

BARBARA ELIAS

Department of Government & Legal Studies
 Bowdoin College
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Professional Appointments

Associate Professor, Department of Government and Legal Studies Bowdoin College	from 2021
Senior Non-Resident Fellow, Irregular Warfare Initiative United States Military Academy, West Point	2022
Assistant Professor, Department of Government and Legal Studies Bowdoin College	2013–21
Director, Afghanistan/Pakistan/Taliban Documentation Project The National Security Archive, The George Washington University	2006–14
Director, Freedom of Information Project The National Security Archive, The George Washington University	2005–06
Coordinator, Freedom of Information Project The National Security Archive, The George Washington University	2003–05

Education

PhD in Political Science, University of Pennsylvania Areas of Specialization: International Relations, Comparative Politics, Islam and Politics Dissertation: <i>The Critical Ally: Coercion and Defiance in Counterinsurgency Partnerships</i> Committee: Avery Goldstein (Chair), Edward Mansfield, Michael Horowitz, Alex Weisiger	2013
MA in Political Science, University of Pennsylvania	2008
BA in International Relations (<i>with Honors</i>) and U.S. History, Brown University	2002
Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy, Columbia University	2009

Book

Why Allies Rebel: Defiant Local Partners in Counterinsurgency Wars. Cambridge University Press, 2020. 330 pp.
 Awarded: Best Book, International Security Studies Section of the International Studies Association (ISA), November 2021, and Best International Security Book by a Non-tenured Faculty Member, International Security Section of the American Political Science Association (APSA), June 2021.

Journal Articles

“Why Rebels Rely on Terrorists: The Persistence of the Taliban-al-Qaeda Battlefield Coalition in Afghanistan,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 45:2 (February 2022): 234-257. 23 pp. (peer reviewed)

“Influence Through Absence in U.S. Counterinsurgency Interventions? Coercing Local Allies Through Threats to Withdraw.” with Alex Weisiger, *Civil Wars*, 22:4 (2020): 512–542, 31 pp. (peer reviewed)

“Local Minorities in Counterinsurgency: U.S. Approaches to Baghdad and Saigon Regarding Marginalized Populations.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (April 2019). 18 pp. [forthcoming in print 44, no. 10 (2021)] (peer reviewed)

“The Big Problem of Small Allies: New Data and Theory on the Defiance of Local Partners in Counterinsurgencies.” *Security Studies* 27, no. 2 (2018): 233–62. 30 pp. (peer reviewed)

“The Likelihood of Local Allies Free-Riding: Testing Economic Theories of Alliances in US Counterinsurgency Interventions.” *Cooperation and Conflict* 52, no. 3 (2017): 309–31. 23 pp. (peer reviewed)

“America’s Missing Leverage in Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Structural Analysis.” *Third World Quarterly* 34, no.8 (2013): 1392–1408. 17 pp. (peer reviewed)

Under Review

“Coercing Local Counterinsurgency Allies – Lessons for Syria and Iraq After the Islamic State.” 24 pp. (revised and resubmit, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*) (peer reviewed)

Book Reviews

Coll, Steve. *Directorate S: The C.I.A. and America's Secret Wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. New York: Penguin Books, 2018. Illustrations. xxiii + 757 pp. *H-Diplo*, H-Net Reviews. May 11, 2019.

Giustozzi, Antonio. *The Army of Afghanistan: A Political History of a Fragile Institution*. London: Hurst Publishers, 2016. 288 pp. *Journal of Contemporary History* 52, no. 3 (2017): 776–77.

Essays

“Why the Taliban Won’t Quit al Qaeda: Don’t Expect the Taliban to Compromise their Terrorist Allies.” *Foreign Policy*, (September 21, 2021).

“The Legend of Mullah Omar.” *Foreign Affairs* (September 1, 2015).

“Making Maliki and Karzai: How Washington Produced Unhelpful Allies in the Middle East.” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (June 27, 2014).

“The Pakistani Taliban’s Coming Divide.” *Foreign Affairs* (February 2, 2012).

“Know Thine Enemy - Why the Taliban Cannot Be Flipped.” *Foreign Affairs* (November 2, 2009).

Declassified U.S. Government Document Briefing Books

“The Central Intelligence Agency’s 9/11 File.” *The National Security Archive* (June 19, 2012).

