

**James H. Lebovic**

**Home Address:**

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**Professional Address:**

Department of Political Science  
The George Washington University  
2115 G. Street, Monroe 473  
Washington, D.C. 20052  
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(202) 994-7495 fax: 994-7743

Born: August 28, 1952; Los Angeles, Calif.

**Education:**

- 1975-1981 University of Southern California, School of International Relations  
Ph.D. Degree, International Relations
- 1973-1975 University of Southern California, School of International Relations  
M.A. Degree, International Relations
- 1969-1973 California State University, Long Beach, Department of Political Science  
B.A. Degree, Political Science

**Professional Experience:**

- 2009- Professor of Political Science and International Affairs  
Department of Political Science, The George Washington University
- 1988-2009 Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs (GWU)
- 1982-1988 Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs (GWU)
- 1981-1982 Visiting Assistant Professor of Government  
New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico

**Publications:**

## Books:

James Lebovic, 2010. *The Limits of US Military Capability: Lessons from Vietnam and Iraq*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

James Lebovic 2007. *Deterring International Terrorism and Rogue States: US National Security Policy after 9/11*. London, New York: Routledge Press. (Hardback/Paperback)

James Lebovic 1996. *Foregone Conclusions: U.S. Weapons Acquisition in the Post-Cold War Transition*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press (Harper Collins).

James Lebovic 1990. *Deadly Dilemmas: Deterrence in US Nuclear Strategy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

## Articles, Book Chapters, and Review Essays:

Forrest Maltzman, James Lebovic, Elizabeth Saunders, and Emma Furth, 2012. Unleashing Presidential Power: The Politics of Pets in the White House. *PS: Political Science and Politics* (45, 3): 1-6.

James Lebovic, 2011. Cooperation in International Security: A Review Essay. *International Studies Review* (13,3): 1-7.

James Lebovic, 2010. Book Dialogue (on lessons in international politics) with Robert Jervis. *Perspectives on Politics* (8,4): 1167-1173.

James Lebovic, 2009. Perception and Politics in Intelligence Assessment: U.S. Estimates of the Soviet and "Rogue-State" Nuclear Threats. *International Studies Perspectives* (10): 395-413.

James Lebovic and Erik Voeten, 2009. The Cost of Shame: International Organizations and Foreign Aid in the Punishing of Human Rights Violators." *Journal of Peace Research* (46): 79-97. Republished in *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World*, P. F. Diehl and B. Frederking (eds.), 2010. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner Publishers.

James Lebovic, 2008. "Deterrence and Homeland Security: A Defensive-Denial Strategy Against Terrorists," in *Five Dimensions of Homeland Security*, Esther Brimmer (ed.) Washington, D.C.: Center for Transatlantic Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University.

James Lebovic and Erik Voeten, 2006. "The Politics of Shame: The Condemnation of Country Human Rights Practices in the UNCHR," *International Studies Quarterly* (50): 861-888.

