

ISSN 2334-3745

# PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM

Volume XVI, Issue 2  
April 2022

A JOURNAL OF THE

**TRI** TERRORISM RESEARCH INITIATIVE

---

Enhancing Security through Collaborative Research

## Table of Contents

Words of Welcome.....3

### Articles

Repertoires of Terrorism in Mexico's Criminal War.....4  
by Andreas E. Feldmann and Marc Lopez

### Research Notes

India's Counterterrorism Cooperation with Israel.....14  
by Ely Karmon

Targeted Violence: A Review of the Literature on Radicalization and Mobilization .....24  
by Megan K. McBride, Marley Carroll, Jessa L. Mellea, and Elena Savoia

### Resources

Counter-Terrorism Bookshelf: 8 Books on Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism-Related Subjects.....39  
Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

Book Review: Letizia Paoli, Cyrille Fijnaut and Jan Wouters (Eds.). *The Nexus Between Organized Crime and Terrorism. Types and Responses*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022.....43  
Reviewed by Alex P. Schmid

Bibliography: The Kurds and Security in the Middle East.....45  
Compiled and Selected by Judith Tinnes

40+ Full-Text Academic Theses (M.A. and Ph.D.) on Victims of Terrorism, Written in English Between 2003 and 2021.....88  
Compiled and Selected by Brody McDonald

Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects.....91  
Compiled and Selected by Berto Jongman

### Announcements

Conference Monitor/Calendar of Events (April 2022 and beyond).....132  
by Olivia Kearney

About *Perspectives on Terrorism*.....135

---

## Words of Welcome from the Editors

Dear Reader,

We are pleased to announce the release of Volume XVI, Issue 2 (April 2022) of *Perspectives on Terrorism* (ISSN 2334-3745). Our independent online journal is an Open Access publication of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), Vienna, and the Institute of Security and Global Affairs (ISGA) of Leiden University's Campus in The Hague. All past and recent issues can be found at: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/perspectives-on-terrorism>.

*Perspectives on Terrorism* (PoT) is indexed by JSTOR, SCOPUS, and Google Scholar where it ranks No. 3 of journals in the field of Terrorism Studies. Jouroscope™, a directory of scientific journals, has just listed PoT as one of the top ten journals in the category free open access journals in social sciences, with a Q1 ranking. Now in its 16th year of publication, it has more than 9,500 registered subscribers and many more occasional readers and website visitors in academia, government and civil society worldwide. The Articles of its six annual issues are fully peer-reviewed by external referees while its Research Notes and other content are subject to internal editorial quality control.

The current issue features one **Article** by *Andreas E. Feldmann* and *Marc Lopez* on 'Repertoires of Terrorism in Mexico's Criminal War'. In addition, it features two **Research Notes**. The first, by *Ely Karmon*, discusses the relationship between India and Israel in the field of counter-terrorism. The second, by four researchers at Harvard University—*Megan McBride*, *Marley Carroll*, *Jessa Mellea*, and *Elena Savoia*—is a literature review comparing the phenomena of targeted violence and domestic terrorism in the United States.

The **Resources** section features, in its CT-Bookshelf, a number of short reviews by our book reviews editor, *Joshua Sinai*. This is followed by a longer review of a new book by three authors from Leuven university (Belgium) on 'The Nexus Between Organized Crimes and Terrorism' by *Alex Schmid*. Our information resources editor, *Judith Tinnes*, offers an extensive bibliography on Islamophobia (it will be paralleled by one on Anti-Semitism in a future issue of our journal). *Brody McDonald*, has compiled a clickable list of academic theses on victims of terrorism. *Berto Jongman* contributes another of his wide-ranging surveys of recent online resources on terrorism and related subjects, with special sub-sections on the conflict in the Ukraine.

In **Announcements**, *Olivia Kearney* presents her regular "Conference Calendar" which, due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, is still dominated by online meetings. Finally, the **About Perspectives on Terrorism** section lists the people behind the journal and their tasks.

The texts of the current issue of *Perspectives on Terrorism* have been selected and prepared by *Alex Schmid* and *James Forest*, the journal's principal editors. Editorial Assistant *Jodi Moore* handled proof-reading, while the technical online launch of the April 2022 issue of our journal has been in the hands of our Associate Editor for IT, *Audrey J. Vrolijk* (ISGA, The Hague).

## Repertoires of Terrorism in Mexico's Criminal War

by Andreas E. Feldmann and Marc Lopez

### **Abstract**

*Security conditions in Mexico linked to the confrontation between security forces, organized crime groups (OCGs) and self-defense groups have deteriorated due to the rise of terrorist attacks. While Mexico has a history of violence, terrorism has not been a common practice. This article provides a brief analysis of existing trends by examining the nature of terrorism in Mexico and reviewing the way in which different armed parties utilize this tactic. It argues that terrorism arises in the context of a criminal war in which state security forces, self-defense groups and different OCGs have developed specific repertoires of terrorism that fit their organizational goals and character.*

**Keywords:** Mexico, terrorism, criminal war, violence, crime, drugs

### **Introduction**

Since the mid-1990s, Mexico has seen a steady and dramatic deterioration of security conditions linked to rising criminal activity. In this new phase of violence, Mexican security forces have been combating a plethora of organized crime groups (OCGs)[1] and, more recently, armed civilian-led self-defense groups. Violence in the country has reached unprecedented levels. Researchers conservatively estimate there have been approximately 150,000 crime-related casualties in Mexico since the so-called “War on Drugs” began in 2006.[2] In addition, an estimated 90,000–150,000 people have disappeared[3] while 357,000 people have been internally displaced and many more fled to the United States as refugees.[4] Other forms of violence, such as kidnappings, extortion, and racketeering, have also been increasing.[5]

A particularly ominous sign of the violence afflicting the country is the increased use of terrorist tactics[6], including targeted assassinations, abductions, massacres, disappearances, bombing attacks, torture, and sexual violence.[7] While Mexico has a history of violence, terrorism has not been a common practice, barring the use of state terror during the so-called “Dirty War” in the 1970s and limited insurgent terrorism in the states of Chiapas and Guerrero.[8] People of all walks of life ranging from innocent bystanders, journalists, and human rights activists to governmental and state officials (politicians, judges) and the relatives of armed parties’ operatives are being regularly targeted.[9] These acts clearly match extant definitions of terrorism, i.e., armed parties deliberately targeting civilians with violent acts in open defiance of cardinal principles of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) to instill fear in the wider community.[10] In what seems a typical feature regarding the use of terrorism in situations of armed conflict and/or situations of generalized violence, groups rely on different repertoires of terrorism that suit their organizational identities and goals.[11]

This article analyzes the range of terror tactics used by three different armed parties in Mexico: state security forces, criminal organizations and self-defense forces. The analysis highlights how distinct forms of terrorism vary according to distinct organizational features and situational logics and how these forms evolve over time. By exploring the use of terror in the context of a criminal war (see definition below), the article broadens our understanding of the crime-terror nexus.

### **Conceptualizing Violence and Terrorism in Contemporary Mexico**

The rise of terrorist attacks in a setting characterized by conditions of violence linked to organized crime raises intriguing questions concerning the linkages between nonpolitical criminality and terrorism.[12] Any understanding of terrorist dynamics requires a sound diagnosis of the nature of violence in Mexico, in particular its complex configuration. Several factors account for this complexity. First, the size and regional variation of the country significantly impact violent dynamics, rendering local forms of violence particularly salient. Mexican OCGs are resourceful organizations that have amassed enormous fortunes and con-

siderable military capabilities including security specialists (e.g., former members of the Mexican security and special forces).[13] Most OCGs have attained control of slices of territory where they have become de facto authorities. Localized forms of violence have emerged against the backdrop of persistent divisions and splinter within OCGs in the highly unstable context of illegal markets. In the case of criminal groups, this is compounded by their predatory nature and their tendency to encroach on rivals' territory as they vie for so-called *plazas*, strategic locations for the transshipment of drugs into the United States, such as corridors, ports and border cities.[14]

Second, the clandestine nature of OCGs and their constant evolution creates a fragmented ever-changing criminal landscape. Turf wars between OCGs generate waves of violence and terrorism as these groups ebb and flow depending on their capacity to organize their business and withstand pressures from security forces and rival groups.[15] Violence is worsened by the capture, and/or killing of OCG members that often results in violent intra-cartel succession power struggles.[16]

Third, an unconstrained and unaccountable state apparatus with a problematic human rights record has exacerbated already-alarming levels of violence and created an unpredictable, unstable context.[17] Mexican security forces are organized into a gargantuan, multilayered system which operates at municipal, state and federal levels. Far from being unified, Mexican security forces tend to operate in scattered ways, rarely cooperating and often competing with one another. Endemic corruption, regional differences and mutual distrust in a context characterized by criminal infiltration of security agencies, especially at the state level, exacerbate fragmentation.[18]

In addition, Mexico has also seen a rapid expansion of self-defense groups (commonly known as *auto-defensas*) that rose up in arms to confront OCGs in crime-ridden municipalities.[19] These militia groups have often refused to obey orders to disarm and have also confronted state forces. While purportedly created to combat criminal groups, most of them have turned into predatory groups and have committed serious excesses.[20] Many have been compromised by corrupt authorities and criminal groups and at times have mutated into criminal gangs themselves.[21]

The sudden and massive increase of violence in Mexico has initiated an intriguing debate concerning the real nature of this violence and how exactly to conceptualize it. A recent report on human rights practices states it is "staggering how little is known about killings and violence in Mexico." [22] Academics agree that the fighting in the country does not constitute a conventional civil war since political elements are largely absent, but they disagree on how to characterize it.[23] One author, Benjamin Lessing, argues that Mexico is experiencing a *criminal war*. In such contexts, he explains, OCGs seek to constrain rather than defeat the state by deploying violence to limit the latter's capacity to interfere in their operations. Further, he argues that the differences between criminal and rebel governance are related to the dynamics of territorial control and organizational goals. While organized crime groups can choose whether to rule or not, for rebel groups [proto-]governance seems to be a necessary condition for achieving victory.[24] Examining the Mexican case, other authors argue that limited state capacity opens the way for political and economic extortion and the creation of an alternative criminal order that resembles incipient state-making processes.[25] Our own work posits that terrorism in Mexico arises in the context of a criminal war that, at least in terms of the use of this tactic, resembles conventional civil wars, where armed parties (state and non-state) systematically rely on terrorist tactics to advance their strategic goals.[26]

### ***Armed Parties: Repertoires of Terrorism***

This section provides an analysis of existing patterns of terrorism by tracing the terrorism repertoires of the different Mexican armed parties. The examination is based on a combination of primary and secondary sources, including interviews, databases on violence, and human rights reports. We collected the information during three short field trips to Mexico City and Michoacán. While in Mexico, the authors conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with knowledgeable actors, including human rights activists, humanitarian workers, journalists, representatives of international organizations, mayors, as well as scholars and experts



on armed conflict.

In the following we summarize what we found on the security forces, the organized crime groups and the self-defence forces.

### *Mexican Security Forces*

Agents of the state have been responsible for widespread atrocities, including the use of terrorism during their “war on drugs.”[27] Civilians, particularly those from humble backgrounds, are regularly victimized during searches and raids. State agents aggressively target civilians suspected of participating in, or sympathizing with, criminal groups. As Anaya Muñoz and Frey explain, “behind the smokescreen of criminal violence, state actors are engaging or acquiescing in human rights violations with almost total impunity.”[28] Reports also show that security forces rely on extrajudicial searches and arrests of civilians in order to discourage criminal activity. Specifically, testimonies reveal how security forces indiscriminately target people during routine checkpoint controls or on the street. These searches and/or arrests, which frequently occur following anonymous tipoffs, often lack reasonable cause or evidence of wrongdoing and most of the victims do not know why they were targeted.[29]

As to the tactics employed, thousands of testimonies note the widespread use of torture of civilians while in detention. Reports also note the use of targeted assassination as a tactic to ensure silence.[30] Massacres also appear to be part of the security forces’ repertoire of action, but they tend to be far less widespread and harder to confirm due to concerted efforts to cover up these incidents.[31] Security forces have also carried out a share of the large number of disappearances.[32] Most human rights experts interviewed explain that this modus operandi derives from the country’s ‘dirty war’ period (1960–1980), when many repressive techniques (e.g., torture, enforced disappearance and extrajudicial execution) were developed as part of the counterinsurgency training against Communism.[33] These days, however, the target is drug trafficking instead of Communism.[34] Nonetheless, the manner in which this repression is employed (i.e., random, capricious, sudden) clearly seeks to elicit widespread fear in communities to silence citizens and diminish their capacity to organize.

### *Organized Crime Groups [OCGs]*

These groups have routinely resorted to terrorist acts to attain their objectives. Attacks include summary executions, massacres, bombings, and sexual violence.[35] The atrocities unleashed by criminal groups are complex and multifaceted. In one of the most compelling accounts on the matter, Williams indicates that the growth of gratuitous violence in Mexico defies conventional interpretations, making it “more complex and intractable than terrorism and insurgent violence.”[36] He also posits that violence is best characterized as a series of layers superimposed on each other and informed by different, competing logics (i.e., competition, outsourcing and factionalism) and takes issue with accounts depicting violence as *terror*. In line with Williams’ general thesis, we argue that only a subset of OCG violence corresponds to terrorism.

Specifically, we posit that OCG tactics mutated from a conventional repertoire of violence targeting rivals into outright terrorist practices whereby OCGs purposefully attack civilians to inspire fear. The use of terrorism on the part of OCGs obeys three complementary logics. First, criminal organizations often rely on this tactic while seeking control of territory and people to buttress their operational capacity.[37] Second, they resort to terrorism to deter state authorities from interfering in their business.[38] Finally, OCGs use terrorism in areas controlled by rival groups in an effort to shift blame to their rivals and attract the intervention of security forces (this practice is colloquially known as *calentando la plaza* (heating up the plaza)).[39]

The incorporation of terrorism as a tactic on the part of OCGs coincides with the escalation of turf wars following the gradual breakdown of the ruling party PRI’s *state protection racket* after democratization in the 2000s.[40] The uncertainty created by these changes prompted OCGs to form paramilitary wings to prevent rival organizations entering their territory while also trying to expand their own presence in rivals’ territory.[41] Most of these groups were composed of ex-military violence specialists[42] who brought their coun-

terinsurgency techniques developed during the Cold War to the drug war.[43] Among these techniques is the incorporation of direct attacks against civilians who defy OCG authority.[44] Over the years, Mexicans have become accustomed to the widespread use of what Villarreal dubs “spectacular violence.”[45] In order to maximize fear, OCGs display victims’ bodies in public places, often adding banners warning authorities, rivals and the public or uploading videos to Internet sites such as YouTube.[46]

A cursory analysis suggests that there is not only a difference between cartels, but also within cartels as they develop and evolve new repertoires of violence and terrorism. We analyzed three OCGs: The Gulf Cartel, Los Zetas, and the Knights Templar Cartel.[47] Each of these groups has its own preferred repertoire of terrorism.[48]

The Gulf Cartel displays an interesting trajectory that sets it apart from many other OCGs. Originally, it was a relatively nonviolent organization that resolved most conflicts through bribery and corruption.[49] Yet, over time and as the drug war progressed, it created its own paramilitary wing, Los Zetas, to whom it outsourced violent enforcement and turf protection. When Los Zetas left the Gulf Cartel, the latter began to resort to more violence in order to regain its control over the contested *plaza* and to match the growing influence of their former armed wing.[50] The Gulf Cartel resorted to high-profile violent acts designed to inspire fear in rival OCGs, potential enemies, and the public by staging public executions and abductions. An example was the assassination of Juan Jesús Guerrero Chapa, the former lawyer of Gulf Cartel leader Osiel Cárdenas, and his wife in broad daylight right outside of the Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport after it was revealed that Guerrero was a government informant.[51] The Gulf Cartel also became notorious for systematic kidnappings that were highly selective in their targeting despite their significant volume.[52] According to military sources, they primarily target potential recruits, or relatives of rival gangs with the intent of spreading terror.[53]