“U.S. Secret Message to Mullah Omar – New Details on America’s Response to 9/11.” *The National Security Archive* (September 11, 2011).

“Pakistan’s Bin Laden Policy.” *The National Security Archive* (May 5, 2011).

“The Taliban Biography: The Structure and Leadership of the Taliban 1996-2002.” *The National Security Archive* (November 13, 2009).

“Pakistan: ‘The Taliban's Godfather?’” *The National Security Archive* (August 14, 2007).

“The Taliban File IV – U.S. Diplomacy with the Taliban.” *The National Security Archive* (August 18, 2005).

In Preparation

“The Internal Balance of Power in Weak and Failed States,” with Alex Weisiger, 41 pp. (Presented: American Political Science Association Annual Conference, August 2018 & International Studies Association, International Security Studies Section Meeting, November 2018)

“The Sovereignty Dilemma in Counterinsurgency Interventions.” 38 pp. (Presented: American Political Science Association Annual Conference, September 2020, The Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, The George Washington University, November 23, 2020 and International Security Sector Assistance and Reform Workshop at the Annual Peace Science Society Meeting, November 9, 2020)

“More Money, More Problems? Counterinsurgency, Funding & War Outcome,” with Jonathan D. Askonas

“Duck & Cover: How Local Proxies Manage Foreign Patrons in Counterinsurgency Wars,” in preparation for the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, September 2022

Awards

Best Book, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association	2022
Andrew W. Mellon Faculty Research Support Award, Bowdoin College	2022
Best Book in International Security by Non-tenured Faculty, Amer. Political Science Association	2021
Karofsky Faculty Encore Lecture (teaching award), Bowdoin College	2016
Faculty Research Leave Award, Bowdoin College	2016–17
Fletcher Family Research Award, Bowdoin College	2016
Morris Abrams Award in International Relations	2012
GAPSA-Provost Fellowship for Interdisciplinary Innovation, University of Pennsylvania	2012
Wharton Risk Center, Russell Ackoff Doctoral Student Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania	2012
Browne Center for International Politics Research Grant, University of Pennsylvania	2012
Teece Family Foundation Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania	2011
World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship, The Smith Richardson Foundation	2011
Browne Center for International Politics Research Grant, University of Pennsylvania	2011
Benjamin Franklin Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania	2006–11
Dean’s Award for Distinguished Teaching, University of Pennsylvania	2009
Samuel C. Lamport Prize in International Understanding, Brown University	2002

Invited Talks

“The Competitive Landscape and Implications for Irregular Warfare,” with U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCCOM) Commander General Richard Clarke, sponsored by the Irregular Warfare Initiative and the Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, United States Military Academy, March 15, 2022.

“When Allies Rebel: A Conversation About Counterinsurgency,” Hamilton College, March 2, 2022.

“The Sovereignty Dilemma in Counterinsurgency Interventions,” Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, The George Washington University, November 23, 2020.

“Local Partners as Persistent Problems in Counterinsurgency Wars,” U.S. Military Academy at West Point, invited speaker in *Grand Strategy*, April 15, 2019.

“Women and Minority Groups in U.S. Counterinsurgency Strategy,” Women, Peace and Security Conference, U.S. Naval War College, April 16-17, 2015.

