

**ALEXANDER B. DOWNES**  
*The George Washington University*

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**ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

- 2011- Associate Professor (with tenure), Department of Political Science and Elliott School of International Affairs, *The George Washington University*
- 2004-11 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, *Duke University*
- 2007/08 Post-doctoral Fellowship, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, *Harvard University*
- 2003/04 Post-doctoral Fellowship, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), *Stanford University*

**EDUCATION**

- 2004 Ph.D. in Political Science, *University of Chicago*
- 1998 M.A. in International Relations (Honors), *University of Chicago*
- 1991 B.A. in Music (*Magna cum laude*), *Brown University*
- 1991-94 Graduate Work in Orchestral Double Bass Performance, *Indiana University* (School of Music)

**PUBLICATIONS**

**Book**

- Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008).
- Winner of the Joseph Leggold Book Prize, given by Georgetown University for best book on international relations published in 2008.

**Journal Articles & Book Chapters**

- “No Business Like FIRC Business: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Bilateral Trade,” *British Journal of Political Science* (published online, August 3, 2015; with Paul Zachary and Kathleen Deloughery).
- “Correspondence: Reevaluating Foreign-Imposed Regime Change,” *International Security* 38, no. 3 (Winter 2013/14): 184-195 (with Jonathan Monten).
- “Forced to Be Free: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization,” *International Security* 37, no. 4 (Spring 2013): 90-131 (with Jonathan Monten).
- “The Illusion of Democratic Credibility,” *International Organization* 66, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 457-489 (with Todd S. Sechser).
- Most downloaded article of 2012 from *International Organization*.

- “Military Culture and Civilian Victimization: The Allied Strategic Bombing of Germany in World War II,” in *Civilians and Modern War: Armed Conflict and the Ideology of Violence*, ed. Daniel Rothbart, Karina V. Korostelina and Mohammed Cherkaoui (New York: Routledge, 2012), 72-95.
- “The Myth of Choosy Democracies: Examining the Selection Effects Theory of Democratic Victory in War,” *H-Diplo | ISSF Roundtable 2*, no. 12 (July 2011): 64-102 (<http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Roundtable-2-12.pdf>).
- “Overt Peace, Covert War?: Covert Intervention and the Democratic Peace,” *Security Studies* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 266-306 (with Mary Lauren Lilley).
- “Targeting Civilians to Win? Assessing the Military Effectiveness of Civilian Victimization in Interstate War,” in *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*, ed. Adria Lawrence and Erica Chenoweth (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010) (with Kathryn McNabb Cochran).
- “Correspondence: Another Skirmish in the Battle over Democracies and War,” *International Security* 34, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 194-204; reply to Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam’s letter concerning my article, “How Smart and Tough Are Democracies?” Reprinted in *Do Democracies Win Their Wars? An International Security Reader*, ed. Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011).
- “How Smart and Tough Are Democracies? Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War,” *International Security* 33, no. 4 (Spring 2009): 9-51. Reprinted in *Do Democracies Win Their Wars? An International Security Reader*, ed. Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011).
- “Restraint or Propellant? Democracy and Civilian Fatalities in Interstate Wars,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no. 6 (December 2007): 872-904.
- “Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy,” *Civil Wars* 9, no. 4 (December 2007): 420-444.
- “Introduction: Modern Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Comparative Perspective,” *Civil Wars* 9, no. 4 (December 2007): 313-323.
- “Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War,” *International Security* 30, no. 4 (Spring 2006): 152-195.
- “More Borders, Less Conflict? Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *SAIS Review* 26, no. 1 (Winter-Spring 2006): 49-61.
- “The Problem with Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *Security Studies* 13, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 230-279. Reprinted in *Living Together after Ethnic Killing: Exploring the Chaim Kaufmann Argument*, ed. Roy Licklider and Mia Bloom (London: Routledge, 2006), 89-139.
- “The Holy Land Divided: Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars,” *Security Studies* 10, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 58-116.

### Other Publications

- “Review of Jessica L.P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace*,” *H-Diplo | ISSF Roundtable* (forthcoming).
- “Review of Jessica L.P. Weeks, *Dictators at War and Peace*,” *Political Science Quarterly* (forthcoming).
- “Why Regime Change Is a Bad Idea in Syria,” *The Political Science of Syria’s War*, POMEPS Briefings 22 (December 18, 2013): 61-63.