Having splintered from the Gulf Cartel, Los Zetas share some repertoires of violence with them, but they have added unique elements to their approach that lead them to be considered the most violent OCG in the country. The Zetas have relied on a diverse set of terrorist tactics. Early on they incorporated acts such as massacres in order to tighten their grip on certain territories.[54] A case in point is the Allende massacre in 2011. Police officers taking bribes from Los Zetas were suspected of cooperating with the US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). The cartel’s response to such disloyalty was brutal. They invaded the town, sacking and burning as many as 40 houses and seven ranches as well as abducting hundreds of people in a rampage that lasted three days.[55] Once it was all over, 300 civilians had perished in the attack.[56] Terrorism is also used by the group in order to further expand its business portfolio.[57] The attack on Casino Royale in the city of Monterrey in 2011 is an example of this. Zetas operatives stormed the building and torched the people inside, killing 57 civilians. The attack served as a punishment against the owner for refusing to pay extortion money. The group has also been reported to use explosives, including grenade attacks and car bombings on civilian targets to solidify their control over certain *plazas*. [58]

The Knights Templar, for its part, which operates mostly in the western states of Michoacán and Guerrero, displays unique traits including religious posturing and their self-representation as a modern-day version of the Knights Templar from the Crusades.[59] Like other groups, it initially used money rather than violence to solve its problems, but as its control started to wane, it became increasingly predatory and violent. This began with the fracturing of its alliance with *Los Zetas* which prompted an acute wave of spectacular violence.[60] The cartel began to apply harsh methods, including the execution in public town squares of alleged criminals accused of kidnapping, rape, or murder.[61] They also began murdering rivals and suspected informants and some members of their families, cutting off their heads and tossing them in town squares. As time went on, they began targeting civilians with several terrorist tactics, including rape, forced recruitment, targeted assassination, abductions and use of explosive devices in public places.[62] Overall, the Knights Templar seemed keen to avoid the large-scale violence of other OCGs but enough to spread the message that they were in control and that they would kill anyone who opposed their power in an area.[63]

### ***Self-Defense Groups***

As indicated, a direct result of the violence impacting Mexico has been the emergence of paramilitary groups known as *auto-defensas*. A recent account identifies 31 major *auto-defensa* groups in 13 out of the country’s 32 states.[64] Many *auto-defensa* groups are set up by powerful local elites (e.g., avocado and lime growers, cattle ranchers, or mine owners) to defend their interests from extortion and sabotage on the part of OCGs. [65] Other groups correspond to variants of community policing forces formed by groups of citizens seeking to protect their land and forestry from criminals and from venal authorities. In addition to defending themselves against criminal groups, *auto-defensas* mobilized to root out rampant corruption, abuse and violence on the part of state agents linked to organized crime.[66] What unites the various self-defense groups is their common objective to protect themselves from OCGs and their frustration at the utter incapacity or unwillingness of the state to protect them.[67] However, while purportedly created to protect citizens from violence, most *auto-defensas* stand accused of committing crimes themselves, including the use of terrorist tactics. Felbab-Brown asserts many groups ended up going *rogue*, turning into abusive forces. A particularly problematic issue, she adds, is that many of these groups have been subverted by criminal organizations and/or corrupt state officials.[68]

Because many self-defense forces are regionally organized and many have been infiltrated by OCGs and the state, it is hard to discern a unified *modus operandi*.[69] A study by the Mexican National Human Rights Commission on *auto-defensas* in the state of Michoacán provides at least some sense of the groups’ violent repertoires. This study from 2015 found that between 2006–14 these groups perpetrated 13,964 violent acts: of these, 52% were homicides, 23% rape, 8% kidnappings and 27% acts of extortion.[70] More fine-grained qualitative descriptions of *auto-defensas* provide further context and point out that while *auto-defensas* employ terrorism, they do so less systematically than OCGs. Wolff describes how *auto-defensas* in Michoacán, many composed of indigenous groups, attacked and lynched narcotraffickers and corrupt authorities. Retaliatory attacks of this nature do not amount to terrorism.[71]

*Auto-defensas* that emerged more recently in an area known as *Tierra Caliente* and associated with the leadership of José Manuel Mireles, Estanislao Beltrán (aka Papa Smurf) and Hipólito Mora utilized more brutal methods including torture, summary executions, and abductions.[72] At least some of these attacks purposefully targeted civilians with the intention of inhibiting resistance and sending a message to the wider community.[73] In his rich account of violence in the state of Guerrero, Kyle describes how in their attempt to thwart OCG security schemes, *auto-defensas* have also engaged in attacks against civilians with alleged links to organized crime, carrying out abductions, targeted assassinations, and engaging in torture.[74]

Table 1 summarizes the prevalent terror tactics used by Mexican armed parties. As can be seen, while all five groups resort to terrorism, each of them has developed its own particular repertoire of action.[75] Interestingly, distinctions exist both among different categories of actors (state, *auto-defensas* and OCGs) and within a single type of group, e.g., OCGs.

**Table 1. Repertoires of Terrorism by Mexican Armed Parties**

Repertoires of Terrorism	Torture	Abduction	Massacres	Targeted Assassinations	Public Displays of Violence	Bombings
<b>Auto-Defensa</b>	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
<b>State Security</b>	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
<b>Gulf Cartel</b>	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
<b>Los Zetas</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Knights Templar Cartel</b>	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

**Source:** Authors’ own elaboration based on reports by human rights, intelligence, and media organizations, and selected interviews with Mexican sources, including human rights specialists, scholars, and authorities.



## Conclusion

Our analysis suggests several policy implications for the Mexican government. It is evident that each of these armed groups is engaging in a different form of terrorist activity due to competing logics. Therefore, any policy recommendation must match such logics. In order to reduce the use of terrorism by its own security forces, the Mexican government should reconsider the wisdom of outright confrontation with all OCGs. Instead it should focus more on seeking to gradually retake and rebuild the communities that have been overrun by criminal syndicates. The international community could buttress such efforts by providing foreign aid that directly supports this endeavor. Specifically, funds need to be allocated toward reestablishing law and order and to provide alternative economic opportunities within afflicted communities. Currently, Mexican security forces operate as occupation forces within territories dominated by OCGs, something that incentivizes them to use Cold War-era anti-insurgency tactics that also include the use of terror. Such a move could also have an added benefit of reducing the tension with *auto-defensa* groups that feel as if they are fighting a two-front war, one against OCGs and the other against the state. Specifically, policies should be implemented to create a line of cooperation between *auto-defensa* groups and state security forces. This cooperation ought to be contingent on mutual transparency that would help lessen the propagation of terror tactics and other human rights abuses. It would also have the added effect of creating a united front against OCG forces that have taken advantage of the distrust between the other two parties. With regards to OCGs, the state should avoid outright confrontation with all of them as it is an inefficient use of manpower. Instead, it should signal that it will go after the most violent ones. Such a move would create incentives for OCGs to decrease their use of terror and other violent tactics. Of course, it would be desirable to neutralize or, at the very least, cripple all major OCGs, but absent that option, shutting down the most violent ones can help protect lives that otherwise might be lost in a policy of total war.

**Acknowledgements:** The authors wish to express their gratitude to Carla Alberti, Alejandro Anaya-Muñoz, Angélica Durán-Martínez, Gustavo Duncan, Juan Pablo Luna, Esteban Montes, David Schwartz, Hillel David Soifer, Jonathan Rosen, Guillermo Trejo and the journal's editors and reviewers for helpful feedback and suggestions.

## About the Authors:

**Andreas E. Feldmann** is associate professor in the Latin American and Latino Studies Program and the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois Chicago (UIC). He investigates political violence, terrorism, forced migration, and criminal politics in Latin America. His work has been published in journals including *The Annual Review of Sociology*, *International Affairs*, *Politics and Society*, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, and *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

**Marc Lopez** is a master's student in the Latin American and Latino Studies Program and the Department of political science at the University of Illinois Chicago (UIC). His research interests focus on political violence, civil war, and the evolution of criminal violence. He intends to pursue a PhD in Political Science and continue his investigations into the nexus between criminal and political violence.

## Notes

[1] In 2021, major OCGs included Sinaloa, Los Zetas, Tijuana/AFO, Juárez/CFO, Beltrán Leyva, Gulf, La Familia Michoacana, the Knights Templar, and Cartel Jalisco Nuevo Generación (CJNG). Scores of other smaller organizations operate on a local level, many of which are subcontractors when it comes to violent 'work' for the most powerful OCGs. See "Justice in Mexico. Organized Crime and Violence in Mexico 2021," Special Report UC San Diego, 2021. Available at URL: <https://justiceinmexico.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/OCVM-21.pdf>.

[2] Guillermo Trejo (2021), "Mexico's Illegal Democratic Trap"; in: Tom Carothers and Andreas E. Feldmann (Eds.) *Divisive Politics and Democratic Dangers in Latin America*. Carnegie Endowment for Democratic Peace. Available at URL: <https://carnegeendowment.org/2021/02/17/exico-s-illiberal-democratic-trap-pub-83786>.

[3] Ibid.

- [4] See Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2021), Data & Research, Mexico. Available at URL: <https://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/mexico>; Xóchitl Bada and Andreas E. Feldmann (2017), “Mexico’s Michoacán State Mixed Migration Flows and Transnational Links.” *Forced Migration Review* (56): pp. 12–14.
- [5] Daniel Wilkinson (2018), “Mexico Violence and Opacity,” *Human Rights Watch*. Available at URL: [https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/10/17/mexico-violence-and-opacity?gclid=CjwKCAjwoduRBhA4EiwACL5RP74Ydvks6QZXcN1tUhzEuNx-IPVr1CXHeYcztQjq2SChxjLX\\_pyuqhx0CRQIQAvD\\_BwE](https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/10/17/mexico-violence-and-opacity?gclid=CjwKCAjwoduRBhA4EiwACL5RP74Ydvks6QZXcN1tUhzEuNx-IPVr1CXHeYcztQjq2SChxjLX_pyuqhx0CRQIQAvD_BwE).
- [6] Following the seminal work by Schmid, “[t]errorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence, and on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians, and noncombatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.” Alex P. Schmid, (2011) *The Routledge Handbook on Terrorism Research*, London: Routledge, p. 86.
- [7] Brian J. Philips (2018), “Terror Tactics by Criminal Organizations: The Mexican Case,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12(1): pp. 46–63; Alexander Salt (2017); Alexander Salt (2017), “Blurred Lines: Mexican Cartels and the Narco-Terrorism Debate.” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 18(1): pp. 166–188; Longmire, Sylvia M., and John P. Longmire (2008), “Redefining terrorism: Why Mexican Drug Trafficking is More Than Just Organized Crime.” *Journal of Strategic Security* 1(1): pp. 35–52.
- [8] In the Global Data Terrorism Database Mexico registers 633 terrorist attacks for the period 1970–2015. Available at URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?chart=overtime&search=MEXICO>. For historical accounts of violence and terrorism, see Alan Knight (2012), “Narco Violence and the State in Mexico”; in: Will Panster (Ed.), *Violence, Coercion and State Making in Twentieth Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 115–134; Mark Wrighte (2002), “The Real Mexican Terrorists: A Group Profile of the Popular Revolutionary Army,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 25(2), pp. 207–225; and Andreas E. Feldmann (2005), “A Shift in the Paradigm of Violence: Non-Governmental Terrorism in LA Since the End of the Cold War.” *Revista de Ciencia Política* 25(2): p. 9.
- [9] See June Beittel (2020), *Mexico: Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking Organizations*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service. Available at URL: <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/R41576.pdf>.
- [10] Other civilians, in particular operatives of non-state armed groups, are also regularly targeted. Yet, to the extent that they take part in the hostilities, they can be considered combatants in accordance with International Humanitarian Law (IHL) (i.e., they participate in hostilities, are under a responsible command and carry weapons openly). See Marco Sassòli and Antoine Bouvier (1999), *How Does Law Protect in War?* Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, p. 123.
- [11] See Andreas E. Feldmann (2018), “Revolutionary Terror in the Colombian Civil War,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 41(10), pp. 825–846.
- [12] On the connection between crime and terror, see Tamara Makarenko (2004), “The Crime-Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism.” *Global Crime* 6(1), pp. 129–145.
- [13] David Shirk and Joel Wallman (2015), “Understanding Mexico’s Drug Violence,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(8), pp. 1348–1376.
- [14] Guillermo Trejo and Sandra Ley (2020), *Votes, Drugs and Violence: The Political Logic of Criminal Wars in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press. See also David Teiner (2020), “Cartel-Related Violence in Mexico as Narco-Terrorism or Criminal Insurgency.” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 14(4): pp. 83–98; Flanigan, Shawn Teresa (2012), “Terrorists Next Door? A Comparison of Mexican Drug Cartels and Middle Eastern Terrorist Organizations.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(2), pp. 279–294.
- [15] In a recent statement the Mexican government acknowledged the existence of 37 major groups. However, a recent investigation by the International Crisis Groups spoke of 198 active criminal groups in 2019. In addition to major OCGs, the report states that scores of other smaller organizations operate on a local level, many as subcontractors of violent ‘work’ for the most powerful OCGs. See Jane Esberg (2020), *More than Cartels: Counting Mexico’s Crime Rings*, International Crisis Group. Available at URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/mexico/more-cartels-counting-mexicos-crime-rings>.
- [16] Brian J. Phillips (2015), “How Does Leadership Decapitation Affect Violence? The Case of Drug Trafficking Organizations in Mexico,” *Journal of Politics* 77(2): pp. 324–36.
- [17] Military operations against this group started under president Ernesto Zedillo (1994–2000) but were deepened under President Felipe Calderon (2006–2012). Subsequent administrations including Presidents Enrique Peña Nieto (2012–2018) and Andrés Manuel López Obrador (2018-) have not substantially altered this approach.
- [18] Paul Kenny and Mónica Serrano (Eds.) (2012), *Mexico’s Security Failure: Collapse into Criminal Violence*. New York Routledge.

- [19] On these groups, see Michael Wolff (2020), “Insurgent Vigilantism and Drug War in Mexico,” *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 12(1): pp. 32–52; Eduardo Moncada (2019), “Resisting Protection: Rackets, Resistance, and State Building.” *Comparative Politics* 51(3): pp. 321–339. Javier Osorio, Livia Isabella Schubiger and Michael Weintraub (2021), “Legacies of Resistance: Mobilization Against Organized Crime in Mexico.” *Comparative Political Studies* 54(9): pp. 1565–1596.
- [20] International Crisis Group (2013), “Justice at the Barrel of a Gun: Vigilante Militias in Mexico”. Available at URL: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/mexico/justice-barrel-gun-vigilante-militias-mexico>. The degradation of self-defense forces is brilliantly described in Matthew Heineman’s documentary *Cartel Land* (2015).
- [21] Interview with mayors of 3 municipalities in the state of Michoacán who requested anonymity. Interview by author, Morelia Michoacán, December 2017. See also International Institute for Strategic Studies (2020), *The Armed Conflict Survey*. London: Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, pp. 85–87.
- [22] Human Rights Watch (2018), op. cit.
- [23] See Stathis N. Kalyvas (2015), “How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime—and How They Do Not,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): pp. 15–40, on this matter, see also Shawn Teresa Flanigan (2012), “Terrorists Next Door? A Comparison of Mexican Drug Cartels and Middle Eastern Terrorist Organizations.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(2): pp. 279–294.
- [24] Benjamin Lessing (2017), *Making Peace in Drug Wars: Crackdowns and Cartels in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- [25] Guillermo Trejo and Sandra Ley (2021), “High-Profile Criminal Violence: Why Drug Cartels Murder Government Officials and Party Candidates in Mexico” *British Journal of Political Science* 53(1), p. 225; see also Jorge Mantilla and Andreas E. Feldmann (2021), “Criminal Governance in Latin America.” *Oxford Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*. Available at URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.697>.
- [26] Susanne Martin and Leonard Weinberg (2016), “Terrorism in an Era of Unconventional Warfare.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28(2): pp. 236–253; Jessica Stanton (2013), “Terrorism in the Context of Civil War.” *Journal of Politics* 75(4): pp. 1009–1022; Andreas E. Feldmann and Victor Hinojosa (2009), “Terrorism in Colombia: Logic and Sources of a Multidimensional and Ubiquitous Political Phenomenon.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21(1): pp. 42–61.
- [27] Catalina Pérez, Carlos Silva, and Rodrigo Gutiérrez (2020), “Deadly Forces: Use of Lethal Force y Mexican Security Forces”; in: Alejandro Anaya Muñoz and Barbara Frey (Eds), In *Mexico’s Human Rights Crisis* pp. 23–42. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- [28] Alejandro Anaya Muñoz, and Barbara Frey (2020). “Introduction”; in: Alejandro Anaya Muñoz and Barbara Frey (Eds). *Mexico’s Human Rights Crisis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 1.
- [29] José Antonio Guevara (2018), “Amid Brutality and Impunity: Atrocious Crimes Committed Under the Militarized Security Strategy (2006–2018). Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos. Available at URL: <http://www.cmdpdh.org/publicaciones-pdf/cmdpdh-amid-brutality-and-impunity.pdf>.
- [30] Human Rights Watch (2018), op. cit.
- [31] United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2014), Report of the Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhumane and Degrading Treatment Juan E. Méndez: Mission to Mexico. A/HCR/28/68/Add.3. Available at URL: <https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2015/9930.pdf>.
- [32] Karina Ansolabehere and Álvaro Martos (2021). Disappearance in Mexico: An Analysis on the Northeastern Region; in: Karina, Ansolabehere, Leigh A. Payne and Barbara Frey (Eds.), *Disappearances in the Post-Transition Era*, pp. 38–52 Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [33] Trejo and Ley (2020), op. cit. 77.
- [34] Authors thank Guillermo Trejo for raising this point.
- [35] Howard Campbell and Tobin Hansen (2013), “Is Narco-Violence in Mexico Terrorism?” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 33(2): pp. 158–173.
- [36] Phil Williams (2012), “The Terrorism Debate Over Mexican Drug Trafficking Violence.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(2), p. 260.
- [37] Campbell and Hansen (2013), op. cit.
- [38] Lessing (2017), op. cit. 7