Conference Paper Presentations

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting	
“Non-State Actor Alliances”	2021
“The Sovereignty Dilemma in Counterinsurgency”	2020
“The Internal Balance of Power in Weak and Failed States”	2018
“U.S. Demands to Counterinsurgency Allies on Minority Groups”	2017
“Withdrawal and Free Riding in Counterinsurgency”	2016
“The Role of Women and Ethnic Minorities in U.S. Counterinsurgency”	2015
“Testing Economic Models of Alliances in Counterinsurgency”	2014
“Withdrawal and Free Riding in Counterinsurgency”	2013
“Coercion & Cooperation in Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan”	<i>conference cancelled</i> 2012
Peace Science Society Annual Meeting	2020
“The Proxy Problem: Local Sovereignty in U.S. Counterinsurgency Interventions.”	
International Studies Association, International Security Studies Section Annual Meeting	
“Withdrawal and Free Riding in Counterinsurgencies”	2019
“The Internal Balance of Power in Weak and Failed States”	2018
“Marginalized Groups in Population-Centric Counterinsurgency”	2017
“Women and Minority Groups in U.S. Counterinsurgency Strategy”	2015
Empirical Study of Conflict Annual Meeting	
“Coercing Local Counterinsurgency Allies – Lessons for Syria and Iraq After the Islamic State.”	2018
International Studies Association Annual Meeting	
“Insurgency: Cooperation and Alliances”	2022
“Non-State Actor Alliances”	2021
“Unequal Burden Sharing in Counterinsurgency Partnerships”	2015
“Coercion and Cooperation in America’s Counterinsurgency Alliances”	2014
Conference Section Chair	
Midwest Political Science Association – Section 44, International Conflict Processes	2022
Conference Panel Discussant	
American Political Science Association Annual Meeting	
“Causes and Conduct of Proxy Warfare”	2021
“Alliances and International Security”	2019
“New Research on Alliance Politics”	2018
International Studies Association, International Security Studies Section Annual Meeting	
“Alliances: Traditional and Beyond”	2017
“Thinking about Counterinsurgency, Part II”	2015
Midwest Political Science Association	
“Invasion of, and Withdrawal from, Afghanistan: Impacts on Public Opinion”	2022

Conference Panel Chair

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting	
“The Challenges of State Weakness”	2020
“Nuclear Weapons”	2018
International Studies Association, International Security Studies Section Annual Meeting	
“Balancing, Bandwagoning, and Independence”	2019
“Alliances: Traditional and Beyond”	2017
“Thinking about Counterinsurgency, Part II”	2015
International Studies Association Annual Meeting	
“New Generation Scholarship in South Asian Security”	<i>conference cancelled 2020</i>

Research Workshops

“Challenges in the U.S.-Iran Relationship,” Massachusetts Institute of Technology	2012
“The Evolved Irregular Threat Project,” Office of the Secretary of Defense	2011
The Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research, The George Washington University	2006
“Choices for the 21 st Century,” Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University	2005
“Kennedy, Johnson and Vietnam,” The Arca Foundation	2005

Teaching Experience

Bowdoin College

GOV 1031 – Weapons of the Weak – 2014, 2015, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021
GOV 1600 – Introduction to International Relations – 2013, 2015, 2019, 2021
GOV 2605 – Race & International Relations (co-taught with Túlio Zille) – 2022
GOV 2680 – International Security – 2014, 2015, 2019, 2020
GOV 2690 – Islam & Politics – 2015, 2016, 2018, 2021
GOV 2670 – U.S. Foreign Policy – 2013, 2014, 2018, 2020
GOV 3620 – Counterinsurgencies – 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2022

University of Pennsylvania

Graduate Fellow for Teaching Excellence 2009 – 2010
Teaching Assistant
PSCI 150 – Introduction to International Relations – 2007
PSCI 151 – International Security – 2008
PSCI 252 – War, Strategy and Politics – 2008
PSCI 255 – Causes of War and Peace – 2009

Teaching Development

Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies, Basin Harbor Workshop	June 2014
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Service to Bowdoin College

Search Committee Member, Assistant Professor in Middle East and North African Studies	2021–22
Committee on Governance and Faculty Affairs	2019–21
Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Advisor (Summer Research Training Program)	2020–21
Representative to the Trustee Subcommittee on Honors	2018–20
Search Committee Member, Lecturer in Arabic	2017–18
Search Committee Member, Post-Doctoral Fellow in Arabic	2017–18
Bowdoin Marine Corps Society Lecture Committee	from 2017

Curriculum Implementation Committee	2014–16
Search Committee Member, Visiting Assistant Professor in International Relations	2015–16
Search Committee Member, Assistant Professor in Environmental Studies and Government	2015–16
Bowdoin Children’s Center Advisory Committee	from 2014
Faculty Advisor, Model U.N.	2014–16
Faculty Advisor, Bowdoin International Relations Society	2014–15

Service to the Profession

Midwest Political Science Association, Programing Co-Chair, Section 44 – International Conflict Processes – 2022

Journal Referee: *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *Asian Survey*.

Research & Teaching Interests

International Security	U.S. Foreign Policy
Counterinsurgency Warfare	Proxy Wars
State Building	Military Interventions
Middle East & North Africa	Political Islam

Professional Affiliations

American Political Science Association, International Studies Association, Women in Conflict Studies, Irregular Warfare Initiative