- James Lebovic and William R. Thompson, 2006. "An Illusionary or Elusive Relationship? The Arab-Israel Conflict and Repression in the Middle East," *Journal of Politics* (68): 502-518.
- James Lebovic, 2006. "Democracies and Transparency: Patterns of Reporting to the UN Register of Conventional Arms, 1992-2001," *Journal of Peace Research* (43): 543-562.
- Cynthia McClintock and James Lebovic, 2006. "Correlates of Levels of Democracy in Latin America during the 1990s," *Latin American Politics and Society* (48): 29-59.
- James Lebovic 2006. "The Academic Conference: An Irreverent Glossary of Terms," *International Studies Perspectives* 7(1): bmii-bmiii. Republished in *The Wit and Humor of Political Science*, L. Sigelman, K. Newton, B. Grofman, and K.J. Meier (eds.), 2009. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association and European Consortium for Political Research.
- James Lebovic 2005. "Donor Positioning: Development Assistance from the US, Japan, France, Germany, and Britain," *Political Research Quarterly* (58): 119-126.
- James Lebovic 2004. "Uniting for Peace? Democracies and United Nations Peace Operations after the Cold War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (48): 910-936. Republished in *International Law (Sage Library of International Relations)*, Beth A. Simmons (ed.) London: Sage (2008).
- James Lebovic 2004. "Unity in Action: Explaining Alignment Behavior in the Middle East," *Journal of Peace Research* (41): 167-189.
- James Lebovic 2003. "The Limits of Reciprocity: Tolerance Thresholds in Superpower Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* (40): 139-158.
- James Lebovic 2002. "The Law of Small Numbers: Deterrence and National Missile Defense," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (46): 455-483.
- Deborah Avant and James Lebovic 2002. "US Military Responses to post-Cold War Missions" in Theo Farrell and Terry Terriff, eds., *The Sources of Military Change: Military Organisations and their Changing Environments in the Modern Era*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- James Lebovic 2001. "Spending Priorities and Democratic Rule in Latin America," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (45): 427-452.
- James Lebovic and Lee Sigelman 2001. "The Forecasting Accuracy and Determinants of Football Rankings," *International Journal of Forecasting* (17): 105-120.
- Deborah Avant and James Lebovic 2000. "US Military Attitudes toward Post-Cold War Missions," *Armed Forces and Society* (27): 37-56.

- James Lebovic 1999. "Using Military Spending Data: The Complexity of Simple Inference," *Journal of Peace Research* (36): 681-697.
- James Lebovic 1998. "Consider the Source: Organizational Bias in Estimates of Foreign Military Spending," *International Studies Quarterly* (42): 161-174.
- James Lebovic 1995. "How Organizations Learn: US Government Estimates of Foreign Military Spending," *American Journal of Political Science* (39): 835-863.
- James Lebovic 1994. "Riding Waves or Making Waves? The Services and the US Defense Budget, 1981-93." *American Political Science Review* (88): 839-852.
- James Lebovic 1994. "Before the Storm: Momentum in the Onset of the Gulf War," *International Studies Quarterly* (38): 447-474.
- Lee Sigelman, James Lebovic, Clyde Wilcox, and Dee Allsop 1993. "As Time Goes By: Daily Opinion Change During the Persian Gulf Crisis," *Political Communication* (10): 353-367.
- James Lebovic 1988. "National Interests and United States Foreign Aid: The Carter and Reagan Years," *Journal of Peace Research* (25): 115-135.
- James Lebovic and Kingsley Hill 1988. "OPEC: A Study of Trade Partner Diversification," *International Interactions* (14): 343-372.
- James Lebovic and Ashfaq Ishaq 1987. "Military Burden, Security Needs and Economic Growth in the Middle East," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (31): 106-138.
- James Lebovic 1986. "The Middle East: The Region as a System," *International Interactions* (12): 267-289.
- James Lebovic 1985. "Capabilities in Context: National Attributes and Foreign Policy in the Middle East," *Journal of Peace Research* (22): 47-67.
- James Lebovic 1982-83. "The Middle East: Perspectives on Continuity and Change," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* (6): 47-64.

#### Other Publications:

- James Lebovic, 2011. Introduction to roundtable discussion of Dominic Tierney, *How We Fight: Crusades, Quagmires, and the American Way of War*. Diplomatic History and International History Discussion Network <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/roundtables/>
- James Lebovic, 2011. Author response to roundtable discussion of James Lebovic, *Limits of US Military Capability: Lessons from Vietnam and Iraq*. Contributions by Robert Lieber, Andrew Bennett, Sara Kreps, Suzanne Nielsen, and Dominic Tierney. Diplomatic History and

International History Discussion Network .<http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/roundtables/>

James Lebovic, 2007. "Balancing National Security and Civil Liberties," the American Bar Association, Division for Public Education, *Focus on Law Studies* 22(2); available at: <http://www.abanet.org/publiced/focus/home.html>.

Manuscripts (in order of relative completion):

James Lebovic, Security in Numbers: The United States and Strategic Nuclear Arms Control, from Truman to Obama. Book length (400-page) manuscript on US-Russian nuclear arms-control negotiations. Under Review at Johns Hopkins University Press.