“Regime Change Doesn’t Work,” *Boston Review* 36, no. 5 (September/October 2011): 16-22.

“Review of Hugo Slim, *Killing Civilians: Method, Madness, and Morality in War*,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 1 (February 2010):167-169.

“Review of Michael C. Desch, *Power and Military Effectiveness: The Fallacy of Democratic Triumphalism*,” *Political Science Quarterly* 124, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 342-344.

“Review of Tanisha M. Fazal, *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation*,” *International History Review* 30, no. 4 (December 2008): 845-847.

“Targeting Civilians in Wartime,” *Centerpiece* 17, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 6-7, 11 (Newsletter of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, *Harvard University*).

### **Manuscripts in Preparation/Working Papers**

*Catastrophic Success: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change in International Politics* (book manuscript in progress)

“Looking for Constraints in All the Wrong Places? Legal Oversight and Civilian Victimization in International Armed Conflicts” (with Tonya Putnam)

“Step Aside or Face the Consequences: Explaining the Success and Failure of Compellent Threats to Remove Foreign Leaders” (under review)

“Creating a *Cordon Sanitaire*: U.S. Strategic Bombing and Civilians in Korea” (under review)

“It’s a Crime, but Is It a Blunder? Investigating the Military Effectiveness of Civilian Victimization” (with Kathryn McNabb Cochran; under review)

“Catastrophic Success? Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Civil War”

“Decapitation by FIRC: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and the Fate of Leaders”

“The International Relations of Foreign-Imposed Regime Change” (with Lindsey O’Rourke)

“Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Human Rights” (with Lindsey O’Rourke)

“Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Quality of Life” (with Paul Zachary and Kathleen Deloughery)

“Alliance Defection and the Rise of China” (with Jasen Castillo)

“Coercion by Proxy: Population Relocation in Counterinsurgency Operations” (with Kelly M. Greenhill)

### **FELLOWSHIPS & GRANTS**

2015-2018 “Spheres of Influence and Regional Orders: Assessing Approaches for Responding to China’s Rise”

- Part of a multimillion dollar grant from the Department of Defense Minerva Research Initiative

2013-2015 “U.S. Strategic Nuclear Policy Toward China,” Carnegie Corporation

- Part of a \$450,000 grant to study U.S. military policies toward China

2009-2012 “Mapping the Trajectories of Military Intervention and Occupation: Towards an Empirical Model,” Office of Naval Research, United States Navy Grant No. N00014-09-1-0557, \$99,230

- 2008/09 Research Grant, Arts and Sciences Committee on Faculty Research, *Duke University*
- Foreign-Imposed Regime Change in International Politics, \$2,500
- 2005/06 Research Grant, Arts and Sciences Committee on Faculty Research, *Duke University*
- To fund research and data collection on civilian casualties in warfare (\$4,618)
- 2003/04 Dissertation Fellowship, *Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation*, New York, NY
- 2002/03 Pre-doctoral Fellowship in National Security, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, *Harvard University*
- 2002/03 Dwight D. Eisenhower/Clifford Roberts Graduate Fellowship, *The Eisenhower Institute*, Washington, D.C.
- 2001/02 MacArthur Scholars Dissertation Fellowship, Council for Advanced Studies in Peace and International Cooperation (CASPIC), *University of Chicago*
- 2000/01 Research grant, Program on International Security Policy (PISP), *University of Chicago* (also received in 1998/99)
- 1998-2001 Century Fellowship, Division of the Social Sciences, *University of Chicago*

## HONORS & AWARDS

- 2016 Emerging Scholar Award, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association
- Recognizes the scholar under the age of 45 or within fifteen years of receiving their Ph.D. who has made (through their body of publications) the most significant contribution to the field of security studies.
- 2008 Joseph Leppgold Book Prize for best book on international relations published in 2008, given by Georgetown University for *Targeting Civilians in War*
- 2006 Helen Dwight Reid Award for best doctoral dissertation in the field of international relations, law, and politics, American Political Science Association
- 1999 Honors conferred for M.A. in International Relations, Committee on International Relations, *University of Chicago*
- 1999 Morton Kaplan Prize for Best Master's Paper by an Honors student in the Committee on International Relations, *University of Chicago*: "The Holy Land Divided? Theory and Practice for a Successful Partition in Palestine"
- 1999 *University of Chicago* Social Science Graduate Division's nominee for Distinguished Master's Thesis Award, Midwestern Association of Graduate Schools