- [39] Laura H. Atuesta and Aldo F. Ponce (2017), “Meet the Narco: Increased Competition among Criminal Organisations and the Explosion of Violence in Mexico,” *Global Crime* 18(4): pp. 375–402; Angélica Durán-Martínez (2018), *The Politics of Drug Violence: Criminals, Cops and Politicians in Colombia and Mexico*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [40] Richard Snyder and Angélica Durán-Martínez (2009), “Does Illegality Breed Violence? Drug Trafficking and State-Sponsored Racket,” *Crime, Law and Social Change* 52: pp. 253–273.
- [41] Ioan Grillo (2015), “Mexican Cartels: A Century of Defying U.S. Drug Policy,” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 20(1): pp. 253–265.
- [42] We borrow this term from José Miguel Cruz (2011), “Criminal Violence and Democratization in Central America: The Survival of the Violent State,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 53(4), pp. 1–33.
- [43] Durán Martínez (2018), op. cit., pp. 182–183.
- [44] Joy Olson (2012), “Organized Crime as a Human Rights Issue,” *Harvard Review of Latin America* XI(2): pp. 10–12.
- [45] Ana Villarreal (2015), “Fear and Spectacular Drug Violence in Monterrey”; in: Javier Auyero, Philippe Bourgois, and Nancy Scheper-Hughes (Eds.), *Violence at the Urban Margins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 135–161.
- [46] Brian J. Phillips and Viridiana Ríos (2020), “Narco-Messages: Competition and Public Communication by Criminal Groups,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 62(1): pp. 1–24.
- [47] Other OCGs such as the Tijuana and Juárez cartels have also used terrorism quite frequently. Sinaloa, one of the oldest and most influential OCGs, has generally preferred even more conspicuous ways of violence. CJNG, on the other hand, has been growing very quickly and embraced terrorism. Surgeyry Romina Gándara and Insight Crime (2022), “Mexico Ablaze as Jalisco Cartel Seeks Hegemony”. Available at URL: <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/jalisco-cartel-sets-mexico-fire-seeks-criminal-hegemony/>.
- [48] Beittel (2020), op. cit.
- [49] Roland Sanchez (2018), “The Gulf Cartel: Profile, History, Methods, Practices and Geo-Politics.” Unpublished paper University of Texas Rio Grande Press. Available at URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329442174\\_The\\_Gulf\\_Cartel\\_Profile\\_History\\_Methods\\_Practices\\_and\\_Geo-Politics?channel=doi&linkId=5c08ad0292851c39ebd62742&showFulltext=true](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329442174_The_Gulf_Cartel_Profile_History_Methods_Practices_and_Geo-Politics?channel=doi&linkId=5c08ad0292851c39ebd62742&showFulltext=true).
- [50] Ioan Grillo (2012), *El Narco: Inside Mexico’s Criminal Insurgency*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, pp. 98–104.
- [51] Tom Dart (2016), Mexican Cartel Team Used Elaborate Tactics to Hunt Murdered Rival in Texas. *The Guardian*. April 26. Available at URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/26/mexico-drug-gulf-cartel-revenge-murder-texas-hunt-juan-jesus-guerrero-chapa>.
- [52] Raúl Flores Martínez (2021), Dan 143 Años de Cárcel a Secuestradores Del Cárcel Del Golfo. *Excelsior*, March 3. Available at URL: <https://www.excelsior.com.mx/nacional/dan-143-anos-de-carcel-a-secuestradores-del-cartel-del-golfo/1435572>.
- [53] Fernando Escalante (2002), Crimen Organizado: La Dimensión Imaginaria. *Nexos* 15008 October 1. Available at URL: <https://www.nexos.com.mx/?p=15008>.
- [54] Interview by author with government security officers in Mexico City, 2017.
- [55] Juan Paullier (2016), México: Así Ocurrió La Brutal y Olvidada Masacre de Allende, Una de Las Más Sangrientas de Los Zetas. *BBC Mundo* October 10. Available at URL: <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-37614215>.
- [56] Michael Evans (2021), *The Allende Massacre in Mexico: A Decade of Impunity*. National Security Archive. Available at URL: <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/mexico/2021-03-18/allende-massacre-decade-impunity>.
- [57] Interview by one of the authors with government security officers in Mexico City, 2018.
- [58] George Greyson (2008), “Los Zetas: The Ruthless Army Spawned by a Mexican Drug Cartel.” Foreign Policy Research Institute, May 13. Available at URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2008/05/los-zetas-the-ruthless-army-spawned-by-a-mexican-drug-cartel/>.
- [59] Claudio Lomnitz (2019), “Los Caballeros Templarios de Michoacán: An Ethnography” *Representations* 147 (1): pp. 96–123.
- [60] Trejo and Ley (2020), op. cit. pp. 193–198.
- [61] Ioan Grillo (2016), *Gangster Warlords: Drug Dollars, Killing Fields and the New Politics of Latin America*. London: Bloomsbury Press.
- [62] Insight Crime (2021), *All About the Knights Templar*. Available at URL: <https://insightcrime.org/tag/knights-templar/>.



- [63] Jerjes Aguirre and Hugo Amador Herrera (2013), “Institutional Weakness and Organized Crime in Mexico: The Case of Michoacán”. *Trends in Organized Crime* (16) pp. 221–238; Xóchitl Bada and Andreas E. Feldmann. (2019). “How Insecurity is Transforming Migration Patterns in the North American Corridor: Lessons from Michoacán”; in: *New Patterns of Migration in the Americas: Challenges for the 21st Century*, Andreas E. Feldmann, Xóchitl Bada and Stephanie Schütze eds., 57–84. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. On the group’s eccentric identity, see Claudio Lomnitz, (2019). “The Ethos and Telos of Michoacán’s Knight Templar.” *Representations* 147(1): pp. 96–123.
- [64] Brian J. Phillips (2017), “Inequality and the Emergence of Vigilante Organizations: The Case of Mexican Autodefensas.” *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (10): pp. 1358–1389.
- [65] Eduardo Moncada (2019), op. cit.
- [66] Vanda Felbab-Brown (2016), “The Rise of Militias in Mexico Citizens’ Security or Further Conflict Escalation?” *Prism* 5(4): pp. 173–86.
- [67] Irene Alvarez Rodríguez (2021), “The Moral Economy of Drug Trafficking Armed Civilians and Mexico’s Violence and Crime.” *Latin American Perspectives* 48(1): pp. 231–44.
- [68] Felbab Brown (2016), op. cit. p. 174 & p. 178.
- [69] International Crisis Group (2013), op. cit.
- [70] Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos México (2016), *Informe Especial de Los Grupos de Autodefensa en el Estado de Michoacán y Las Violaciones a Los Derechos Humanos Relacionadas Con El Conflicto*, p. 230. Available at URL: <https://www.cndh.org.mx/documento/informe-especial-sobre-los-grupos-de-autodefensa-en-el-estado-de-michoacan-y-las-0>.
- [71] Michael Wolff (2020), op. cit.
- [72] International Crisis Group (2013), op. cit.
- [73] Interview with mayors in 3 municipalities in the state of Michoacán who requested anonymity. Interview by one of the authors, Morelia Michoacán, December 2017.
- [74] Chris Kyle (2015), *Violence and Insecurity in Guerrero*, Mexico Institute and Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, January 2015. Available at URL: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/Violence%20and%20Insecurity%20in%20Guerrero.pdf>.
- [75] It is important to note that verifying reports of violence in Mexico is very difficult and that many instances of violence go unreported. A “yes” value in the table indicates the systematic and widespread use of a given terrorist tactic by a group.



## **Research Notes**

### **India's Counterterrorism Cooperation with Israel**

by Ely Karmon

#### **Abstract**

*This Research Note focuses on the cooperation between India and Israel in the field of counterterrorism since the establishment of the full diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1992. Fresh out of the trauma of Partition, India decided to recognize the State of Israel, but only allowed consular relations on a nonreciprocal basis. India opened full diplomatic relations with Israel in May 1992 following the start of the Madrid Peace Process.[1] It analyzes the international context and the internal political constraints for the implementation of the cooperation process and refers also to the intricate challenges faced by India in dealing with Iranian terrorism on its soil.*

**Keywords:** India; Israel; Iran; terrorism; CT cooperation; intelligence

#### **Secret Cooperation**

It should be noticed that since its early days, India's external intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), had a secret liaison relationship with the Mossad, Israel's external intelligence agency. "The main purpose was to benefit from Israel's knowledge of West Asia and North Africa, and to learn from its counterterrorism techniques." [2] Initial contacts were established through the Israeli consulate in Mumbai. Over the years, the bonds between the two agencies have strengthened with a common threat of Islamist terrorism and fundamentalism.[3]

After the assassination of Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984 and the formation of the Indian National Security Guard, there were reports that Israeli training was availed of.[4] During the early 1980s, some Indian military officers indeed underwent counterterrorism training in Israel.[5]

Since the 1980s India was a popular tourist destination for Israelis. In June 1991, young Israeli tourists visiting the scenic Kashmir Valley were attacked by a dozen armed Kashmiri Muslim terrorists in Srinagar. Fearing that the men were about to be executed, one of the Israelis untied his hands, attacked one of the gunmen, grabbed his assault rifle, and opened fire. In the ensuing gun battle, one Israeli was killed, three others were wounded, and one kidnapped. A Kashmiri organization calling itself Defenders of the Islamic Revolution claimed responsibility for the kidnapping.[6]

Pakistan suspected the Israelis were Israeli Army officers masquerading as tourists to train Indian security forces in counterterrorism operations. The Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) propaganda inspired the terrorist attacks on the Israelis. Soon afterward, under pressure, the terrorists released the kidnapped Israeli tourist. During the negotiations for his release, Israeli government officials, including senior intelligence operatives, arrived in New Delhi. Their interaction with Indian officials gave a boost to the larger considerations behind the formalization of diplomatic relations between the two states.[7]

#### **The International Context for the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations**

India and Israel normalized their relations with the change in the international balance of power after the 1991 Gulf War. Various factors played a significant role in this regard: the beginning of the era of coalition politics in India; the beginning of a Pakistan-sponsored insurgency in Kashmir; the breakup of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. In the early 1990s, the growing insurgent activity in Kashmir worsened the domestic and the regional security environment of India. The OIC (Organisation of Islamic Conference)

resolutions on Kashmir consistently criticized India at the request of Pakistan and the Muslim community in India—in stark contrast to Israel’s support of India on the Kashmir issue.[8]

While the Soviet Union showed positive indications that it would recognize Israel, the US started talking to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). China opened diplomatic relations with Israel in January 1991. Eventually, the PLO itself in its Conference in Algiers in 1988 recognized Israel’s right to exist and the possibility of a peaceful solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. For India, after the Madrid negotiation process began, the argument of “annoying friendly Arab States, and Muslims at home”, lost relevance.[9]

As the Soviet Union, India’s strongest strategic ally and defense supplier, had waned in power and influence and transformed into the Russian Federation, New Delhi wanted to engage more with the sole remaining superpower, the United States. Indian Prime Minister Rao was convinced that normalization with Israel was necessary to improve India’s standing vis-a-vis the American Jewish community and the US political establishment. Therefore, India decided to change its earlier posture toward Israel and on 29 January 1992 accorded full diplomatic recognition to Israel and both nations established embassies in each other’s countries.[10]

In justifying the opening of relations India offered several reasons: Israel’s cruciality to what happens in West Asia and the Gulf; defense equipment, technologies and systems from Israel, given the drying up and unreliability of ex-Soviet sources; potential of cooperation in defense modernization and production; and Israel’s knowledge and experience in countering terrorism techniques, border management methods which could help India in getting over its major weaknesses in internal security management.[11]

The 1999 Kargil crisis with Pakistan, when Israel responded positively to Indian requests for military equipment and ammunition, in the face of US pressure to implement an arms embargo on India, opened a new chapter in the arms trade between the two countries. India is today Israel’s largest arms market while Israel is India’s biggest arms supplier.[12]

### ***The Evolution of the Counterterrorism Cooperation***

According to Samuel Rajiv, researcher at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), India’s foreign policy interactions with Israel are “marked by a political discreetness which is in contrast to its prominent political engagement with the Palestinians and countries of the Arab world.” Indian government spokespersons and ministers acknowledge the importance of the “mutually beneficial cooperation” which “in no way dilutes India’s principled support for the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.” India’s “delicate balance” is evident in its censure of Israeli policies regarding the Palestinians.[13]

Other analysts have claimed that India has elevated the Israeli bilateral ties to that of a “pivotal relationship”—at the cost of India’s relations with countries like Iran.[14] Israeli analysts have acknowledged that the India–Israel bilateral relationship is a “limited partnership” which “while mutually vital, is delicate.”[15]

Fighting terrorism is a major issue and challenge for both India and Israel. The two countries set up in 2001 a Joint Working Group as part of their Strategic Dialogue. This Joint Working Group has served as a platform to exchange practical experiences on border security, suicide terrorism, aviation security, financing of terror, information security, as well as digital and cyber warfare. There is, however, a difference between India and Israel when it comes to the philosophy behind counterterrorism and respective threat perceptions. While Israel believes in giving no quarter to terror as an instrument of political negotiation, India has always believed in keeping a door open for dialogue. Israel sees circles of threat which include Iran, Syria, Hezbollah, and Hamas, while India sees its threats emanating from radical Islamist groups sponsored by Pakistan, especially the Taliban, Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-i-Mohammad.[16]

India has sought to obtain Israeli assistance to train four battalions of nearly 3,000 soldiers in specialized counter-insurgency operations in desert, mountainous and jungle terrains, besides counter-hijack and hostage crisis situations. The *Jerusalem Post* of February 3, 2003, asserts that India sought security expertise from Israel due to its inability to control infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir, as well as some other stretches

of the India-Pakistan border that resulted in a high-profile attack on its Parliament on 13 December 2001. [17]

The convergence of Indo-Israeli interests and their strategic significance was outlined by the Indian National Security Adviser Brijesh Mishra in his address to the American Jewish Committee. Therein he argued that democratic countries that are the prime targets of international terrorism should form a “viable alliance” and develop multilateral mechanisms to counter the menace. He identified India, the US and Israel as countries fitting that description. During the June 22, 2003 Joint Working Group meeting, the Deputy Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zvi Gabey, said: “We find ourselves in the same camp that fights terrorism, and we have to develop our relationship according to that.” Indian Foreign Ministry officials said during the same meeting, “India finds it increasingly beneficial to learn from Israel’s experience in dealing with terrorism since Israel, too, has long suffered from cross-border terrorism.”[18]

### ***The BJP’s Contribution to Enhanced Cooperation***

India’s ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has always been an ardent supporter of stronger ties between India and Israel. Its leaders, whether in opposition or in government, have continuously expressed admiration for Israel’s counterterrorism expertise and national security policies.[19]

The BJP, a Hindu National right-of-center party, came to power in 1996, first for 13 months and then, in 1998, for a full term. The prominent leaders of the BJP, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpayee and Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister L.K. Advani, had expressed admiration for Israel’s survival in a hostile neighborhood, and their assessment of the threat of global Islamist terrorism coincided with that of Israel. The visits in 2000 of two high-profile ministers of the BJP-led government, Home Minister Advani and Jaswant Singh, the first Indian foreign minister to visit Israel, underlined the importance that Israel had come to occupy in Indian strategic and security circles.[20]

The delegation which accompanied the visit of the Indian Home Minister L.K. Advani included the heads of India’s intelligence agencies Research Analysis Wing (RAW), the Intelligence Bureau (IB), and the Central Police organization. In meetings with the Mossad chief and Israeli ministers responsible for security, Indian counterparts discussed collaboration in internal security management and intelligence sharing and cooperation. As a consequence, Israeli intelligence agencies agreed to open offices in New Delhi.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks, the spreading of Islamist terrorism, and the exclusion of India and Israel from the US-led War on Terror in Afghanistan, while making Pakistan an ally in this effort, brought the security, defense, intelligence and counterterrorism issues to the forefront of the growing Indo-Israeli strategic partnership. No wonder, then, that India, like Israel, felt that it had to build its own tools for protecting its citizens and its borders from terrorist groups, some of which are assisted by the neighboring states.[21]

### ***The Effect of the 2008 Mumbai Terrorist Attacks***

On November 26, 2008, 10 gunmen associated with the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT—“Army of the Righteous”) organization attacked five locations in Mumbai, India, firing at random, with the intention of killing a maximum number of people. The attackers deliberately targeted areas of the city frequented by foreigners with the intention that this would maximize the global impact of their actions. The gunmen took hostages and withstood the Indian security forces for three days. The final death toll was 165 killed—140 Indian citizens and 25 foreign visitors. Nine of the 10 gunmen were also killed. The 10th was apprehended by the authorities, convicted of murder, and executed four years later.

