PHILIP B. K. POTTER

University of Virginia phil@virginia.edu (323) 828-0304

Executive Director, National Security Data and Policy Institute	2024 –
Professor, Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy	2023 –
Director, National Security Policy Center, Batten School	2017 — 2022 —
Senior Fellow, Miller Center for Public Affairs	2022 —
POLICY POSITIONS	
University Expert	2020 -
National Ground Intelligence Center, US Army, INSCOM	
Senior Advisor	2021 –
Department of Defense	
US Space Force, USSPACECOM, Joint Staff J7	
PRIOR POSITIONS	
Senior Advisor, IPA	2023 - 2024
Office of the Secretary of Defense for Policy, Strategy	
Professor	2023 – 2025
Associate Professor	2016 - 2023
Assistant Professor	2014 - 2016
Department of Politics, UVA	
Adjunct Scholar	2018 - 2019
Modern War Institute, West Point	
Assistant Professor	2009 – 2014
Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy	
Department of Political Science	
University of Michigan	
Postdoctoral Fellow	2008 - 2009
Christopher H. Brown Center for International Politics	
University of Pennsylvania	
Predoctoral Fellow	2006 – 2008
Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University	
EDUCATION	
Ph.D. Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles	2009
M.A., Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles	2005
B.A., Honors, Political Science and Economics, McGill University	2001

BOOKS

• Zero Tolerance: Repression and Political Violence on China's New Silk Road (2023), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (with Chen Wang).

Reviews: Perspectives on Politics, Political Science Quarterly, The Journal of Asian Studies **Roundtables**: APSA 2023 Authors Meet Critics

• War and Democratic Constraint: How the Public Influences Foreign Policy (2015), Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (with Matthew Baum).

Awards: CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title 2015

Reviews: Foreign Affairs, Journal of Politics, Perspectives on Politics, The RUSI Journal, Ethics and International Affairs, Political Studies Review, European Review of International Studies

Roundtables: H-ISSF, APSA 2016 Authors Meet Critics

ARTICLES

• "The Strategic Logic of Large Alliance Networks" (2023) *Journal of Global Security Studies*, vol. 8 no. 1 (with Chris Blair).

- "Leadership Targeting and Militant Alliance Breakdown" (2022) *Journal of Politics*, vol. 84, no. 2 (with Chris Blair and Michael Horowitz).
- "Governmental Responses to Terrorism in Autocracies: Evidence from China" (2022) *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 358-380 (with Chen Wang).
- "The Direct Election of Senators and the Emergence of the Modern Presidency" (2022) *Political Science Research and Methods*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 188-197 (with Gray and Jenkins).
- "Honor among Thieves: Understanding Rhetorical and Material Cooperation Among Militant Groups" (2022) *International Organization*, vol. 76., no. 1, pp. 164-203 (with Blair, Chenoweth, Horowitz, and Perkoski).
- "Gender Detection on Social Networks using Ensemble Deep Learning" (2021) Proceedings
 of the Future Technologies Conference (FTC) 2020, eds. Arai, Kohei; Kapoor, Supriya; Bhatia,
 Rahul vol. 1 p. 346-358 (with Kowsari, Heidarysafa, Odukoya, Barnes, and Brown).
- "Diplomacy and the Settlement of International Disputes" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2020) 64 (7-8), 1358-1389 (with Julia Gray).
- "Women in ISIS Propaganda: A Natural Language Processing Analysis of Topics and Emotions in a Comparison with a Mainstream Religious Group" (2020) *Advances in Intelligent Systems and Computing* p 610-624 (with Heidarysafa, Kowsari, Odukoya, Barnes, and Brown).
- "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media" *Journal of Politics*, (2019) vol. 81, no. 2. (with Matthew Baum).
- "Sizing Up the Adversary: Leader Attributes, Credibility, and Reciprocation in International Conflict" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2018) vol. 62, no. 10, pp. 2180-2204. (with Michael Horowitz, Todd Sechser, and Allan Stam).
- "Tactical Diversity in Militant Violence" *International Organization*, (2018) vol. 72, no. 1, pp. 139-171(with Michael Horowitz and Evan Perkoski).
- 'Lame-Duck Foreign Policy' Presidential Studies Quarterly, (2016) vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 849-867.
- "Explaining Terrorism: Leadership Deficits and Militant Group Tactics" *International Organization*, (2015) vol. 69, no. 02, pp. 311-342 (with Max Abrahms).
- "Looking for Audience Costs in all the Wrong Places: Electoral Institutions, Media Access
 and Democratic Constraint" *Journal of Politics*, (2014) vol. 76, no. 1, pp. 167-181 (with
 Matthew Baum).

