

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 2007-Present

- Director of Perry World House and Richard Perry Professor 2020-Present
- Interim Director of Perry World House 2019-2020
- Professor of Political Science 2017-Present
- Associate Director of Perry World House 2015-2019
- Associate Director of Browne Center for International Politics 2014-Present
- Associate Professor of Political Science 2011-2017
- Assistant Professor of Political Science 2007-2011

EDUCATION

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 2007
PhD, Department of Government, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Emory University, Atlanta, GA 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
 - 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

- “What is a Military Innovation? A Proposed Framework” (with Shira Pindyck). *The Journal of Strategic Studies*. Forthcoming.
- “Climbing the Ladder: Explaining the Vertical Proliferation of Cruise Missiles” (with Bryan Early, Nolan Fahrenkopf, and James Walsh). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Forthcoming.
- “Honor Among Thieves: Understanding Rhetorical and Material Cooperation Among Violent Non-State Actors” (with Christopher Blair, Erica Chenoweth, Evan Perkoski, and Philip Potter). *International Organization*. Forthcoming. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818321000114>.

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

- “Leadership Targeting and Militant Alliance Breakdown” (with Christopher Blair and Philip Potter). *Journal of Politics*. Forthcoming.
- “Who is Prone to Drone: Analyzing the Proliferation of Armed Uninhabited Aerial Vehicles” (with Joshua A. Schwartz and Matthew Fuhrmann). *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 39:2 (2022), pp. 119-142. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894220966572>.
- “What Influences Attitudes about Artificial Intelligence Adoption: Evidence From US Local Officials” (with Lauren Kahn). *PLOS One*. 16:10. October 2021. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0257732>.
- “Ethics and Governance of Artificial Intelligence: Evidence from a Survey of Machine Learning Researchers” (with Baobao Zhang, Markus Anderljung, Lauren Kahn, Noemi Dreksler, and Allan Dafoe). *Journal of Artificial Intelligence Research*. 71 (2021), pp. 591-666. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1613/jair.1.12895>.
- “Do Emerging Military Technologies Matter for International Politics?” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 23 (2020), pp. 385-400. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050718-032725>.
- “What makes Foreign Policy Teams Tick: Explaining Variation in Group Performance At Geopolitical Forecasting” (with Dustin Tingley and Philip Tetlock, et al.). *Journal of Politics*. 81:4 (2019), pp. 1388-1404. <https://doi.org/10.1086/704437>.
- “When Speed Kills: Autonomous Weapon Systems, Deterrence, and Stability”. *The Journal of Strategic Studies*. 42:6 (2019), pp. 764-788. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2019.1621174>.
- “Artificial Intelligence, International Competition, and the Balance of Power.” *Texas National Security Review*. 1:3 (May 2018), pp. 37-57.
- “Sizing Up the Adversary: Leader Attributes, Credibility, and Reciprocation in International Conflict” (with Philip Potter, Todd Sechser, and Allan Stam). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 62:10 (2018), pp. 2180-2204. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002718788605>.
- “Studying Leaders and Military Conflict: Conceptual Framework and Research Agenda” (with Matthew Fuhrmann). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 62:10 (2018), pp. 2072-2086. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002718785679>.
- “Tactical Diversity in Militant Violence” (with Evan Perkoski and Philip Potter). *International Organization*. 72:1 (Winter 2018), pp. 139-171. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818317000467>.
- “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](https://doi.org/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](https://doi.org/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.

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

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 Philip 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*

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

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

- “Forecasting Political Events.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, ed. Alex Mintz and Lesley Terris (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
- “Future Thinking and Cognition Distortions: Key Questions That Guide Forecasting Processes.” In *The Politics and Science of Prevision: Governing and Probing the Future*, ed. Andreas Wenger, Ursula Jasper, and Myriam Dunn Cavelty (New York: Routledge, 2020).
- “Leaders, Leadership, and International Security,” in *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*, ed. Alexandra Gheciu and William C. Wohlforth (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- “Drone Proliferation” (with Sarah Kreps and Matthew Fuhrmann), in *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*, ed. Alexandra Gheciu and William C. Wohlforth (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- “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.

