Chinese troop movements and threat perceptions. Assessed potential scenarios for Chinese use of directed energy weapons and wrote conference paper on directed energy weapons and United States strategy.

Center for Strategic and International Studies
Research Assistant, International Security Program

2000-2001

- Research and analysis on topics ranging from Homeland Defense to nuclear modernization to Cross-Strait (China-Taiwan) relations, among others.