- "Allying to Kill: Terrorist Intergroup Cooperation and the Consequences for Lethality" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, (2014) vol. 58, no. 2, pp.199-225 (with Michael Horowitz).
- "Electoral Margins and American Foreign Policy" *International Studies Quarterly* (2013) vol. 57, no. 3. pp. 505-518.
- "Terrorism in China: Growing Threats with Global Implications" *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (2013) vol. 7 no. 4, pp. 61-83.
- "Trade and Volatility at the Core and Periphery of the Global Economy" *International Studies Quarterly* (2012) vol. 56 no. 4, pp. 793-800 (with Julia Gray).
- "Media, Audience Costs and the Democratic Peace" *Political Communication* (2010), vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 453-470 (with Matthew Baum).
- "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis" *Annual Review of Political Science* (2008) vol. 11, pp. 39-65 (with Matthew Baum).
- "Does Experience Matter? American Presidential Experience, Age, and International Conflict" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2007) vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 351-78.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- "Congressional Midterms, Presidential Reelection, and US Foreign Policy" (2025) in Separation of Powers in Wartime, Doug Kriner and Sarah Kreps eds. Chicago University Press, (with Chris Dictus).
- "Terrorism" in *Understanding War and Peace*, (2023) Dan Reiter ed. Cambridge University Press.
- "Presidential Leadership in American Foreign Policy" (2017) in *Leadership in American Politics*, Jeffrey Jenkins and Craig Volden, Editors. University of Kansas Press.
- "Globalization, Interdependence, and Major Power Accommodation" (2016) in Accommodating Rising Powers: Past, Present and Future, T.V. Paul, Editor. Cambridge University Press.
- "Methods of Foreign Policy Analysis" (2010) in *International Studies Compendium Project*, R.A. Denemark, Editor. Blackwell: Oxford.

GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND POLICY PAPERS

- "The Biological Threat National Security Policy Ecosystem" (2023) Defense Intelligence Agency. Principal Author.
- "Threat Perception and Deterrence after the War in Ukraine" (2023) Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. (with Claire Oto and John Robinson).
- "Designing and Implementing a Research and Development Ecosystem for the 21st Century Intelligence Community," (2021) Central Intelligence Agency. Principal Author.
- "Threat Perception & International Cooperation" (2021) Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. (with Luke Schumacher and John Robinson).
- Government Owned Government Operated/Government Owned Contractor Operated Study, (2019) Department of Energy. Principal Author.
- "ISIL's Network of Regional and International Relationships" in *White Paper on SMA Support to SOCCENT: ISIL Influence and Resolve*, Allison Astorino-Courtois and Sarah Canna, Editors. (2015) Department of Defense: Washington, DC.

• "ISIL's Inter-Organizational Relationships: Conflict and Cooperation" in *Multi-Method Assessment of ISIL*, Hriar Cabayan and Sarah Canna, Editors. (2014) Department of Defense: Washington, DC.

REVIEWS AND POPULAR PRESS (SELECTED)