Among the sites targeted was Nariman House, known also as “Chabad House,” a popular stop for Israeli tourists. Chabad, also known as Lubavitch, is one of the world’s best-known Hasidic movements, particularly for its outreach activities. Chabad operates mainly in the wider world and caters to secularized Jews. Six Israeli citizens, including Rabbi Gavriel Holtzberg and his wife Rivka, who managed the Chabad House, were tortured and murdered at this site.

An Indian investigation confirmed LeT's responsibility for the attacks. Pressure from the United States and United Nations on Pakistan led to the arrest of a number of LeT members on Pakistani soil. In 2009, Pakistan also confirmed the organization's responsibility for the attacks. Evidence has emerged that a close relationship between the group and the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence organization, or elements within that organization, was maintained before, during and subsequent to the attacks. One of the ISI officers, "Major Iqbal," directed and funded the attacks, and personally selected the targets. Iqbal specifically chose the Nariman Chabad House as a target because he claimed that it was a front for the Mossad.[22]

The strategic relationship and partnership between Israel and India have grown exponentially since the Mumbai attacks of 2008, pointing to a certain consistency which remains at the core of bilateral relations. [23] The Mumbai terror attacks—planned and engineered from Pakistani territory, exposed the difficulty of the Indian state to control its borders, process actionable intelligence in time, and preempt and counter terrorist attacks. As a result, Israel has provided India with satellite photo imagery, unarmed vehicles (UAVs), handheld thermal imagers, night vision devices, long-range reconnaissance and observation systems (LORROS), and detection equipment for counterterrorism purposes. Counterterrorism was also one of the priority areas of discussion during Israeli President Reuven Rivlin's landmark meeting with Modi in New Delhi in November 2016.[24]

### ***The PM Narendra Modi's Strategic Impact***

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi can be credited with "elevating the strategic dimension of the Indo-Israeli partnership by bringing the bilateral relationship out from under the carpet" during his historic visit in Israel in July 2017, the first visit by an Indian prime minister to the Jewish state. Defense, the central pillar of the relationship, has increased dramatically under his government. Modi's "epoch-making trip" gave an unprecedented push to efforts to build new bilateral relations and further solidify security ties between the two countries. However, India's growing tilt toward Israel might not have much impact on its own relationships with its traditional Arab partners.[25]

A crucial aim of Modi's foreign policy is to ensure that his domestic "transformational" agenda is not held hostage to diplomatic or military adventures of India's adversaries. Thus, he developed a strategy that uses hard and covert power, including the use of Special Forces operations, most dramatically highlighted by the surgical strikes India carried out across Pakistan-occupied territory in 2016. According to some observers, these dynamics are likely to translate into greater security cooperation with Israel—although the Indian government faces challenges in using the same kind of counterterrorism tactics that Israel has practiced.[26]

According to Shalom Salomon Wald, Indian diplomacy refuses to call Modi's friendship with Israel and the change in bilateral relations since 2014 "a revolution." This caution is justified as it is wise not to antagonize the Arab world unnecessarily. The Indo-Israeli links were growing steadily for twenty years, and Modi was merely the culmination of a long process.[27]

As the two countries marked 25 years of ties, Daniel Carmon, Israel's ambassador to India since July 2014, said that "there was a policy in the past and it has changed" [28]: after 25 years of "low key, low volume" bilateral cooperation, he could feel doors were opening at the governmental level, as India has overcome its hesitance to accept its relationship with the Jewish nation openly.[29]

For its part, Israel seems to be consciously focusing on expanding internal security/HLS cooperation. The Israeli Embassy has an official, the Deputy Defense Attaché for HLS Defense Cooperation, who is specifically tasked with these matters. The issue is also on the agenda of meetings Ambassador Daniel Carmon conducted at the time with regional leaders. During his meeting with the chief minister of Andhra Pradesh in December 2014, for instance, Carmon discussed the possibility of internal security cooperation with the state. He also met with the police chiefs of the two Telugu-speaking states during his visit.[30]

During a public lecture at the United Services Institution of India (USI) on April 1, 2015, Ambassador Carmon highlighted the importance of the February 2014 HLSCT landmark agreement between the two



countries which provided the formation of four working groups to advance cooperation in these fields, suggesting that as a consequence the institutional interaction in this area has been seriously enhanced.[31]

In August 2017 it was reported that India is deploying along its border with Pakistan a smart Israel-developed fencing system having a “quick response team” mechanism which strikes when the CCTV-powered control room detects an infiltration attempt. It is an ambitious project called the comprehensive integrated border management system (CIBMS) as part of the Modi government’s plan to completely seal the Indo-Pak and India-Bangladesh borders in the coming years.[32]

During his January 2018 visit to India, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu signed nine agreements, including one in the area of cybersecurity, and laid a wreath for the 11/26 Mumbai terror attack victims. This was the first Prime Ministerial visit from Israel to India in 15 years after that of Ariel Sharon in 2003.[33] In December 2020 India and Israel carried out, during a virtual meeting of India-Israel foreign offices, a comprehensive review of their cooperation, especially in the strategic fields of defense and security, counter-terrorism, and cybersecurity.[34]

### ***The Iranian Factor***

India and Israel do not see eye to eye on the former’s relations with Iran; here there is a matter of strategic disagreement between them. Israel has repeatedly expressed its concern to India about a possible nuclear technology leak or transfer of nuclear-related information to Iran. According to Abhyankar, Iran enjoys a rare political consensus in India and since the early 1990s every Indian Government has placed a high priority on strengthening its ties with Tehran. India is unlikely to share Israeli apprehensions over Iranian radicalism.[35] It would appear that the Abhyankar forecast holds true even today.

In 2003 India and Iran signed an agreement to set up a joint working group on terrorism and security, described as an “Axis” in the making, the main purpose of which was to share intelligence on al-Qaeda activities in Afghanistan. Both countries had an interest in a stable Afghanistan ruled by a regime fully representative of the ethnic and cultural diversity of the country and capable of leading to enhanced regional security. However, India had to be careful to make sure that its relationship with Iran did not impinge upon its improving relationship with the United States, as Washington decided to pursue its containment of Iran more aggressively.[36]

In this context, it appears to be difficult for India to maintain strategic partnerships with both Israel and Iran for a long time, since Iran not only supports the Palestine cause and the right of its people to reclaim occupied lands as their homeland, but also strives to the elimination of the Israeli state.[37]

India’s relations with Iran have been shaped significantly by Iran’s solidarity with the Indian Muslim population, the second-largest Shia Muslim population in the world after Iran. For example, India-Iran relations were hurt by the destruction of the Babri mosque at Ayodhya by Hindu fundamentalists in December 1992 and the subsequent Hindu-Muslim riots in various parts of India. Moreover, Iran had been a consistent supporter of Pakistan’s position on Kashmir, both within and outside the United Nations. Therefore, India’s domestic policy and its treatment of its Muslim population play a major role in determining the long-term strength of the Indo-Iranian relationship.[38] India will find it hard to ignore Iran’s active tutelage of terrorist groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas, as it endangers the values and commitments of India in the fight against nuclear proliferation and in the war against terror.[39]

Two examples of Iranian terrorism against Israeli targets on Indian territory illustrate the dichotomy of this challenge in Israel-India cooperation.

### ***Delhi Terror Attack against Israel in 2012***

On 13 February 2012, a vehicle of the Israeli Embassy was the target of a bomb blast in a high-security neighborhood of New Delhi. The wife of an Israeli diplomat, the driver of the vehicle and two other persons, were



injured. Israel immediately held Iran responsible for the attack.

The possible Iranian involvement in the attack posed a serious diplomatic challenge for New Delhi. There was a great deal of circumstantial evidence, including the fact that an identical attack was attempted the same day on another Israeli Embassy vehicle in Tbilisi, Georgia. Moreover, the New Delhi attack came a day after the fourth death anniversary of Hezbollah leader Imad Mughniyah, who had died in a car explosion. The evidence indicated that a covert war between Israel and Iran and Hezbollah “just arrived in India.” This was detrimental to India’s security, and New Delhi needed to do something about it, advised *The Times of India*. The daily stressed that New Delhi doesn’t appreciate the sponsorship of terror activities on Indian soil but condones the murder of Iranian nuclear scientists. India is also firmly opposed to any raid on Iran’s nuclear sites, as the Israelis periodically threaten.[40]

Some Indian journals raised the question of a possible cooperation between Hezbollah and local recruits in India to harm Israeli interests in the country. If this angle has any truth, LeT support for the Hezbollah plan cannot be ruled out, though LeT is composed of extremist Sunnis only.[41]

Indian reaction to the bombing of an Israeli diplomatic car has been lukewarm at best. A foreign ministry spokesman in New Delhi said that India would seek the cooperation of the Iranian authorities in bringing those involved in this dastardly attack to justice.

New Delhi Police arrested Indian journalist Syed Mohammed Ahmad Kazmi, a Shi’ite with long-standing Iranian connections, who was employed part-time by an Iranian broadcaster for allegedly facilitating the February 13 bombing. An Indian court issued arrest warrants for Iranians Housan Afshari, Syed Ali Mehdi Sadr and Mohammed Reza Abolghasemi in connection with the attack. Housan Afshari, who had visited Delhi twice and left for Malaysia shortly after the Delhi attack, was in contact with Masoud Sedaghatzadeh, one of the Iranian suspects in the January 2012 Bangkok bomb plot, who was later named on an Indian arrest warrant for his role in the New Delhi attack.[42]

On 31 July 2012, Kazmi was charged under various provisions of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA), Indian Penal Code (IPC) including attempt to murder and the Explosive Substances Act.[43]. However, Kazmi was granted bail in October 2012. To this day, he is active as a freelance journalist, being the founding editor of Media Star News. Recently, he started his own YouTube channel “Media Star World” which is mainly focusing on international affairs “from the Indian perspective.”[44]

In July 2012, the *Times of India* reported that Delhi Police concluded that terrorists belonging to a branch of Iran’s military, the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), were responsible for the attack. The investigation report, exclusively accessed by the *Times of India*, stated that the IRGC members had discussed the plan to attack the Israeli diplomats in India with Indian journalist Kazmi in January 2011, after Iranian scientists had been attacked, allegedly by Israelis. Kazmi had been in touch with these people for almost 10 years.[45]. The Indian Police spokesperson denied the report.[46]

Iran denied it would do such a thing in India, especially when New Delhi was making strenuous efforts—despite disapproval by the US and some European countries—to develop new methods to pay for Iranian oil. “It is not in the character of Iranian policy to do this. If it is so, why select India? Iran could have selected some other country.” The attacks in India occurred when it had just replaced China as Iran’s largest crude oil importer. The question of why Iran would do this to its biggest customer arose after the attacks.[47]

Indeed, several weeks later, a large Indian delegation visited Tehran to ask for more oil imports and India invited three Iranian banks to open their branches to conduct direct trade. In April 2012, Tehran informed the Indian Ministry of External Affairs that “both sides are interested in collaboration”. At the same time it said that information about the three suspected Iranians involved in the terrorist attack could not be provided immediately “because Iran had gone into its Navroz (New Year) celebrations!”[48]

It appears that all the diplomatic efforts, as well as the visit of the Indian Police to Tehran to obtain official information about the suspected perpetrators of the February 13 attack, have not achieved any positive re-

sults until today.

### ***Blast Near Israel Embassy on January 31, 2021***

A minor blast took place in the evening in a high-security zone of Delhi. No one was injured. An envelope addressed to the Israeli Embassy and containing a note was found at the site of the blast. According to the style of writing and the spelling of the names, it was probably written by an Iranian. The letter swore revenge for the killing of Quds Force commander General Qasem Soleimani in January 2020 by the United States, and for the death of an Iranian nuclear scientist Mohsen Fakhrizadeh, allegedly by Israel, in November 2020. The explosion took place on the day when India and Israel marked the completion of the 29th anniversary of the establishment of their diplomatic relations.[49]

Investigators were looking into links to Jaish-ul-Hind, an unknown group which claimed responsibility for the blast on Telegram more than an hour before the explosion occurred. Police have recovered a chat on social media wherein the terror outfit could be seen taking pride over the attack. More than a month later, India's central counterterrorism agencies drew up a list of suspects, with their investigations concluding that while the Iranian Quds force was behind the terror plot, the bomb itself was planted by a local Indian Shia team.[50]

The Special Cell of Delhi Police arrested four students from Jammu and Kashmir in connection with the blast. Police had alleged that this was a case of conspiracy hatched by Islamic outfits and the four students were planning to carry out terrorist attacks in Delhi and other parts of India, targeting Western as well as Israeli establishments in India. In July 2020, Chief Metropolitan Magistrate Pankaj Sharma granted bail to Nazir Hussain (aged 25), Zulfikar Ali Wazir (25), Aiaz Hussain (28) and Muzammil Hussain (25). In its order, the court claimed that nothing incriminating has been put forth by the police which suggested that the accused persons had links with any terrorist organization. It further noted that as per the report, Nazir was a supporter of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of Iran, "and this was not a terrorist organisation." All four were released because of their near-perfect alibi. Delhi Police have opposed the bail plea citing that the investigation was still at a crucial stage.[51]

A year after the blast outside the Israeli Embassy in Delhi, the National Investigation Agency (NIA), which was investigating the case, was nowhere close to cracking the case.[52]

The February 13, 2012 attack, in one of the rising global powers, although relatively minor, was more of an Iranian signal with the potential to reverberate internationally. The timing was, as indicated before, probably connected to the 29th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between India and Israel. Based on experience [2012], it is possible that the Iranian leaders thought they could rely on a lax investigation, under political constraints, by the Indian authorities.

A top comment by Vidyanand Shetty on *The Times of India* of January 30, 2021, resumes the discussion: "Iran can't use India for its dirty games. They escaped punishment in 2012 as they had a friendly gov't. Now things have changed, [with] this act of terrorism against India and not against Israel. [The] Indian government should issue a strong statement: anyone using Indian soil will be punished." Prime Minister Narendra Modi condemned the terror attack near the Israeli Embassy in New Delhi and pledged to punish the perpetrators.