WORKING PAPERS

- “Who Gets Smart? Explaining How Precision Bombs Proliferate” (with Lauren Kahn). On revise and resubmit at a peer reviewed journal.
- “Algorithms and Influence: Artificial Intelligence and Crisis Decision-making” (with Erik Lin-Greenberg). On revise and resubmit at a peer reviewed journal.
- “Do Armed Drones Reduce Terrorism? Evidence From 18 Countries” (with Joshua A. Schwartz and Matthew Fuhrmann). On revise and resubmit at a peer reviewed journal.
- “Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning, and the Future of Strategic Stability.” Under review

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

for an edited volume.

- “Combat Experience and Foreign Policy Attitudes: Evidence from World War II” (with Christopher Blair). Under review at a peer reviewed journal.
- “Morally Opposed? A Theory of Public Attitudes and Emerging Military Technologies” (with Sarah Maxey). Under review at a peer reviewed journal.
- “To Compete or Retreat: The Diffusion of Precision Strike” (with Joshua A. Schwartz). Under review at a peer reviewed journal.
- “Driving Too Fast or Too Slow? Explaining Military Adoption of the Combustion Engine” (with Laura Resnick). Under review at a peer reviewed journal.
- “AI, National Security Strategy, and the International Balance of Power” (with Casey Mahoney and Shira Pindyck). Under review for an edited volume.
- “COVID-19 and Public Support for Autonomous Technologies - Did the Pandemic Catalyze a World of Robots?” (with Lauren Kahn, Julia MacDonald, and Jacquelyn Schneider). Under review at a peer reviewed journal.
- “A Stable Nuclear Future? The Impact of Autonomous Systems and Artificial Intelligence” (with Paul Scharre and Alex Velez-Green).

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS IN PROGRESS

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

CURRENT GRANTS

- The Disruptive Effects of Autonomy: Ethics, Trust, and Organizational Decision-Making. Department of Defense Minerva Initiative.
- Policy and Issue Emergence: A Strategy for Policy Relevance. Carnegie Corporation of New York.
- Geopolitical Forecasting Research. Open Philanthropy.
- Small Steps and Giant Leaps: Remoteness, bias, and decision-making in space. Air Force Office of Scientific Research.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- “Leading in Artificial Intelligence Through Confidence Building Measures” (with Lauren Kahn), *The Washington Quarterly* 44:4 (2021), pp. 91-106. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2021.2018794>.
- “Two Cheers for the Department of Defense’s New Data and Artificial Intelligence Leadership Initiative” (with Lauren Kahn), *Council on Foreign Relations Renewing America Blog*, December 1, 2021, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/two-cheers-department-defenses-new-data-and-artificial-intelligence-leadership-initiative>.

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

- “War by Timeframe: Responding to China’s Pacing Challenge,” *War on the Rocks*, November 19, 2021, <https://warontherocks.com/2021/11/war-by-timeframe-responding-to-chinas-pacing-challenge/>
- “DoD’s 2021 China Military Power Report: How Advances in AI and Emerging Technologies Will Shape China’s Military” (with Lauren Kahn), *Council on Foreign Relations Net Politics Blog*, November 4, 2021, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/dods-2021-china-military-power-report-how-advances-ai-and-emerging-technologies-will-shape>
- “Gathering Strength, Gathering Storms: The One Hundred Year Study on Artificial Intelligence (AI100) 2021 Study Panel Report (with Michael Littman et al.), <https://ai100.stanford.edu/2021-report/gathering-strength-gathering-storms-one-hundred-year-study-artificial-intelligence>
- “Policy Roundtable: The Future of Transatlantic Deterrence” (with Christian Ruhl and John Gans), *Texas National Security Review*, August 23, 2021, <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-the-future-of-trans-atlantic-nuclear-deterrence/>
- “Space Norms and U.S. National Security: Leading on Space Debris” (with Philip Potter and George W. Foresman), *War on the Rocks*, August 2, 2021, <https://warontherocks.com/2021/08/space-norms-and-u-s-national-security-leading-on-space-debris/>.
- “How the US government can learn to see the future” (with Julia Ciocca, Lauren Kahn, and Christian Ruhl), *Lawfare*, May 9, 2021, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/how-us-government-can-learn-see-future>.
- “Skilled and Mobile: Survey Evidence of AI Researchers’ Immigration Preferences,” (with Remco Zwetsloot, Baobao Zhang, Noemi Dreksler, Lauren Kahn, Markus Anderljung, and Allan Dafoe), *2021 AAAI/ACM Conference on AI, Ethics, and Society*, May 5, 2021, <https://arxiv.org/abs/2104.07237>.
- “The Perils of Overhyping Artificial Intelligence: For AI to Succeed, It First Must Be Able to Fail” (with Julia Ciocca and Lauren A. Kahn), *Foreign Affairs (online)*, April 6, 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-04-06/perils-overhyping-artificial-intelligence>.
- “Keeping Score: A New Approach to Geopolitical Forecasting” (with Julia Ciocca, Lauren A. Kahn, and Christian Ruhl), *Perry World House White Paper*, February 24, 2021, <https://global.upenn.edu/perryworldhouse/news/keeping-score-new-approach-geopolitical-forecasting>.
- “AI and International Stability: Risks and Confidence Building Measures” (with Paul Scharre), *Center for a New American Security*, January 12, 2021, <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/ai-and-international-stability-risks-and-confidence-building-measures>.
- “The Immigration Preferences of Top AI Researchers: New Survey Evidence,” (with Remco Zwetsloot, Baobao Zhang, Markus Anderljung, and Allan Dafoe), *Perry World House and the Future of Humanity Institute*, January 15, 2021, <https://global.upenn.edu/perryworldhouse/news/immigration-preferences-top-ai-researchers->