James Lebovic, Preferences in Practice: The Millennium Challenge Corporation and US Foreign Aid, 2004-2011. Under review: *American Journal of Political Science*.

James Lebovic, "Passing the Burden: Contributions to UN Peace Operations in the Post-Cold War." For submission in Summer 2012 to the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* for consideration as part of a special quantitative issue on the United Nations.

James Lebovic: a quantitative study of the effects of state human rights practices on supplier-recipient relationships in the global arms trade (Summer 2012).

Two quantitative article-length projects with my PhD student, Kerry Crawford: a) an analysis of gender diversity in UN member personnel contributions to UN peace operations and b) an analysis of US public and media response to civilian casualties inflicted by US troops in war.

Project with Deborah Avant and Eric Lawrence: experimental study of the war-casualty tolerance of the US public, for journal submission.

Book Reviews:

Dower, John. 2010 *Cultures of War: Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, 9-11, Iraq*. Roundtable participant, <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/roundtables>

Kilcullen, David. 2010. *Counterinsurgency* in *Review of Politics*, 73(3).

Ender, M.G. 2009. *American Soldiers in Iraq: McSoldiers or Innovative Professionals* in *Political Science Quarterly* (Fall 2010).

Solingen, E. 2008. *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia & the Middle East* in *Political Science Quarterly* (Winter 2008-09).

Broad, W.J. 1992. *Teller's War: The Top Secret Story behind the Star Wars Deception* in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (November 1993).

Meyer, D.S. 1990. *A Winter of Discontent: The Nuclear Freeze and American Politics in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (January 1992).

Malcolmson, R.W. 1990. *Beyond Nuclear Thinking in Political Science Quarterly* (Summer 1991).

Cimbala, S.J. 1988. *Nuclear Strategizing: Deterrence and Reality in the American Political Science Review* (September 1989).

Osgood, R.E. 1988. *The Nuclear Dilemma in American Strategic Thought in the American Political Science Review* (September 1989).

### **Professional Papers:**

James Lebovic, "Illogic in Strategic Nuclear Arms Control: The Reagan Administration and the INF Treaty." International Studies Association. San Diego, March 2012

James Lebovic, "The Security Dilemma in Nuclear Arms Control: Lessons from the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations." International Studies Association. Montreal, March 2011.

James Lebovic, "Managing the Nuclear Threat, The United States and the Partial Test Ban Treaty." American Political Science Association: Washington, D.C., September 2010.

James Lebovic, "Passing the Burden: Contributions to UN Peace Operations in the Post-Cold War Era." International Studies Association: New Orleans, February 2010.

James Lebovic, "Leveraging Host Governments in War: Lessons from Vietnam and Iraq." RIGS Seminar, International Studies Program, University of California, Irvine, April 2009.

James Lebovic, "The Challenges of Asymmetric Conflict: Leveraging Adversary Leaders in the Vietnam and Iraq Wars." International Studies Association: New York, February 2009.

James Lebovic, "The Unipolar Elusion: The Neglected Limits to US Global Military Capability." International Studies Association: San Francisco, March 2008.

James Lebovic, "Policy Considerations in the 'War on Terror': Security, Human Rights, and Development in US Foreign Aid, 1997-2004." European Consortium for Political Research, Pisa, Italy, September 2007.

James Lebovic, "Rethinking the 'Security Dilemma': Lessons from US Estimates of the Soviet and 'Rogue-State' Threats." International Studies Association: Chicago, February 2007.

James Lebovic and Erik Voeten, "The Cost of Shame: International Organizations, Foreign Aid, and the Enforcement of Human Rights Norms." International Studies Association: San Diego, March 2006.