Surprising as it may be, Israel and Iran accept India's relations with the rival as a fact, without criticizing their very existence or the Indian interest in strengthening them. India's relations with each of the two are important enough for the other to try to harm them.[53]

Iran's Ambassador to India since December 2012, Ansari, a seasoned diplomat, asked in an interview what he feels about India's growing ties with Israel answered: "That is your business. It is not our business to advise you. Any country can choose their own friends. That's your right as well as ours. But we should not let our friends choose our enemies. If they (Israel) are your friends, don't let them choose your enemies." [54]

## Conclusion

India's External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar declared during his five-day visit to Israel in October 2021 that India has been facing major threats emanating across the border from Pakistan and that Israel is also surrounded by hostile neighbors. India and Israel have a Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism and the two countries also share real-time intelligence to deal with the terrorist menace. Jaishankar added that the "real thrust, however, is to expand the innovation and trade partnership between our two knowledge economies." As an example, he noted that the two countries collaborate to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic.[55]

In describing the security relations between the countries, including CT, the former Israeli ambassador to New Delhi, Daniel Carmon, has stressed that there is a formal maintenance of discretion, although it is a major component of the relationship. Relations between the two countries are officially viewed as a strategic partnership.[56]

Indeed, one should see the cooperation of the two states on counterterrorism as part of a much larger strategic alliance—an alliance based on democratic values which both countries share and based as well on the similarity of threats posed to both of them by asymmetric warfare.

**Acknowledgments:** This article is an expanded text of a presentation given by the author via Zoom at the Maharana Pratap Annual Security Dialogue, New Delhi, 12 January 2022.

**About the Author:** Ely Karmon is senior research scholar at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) and former research fellow at The Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) at Reichman University (former IDC), Herzlyia, Israel. Dr. Karmon lectures on international terrorism and CBRN terrorism at the M.A. Counterterrorism Studies at Reichman University. His fields of research include political violence, international terrorism, CBRN terrorism, and the strategic influence of terrorism and subversion in the Middle East and worldwide. His seminal book "Coalitions between Terrorist Organizations: Revolutionaries, Nationalists, and Islamists" was published in 2005 by Brill Academic Publishers (Leiden and Boston). The Center for Strategic Leadership, US Army War College, published his monograph, "Iran–Syria–Hizballah– Hamas: A Coalition against Nature. Why Does It Work?" (2008).

## Notes

[1] Rajendra Abhyankar, "The Evolution and Future of India-Israel Relations," *Research Paper No. 6*, S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, Tel Aviv University March 6, 2012. URL: [https://www.academia.edu/41904609/From\\_the\\_Romantic\\_to\\_the\\_Historic\\_Preface\\_to\\_an\\_essay\\_by\\_Rajendra\\_Abyankar\\_on\\_the\\_evolution\\_and\\_future\\_of\\_India\\_Israel\\_relations](https://www.academia.edu/41904609/From_the_Romantic_to_the_Historic_Preface_to_an_essay_by_Rajendra_Abyankar_on_the_evolution_and_future_of_India_Israel_relations)

[2] Jayshree Bajoria, "RAW: India's External Intelligence Agency," *Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder*, November 7, 2008. URL: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/raw-indias-external-intelligence-agency>

[3] "Mossad, RAW cooperation deepens," *The News International Monitoring Report*, November 16, 2016. URL: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/165220-Mossad-RAW-cooperationdeepens>

[4] Rajendra Abhyankar, op. cit., p. 11

[5] Bidanda M. Chengappa, "Indo-Israeli Relations: Politico-Military Dimensions," *The Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) Journal*, New Delhi, Summer 2010. URL: [https://archive.claws.in/images/journals\\_doc/1397629900Bidanda%20M%20Chengappa%20%20CJ%20Summer%202010.pdf](https://archive.claws.in/images/journals_doc/1397629900Bidanda%20M%20Chengappa%20%20CJ%20Summer%202010.pdf)

[6] Steve Coll, "Israeli Tourist Battles with Kashmiri Captors," *Washington Post*, June 28, 1991. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1991/06/28/israeli-tourist-battles-with-kashmiri-captors/059fb732-528a-49d8-acc6-dfebba3bc449/>

[7] Bidanda M. Chengappa, op. cit., p. 8.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ashok Sharma and Dov Bing, "India-Israel relations: the evolving partnership," *Israel Affairs*, 2015, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 620–632. URL: <https://af.booksc.org/book/52596578/b066ef>

[11] Rajendra Abhyankar, op. cit. p. 13.

[12] Ibid.

[13] See Samuel C. Rajiv, "The Delicate Balance: Israel and India's Foreign Policy Practice," *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 36, No. 1, January 2012, pp. 128–144.

URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09700161.2012.628483?journalCode=rsan20>

[14] M. K. Bhadrakumar, "India Seeks 'Velvet Divorce' from Iran," *Mainstream*, Vol XLVI, No 48, November 16, 2008. URL: <https://www.mainstreamweekly.net/article1044.html>

[15] Samuel Rajiv, op. cit., p. 138; citing Elliot Jager, Limited Partnership," *Jewish Ideas Daily*, August 16, 2010.

[16] Rajendra Abhyankar, op. cit., p. 20.

[17] Bidanda M. Chengappa, op. cit., p. 10.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Vinay Kaura, "Indo-Israeli Security Cooperation: Onward and Upward," *BESA Center Perspectives Paper*, No. 522, July 8, 2017. URL: <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/522-Indo-Israel-Security-Cooperation-Kaura-final.pdf>

[20] Ashok Sharma and Dov Bing, op. cit., p. 3.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Jonathan Spyer, "The 2008 terror attacks in Mumbai helped shape Israel-India relations," *The Jerusalem Post*, November 25, 2021. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/international/the-2008-terror-attacks-in-mumbai-helped-shape-israel-india-relations-687000>

[23] Ibid.

[24] Vinay Kaura, op. cit., p. 3.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Shalom Salomon Wald, India's Israel relations, the Middle East and China, *SIGNAL paper*, August 29, 2017. URL: <http://jppi.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Indias-Israel-relations-the-Middle-East-and-China-1.pdf>.

[28] "Indo-Israel ties did not start two and a half years ago, there has been a change in policy: Daniel Carmon," *The Indian Express*, January 15, 2017. URL: <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/indo-israel-ties-did-not-start-two-and-a-half-years-ago-there-has-been-a-change-in-policy-ambassador-to-india-daniel-carmon-4474552/>

[29] "I feel doors opening at Government level: Israeli Envoy on ties with India," *The Indian Express*, April 26, 2017. URL: <https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2017/apr/26/i-feel-doors-opening-at-government-level-israeli-envoy-on-ties-with-india-1597777.html>

[30] S. Samuel C. Rajiv, "Indian Responses to Israel's Gaza Operations," *Mideast Security and Policy Studies*, No. 119, THE BEGIN-SADAT CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, p. 59, May 2016. URL: <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/MSPS119-Indian-Responses.pdf>

[31] Ibid.

[32] "Israel fence systems, quick response team at Pakistan borders: BSF DG," *The Economic Times*, July 13, 2018. URL: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/israel-fence-systems-quick-response-team-at-pakistan-borders-bsf-dg/article-show/60044263.cms?from=mdr>

[33] Israel, India sign nine cooperation agreements at start of Netanyahu visit," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, January 15, 2018. URL: <https://www.jta.org/2018/01/15/israel/israel-india-sign-nine-cooperation-agreements-at-start-of-netanyahu-visit>

[34] "India, Israel review ties in key areas," *Press Trust of India*, December 7, 2020. URL: <http://www.ptinews.com/news/12018763-India--Israel-review-ties-in-key-areas.html>

[35] Rajendra Abhyankar, op. cit., p. 20.

- [36] Harsh V. Pant, "India and Iran: An 'Axis' in the Making?" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (May/June 2004), pp. 369–383. URL: <https://online.ucpress.edu/as/article-abstract/44/3/369/95879/India-and-Iran-An-Axis-in-the-Making?redirectedFrom=PDF>
- [37] Ibid.
- [38] Ibid.
- [39] Siddharth Ramana, "Where Falcons Dare — India-Israel Defence Relations," *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) Issue Brief*, No. 68, May 2008. URL: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/57301/IPCS-IssueBrief-No68.pdf>
- [40] "A new challenge," *Times of India*, February 15, 2012. URL: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/opinion/edit-page/A-new-challenge/articleshow/11893967.cms>
- [41] "Terror gets a new twist. Israeli-Iranian row comes into focus," *The Tribune, Chandigarh* (India), Editorial, 15 February 2012. URL: <https://www.tribuneindia.com/2012/20120215/edit.htm#2>
- [42] Ely Karmon, "Analysis / Iran and Hezbollah's Terror Escalation Against Israel," *Haaretz*, July 22, 2012. URL: <https://www.haaretz.com/analysis-iran-stepping-up-terror-against-us-1.5299609>
- [43] "Delhi Police file chargesheet in Israeli diplomat attack case," *NDTV*, July 31, 2012. URL: <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/delhi-police-file-chargesheet-in-israeli-diplomat-attack-case-494975>
- [44] URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YvB5Ip2ZJPE>
- [45] Neeraj Chauhan, "Cops name Iran military arm for attack on Israeli diplomat," *The Times of India*, July 30, 2012. URL: [https://web.archive.org/web/20130129164215/http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-07-30/delhi/32941054\\_1\\_israeli-diplomat-houshang-afshar-irani-mohammad-reza-abolghasemi](https://web.archive.org/web/20130129164215/http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-07-30/delhi/32941054_1_israeli-diplomat-houshang-afshar-irani-mohammad-reza-abolghasemi)
- [46] "Cops say no conclusion on Iran role," *The Times of India*, July 31, 2012. URL: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/cops-say-no-conclusion-on-iran-role/articleshow/15285650.cms>
- [47] Ely Karmon, "Iranian rationale behind the New Delhi terrorist attack," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 2, 2021. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/iranian-rationale-behind-the-new-delhi-terrorist-attack-657518>
- [48] Ibid.
- [49] Ibid.
- [50] Shishir Gupta, "Iran guided Israeli embassy blast through local module, upsets India: Officials," *The Hindustan Times*, March 8, 2021. URL: <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/iran-guided-israeli-embassy-blast-through-local-module-upsets-india-officials-101615166916562.html>
- [51] Usha Das, "Israel embassy blast: Nothing to suggest 4 students from Ladakh have terror links, says Delhi court," *The Times of India*, July 16, 2021. URL: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/nothing-to-suggest-4-students-from-ladakh-have-terror-links-says-court/articleshow/84455698.cms>
- [52] Neeraj Chauhan, "Delhi: A year on, little headway in Israeli Embassy blast probe," *The Hindustan Times*, January 28, 2022. URL: <https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/delhi-news/delhi-a-year-on-little-headway-in-israeli-embassy-blast-probe-101643394487524.html>
- [53] Interview with ambassador Daniel Carmon, March 23, 2022.
- [54] Sushant Singh, "If they (Israel) are your friend, do not let them choose your enemies: Iran envoy Gholamreza Ansari," *The Indian Express*, December 22, 2015. URL: <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/if-they-israel-are-your-friend-do-not-let-them-choose-your-enemies-gholamreza-ansari/lite/>
- [55] "India, Israel share similar challenges from radicalism, terrorism: Jaishankar," *The Economic Times*, October 18, 2021. URL: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/india-israel-share-similar-challenges-from-radicalism-terrorism-jaishankar/articleshow/87101672.cms?from=mdr>
- [56] Interview with ambassador Daniel Carmon, March 23, 2022.



# Targeted Violence: A Review of the Literature on Radicalization and Mobilization

by Megan K. McBride, Marley Carroll, Jessa L. Mellea, and Elena Savoia

## Abstract

*This literature review contributes to the work of understanding the differences between targeted violence and domestic terrorism by exploring research on radicalization and mobilization processes within the literature on targeted violence. This review relied on the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's 2019 terminology regarding the definition of targeted violence, and consequently focused on incidents that lacked an ideological motivation and occurred in "communities, schools, places of worship, and other public gatherings". Although our data collection returned 169 distinct articles seemingly on the radicalization or mobilization of those involved in terrorism and targeted violence, we did not find a robust discussion of processes of radicalization or mobilization of those who commit acts of targeted violence. We did, however, identify five "theories of radicalization" in the targeted violence literature which we review in this article. We then articulate recommendations for research that would improve understanding of how domestic terrorism and targeted violence are related in the US discourse. This work is especially critical because the literatures on these topics are not, at present, in conversation with one another, and bringing them together has the potential to meaningfully advance the understanding of both phenomena.*

**Keywords:** Radicalization, targeted violence, domestic terrorism, mobilization

## Introduction

The phrase "targeted violence" is more than 25 years old (it was first used in a 1995 paper titled "Threat Assessment: An Approach to Prevent Targeted Violence").[1] Recently, though, the language has transitioned from a term of art to a descriptor just as likely to appear in a newspaper article as in an academic journal. In fact, over half of the Google Scholar results for a query of "targeted violence" are for articles written in the past five years. Yet despite this increased use, the phrase is at best vaguely defined. According to the Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) 2019 Strategic Framework, targeted violence includes:

"Any incident of violence that implicates homeland security and/or U.S. Department of Homeland Security activities, and in which a known or knowable attacker selects a particular target prior to the violent attack. Unlike terrorism, targeted violence includes attacks otherwise lacking a clearly discernible political, ideological, or religious motivation, but that are of such severity and magnitude as to suggest an intent to inflict a degree of mass injury, destruction, or death commensurate with known terrorist tactics. In the Homeland, targeted violence has a significant impact on the safety and security of our communities, schools, places of worship, and other public gatherings." [2]

The strategic framework of DHS acknowledges that the line between terrorism and targeted violence can be difficult to draw, and raises the possibility that there may be "some alignment in the tools that can be used to counter them." [3]

This literature review contributes to the work of understanding the differences between targeted violence and domestic terrorism by exploring research on radicalization and mobilization processes within the literature on targeted violence. The ultimate goal of this work is to inform policy, practice and future research by establishing whether or not the hypothesized processes of radicalization being used to describe those who engage in acts of targeted violence are similar to, or different from, the hypothesized processes of radicalization being used to describe those who commit acts of domestic terrorism. Determining whether or not these processes are similar or different is critical for policymakers and government officials and practitioners

working to create the institutions and programs necessary to prevent both types of violence. If perpetrators of both domestic terrorism and targeted violence radicalize via similar processes, then it may be possible to leverage the resources dedicated to preventing domestic terrorism to address both challenges. By contrast, if the perpetrators radicalize via different processes, then more significant adjustments might be necessary in order to align existing domestic terrorism resources to address targeted violence.

The search and synthesis strategy we adopted included: querying for articles that propose theories of radicalization, examining case studies to determine which theories of radicalization are being used, expanding search terms to include distinct phrases that might return more results, and analyzing comparative literature (i.e., literature explicitly looking at the similarities and differences between terrorism and targeted violence). We then consulted with experts in the field (i.e., scholars who write on acts that fit the definition of targeted violence) to validate our findings. Despite the lack of much literature on this topic, this review was ultimately able to identify a number of theories of radicalization that have been proposed by those working in this space.

### **Background**

Our approach to the definition of radicalization and mobilization, in the context of this Research Note, was influenced by recent work in terrorism studies on the importance of differentiating between beliefs and actions. Efforts to separate the two concepts stemmed from dissatisfaction with a composite model that did not explain why many individuals radicalize without engaging in terrorist violence. Though we adopt Stern's characterization of radicalization and mobilization, it is consistent with McCauley and Moskalenko's distinction between the "opinion pyramid" and the "action pyramid" and Horgan's distinction between radicalization and violent radicalization.[4] We thus define **radicalization** as the *social and psychological process through which an individual or group adopts extreme beliefs, ideas, or opinions*.[5]

Since mobilization is infrequently discussed in isolation in terrorism literature, we have derived our definition of the term from Horgan's definitions of both disengagement and violent radicalization. Horgan defines disengagement as "the process whereby an individual experiences a change in role or function that is usually associated with a reduction of violent participation." [6] By contrast, he defines "violent radicalisation" as "the social and psychological process of *increased* and *focused* radicalisation through involvement with a violent non-state movement", including both initial and continuing involvement with a violent extremist group.[7] Both definitions focus on change in an individual's behaviors, though the latter frames these behavioral changes as a mechanism for radicalization. Further, both definitions present these processes as occurring within a group setting. We follow this scholarship, though we broaden it to include also lone actors, and define the term **mobilization** as *the behavioral process of planning and preparing to commit an act of terrorism or targeted violence, often culminating in the perpetration of such acts*. Importantly, our definition of mobilization does not presuppose a motivating political cause or ideology, and focuses on the process leading to a single attack rather than an individual's lifetime involvement and behaviors. As such, it is especially well-suited to discussions of targeted violence which are characterized - at least in part - by the absence of a motivating political, religious, or ideological agenda.