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

new-survey-evidence.

- “How Joe Biden can use confidence-building measures for military uses of AI” (with Lauren Kahn), *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January 12, 2021, <https://thebulletin.org/premium/2021-01/how-joe-biden-can-use-confidence-building-measures-for-military-uses-of-ai/>.
- “China Has Made Drone Warfare Global” (with Joshua A. Schwartz and Matthew Fuhrmann), *Foreign Affairs (online)*, November 20, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-11-20/china-has-made-drone-warfare-global>.
- “AI and the Diffusion of Global Power,” *Centre for International Governance Innovation*, November 16, 2020, <https://www.cigionline.org/articles/ai-and-diffusion-global-power>.
- “The Death and Life of Terrorist Networks: How Alliances Help Militants Survive” (with Christopher Blair, Erica Chenoweth, Evan Perkoski, and Philip Potter), *Foreign Affairs (online)*, October 5, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2020-10-05/death-and-life-terrorist-networks>.
- “The Future of Military Applications of Artificial Intelligence: A Role for Confidence-Building Measures?” (with Lauren Kahn and Casey Mahoney), *Orbis*, 64:4 (Fall 2020), 528-543.
- “Introduction: Artificial Intelligence and International Security” (with Lauren Kahn and Christian Ruhl), *Texas National Security Review*, June 2, 2020. <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-artificial-intelligence-and-international-security>.
- “Penn Input to National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence,” (with many Penn authors), *Perry World House*, February 10, 2020: <https://global.upenn.edu/perryworldhouse/news/penn-input-national-security-commission-artificial-intelligence>.
- “The AI Literacy Gap Hobbling American Officialdom” (with Lauren Kahn), *War on the Rocks*, January 14, 2020: <https://warontherocks.com/2020/01/the-ai-literacy-gap-hobbling-american-officialdom/>.
- “War with Iran is Still Less Likely Than You Think” (with Elizabeth Saunders), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage Blog*, January 7, 2020: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/01/07/war-with-iran-is-still-less-likely-than-you-think/>.
- “The American AI Century: A Blueprint for Action,” (with Martjin Rassler et al.), *Center for A New American Security*, December 17, 2019: <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/the-american-ai-century-a-blueprint-for-action>.
- “Yes. Iran Shot Down a U.S. Drone. Here’s Why You (Still) Don’t Need to Worry.” (with Matthew Fuhrmann and Sarah Kreps), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage Blog*, June 20, 2019: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/06/20/yes-iran-shot-down-us-drone-heres-why-you-still-dont-need-worry/>
- “War with Iran is Probably Less Likely Than You Think” (with Elizabeth Saunders), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage Blog*, June 17, 2019: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/06/17/war-with-iran-is-probably-less-likely-than-you-think/>