- "Space Norms and U.S. National Security: Leading on Space Debris," (with George Foresman and Michael Horowitz) *War on the Rocks*, August 2, 2021.
- "The Death and Life of Terrorist Networks: How Alliances Help Militants Survive" (with Blair, Chenoweth, Horowitz, and Perkoski) Foreign Affairs, October 5, 2020.
- "Direct election and the foreign policy president" (with Jeff Jenkins and Thomas Gray) *LegBranch.org*, July 23, 2020.
- "The high costs of a precipitous US withdrawal from Afghanistan" (with John Ciorciari, Javed Ali, and Ryan Van Wie) *The Hill,* January 4, 2020.
- "The WTO might return to diplomatic settlements for trade disputes. Here's why." (with Julia Gray) *Monkey Cage, Washington Post, December 20, 2019.*
- "Democracy, Public Opinion, and Half Measures" (with Matthew Baum) in "Roundtable on Public Opinion and the Trump Administration's Foreign Policy" H-Diplo/ISSF Policy (2017).
- Review of "Sailing the Water's Edge: The Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy" by Helen Milner and Dustin Tingley H-Net Reviews in the Humanities and Social Sciences (2017).
- Review of "Why Leaders Fight" by M. Horowitz, A. Stam, and C. Ellis. *Perspectives on Politics*, (2017).
- "No one talks about democratization any more. Is there a better policy?" *The Washington Post* [The Monkey Cage] July 5, 2015 (with Matthew Baum).
- "In Democracies an Effective Media and Opposition are Both Needed to Sanction Leaders' foreign policy missteps." (2014) London School of Economics American Politics and Policy Bulletin (With Matthew Baum).
- "Terrorism in China: the global dimension," The Guardian, May 6, 2014.
- "Q. & A.: Philip Potter on the Growing Risk of Terrorism in China" *The New York Times*, October 31, 2013.
- "The Next Four Years: How the Election Will Shape Foreign Policy" (2012) *The Monkey Cage*.
- "Signaling in Elections" (2008), BCSIA Paper Series, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, no. 3 (with Julia Gray).

SELECTED WORK IN PROGRESS

- "Tolerance for Militant Right-Wing Extremist Organizations in the United States" Revise and Resubmit (with Josh Alley and Layla Picard)
- The Strategic Logic of China's Counterterrorism Joint Military Exercises Revise and Resubmit (with Chen Wang)
- "You Gotta Know When to Hold 'em" Productive Bluffing in Politics *Under Review* (with Matt Baum and Bryce Dietrich)
- Electoral Cycles and U.S. Foreign Policy, book manuscript (with Chris Dictus)
- "International Migration and Interstate Conflict" (with Ben Helms and David Leblang)

GRANTS AND CONTRACTS (SELECTED)

	<i>,</i>	
Office of the Director of National Intelligence	\$55,750,000	2024
National Security Innovation Network	\$499,000	2024
Defense Intelligence Agency, Biocomplexity	\$399,963	2023
Konrad Adenauer Stiftung	\$19,000	2023
Defense Intelligence Agency, NeedipeDIA	\$177,650	2022
Central Intelligence Agency, CHAOTIC GOOD	\$497,000	2021
Department of Defense, I4D	\$218,000	2021-2022
Konrad Adenauer Stiftung	\$21,000	2021
Department of Defense	\$188,550	2020-2021
NSIN, Department of Defense	\$73,000	2020
Oak Ridge Affiliated Universities	\$267,000	2019
New America, PIT-UN Grant	\$90,000	2019
NSIN, Department of Defense	\$215,000	2019
NGIC, US Army	\$75,000	2017-2019
MD5, Department of Defense	\$60,000	2018
Office of Naval Research, Department of Defense	\$75,345	2015-2016
Minerva Research Initiative	\$468,632	2015
Experiential Learning Grant, International Institute	\$30,000	2010-2012

INVITED PRESENTATIONS (SELECTED)

University of Oxford	2006
University of Pennsylvania	2007
Princeton University	2008
University of Minnesota	2008
Harvard University	2008
Beijing University, Beijing	2009
Renmin University, Beijing	2011
University of Pennsylvania	2012
University of California, Los Angeles	2013
Tsinghua University, Beijing	2013
University of Virginia	2013
University of Southern California	2013
University of Texas, Austin	2013
Department of Defense, SOCCENT, Strategic Multilayer Assessment	2014
University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Contemporary China	2015
Princeton University	2015
Brown University	2015
University of Denver	2016
London School of Economics	2016
Dartmouth	2017
Central Intelligence Agency	2018
RAND Corporation	2018
University of Southern California	2019
Central Intelligence Agency	2019
Sciences Po Lyon	2019
ENS Lyon	2019
American University	2021
Air War College	2021

Department of Defense, Strategic Multilayer Assessment	2022
University of South Carolina	2023
USSOCOM	2024
ODNI	2025
CIA	2025