Because this distinction is not universal within the literature that we were searching, we included the language necessary to capture both radicalization and mobilization in our Boolean strings. Our intention was to differentiate between the two in our analysis, essentially comparing both theories of radicalization *and* mobilization for both domestic terrorism and targeted violence in the U.S. context. There was, however, very little literature specifically addressing the processes of radicalization or mobilization for those who engage in targeted violence. Thus, though the distinction was not as relevant as we expected, we do maintain it in our analysis.

## ***Methodology***

Unfortunately, for a number of reasons, the phrase “targeted violence” does not function as an especially strong search term in the academic literature. To begin, the term is relatively new, meaning that many incidents that might be described as targeted violence occurred before the phrase was in widespread use. The 2017 Las Vegas shooting, for example, happened two years before the 2019 DHS Strategic Framework was written; and the Columbine school shooting happened just four years after the term was coined (and well before it had become more mainstream). Additionally problematic is that the lines separating acts of targeted violence from acts of domestic terrorism are at best blurry. As a result, these incidents can be difficult to classify for a variety of reasons including, but not limited to: if law enforcement officials do not find a political/ideological/religious motivation (e.g., Las Vegas); if the perpetrator’s ideology appears to be thin or inconsistent (e.g., Omar Mateen); or if scholars are uncertain that a political/ideological motivation is cohesive (e.g., violent incels). This uncertainty and ambiguity is then reflected in the literature. To give one example, articles on Anders Breivik describe him as a “far-right terrorist,” “lone wolf terrorist,” and “mass shooter”. [8] Scholars from different disciplines and backgrounds are consequently applying the terms unevenly and inconsistently, complicating the process of finding relevant articles. Moreover, there are no strong proxy terms that can stand in for targeted violence. Following the lead of DHS - primarily because DHS has played a key role in popularizing the phrase - this literature review focuses on violence targeting “communities, schools, places of worship, and other public gatherings”. A query focusing on locations, though, can easily return results that are commonly classified as domestic terrorism (e.g., Wade Michael Page’s attack on a Sikh temple or Dylann Roof’s attack at a Christian church). In short, even the relatively straightforward task of identifying the articles upon which to base this literature review was unexpectedly complicated. To address this challenge, we developed the methodology outlined below, which consists of an iterative process distinguished in two phases - informed and shaped by what we learned along the way - that resulted in our final dataset.

### ***Search Strategy - Phase 1***

As mentioned above, this literature review uses DHS’s 2019 language regarding the definition of targeted violence to inform its data collection. This language explicitly mentions four broad types of violence based on the location of the incident: that which occurs in “communities, schools, places of worship, and other public gatherings”. We added to this list violence that occurs in workplaces, as well as a number of phrases and terms (e.g., “mass shooting” and “lone wolf”) that we thought might capture the types of attacks we were interested in. We conducted searches using the databases Web of Science, Social Science Premium, Policy File, PsycINFO, International Bibliography of the Social Science, and Criminal Justice Abstracts with Full Text using the following four Boolean strings:

1. su(("targeted violence") AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*)) OR ti(("targeted violence") AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*))
2. su(("school shoot\*" OR "workplace shoot\*" OR "mass shoot\*" OR "mass kill\*" OR rampage\* OR massacre\* OR "mass violence") AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*)) OR ti(("school shoot\*" OR "workplace shoot\*" OR "mass shoot\*" OR "mass kill\*" OR rampage\* OR massacre\* OR "mass violence") AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*))
3. su(("church shoot\*" OR "synagogue shoot\*" OR "mosque shoot\*" OR "temple shoot\*") AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*)) OR ti(("church shoot\*" OR "synagogue shoot\*" OR "mosque shoot\*" OR "temple shoot\*") AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*))
4. (su((extremis\* OR terroris\*) AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*)) OR ti((extremis\* OR terroris\*) AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*))) AND ti(review)

For the first three Boolean strings, we stipulated that the article had to (i) have been published after January 1, 2000, (ii) be published in a peer-reviewed journal, and (iii) be written in English. Because our search was completed in August 2021, this strategy returned approximately 21 years of peer-reviewed, English-language articles on the radicalization or mobilization of perpetrators of targeted violence. For the last Boolean string, we narrowed the scope so as to include only articles published after January 1, 2010, thus returning approximately 11 years of peer-reviewed, English-language review articles on the radicalization of terrorists and extremists.

Finally, after noticing that the targeted violence literature often referenced attacks using the terms “lone wolf,” “lone actor,” and “active shooter,” we expanded our query (search term for query #5 reported below) to include these terms.

5. su(("lone wolf" OR "lone-wolf" OR "lone actor" OR "lone-actor" OR "active shooter") AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*)) OR ti(("lone wolf" OR "lone-wolf" OR "lone actor" OR "lone-actor" OR "active shooter") AND (radicali\* OR mobili\* OR engage\* OR path\* OR process\*))

The first data collection phase of this project yielded a total of 1,353 original articles. The electronic results of these queries were exported in RIS files from these databases and were added to Covidence, which the research team used to conduct a title and abstract screening. The articles that had no direct relevance to radicalization, mobilization, or engagement processes for terrorists, extremists, or perpetrators of targeted violence were removed from the dataset and marked as irrelevant. Two reviewers screened each article and if they could not agree on its classification, a third reviewer was consulted. After the title and abstract screening, the remaining articles were exported to a single shared Google Sheet and full-text versions of the articles were downloaded.

### ***Search Strategy - Phase 2***

Once we started the full-text screening of articles, we ran additional searches based on our findings. Our initial review of the articles, for example, allowed us to identify two models resembling radicalization or mobilization theories: the Path to Intended Violence model and the Sequential Model. For the Path to Intended Violence model, we first located the source of the model, and then screened articles that cited the work from which the model originated. By doing so, we found four additional articles relevant to our review, as well as two that had already appeared in previous queries. For the Sequential Model, we conducted a similar review but did not find any additional articles relevant to this review. Instead, we found articles that focused on issues other than radicalization, such as risk factors, mental health issues, and attack patterns. We also ran additional queries tracking down ideas prompted by our initial research. We then conducted searches using the following potential keywords and themes in an effort to determine whether they might lead to additional research relevant to our literature review: “ideological shooter”, “nonideological shooter”, and “grievance fueled violence”. Each query yielded additional articles that we added to our dataset.

Finally, because the data we had returned were overwhelmingly focused on school shootings and youth violence, we ran a series of queries to determine whether additional literature on other forms of targeted violence existed but was not being identified by our Boolean strings. As one example, we ran a number of queries on the 2017 Las Vegas shooting to see how it had been described and to determine if there was other language we should be using. These queries provided no additional sets of literature for us to examine, thus substantiating that our Boolean strings and follow-up queries had captured the desired targeted violence literature.

### ***Coding***

Once the data collection phase was complete, our dataset consisted of 169 articles related to the radicalization, mobilization, or engagement processes or pathways of terrorists, extremists, or perpetrators of targeted

violence. We then reviewed each of the articles in the dataset and used the titles and abstracts to mark them as relating to either terrorism, targeted violence, or both.

We classified articles as relating to terrorism according to the University of Maryland Global Terrorism Database's definition of terrorism as "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation." [9] Within that, we distinguish between domestic and international terrorism using the Federal Bureau of Investigation's definitions. The Bureau defines international terrorism as being "committed by individuals and/or groups who are inspired by, or associated with, designated foreign terrorist organizations or nations (state-sponsored)" and domestic terrorism as "committed by individuals and/or groups to further ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as those of a political, religious, social, racial, or environmental nature." [10] We categorized articles as "non-U.S. domestic terrorism" when they met the FBI definition of domestic terrorism but occurred in a country other than the U.S. Finally, articles were categorized as "general terrorism" if they did not have a particular regional, ideological, or group focus and/or were theoretical in nature.

For targeted violence, we used the DHS description of targeted violence as violent incidents in which the perpetrator selects the attack target prior to the incident, focusing on "attacks otherwise lacking a clearly discernible political, ideological, or religious motivation." [11] In cases where an article's focus was unclear, we read the full article before classifying it. The process of coding the articles was complicated by the fact that in some cases the authors would use language suggesting inclusion in both categories. One article, exploring in part how to classify these types of attacks, described a particular event in Sweden as: a "school shooting" (in the keywords), a "school attack", a "targeted attack", "targeted violence", "terrorism", "individual terrorism", and "lone actor terrorism". [12] Other articles complicated this process by intentionally addressing both types of violence in an effort to explore similarities and differences between them.

Importantly, our coding approach meant that our research team classified the articles without regard to how the original scholars had described their own work. In other words, our team assessed how to classify an article based solely on the data in the article and the definitions cited above. The graphic below captures our assessment of the full dataset. [13]

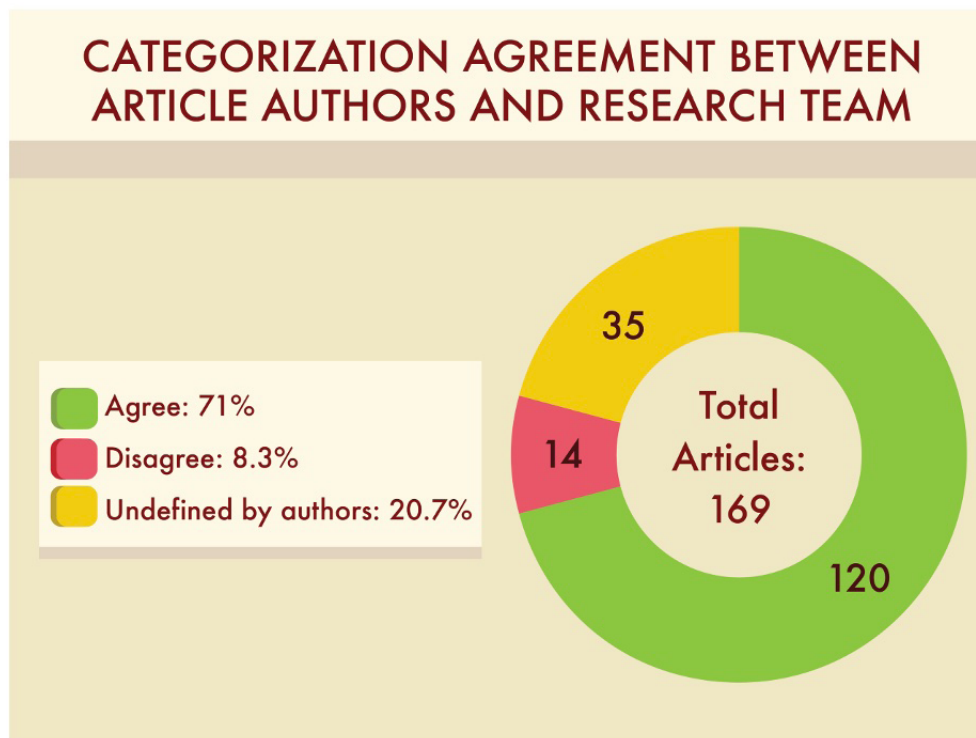
**FOCAL CATEGORIES OF VIOLENCE IN ARTICLES**

Targeted Violence	53
Domestic Terrorism	34
International Terrorism	46
Non-U.S. Domestic Terrorism	17
General Terrorism	71
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>169</b>

We took this approach because the language of "targeted violence" is relatively new, and we did not want our results to be shaped by its adoption and application. Our decision to independently classify the articles,



however, raised the obvious question of how frequently we were in agreement with the authors, so we also assessed how the authors had classified their own articles. We did so by looking in the text for the terms “terrorism” and “targeted violence”, as well as very closely related terms (e.g., “targeted attack” but not “mass shooting”). We found that our classification matched that of the authors 71% of the time. Most of the discrepancies (21% of the articles), were a result of the authors failing to use either of the primary categories we were analyzing (i.e., targeted violence or terrorism). We classified nearly all of these cases (32 of 35 articles) as targeted violence, which was unsurprising given that it is both a newer and less clearly defined category.



## ***Literature Synthesis***

### ***Theories of Radicalization and Mobilization***

Though our data collection returned 169 distinct articles seemingly on the radicalization or mobilization of those involved in terrorism and targeted violence, a closer examination revealed that there were actually very few articles in the latter category. In other words, we did not find a robust discussion of processes of radicalization or mobilization in the targeted violence literature. Yet we found five “theories of radicalization” in the literature we reviewed: 1) Sequential Model, 2) Unnamed Shame and Developmental Trajectories Model, 3) Path to Violence, 4) Developmental Pathways to Demonstrative Target Attacks, and 5) Intimate Massacre Model. A summary of each model is provided below.

#### Theory 1: Sequential Model

One article, “Mass Murder at School and Cumulative Strain: A Sequential Model,” outlined and applied a five-stage sequence that elaborates on distinct strains (defined here as “difficulties that lead to anger, frustration, disappointment, depression, fear, and ultimately, crime” in an individual’s life).[14] This sequential model combines three criminological theories established to explain crime more broadly - general strain theory, social control theory, and routine-activities theory - and applies them to explain how psychosocial factors compound to impel an individual to commit mass murder. The model begins with chronic strain, defined as the presence of persistent life difficulties over a long period of time.[15] Chronic strain alone is relatively common; therefore, it must be accompanied by uncontrolled strain, the second stage of the model. Uncontrolled strain refers to the breakdown or absence of prosocial support systems as a result of social isolation.[16] The third stage consists of an acute strain, “some loss perceived

to be catastrophic in the mind of the killer, which serves as a catalyst or precipitant” for the fourth and fifth stages, the planning and commencement of the massacre, respectively.[17] The latter two stages describe mobilization more than radicalization; however, the authors do describe the planning stage as the time during which “a mass killing is fantasized about as a masculine solution to regain lost feelings of control”, in addition to the explicit preparatory actions.[18] Despite being the most complete radicalization theory that we found in the targeted violence literature, this sequential model only appeared in our queries in the article in which it was theorized. A follow-on query revealed that the article was well cited (with more than 250 citations listed in Google Scholar), but analysis of these articles revealed virtually no case studies applying the model to individual offenders. Instead, this literature was largely focused on: risk factors and correlates of mass violence; training on, and prevention of, school shootings; leakage and behavior antecedent to attacks; and the impact of attacks on students, teachers, and society.

#### Theory 2: Unnamed Shame and Developmental Trajectories Model

The second article articulating a radicalization theory, “The Role of Shame in Developmental Trajectories Towards Severe Targeted School Violence: An In-Depth Multiple Case Study,” examined how shame may intervene in developmental trajectories to push individuals toward school-based targeted violence. Examining 19 cases of school-based targeted violence, the study identifies three psychological turning points preceding acts of violence: two shame crises and one triggering event. The first shame crisis occurs as a result of the revelation of an individual’s weakness to others, while the second stems from the individual’s failed attempts at managing the shame brought on by the first crisis.[19] However, the authors identify two distinct ways in which perpetrators attempt to manage their shame - internalization, or social withdrawal, and externalization, or aggressive behavior - that shape the rest of their radicalization process.[20] Following the second shame crisis, individuals begin to plan a violent attack; however, this planning process differs for type 1 (internalizing) versus type 2 (externalizing) individuals. Whereas type 1 perpetrators need to transform their self-image from weak to powerful in order to build the requisite aggression and hostility needed to decide to commit an attack, type 2 perpetrators already see themselves as powerful and aggressive, and thus go through a shorter planning phase focused more on outward identification with violence.[21] Following the triggering event, both types enter a short preparation phase, then commit the offense itself.[22] Like the sequential model, the latter two steps align more closely with mobilization than radicalization. Also noteworthy is that the Developmental Pathways to Demonstrative Targeted Attacks model (Theory 4, below) adds to this discussion by outlining how each perpetrator type’s respective developmental trajectory impacts thinking with regard to announcement of intentions to attack (leakage) and target selection during the attack itself. While the theory is based on case studies of 19 incidents of school-based targeted violence, no case studies walk through the shame-focused developmental model from start to finish, and this theory does not appear in any other articles that came up in our queries. Moreover, a follow-on query revealed that this research has been cited just twice (both times in articles written by some of the same authors who developed the theory). In each case, however, the citation was used in the context of work on prevention programming.[23]

#### Theory 3: Path to Violence (family of theories)

The third theory, the Path to Intended Violence, originally arose in the field of threat assessment as a means to evaluate assassins acting individually and targeting high profile individuals. In the model, articulated by Calhoun and Weston in 2003, the perpetrator moves “from feeling a *grievance* to *developing the idea* that only violence can resolve their injury, to *researching and planning* the attack, to *making preparations* according to the dictates of the plan...to *breaching* the target’s security...to *attack*.”[24] This theory was later adapted in a 2005 master’s thesis by Olson, who used it to explain the radicalization of extremist groups.[25] This adaptation, called the Path to Terrorist Violence (PTTV), includes similar but slightly modified stages (e.g., the model’s first stage of feeling a grievance includes not only personal grievances but also political ones). In the targeted violence literature, this theory was found in the work of Allely and Faccini who adapted the theory (calling it the Path to Intended and Terroristic Violence

model) to explain examples of both terrorism and targeted violence in a series of articles. Importantly, these articles (one of which focused on targeted violence perpetrator Adam Lanza; three of which focused on terrorists Elliot Rodger, Anders Breivik, and Dylann Roof; one of which focused on Anders Breivik, Dean Allen Mellberg, and Adam Lanza; and one of which focused on 75 individuals in the Mother Jones mass shooting database) concentrate exclusively on the association between Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) and acts of violence.[26] Broadly, they posit that a relationship between the Path to Intended Violence (sometimes the Path to Intended and Terroristic Violence) and ASD (sometimes in combination with co-morbid diagnoses of a personality disorder) might explain the violent behavior of this small subset of perpetrators. All of the articles that included the model also analyzed risk factors that may contribute to this violence.