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

- “Artificial Intelligence and the Military: Technology is Only Half the Battle” (with Casey Mahoney), *War on the Rocks*, December 25, 2018: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/12/artificial-intelligence-and-the-military-technology-is-only-half-the-battle/>
- “Congress Can Help the United States Lead in Artificial Intelligence” (with Paul Scharre), *Foreign Policy*, December 18, 2018: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/10/congress-can-help-the-united-states-lead-in-artificial-intelligence/>
- “A way to rein in drone proliferation” (with Andro Mathewson), *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November 30, 2018: <https://thebulletin.org/2018/11/a-way-to-rein-in-drone-proliferation/>
- “The Algorithms of August,” *Foreign Policy*. Fall 2018: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/12/will-the-united-states-lose-the-artificial-intelligence-arms-race/>
- “Artificial Intelligence beyond the Superpowers” (with Itai Barsade), *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. August 16, 2018: <https://thebulletin.org/2018/08/the-ai-arms-race-and-the-rest-of-the-world/>
- “Strategic Competition in an era of Artificial Intelligence” (with Elsa B. Kania, Gregory C. Allen, and Paul Scharre), *Center for a New American Security*, July 25, 2018: <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/strategic-competition-in-an-era-of-artificial-intelligence>
- “Artificial Intelligence and International Security” (with Paul Scharre, Gregory C. Allen, Kara Frederick, Anthony Cho, and Edoardo Saravalle), *Center for a New American Security*, July 10, 2018: <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/artificial-intelligence-and-international-security>
- “Artificial Intelligence: What Every Policymaker Needs to Know” (with Paul Scharre), *Center for a New American Security*, June 19, 2018: <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/artificial-intelligence-what-every-policymaker-needs-to-know>
- “The Promise and Peril of Military Applications of Artificial Intelligence.” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. April 23, 2018: <https://thebulletin.org/military-applications-artificial-intelligence/promise-and-peril-military-applications-artificial-intelligence>
- “A new U.S. policy makes it (somewhat) easier to export drones” (with Joshua A. Schwartz), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage Blog*, April 20, 2018: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/04/20/a-new-u-s-policy-makes-it-somewhat-easier-to-export-drones/>
- “Will Killer Robots be Banned? Lessons from Past Civil Society Campaigns” (with Julia Macdonald), *Lawfare*, November 5, 2017: <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

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

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 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
- “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/autotom/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/>

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

- “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 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

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

- (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, 1914-2010
- Unmanned Aerial Vehicle proliferation. With Matthew Fuhrmann.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- Member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- Member of the editorial board of the *Texas National Security Review*
- Associate editor, *War on the Rocks* (2016-Present)
- Associate editor, *International Studies Quarterly* (2014-2018)
- ISA Best Book Award Committee Member and Chair (2016-2017)
- Hosted Peace Science Society Annual Meeting (2014)
- Waltz Dissertation Prize Chair (2015-2016) and committee member (2014, 2012)
- Book review editor for *Orbis* (2012-2015)
- 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

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

- 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.
- Best Paper Award from the *Journal of Politics* (2012).
- 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. 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).
- First place at the National Debate Tournament, the National Championship of College Debate (2000).

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Consultant	2014-2017, 2018-Present
Council on Foreign Relations Senior Fellow for Defense Technology and Innovation	2021-Present
Center For a New American Security Adjunct Senior Fellow Research Director, Artificial Intelligence and National Security Task Force	2014-2021
National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence Consultant	2019-2021
Office of Net Assessment Consultant	2017
Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy International Affairs Fellow (funded by the Council on Foreign Relations)	2013
Council on Foreign Relations Life Member	2019-Present

Michael C. Horowitz

3803 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Telephone: (215) 898-6155
E-mail: horom@sas.upenn.edu

Foreign Policy Research Institute Senior Fellow	2008-2021
Center for Strategic and International Studies Senior Associate	2014-2019
International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence Associate Fellow	2008-2012
Center For A New American Security Non-Resident Fellow	2007-2009
Long Term Strategy Project Analyst	2004-2007
Science Applications International Corporation Researcher	2003-2004
Center for Strategic and International Studies Research Assistant, International Security Program	2000-2001