## COURSES

### Courses at *GWU*:

- Introduction to International Affairs (undergraduate, Spring 2015)
- Introduction to International Politics (undergraduate, Fall 2013, Spring 2015)
- Civil War, Insurgency, and Terrorism (undergraduate, Fall 2012; graduate, Fall 2011, Spring 2013)
- Civilians in the Path of War (undergraduate, Spring 2012)
- Military Power and Effectiveness (graduate, Spring 2012, 2013, 2014, Fall 2013)
- Theories of International Security (graduate, Spring 2014; Fall 2015)

Courses at *Duke*:

- Civilians in the Path of War (undergraduate)
- Democracy and International Politics (undergraduate)
- International Security (undergraduate)
- Theory and Practice of International Security (graduate)

**PRESENTATIONS AND CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION**

- 2015 Invited Talks: “Civil Wars: An Introduction,” and “Fighting to a Finish: Victory and Defeat in Civil Wars,” Seminar XXI: Foreign Policy, International Relations, and the National Interest; “Alliance Defection and the Rise of China,” U.S. Strategic Nuclear Policy Toward China, Elliott School of International Affairs, *George Washington University*
- Invited Talks to Campus Groups: “Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Proliferation,” Mock Lecture for Admitted Undergraduates, Elliott School of International Affairs, *George Washington University*
- Conference Papers: ISA; APSA
- Other Conference Participation: Invited Discussant, Book Manuscript Workshop for Lindsey O’Rourke, “Secrecy and Security: U.S.-Orchestrated Regime Change during the Cold War,” *Boston College*; Invited Discussant, Book Manuscript Workshop for Jason Lyall, “Paths of Ruin: Explaining Military Effectiveness in Conventional War,” *Yale University*; Invited Discussant, Book Manuscript Workshop for Rachel Stein, “War and Revenge,” *George Washington University*; Panel Chair, “Understanding the Threat to the United States and Europe from Returning Jihadists,” Conference on Insurgency in the Middle East and Its Threat to the United States, National Capital Area Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.; Invited Discussant, “New Approaches to Democracy and International Behavior,” Conference on Reconsidering Regime Type in International Relations, *Yale University*, New Haven, CT
- 2014 Conference Papers: APSA; U.S. Nuclear Policy Toward China Authors’ Workshop, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, *George Washington University*
- Other Conference Participation: APSA (chair); ISA (chair, discussant, chair/discussant); Book Manuscript Workshop for Sarah Zukerman-Daly, “From War to Peace: The Geography of Armed Organizations,” *University of Notre Dame* (invited discussant)
- 2013 Invited Talks: Seminar XXI; Seminar on Conflict and Political Violence, Olympia Summer Academy, Olympia, Greece; Symposium on Political Violence, Department of Political Science, *University of Pittsburgh*; Program on International Conflict and Cooperation, Department of Political Science, *Texas A&M University*
- Conference Papers: APSA, ISA
- Other Conference Participation: APSA (chair/discussant), ISA (chair), Book Manuscript Workshop for Laia Balcells, “Rivalry and Revenge: The Politics of Violence in Civil War,” *Duke University*
- 2012 Invited Talks: International Relations Workshop Colloquium, *American University*; Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, *George Washington University*; Seminar XXI; Comparative Politics Workshop, *George Washington University*; The Civilianization of Warfare: Global Perspectives on a Collapsing Divide, *University of Exeter* (UK); Civilians and Warfare in World History, *Florida Gulf Coast University*; Research Program in International Security, *Princeton University*
- Conference Papers: APSA, MPSA, ISA

Other Conference Participation: APSA (roundtable, chair/discussant), MPSA (chair/discussant), ISA (chair, discussant)

2011 Invited Talks: Shock and Awe: A Hundred Years of Bombing from Above, *Goldsmiths University* (UK); Program on Global Society and Security, *Harvard University*; Seminar XXI; Air Force Office of Scientific Research, “Effects to Influence” Workshop, *College of William and Mary*; Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence, *Yale University*; Notre Dame International Security Program, *Notre Dame University*