#### Theory 4: Developmental Pathways to Demonstrative Targeted Attacks

The fourth theory, outlined in “Same but Different? Developmental Pathways to Demonstrative Targeted Attacks - Qualitative Case Analyses of Adolescent and Young Adult Perpetrators of Targeted School Attacks and Jihadi Terrorist Attacks in Germany,” sought to explain the pathways to violence for perpetrators of both targeted violence and terrorism.[27] This model was based on a sample of 35 cases of targeted school violence perpetrators and 21 cases of terrorists, all of whom committed an attack in Germany between 1999 and 2013. The two sets of perpetrators follow nearly the same developmental pathway, with only slight differences. The model begins with the individual’s mental dispositions, as well as mental disorders, that frame how they process reality and the world. Next, grievances arise, on a continuum from personal to political. In the study’s sample of school attackers and terrorist attackers, school attackers clustered toward the personal end of the continuum and terrorist attackers were closer to the political end. From there, the perpetrators began to identify with previous attackers and “ideological [or] cultural scripts” of violence. This model combines radicalization and mobilization into one process, with radicalization (for terrorist attackers) beginning at this stage in the model. After the step of identification, perpetrators move into the redefinition of self, wherein their increasing identification with a violence-justifying worldview transforms their perception of themselves from that of a nobody or a failure to that of someone who is significant and worthy of recognition. This stage is followed by clandestine planning of the attack, either alone or in small groups, and often with ritualized elements. Trigger events, which can vary, then push the perpetrator to an act of violence. Another article, “Blurred Boundaries of Lone-Actor Targeted Violence: Similarities in the Genesis and Performance of Terrorist Attacks and School Shootings,” written by the same authors, also uses this model.[28]

#### Theory 5: Intimate Massacres Model

The fifth model is somewhat unique in that it does not offer a clear radicalization *process*, but instead suggests multiple explanations for radicalization without explicitly ordering them. The article, “A Theory of Intimate Massacres: Steps Toward a Causal Explanation,” identifies three factors as potentially explaining why individuals commit “intimate massacres”: seeking a point of no return, negating others’ personification of them, and bringing order to emotional chaos.[29] The article frames intimate massacres as “‘intimate’ because the site targeted has biographical meaning to the attacker, as terrorist attacks do not, ‘massacre’ because, unlike revenge attacks, there is an indiscriminate targeting of victims.”[30] According to the article, these attacks are the perpetrators’ way of transforming their identity “by negating their past in an ineradicable way,” which is seen as a means of destroying “the person others have assumed one to be” without destroying one’s conception of oneself.[31] This model posits that perpetrators’ failed attempts to fit in solidifies their “public identity as awkward, impenetrable, loner, strange, or mentally ill”, which in turn reinforces their socialization difficulties.[32] These repeated failed attempts represent a form of internal chaos; by committing an intimate massacre, “the assailant is attempting to... crystallize chaos in a representation of order.”[33] That is, the perpetrator seeks to impose a sense of temporary order on their internal emotional chaos by enacting, then resolving, external chaos. The article does mention a few potential stages of mobilization, briefly referencing the perpetrator experimenting

with identities and obtaining weapons for the attack.[34] However, though the article presents a coherent theory explaining why individuals commit intimate massacres, there is no attempt at establishing a clear radicalization or mobilization timeline. In fact, it downplays the importance of a potential catalytic event, a key event in three of the four aforementioned processes, relying on long-term grievances as radicalizing factors but not addressing why intimate massacres occur at a given time.

In the absence of a dominant theory or a robust literature on theories, in a couple of cases authors have turned to general theories of violence - not theories specific to targeted violence - to make sense of these attacks. One article uses the I<sup>3</sup> model, a theoretical framework that suggests that high degrees of Instigation and Impelling factors, when combined with limited Inhibition, increase the likelihood of aggression.[35] The article applies this model to a case study of James Holmes, arguing that a combination of severe mental illness and acute personal struggles guided him toward committing an act of targeted violence.[36] Another article references the Path to Violence, the general theory of violence upon which the aforementioned Path to Intended Violence, Path to Terrorist Violence, and Path to Intended and Terroristic Violence, are based.[37]

### ***Case Studies and Comparative Analysis: Theories in Practice***

The lack of a robust literature on theories of radicalization or mobilization for those who commit acts of targeted violence is not necessarily indicative of a disciplinary shortcoming or a theoretical lacuna. In fact, though recent scholarship suggests improvement, terrorism studies have been criticized repeatedly for producing too much theoretical literature (relying too heavily on the literature review methodology and lagging behind other fields in quantitative analysis).[38] It may, as a result, be a poor point of comparison for assessing the literature on targeted violence. The absence of theories of radicalization or mobilization unique to perpetrators of targeted violence, however, raises the obvious question of how this process is being discussed. The dataset that we had assembled was well-suited to answer this question because it captured not only articles outlining *theories* of radicalization and mobilization, but also articles *applying* theories of radicalization and mobilization. Specifically, we identified 11 articles that explored - sometimes, but not always, as the primary focus - the process by which an individual came to commit an act of targeted violence.

Because we knew that these case studies did not use the theories cited above, our expectation was that they would employ theories that come specifically from terrorism studies. This approach would be reasonable, given recognition of the difficulty in clearly differentiating acts of targeted violence from acts of domestic terrorism. In fact, such work does exist. As one example, Peterson and Densley, in their 2021 book *The Violence Project*, acknowledge that some mass shooters (e.g., Elliot Rodger) go through a radicalization process and they cite terrorism studies scholar Fathali Moghaddam's staircase to terrorism model. Surprisingly, though, this pattern was not evident in the case studies. In fact, despite being captured in our query (and thus including language suggestive of an interest in radicalization or mobilization), few of the case studies focused on these processes, focusing instead on risk factors and individual psychopathology. For example, the most highly cited article (according to Google Scholar), "The Autogenic (Self-Generated) Massacre", seeks to develop a profile of perpetrators of targeted violence by comparing five anonymized case studies.[39] It finds, among other things, that all five actors were likely depressed, that most had obsessional tendencies, felt persecuted and self-righteous, and that all were socially isolated.[40] The second most cited case study captured in our dataset applied psychoanalytic models to the Columbine High School shooters, presenting the shooting as a byproduct of "bully-victim-bystander dynamics" and emphasizing community responsibility for such attacks.[41] Finally, the most recently published article closely examines the concept of pathological fixation, found to be a proximal warning sign for targeted violence, and uses seven case studies to exemplify three cognitive-affective drivers of fixation: delusion, extreme overvalued belief, and obsession.[42] The authors focus in particular on extreme overvalued belief, using the case studies to 1) clarify the difference between it and delusion and 2) begin to draw out implications for threat assessment.[43] These three articles, while not exhaustive in their coverage of the case study topics, are a representative sample of the targeted violence case studies we identified; notably, none theorize an individual's full progression to



committing an act of targeted violence.

Finally, we analyzed a set of articles that were explicitly comparative (i.e., that bridged the gap between targeted violence and domestic terrorism). Our queries returned 20 articles that fell into this category; these articles, in other words, both (a) addressed targeted violence and domestic terrorism and (b) contained at least some discussion of the process by which the individual came to commit an act of violence. Of these articles, however, only five included theories of radicalization and/or mobilization and all five of these were already mentioned above.

Path to Intended and Terroristic Violence (Theory 3 above): One article in this category applied a targeted violence model of radicalization (Path to Intended and Terroristic Violence) to the Norwegian terrorist Anders Breivik.[44] This article did not, however, aspire to make broad generalizations about the theory's utility as the theory was narrowly constructed to address a very small subset of violent perpetrators diagnosed with (or suspected to have) an ASD.[45] Another article expanded somewhat on the Path to Violence model by exploring the role that impulsivity plays in accelerating individuals, perhaps even hastily, toward what might otherwise be described as carefully planned violence.[46]

Developmental Pathways to Demonstrative Targeted Violence Model (Theory 4 above): The two articles that mentioned this model are the same two that were described in the theory section above.

Importantly, all four of these articles used their respective models to explain both radicalization and mobilization, and all four described perpetrators of terrorist violence and targeted violence moving through the same process.[47]

Opinion Radicalization Theory: The final model that we found in the comparative literature was the Opinion Radicalization Theory, which focuses solely on the radicalization process. This theory comes from work by Leuprecht, Hataley, Moskalenko and McCauley differentiating the radicalization to extremist ideologies from the radicalization to violent actions (some of which is mentioned in the introduction). [48] Based on interviews with individuals who had expressed "deep interest" in school shootings, the article identified three tiers of actors within an opinion pyramid. The first tier includes individuals who are interested in school shootings but do not have positive associations with the events or the perpetrators. The second tier describes individuals who sympathize or identify with perpetrators or such actions, but neither condone shooters' violence nor have an interest in carrying out an attack of their own. The final tier consists of those who have interest in conducting their own massacres. This article made connections to the similarities of school shootings and terrorism, but did not attempt to apply the Opinion Radicalization Theory to other forms of targeted violence.

The remainder of the articles in this category did not articulate a model for the processes that they explored. Instead, four focused on mental health or personality traits of perpetrators that may suggest a predisposition to targeted or terrorist violence,[49] four focused on categorizing the perpetrators' motivations,[50] and two foregrounded both risk factors and motivations.[51] Finally, five articles examined the beliefs and behaviors of individuals planning or carrying out attacks, including how social networks may impact their radicalization or mobilization.[52]

## **Conclusion**

In some ways, it is unsurprising that there is only a modest literature on radicalization processes for those who engage in acts of targeted violence. Radicalization has long been recognized as a belief- or thought-oriented process, and it is easy to understand why it has not been adopted by scholars concerned with a type of violence characterized (at least in part) by its lack of "a clearly discernible political, ideological, or religious motivation." [53] This feature of targeted violence obviously raises the question of whether or not it is useful for policy and practice to have a widely accepted theory of radicalization for the actors who commit this type of violence. A focus on mobilization might, by contrast, make more sense and is to some degree already re-



flected in the literature. Four of the five theories outlined above (the Sequential Model, Unnamed Shame and Developmental Trajectories Model, Path to Violence, and Developmental Pathways to Demonstrative Target Attacks) are hybrid models that describe the related processes of radicalization and mobilization (i.e., that begin with changes in thoughts and beliefs, but that culminate in actions such as planning and/or attacking). Importantly, while there are no definitive models for radicalization or mobilization within terrorism studies, the four process-oriented models outlined above are consistent with many of the models that have been articulated within by experts in the field of terrorism (i.e., each begins with a source of stress or grievance, transitions through a period during which individual identity and the morality of violence are reexamined, and culminates with a commitment to or engagement in violent activity).

This literature review has, however, highlighted a number of critical issues that merit additional research. The issues outlined below are especially important as increased clarity would meaningfully contribute to our shared understanding of the similarities and differences between those who commit acts of targeted violence and those who commit acts of domestic terrorism with important implications for policy and practice.

1. **Risk factors:** The literature on targeted violence appears to favor discussions related to risk factors over discussions related to radicalization and mobilization. As such, it should be possible to determine whether or not the individuals who commit acts of targeted violence share the same risk factors, or have different ones than those who commit acts of domestic terrorism.
2. **Risk and threat assessment:** A number of tools have been developed over the past two decades, to support risk and threat assessment. A comparison of the tools discussed in these distinct literatures (i.e., targeted violence and domestic terrorism) could increase our knowledge in an area (risk and threat assessment) critically important to practitioners working in the two fields.
3. **Incels:** Our research team chose to classify incels as domestic terrorists for the purposes of this literature review, but we could have chosen to classify incels as targeted violence actors, or we could have chosen to classify each incel separately. Because the incel population's ideology is amorphous, and personal grievance is so central to many incels' motivations, it is possible that a review of the literature on incels (a population that perhaps bridges the gap between targeted violence and domestic terrorism) could be leveraged to explore the relationship between these two types of violence.
4. **Social amplifiers:** There is a relatively robust discussion within the targeted violence literature on a number of social factors (e.g., media violence, video games, contagion) that might increase the likelihood that acts of targeted violence will occur. A study designed to review this literature, and assess its applicability to domestic terrorists, could shed light on the similarities and differences between the two populations of actors.

A universal definition of terrorism remains elusive, and the work of defining targeted violence is not yet done (though DHS identified the need for a definition as a priority action item in its 2019 Strategic Framework).[54] It is consequently difficult to assert the precise relationship between these threats, but it is equally difficult to deny or ignore the similarities between them. We may not yet - and if definitions continue to evade us, we may not ever - be able to explain precisely how these two are related. And yet the similarities are too compelling to ignore, and so additional research is necessary. This work, moreover, is especially critical because research on targeted violence and research on domestic terrorism is often being done by distinct sets of scholars, with distinct disciplinary backgrounds (research on targeted violence appears to be dominated by those working in the field of criminology and sociology, while research on domestic terrorism appears to be dominated by those with backgrounds in political science and psychology). These literatures are not, at present, in conversation with one another, and helping this to happen has the potential to meaningfully advance our understanding of both phenomena.

**Acknowledgement:** This project is sponsored by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Science & Technology Directorate award #21STFRG00012-01-00 Blue Campaign Program Evaluation, TTA#2 Sci-

entific Advisement. The content of this presentation is solely that of the authors and does not necessarily represent the views of any partner organizations or the DHS.

### **About the Authors:**

**Megan K. McBride PhD**, is a Fellow in the Community Safety branch of the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health's EPREP Program, where she contributes to a portfolio of CVE grants funded by DHS, NIJ, and NATO. She is also a Research Scientist focusing on contemporary terrorism and information operations in CNA's Countering Threats and Challenges Program.

**Marley Carroll** is a research assistant in the Community Safety branch of the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health's EPREP Program and a graduate student in Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service.

**Jessa Mellea** is a research assistant in the Community Safety branch of the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health's EPREP Program where she works with colleagues to research domestic terrorism and extremism.

**Elena Savoia MD, MPH**, is a Principal Scientist at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health where she serves as the deputy director of the Emergency Preparedness, Research, Evaluation & Practice Program and the director of the Community Safety Branch. In this capacity, she directs multiple projects funded by the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Justice, the UK Cabinet, and NATO.

### **Notes**

[1] Fein, R. A., Vossekuil, B., & Holden, G. A. (1995). *Threat assessment: An approach to prevent targeted violence* (Vol. 2). U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, 1995.

[2] U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2019). *Strategic framework for countering terrorism and targeted violence*. P. 4. URL: [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/19\\_0920\\_plcy\\_strategic-framework-countering-terrorism-targeted-violence.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/19_0920_plcy_strategic-framework-countering-terrorism-targeted-violence.pdf).