Courses (Selected)

University of Virginia

Politics 3500, "The Military and American Democracy"

Public Policy 7050, "Innovating for Defense" (joint with Law and Engineering)

Public Policy 7050, "National Security"

Politics 3500, "Terrorism and Political Violence"

Politics 3500, "The Domestic Politics of International Relations"

Politics 4500, "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy"

Politics 7000, "Core Seminar in International Relations"

Politics 7500, "Domestic Politics and International Relations"

Politics 7500, "Terrorism and Political Violence"

University of Michigan

Political Science 760, Political Science, Ph.D. Level, "Research Design"

Public Policy 560, MPP Level, "Foreign Policy"

Public Policy 716, MPP Level, "Problems in Chinese Policy"

Public Policy 624, MPP Level, "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy"

Political Science 363, "Globalization and International Security"

CONFERENCES (SELECTED)

APPAM, 2018, National Security and Homeland Security Program Sub-Committee Chair

Reconsidering Regime Type in International Relations, Yale University 2015

Leadership in American Politics, University of Virginia 2014

Accommodating Rising Powers, McGill University 2013

Political Networks Conference, University of Michigan, 2011, Conference Chair

Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association 2004-2010, 2012-2016, 2018

International Studies Association Annual Convention 2004-11, 2016

Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association 2004-2010, 2012-2013

International Political Economy Society 2008, 2014

Annual Meeting of the Peace Science Society, 2014

Southern Political Science Association, 2016

SERVICE

Editorial Board Member:

Journal of Global Security Studies, 2015-2025 Journal of Politics, 2015-2019

Article Referee (selected):

APSR, AJPS, JOP, IO, IS, World Politics, British Journal of Political Science, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Conflict Management and Peace Science, European Journal of Political Research, International Interactions, Foreign Policy Analysis, Political Communication, Political

Research Quarterly, Polity, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence, Chinese Journal of International Politics, Journal of Experimental Politics...

University of Virginia (selected)

Pathways to Public Service Advisory Committee 2022 –

International Relations Field Chair 2022 –

Global Studies Advisory Board 2014 -

Director of Graduate Studies 2017 – 2023

GSAS Committee on Graduate Education 2020-22

Placement coordinator 2016 – 2017

PhD Admissions Committee 2016 – 2017

Co-director Lansing Lee/Bankard Seminar Series 2014-2017

Undergraduate Committee 2014-2015

University of Michigan

Director, Ford Security Seminar 2009-2014

Curriculum Review 2010-2011

PhD Admissions Committee 2011, 2013

Discipline

Associate PI, Time-Sharing Experiments in the Social Sciences (TESS)

PhD Dissertation Committees

Chair

James Kwoun, 2025, National Intelligence University

Sowon Park, 2025, Duke University (postdoc)

Alexis Yang, 2024

Chris Dictus, 2023, RAND Corp.

Ruixing Cao, 2022, University of Hong Kong (tenure track)

Hsuan-Yu Lin, 2022, Academia Sinica (tenure track)

Carl Huang, 2022, Apple

Chen Wang, 2021, Duke (postdoc), University of Idaho (tenure track)

John Robinson, 2021, National Security Policy Center, UVA

COL Justin Gorkowski, 2020, US Army, DTRA

LTC Derek Ray, 2020, US Air Force, NSA

COL Rafael Lopez, 2019, Carnegie Mellon University

Everett Peachey, 2017, Research Coordinator, Aga Khan

Committee Member

LTC Thomas Geisinger, 2023, US Army

Laura White, 2022, Virginia State Government

Aycan Katitas, 2021, Niehaus Center, Princeton University

Yaping Wang, 2018, Colgate University (tenure track)

Matt Scroggs, 2017, Visiting Assistant Professor, Lewis and Clark

Matthew Wells, 2015, Wabash College (tenure track)

Vincent Arel-Bundock, 2014, University of Montreal (tenure track)

Lisa Langdon Koch, 2014, Claremont McKenna (tenure track)

Sasha Kimmel, 2013, Cal State San Marcos (tenure track)

Andrea Jones-Rooy, 2011, NYU Shanghai (tenure track)

Dominick Wright, 2010, Institute for Defense Analysis