Conference Papers: APSA, ISA

Other Conference Participation: ISA (roundtable, discussant); Book Manuscript Workshop for Jasen Castillo, “The Will to Fight: The Societal Ties that Explain Military Cohesion,” *Texas A&M University* (invited discussant); Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair, discussant)

2010 Invited Talks: Security, Peace, and Conflict Workshop, Department of Political Science, *Duke University*; Joseph Leggold Book Prize Lecture, Mortara Center for International Studies, *Georgetown University*; “Book Panel on Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War*,” Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Meeting; Lone Star National Security Forum, Corpus Christi, TX; Political Science Research Workshop, Department of Political Science, *University of South Carolina*

Invited Talks to Campus Groups: *Duke International Security Conference*; *Duke International Relations Association*

Conference Papers: APSA, ISA

Other Conference Participation: APSA (chair/discussant); ISA (chair/discussant); “Human Rights at War: A Comparative Study of the Effectiveness of the Geneva Conventions,” Watson Institute for International Studies, *Brown University* (invited discussant); Book Manuscript Workshop for Fotini Christia, “The Closest of Enemies: Alliance Formation in Civil Wars,” *Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies* (invited discussant); “War Bound by Law: Non-State Actors and the Law of Armed Conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” *Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law* 2009-10 Annual Symposium, *Duke University* (panel moderator); Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair, discussant)

2009 Invited Talks: Centre for Security and Defence Studies, *Carleton University*; Lansing-Lee Seminar in Global Politics, *University of Virginia*; Conference on Civilian Devastation, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, *George Mason University*; International Relations Colloquium, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*; Department of Political Science Faculty Brown Bag Seminar, *Duke University*

Invited Talks to Campus Groups: *Duke University Model United Nations*

Conference Papers: APSA

Other Conference Participation: APSA (chair); ISA (discussant, chair/discussant); “Drivers of Conflict and Future Challenges to Humanitarian Assistance,” International Conference on Humanitarian Assistance in Conflict/Complex Emergencies, World Food Program, Rome, Italy (panelist); “Post-World War II Grand Strategy,” Conference on Grand Strategy after Major War, American Grand Strategy Program and Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair); Book Manuscript Workshop for Sebastian Rosato, “Europe United: Power Politics and the Making of the European Community,” *Notre Dame University* (invited discussant); Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair, discussant)

- 2008 Invited Talks: Security Studies Program Wednesday Seminar Series, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*; Faculty Colloquium in International Relations, *Princeton University*; Workshop on Responses to Political Violence and the Growth of Anti-Americanism, University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation and the Stanford Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, *Stanford University*; International Security Program Seminar, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, *Harvard University*; Olin Institute National Security Seminar Series, *Harvard University*
- Invited Talks to Campus Groups: *North Carolina Governor's School*, Salem College
- Conference Papers: APSA, Association for the Study of Nationalities, ISA
- Other Conference Participation: ISA (discussant); Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair, discussant)
- 2007 Invited Talks: International Politics Seminar, *Columbia University*; Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence, *Yale University*; Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics, *University of Pennsylvania*
- Invited Talks to Campus Groups: *Talent Identification Program*, Wake Forest University
- Conference Papers: APSA
- Other Conference Participation: *Just and Unjust War*, A Liberty Fund Colloquium (participant); Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair, discussant)
- 2006 Invited Talks: International Relations Workshop, *Dartmouth College*; Baker Peace Conference, Contemporary History Institute, *Ohio University*; Conference on Casualties and Warfare, Triangle Institute for Security Studies; Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), *Stanford University*
- Conference Papers: APSA, ISA
- Other Conference Participation: ISA (chair/discussant); Conference on Casualties and Warfare, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (co-organizer, panel chair, and discussant); Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair, discussant)
- 2005 Invited Talks: Triangle Institute for Security Studies; Department of Political Science Faculty Brown Bag Seminar, *Duke University*
- Conference Papers: APSA
- Other Conference Participation: APSA (discussant); ISA (discussant); Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair, discussant)
- 2004 Invited Talks: Conference on Collateral Damage in History, Munck Center for International Studies, *University of Toronto*
- Conference Papers: APSA, ISA
- Other Conference Participation: Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies (chair, discussant)
- 2003 Invited Talks: Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), *Stanford University*; Program on International Security Policy (PISP), *University of Chicago*
- Conference Papers: APSA, ISA