- James Lebovic and William R. Thompson, "An Illusionary or Elusive Relationship? The Arab-Israel Conflict and Repression in the Middle East." International Studies Association: Honolulu, March 2005.
- James Lebovic and Erik Voeten, "The Politics of Shame: The Condemnation of Country Human Rights Practices in the UNHRC." Midwest Political Science Association: Chicago, April 2004.
- Cynthia McClintock and James Lebovic, "Correlates of Democratic Quality in Latin America during the 1990s," Latin American Studies Association: Dallas, March 2003.
- James Lebovic, "Donor Positioning: Development Assistance from the US, Japan, France, Germany, and Britain," International Studies Association: Portland, Oregon, February 2003.
- Cynthia McClintock and James Lebovic, "Latin America's Third Democratic Wave: Measuring and Explaining Variations Across Seventeen Nations," American Political Science Association: Boston, August 2002.
- James Lebovic, "An Overriding Threat: Explaining Alignment Behavior in the Middle East." International Studies Association: New Orleans, March 2002.
- James Lebovic, "Does Primacy Matter? Development Assistance from the US, Japan, and Other Major Donors, 1969-96." International Studies Association: Chicago, February 2001.
- James Lebovic, "Between Welfare and Warfare: Spending Priorities and Democratic Rule in Latin America." American Political Science Association: Washington D.C., September 2000.
- James Lebovic, "Accommodation and the Limits of Reciprocity in International Politics: An Event Data Analysis." International Studies Association: Los Angeles, March 2000.
- Deborah Avant and James Lebovic, "Bureaucratic Beliefs: Threat, Mission, the US Military in the Post-Cold War World." International Studies Association: Washington D.C., February 1999.
- James Lebovic, "Conflict and Cooperation as Complementary International Behaviors: An Event Data Analysis." International Studies Association: Minneapolis, March 1998.
- James Lebovic, "Consider the Source: Organizational Bias in Estimates of Foreign Military Spending." American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 1996.
- James Lebovic, "Budget Trade-offs in the Developing World: The Elusive Sources of a 'Peace Dividend.'" International Studies Association: San Diego, April 1996.
- James Lebovic, "The Arms Trade: Interpretative Challenges in an Era of Change." International Studies Association: Chicago, February 1995.
- James Lebovic, "Deterrence Theory in the Post-Cold War Era." Conference on Deterrence in the

Post-Cold War Era, sponsored by the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Airlie, Virginia, September 1994. The paper appears in the final report of the conference.

James Lebovic and Lee Sigelman, "Publics as Information Processors: The Stock Market Reacts to Desert Storm." Midwest Political Science Association: Chicago, April 1994.

James Lebovic, "Riding Waves or Making Waves? The Services and the US Defense Budget, 1981-93." International Studies Association: Washington D.C., March 1994.

James Lebovic, "Before the Storm: Momentum in the Onset of the Gulf War." International Studies Association: Acapulco, March 1993.

James Lebovic, "Has the US Really Overcome the Vietnam Syndrome." Security Studies Section, International Studies Association: Annapolis, October 1991.

James Lebovic, "Bureaucracy and Technology in US Weapon Acquisition." International Studies Association: Vancouver, March 1991.

James Lebovic, "Marking Time: The Psychology of International Political Forecasting." International Studies Association: London, March 1989.

James Lebovic, "Nuclear Deterrence and US Strategic and Operational Policy." International Studies Association: St. Louis, April 1988.

James Lebovic, "The Psychology of Foreign Policy Goal Formation." International Studies Association: Washington, D.C., April 1987.

James Lebovic and Kingley Hill, "OPEC: A Study of Political and Economic Partner Diversification." International Studies Association: Anaheim, Calif., March 1986.

James Lebovic and Ashfaq Ishaq, "Military Expenditures and Middle East Economic Development." International Studies Association: Washington, D.C., March 1985.

James Lebovic, "United States Foreign Aid: A Comparison of the Carter and Reagan Years." American Political Science Association: Washington, D.C., August 1984.

James Lebovic, "Towards a Middle Eastern Security Regime: Principles, Norms, and Rules." International Studies Association: Atlanta, March 1984.

James Lebovic, "The Middle East as a Region: Order in an Unintegrated Subsystem." International Studies Association: Mexico City, April 1983.