Other Conference Participation: APSA (chair)

2002 Invited Talks: Program on International Security Policy (PISP), *University of Chicago*; Olin Institute National Security Seminar Series, *Harvard University*

Conference Papers: APSA

2001 Invited Talks: Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security (PIPES), *University of Chicago*; Second Annual New Faces Conference, Triangle Institute for Security Studies; Program on International Security Policy (PISP), *University of Chicago*

2000 Invited Talks: Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security (PIPES), *University of Chicago*; Conference on Living Together After Ethnic Killing: Debating the Kaufmann Hypothesis, Center for Global Security and Democracy, *Rutgers University*

Conference Papers: ISA, MPSA

1999 Conference Papers: MPSA, APSA

1998 Invited Talks: Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security (PIPES), *University of Chicago*

**PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

2013 *Workshop on Teaching IHL for International Studies Faculties*, International Committee of the Red Cross and George Washington University

2004 *Institute for Qualitative Research Methods*, Arizona State University

1999 *Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS)*, Columbia Institute of War and Peace Studies, held at Cornell University

**SERVICE***The Profession*

2014 Sage Paper Award Committee (chair), given to the best paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting by the Qualitative and Multi-Method Research Section

2015- Associate Editor, *International Security*

2015- Member, Editorial Board, *Security Studies*

*George Washington University*

International Relations Comprehensive Exam Committee, Department of Political Science, 2013-14; Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, Spring 2014; South Asian Politics Search Committee (Chair), Fall 2013; Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, Spring 2013; George Washington University Faculty Senate, 2013-; Graduate Affairs Committee, Department of Political Science, 2012-13; Asian Politics Search, Elliott School of International Affairs, Fall 2012; International Relations Faculty Search Committee, Department of Political Science, Fall 2011; U.S. National Security Faculty Search Committee, Elliott School of International Affairs, Fall 2011-Spring 2012



*Duke University*

Undergraduate Affairs Committee, Department of Political Science, Fall 2010-Spring 2011; Coordinator of Department of Political Science Brown Bag Faculty Speaker Series, Jan. 2005-May 2007; Political Science Representative, Arts and Sciences Council, Sept. 2005-May 2007, Sept. 2008-May 2009; Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, 2005/06; Ad Hoc Committee on the Undergraduate Curriculum, Department of Political Science, Spring 2006 and 2007; Ad Hoc Committee on Transition to 2-1 Teaching Load, Fall 2006; B.A. Honors Thesis Supervisor, 2005/06, 2006/07, 2007/08, 2008/09; Second Reader, 2004/05, 2007/08, 2008/09, 2010/11

*Current Dissertation Committees*

Andrew Bell (Duke, co-chair); Jeannette Haynie (GWU, chair); Michael Joseph (GWU); Seokjoon Kim (GWU, chair); Barnett Koven (GWU); Julia Macdonald (GWU); Seung Joon Paik (GWU, chair); Dillon Tatum (GWU)

*Former Dissertation Students*

Daniel Krmaric (co-chair, Duke, 2015; Northwestern University); Tristan Volpe (GWU, 2015; Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace); Adam Jungdahl (GWU, 2014; Federal government); Danielle Lupton (Duke, 2013; Colgate University); Kathryn McNabb Cochran (Duke, 2011; American University); Jacqueline Hazelton (Brandeis, 2011; U.S. Naval War College); David Siroky (Duke, 2009; Arizona State), Matthew Fehrs (Duke, 2008; St. Mary's College of Maryland), Lindsay Cohn (Duke, 2007; Naval War College)

**REVIEWER**

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Sociological Review, Asian Perspective, British Journal of Political Science, Cambridge University Press, Comparative Political Studies, Conflict Management and Peace Science; Cornell University Press, Democracy and Security, Gender and Politics, International Interactions, International Organization, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Johns Hopkins University Press, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Politics, Oxford University Press, Political Communication, Political Research Quarterly, Polity, Princeton University Press, Public Choice, Security Studies, Stanford University Press, Terrorism and Political Violence, World Politics