James Lebovic, "The Effects of the Middle East Power Configuration on Inter-Arab Conflict: A Hierarchical Approach." International Studies Association: Los Angeles, March 1980.



James Lebovic, "Third World Demand Aggregation: A Study of Empirical Trends." Appendix to "The Concept of Aggregation and Third World Demands: An Analytical Opportunity and an Empirical Challenge" by James N. Rosenau, presented at an NSF conference on "Constancy and Change: The Political Economy of Global Differentiation: Ojai, Calif., November 1979.

**Doctoral Dissertation:**

The Effects of the Middle East Power Configuration on Inter-Arab Conflict, 1949-1973.  
Advisor: Richard K. Ashley.

**Professional Affiliations:**

International Studies Association  
American Political Science Association

**Courses Taught:**

Undergraduate:

The United States at War: From World War II to Afghanistan (Dean's Seminar)  
International Politics  
Theories of International Conflict  
Scope and Methods of Political Science  
Comparative and International Politics  
Comparative Foreign Policy  
American Political Issues  
Comparative and International Politics of the Middle East

Graduate:

Theories of International Politics  
Quantitative International Politics  
Theories of International Conflict  
The Political Economy of Energy Resources  
Comparative and International Politics of the Middle East  
Theories of International Security  
International Security Politics

**Professional Participation:**

Service:

Governing Council, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, (elected term) 2011-2014.  
Editorial Board: *International Studies Quarterly* (International Studies Association), 2008-

*International Studies Perspectives* (International Studies Association), 2005-.

Program Chair, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 2013.

International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, Award Committee, Chair, Best 2010 book on security, 2011.

International Studies Association, International Security Studies Section, Distinguished Scholar Award Committee, Chair, 2008-2009.

International Studies Association, Award Committee, Best 2004 book on international relations, 2005.

US Institute of Peace: Review Panel, Doctoral Fellowships, April 2005.

United States Information Service, traveled to Guyana, Trinidad, Barbados, and St. Lucia to interview applicants for Fulbright Faculty Development Grants, November 1990.

Lecturing:

National Security Agency, Ft. Meade, Maryland, graduate courses in international politics, GWU Security Studies Program, 1986, 1987.

Inter-American Defense College, Ft. McNair, Washington, D.C., annual lectures and seminar participation, 1984-1989.

School of Continuing Education, GWU, annual preparatory lectures for foreign service exam, 1984-88.

Holloman AFB, New Mexico, graduate courses in comparative and international politics, NMSU masters program, 1981-82.

Numerous presentations to governmental and non-governmental audiences

Director, Security Policy Forum, Institute of International Security and Conflict Studies:  
organizing panels and lectures involving top experts and policymakers

2011-12: Program honoring Morton Halperin and Thomas Schelling upon the 50-year anniversary of *Strategy and Arms Control*; "US Military Interventions" (with General David McKiernan and Ambassador Christopher Hill); "US Leadership in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," Jake Sullivan, Director of Policy Planning, US Department of State; "Challenges Ahead: America and the Middle East" (Ambassador Dennis Ross); "Women, War, and Peace: Addressing Sexual Violence;" and Human Security and the New Rules of War and Peace"

2010-11: General Wesley K. Clark, "How Wars End," "Fighting Corruption in the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan," "How We Fight," "Advising the President on US National Security," and "Egypt: After the Revolution"

2009-10: "The War in Afghanistan: Prospects and Challenges," "Assessing Iran's Nuclear Program," "Pakistan: Military and Political Challenges Ahead," "The Collapse – and Rebirth? – of Transatlantic Relations," "The Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan: The Journalistic Challenges," and "Afghanistan: War of Necessity or Quagmire"

2008-2009: "The Middle East: For the Next Administration," "Disarming Libya: Background to an Agreement," "China: For the Next Administration," "NATO Operations," and "Reflections on the Bush Doctrine."

2007-2008: "Negotiating with North Korea: Lessons and Challenges," "Military Progress in Iraq: Views of the Experts," "Assessing Security in Afghanistan," "Assessing Progress in the War on Terror," "Civilian Casualties of War," and "Lessons from the Search for Iraqi Weapons

of Mass Destruction.”

Spring 2007: Day-long academic/policy conference on “Deterring ‘Rogue States’: Do the Old Rules Apply?”

Conference/Invited Lectures:

Chair on panel, “Presidents, Leaders, and Security,” International Studies Association, San Diego, April 2012.

Invited Talk, “Illogic in Strategic Nuclear Arms Control: The Power of Belief in the Reagan Administration.” University of Virginia, Department of Politics, February 2012.

Invited Lecture, “Deterring Rogue States: Do the Old Rules Apply?” International Studies Public Forum, University of California, Irvine, April 2009.

Chair of roundtable in honor of Samuel P. Huntington, International Studies Association, New York, February 2009.

Funded roundtable participant, Defining an Analytic Construct for Tailored Deterrence: Contributions of Social Science Research, sponsored by the US Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Bethesda, Maryland, January 2009.

Address, Strategic Deterrence and US Nuclear Weapons Policy, Stanley Foundation, Washington D.C., July 2008.

Funded participant in day-long roundtable on incorporating social science insights into deterrence assessment, SAIC, McLean, Virginia, January 2008.

Funded participant in day-long roundtable on the future of big power rivalry, Center for Naval Analysis, Alexandria, Virginia, March 2007 to assist in the planning of future US naval capabilities.

Chair on panel, “Transnational Actors: Their Significance in Theory and Practice.” International Studies Association, Chicago, February 2007.

Chair and Discussant on panel, “Deterrence: An Effective Strategy Against Terrorists and WMD?” International Studies Association, San Diego, March 2006.

Lecture, “Deterrence and National Defense,” Dickinson College, Penn., December 2002.

Chair on panel, “Preferences and Power.” International Studies Association, New Orleans, March 2002.

Discussant on panel, The "Nexus between Domestic and International Politics." International Studies Association, Los Angeles, March 2000.

Chair on panel, "Theory Meets Practice: Empirical Tests of Trade and Conditionality Effects." International Studies Association, Washington D.C., February 1999.

Discussant on panel, "Arms Transfers, Instability, and Human Rights." International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., February 1999.

Funded participant in the Conference on Deterrence in the Post-Cold War Era, sponsored by the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Airlie, Virginia, September 1994.

Discussant on panel, "Power and International Outcomes." International Studies Association, Chicago, February 1995.

Chair on panel on contemporary military issues. International Studies Association: Washington D.C., March 1994.

Funded participant, Harvard-MIT Summer Consortium on Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control, Cambridge, Mass., Summer 1986.

Chair on panel, "Studies in North-South Politics." American Political Science Association:

Washington, D.C., August 1984.

Chair on panel, "Systemic and Sub-systemic Regime Change." International Studies Association:  
Atlanta, March 1984.

**Awards:**

GWU Dilthey Interdisciplinary Research Award, Summer 1989.

GWU Junior Scholar Incentive Grant, Summer 1986.

John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Graduate Research Award for Dissertation  
Research.

**University Service:**

Political Science Department:

Promotion and Tenure Committee, 2005-

Graduate Admissions and Financial Awards Committee, 1992-present.

Comprehensive examiner M.A./Ph.D. (international politics/methods), 1982-present;  
M.A. ESIA, 1982-1997.

Director of Graduate Studies, 1988-92.

M.A. Advisor, 1986-1988.

Numerous faculty recruitment committees.

Columbian/Elliott School:

ESIA, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, Security Policy Forum, Director, 2007-2012.

CSAS, Promotion and Tenure Committee, Member, 2002-2005; Chair (2004-2005).

CSAS, Deans Council, Member, 1990-1993, 1996-1998.

Telecommunications Program External Review Committee, Chair, 1998.

Latin American Studies External Review Committee, Member, 1994.

Psychology Department External Review Committee, Chair, 1990.

Administrative Sciences External Review Committee, Chair, 1990.

Fulbright Scholar Nomination Committee, Member, 1985-1987.

University:

Global Security Initiative Committee, Member, 2010.