[3] Idem, p. 4.

[4] Stern, J. (2016). Radicalization to extremism and mobilization to violence. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 668(1), pp. 102-117. DOI:10.1177/0002716216673807; Horgan, J. (2009). *Walking away from terrorism: Accounts of disengagement from radical and extremist movements*. New York: Routledge; McCauley, C., & Moskalenko, S. (2017). Understanding political radicalization: The two-pyramids model. *American Psychologist*, 72, pp. 205-216. URL: <http://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000062>.

[5] Horgan, J., op. cit., p. 152.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Möller-Leimkühler, A. M. (2018). Why is terrorism a man's business? *CNS Spectrums*, 23, p. 119. DOI:10.1017/S1092852917000438; Berntzen, L. E., & Sandberg, S. (2014). The collective nature of lone wolf terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the anti-Islamic social movement. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26(5), p. 759. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2013.767245>; Faccini, L., & Allely, C. S. (2016). Mass violence in individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorder and Narcissistic Personality Disorder: A case analysis of Anders Breivik using the "Path to Intended and Terroristic Violence" Model. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 31, p. 231. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2016.10.002>.

[9] National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), University of Maryland. (2019). *The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) codebook*. URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>.

[10] Federal Bureau of Investigation (n.d.). *Terrorism*. Retrieved September 27, 2021, from URL: p. <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism>.

[11] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, op. cit., p. 4.

- [12] Erlandsson, Å., & Meloy, J. R. The Swedish school attack in Trollhättan. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 63(6), pp. 1917-1927. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.13800>.
- [13] When an article fell into multiple categories, we included it in multiple categories, which is why the sum of the articles in the table (221) exceeds our total number of articles (169).
- [14] Levin, J., & Madfis, E. (2009). Mass murder at school and cumulative strain: A sequential model. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(9), p. 1230. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764209332543>.
- [15] Levin, J., & Madfis, E., op. cit., p. 1230.
- [16] Idem, p. 1233.
- [17] Idem, p. 1235.
- [18] Idem, p. 1227.
- [19] Sommer, F., Leuschner, V., Fiedler, N., Madfis, E., & Scheithauer, H. (2020). The role of shame in developmental trajectories towards severe targeted school violence: An in-depth multiple case study. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 51, p. 4. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2020.101386>.
- [20] Sommer, F., Leuschner, V., Fiedler, N., Madfis, E., & Scheithauer, H., op. cit., p. 6.
- [21] Idem, p. 7.
- [22] Idem, p. 8.
- [23] Fiedler, N., Sommer, F., Leuschner, V., Ahlig, N., Göbel, K., & Scheithauer, H. (2020). Teacher and peer responses to warning behavior in 11 school shooting cases in Germany. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11(1592), pp. 1-12. URL: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.01592>; Fiedler, N., Leuschner, V., Sommer, F., Cornell, D., & Scheithauer, H. (2020). Assessing implementation fidelity of a school-based crisis prevention program with an ex-post-facto design: The NET-WASS FOI Assessment System. *International Journal of Developmental Science*, 14(1-2), pp. 27-40. DOI:10.3233/DEV-200293.
- [24] Calhoun F. S., & Weston, S. W. (2015). Perspectives on threat management. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management*, 2(3-4), p. 259. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1037/tam0000056>.
- [25] Olson, D. T. (2005). *The path to terrorist violence: A threat assessment model for radical groups at risk of escalation to acts of terrorism* [Master's thesis, Monterey, Cal.: Naval Postgraduate School]. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/2049>.
- [26] Faccini, L. (2016). The application of the models of autism, psychopathology and deficient Eriksonian development and the path of intended violence to understand the Newtown shooting. *Archives of Forensic Psychology*, 1(3), pp. 1-13; Allely, C. S., & Faccini, L. (2017). "Path to intended violence" model to understand mass violence in the case of Elliot Rodger. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 37, pp. 201-209. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2017.09.005>; Faccini, L., & Allely, C. S., Mass violence in individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorder and Narcissistic Personality Disorder, op. cit.; Allely, C. S. & Faccini, L. (2019). Clinical profile, risk, and critical factors and the application of the "path toward intended violence" model in the case of mass shooter Dylann Roof. *Deviant Behavior*, 40, p. 6. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2018.1437653>; Allely C. S., & Faccini, L. (2017). A conceptual analysis of individuals with an Autism Spectrum Disorder engaging in mass violence. *Journal of Forensic and Crime Studies*, 1(1), pp. 1-5. URL: <https://doi.org/10.18875/2638-3578.1.105>; Allely, C. S., Wilson, P., Minnis, H., Thompson, L., Yaksic, E., & Gillberg, C. (2017). Violence is rare in autism: When it does occur, is it sometimes extreme? *Journal of Psychology*, 151(1), p. 1. URL: pp. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223980.2016.1175998>; Faccini, L., & Allely, C. S. (2016). Mass violence in an individual with an Autism Spectrum Disorder: A case analysis of Dean Allen Mellberg using the "Path to Intended Violence" Model. *International Journal of Psychology Research*, 11(1), pp. 1-18. It should be noted that Faccini's 2016 article on Lanza, Allely and Faccini's 2017 article on Brevik/Mellberg/Lanza, and Faccini and Allely's 2016 article on Mellberg are not part of our dataset. All three were identified via follow-on research.
- [27] Böckler, N., Leuschner, V., Roth, V., Zick, A., & Scheithauer, H. (2018). Same but different? Developmental pathways to demonstrative targeted attacks — qualitative case analyses of adolescent and young adult perpetrators of targeted school attacks and jihadi terrorist attacks in Germany. *International Journal of Developmental Science*, 12(1-2), p. 13. URL: <https://doi.org/10.3233/dev-180255>.
- [28] Böckler, N., Leuschner, V., Roth, V., Zick, A., & Scheithauer, H. (2018). Blurred boundaries of lone-actor targeted violence: Similarities in the genesis and performance of terrorist attacks and school shootings. *Violence and Gender*, 5(2), pp. 70-80. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1089/vio.2018.0002>.
- [29] Katz, J. (2016). A theory of intimate massacres: Steps toward a causal explanation. *Theoretical Criminology*, 20(3),

p. 277. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1362480615610623>.

[30] Katz, J., op. cit., p.278.

[31] Idem, p. 284.

[32] Idem, p. 291.

[33] Idem, p. 289.

[34] Idem, p. 282.

[35] Allely, C. S. (2020). The contributory role of psychopathology and inhibitory control in the case of mass shooter James Holmes. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 51, p. 8. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2020.101382>.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Meloy, J. R., & Pollard, J. W. (2017). Lone-actor terrorism and impulsivity. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 62(6), p. 1644. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.13500>.

[38] Horgan, J., & Braddock, K. (Eds.). (2012). *Terrorism studies: A reader*. Routledge; Schuurman, B. (2020). Research on terrorism, 2007–2016: A review of data, methods, and authorship. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32(5), pp. 1011-1026. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1439023>; Silke, A., & Schmidt-Petersen, J. (2017). The golden age? What the 100 most cited articles in terrorism studies tell us. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(4), pp. 692-712. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1064397>.

[39] Mullen, P. E. (2004). The autogenic (self-generated) massacre. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 22(3), p. 311. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.564>.

[40] Idem, pp. 318-319.

[41] Twemlow, S. W. (2000). The roots of violence: Converging psychoanalytic explanatory models for power struggles and violence in schools. *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 69(4), p. 775. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2167-4086.2000.tb00583.x>.

[42] Meloy, J. R., & Rahman, T. (2021). Cognitive-affective drivers of fixation in threat assessment. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 39(2), 180. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.2486>; Meloy, J. R., Hoffmann, J., Guldemann, A., & James, D. (2012). The role of warning behaviors in threat assessment: An exploration and suggested typology. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 30(3), p. 265. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.999>.

[43] Two of the seven case studies are of individuals we have been classified as terrorists (Timothy McVeigh and Nidal Malik Hasan); Meloy, J. R., & Rahman, T., op. cit., p. 183.

[44] Faccini, L., & Allely, C. S., Mass violence in individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorder and Narcissistic Personality Disorder, op. cit.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Meloy, J. R., & Pollard, J. W., op. cit.

[47] Böckler, N., Leuschner, V., Roth, V., Zick, A., & Scheithauer, H., Blurred boundaries, op. cit.; Böckler, N., Leuschner, V., Roth, V., Zick, A., & Scheithauer, H., Same but different?, op. cit.

[48] Raitanen, J., & Oksanen, A. (2016). Deep interest in school shootings and online radicalization. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management*, 6(3-4), pp. 159-172. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1037/tam0000127>.

[49] For example: Corner, E., Gill, P., and Mason, O. (2016). Mental health disorders and the terrorist: A research note probing selection effects and disorder prevalence. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 39(6), pp. 560-568. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1120099>; Corner, E., Gill, P., Schouten, R., & Farnham, F. (2018). Mental disorders, personality traits, and grievance-fueled targeted violence: The evidence base and implications for research and practice. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 100(5), pp. 459-470. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223891.2018.1475392>.

[50] Capellan, J. A. (2015). Lone wolf terrorist or deranged shooter? A study of ideological active shooter events in the United States, pp. 1970–2014. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 38(6), pp. 395-413. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1008341>; Borum, R., Fein, R., & Vossekuil, B. (2012). A dimensional approach to analyzing lone offender terrorism. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 17(5), pp. 389-396. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2012.04.003>; Capellan, J. A., Johnson, J., Porter, J. R., & Martin, C. (2018). Disaggregating mass public shootings: A comparative analysis of disgruntled employee, school, ideologically motivated, and rampage shooters. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 64(3), pp. 814-823. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.13985>.

[51] For example: Spaaij, R. (2010). The enigma of lone wolf terrorism: An assessment. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 33(9), pp. 854-870. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2010.501426>.

[52] For example: Rahman, T. (2018). Extreme overvalued beliefs: How violent extremist beliefs become “normalized.” *Behavioral Sciences*, 8(1), pp. 1-11. URL: <https://doi.org/10.3390/bs8010010>; Holt, T. J., Freilich, J. D., Chermak, S. M., Mills, C., & Silva, J. (2019). Loners, colleagues, or peers? Assessing the social organization of radicalization. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 44, pp. 83-105. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-018-9439-5>; Gill, P., Silver, J., Horgan, J., Corner, E., & Bouhana, N. (2021). Similar crimes, similar behaviors? Comparing lone-actor terrorists and public mass murderers. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 66(5), pp.1797-1804. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1556-4029.14793>.

[53] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, op. cit.

[54] Ibid.



## Resources

### Counterterrorism Bookshelf: 8 Books on Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism-Related Subjects

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

*So many books are published on terrorism- and counterterrorism-related subjects that it is difficult to catch up on a large backlog of monographs and volumes received for review. In order to deal with this backlog, this column consists of capsule reviews and tables of contents of eight recently published books.*

#### ***Terrorism – Anarchism***

Jeffrey D. Simon, *America's Forgotten Terrorists: The Rise and Fall of the Galleanists* (Lincoln, NE: Potomac Books/An Imprint of the University of Nebraska Press, 2022), 320 pp., US \$ 34.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-6401-2404-2.

With Anarchism considered to characterize the first historical wave of modern terrorism, beginning around the 1880s, and with Anarchism continuing to motivate some of the violent extremists who operate in the current era, it is important to understand the origins of this category of violent extremism in order to effectively address the threats anarchists present to our societies. Jeffrey Simon's *America's Forgotten Terrorists: The Rise and Fall of the Galleanists* is an excellently analyzed and researched case study of the Galleanists, a violent extremist group of Italian anarchists who were active during the early 1900s in the United States.

As the author explains, Luigi Galleani, the group's leader, "was a charismatic Italian immigrant who arrived in America in 1901 at the age of forty after living a life of anarchist agitation in Italy, France, and Switzerland" (pp. 3-4). He was eventually deported along with several of his aides to Italy by the time the U.S. Government had launched the Palmer Raids against them in 1919. Interestingly, while the Galleanists were no longer a significant threat, one of their remaining members, Mario Buda, was reportedly the perpetrator of a major bombing in Wall Street on September 16, 1920. In the chapter on "The Legacy of the Galleanists," the author concludes that their importance lay in their introduction of innovative terrorist strategies and tactics that are still prevalent today, such as sending weaponized package bombs and deploying vehicle bombs. For counterterrorism campaign planners, the author concludes, groups such as the Galleanists need to be understood because of their innovations in terrorist warfare "to find new and more devastating ways to perpetrate their violence" (p. 180). Otherwise, Mr. Simon cautions, "There is a tendency to think about terrorism from the perspective of what happened in the past rather than thinking 'outside the box' as to what may occur in the future" (p. 180).

The author is President of Political Risk Assessment Company, Inc., a security and terrorism research consulting company in Santa Monica, CA.

*Table of Contents:* List of Illustrations; Introduction; The Soul of the Movement; Green Mountain Boys – Anarchist Style; Targeting the Galleanists; You Have Shown No Pity to Us!; Roundup; Final Blow; The Legacy of the Galleanists; Back Home Again.

#### ***Terrorism – The Islamic State***

Ido Levy, *Soldiers of End-Times: Assessing the Military Effectiveness of the Islamic State* [Policy Focus 171] (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December 2021), 285 pp., ISBN: 979-8-9854-4740-8 [Paper copies available free of charge to universities, research centers, libraries, and other institutions. Contact: [mdene@washingtoninstitute.org](mailto:mdene@washingtoninstitute.org). PDF can be downloaded from website]

This is an excellently analyzed assessment of the military effectiveness of the Islamic State's (IS) warfare in countries such as Syria, Iraq, Libya, the Philippines, and Nigeria. Four case studies of the IS's military campaigns in Ramadi (January 2014-May 2015), Kobane (September 2014-March 2015), Mosul (October 2016-July 2017), and Baghuz (February-March 2019) are highlighted to generate many of the volume's findings. Four factors, the author explains, accounted for the IS's military effectiveness: "organizational innovation, shaping operations, will to fight, and seizing the initiative" (p. 226). The Islamic State, the author adds, also has major vulnerabilities that can be exploited by its government adversaries, such as an absence of "real air defense capability against fixed-wing aircraft, resulting in a high vulnerability to airpower"; it "performed relatively poorly when it massed its forces"; and it "generally could not achieve victory in protracted engagements" (pp. 233-234). While much of the author's analysis is sound, as an account that is intended to be read by military analysts, the text would have benefited from visualized diagrams and checklists that could summarize and highlight the study's findings. The author is an Associate Fellow, specializing in military and counterterrorism operations, at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, in Washington, DC.

*Table of Contents:* List of Illustrations; Introduction; Sunni Jihadist Armies Before 2014; Origins and Elements of Islamic State Military Effectiveness; IS Performance in Conventional Operations; Sources of IS Military Effectiveness; IS Military Operations Outside Iraq and Syria; Assessing the Islamic State's Way of War; Lessons Learned and Policy Implications.

Jason Warner with Ryan O'Farrell, Héni Nsaibia, and Ryan Cummings, *The Islamic State in Africa: The Emergence, Evolution, and Future of the Next Jihadist Battlefield* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021), 288 pp., US \$ 45.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-1976-3932-0.

Based on primary sources, this is a highly comprehensive, well-researched and analyzed account of the Islamic State's (IS) warfare operations in Africa (including Egypt's Sinai Peninsula). To examine these issues, the volume's authors answer two core questions: "how did the Islamic State's official provinces and non-province affiliate groups emerge and evolve, and why have these affiliates continued to show loyalty and strength – by re-pledging allegiance, continuing to conduct and publicize attacks in the Islamic State's name, and developing new branches – even as the IS Central itself was in seeming decline following its *annus horribilis* of 2019?" (p. 4). To effectively counter the IS's warfare operations in Africa, the authors recommend adopting a "rule of law approach" with no "one size fits all" campaigns (p. 302), since all counter-measures need to address the conflicts associated with the localized regions where the IS operates. Jason Warner is Assistant Professor of Social Sciences at the U.S. Military Academy (West Point) and directs Africa research at the Combating Terrorism Center. Ryan Cummings is a director of Signal Risk, a Cape Town-based political risk consultancy. Héni Nsaibia is a Senior Researcher at ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project). Ryan O'Farrell is a Senior Analyst at the Bridgeway Foundation.

*Table of Contents:* Introduction; The Islamic State in Libya; The Islamic State in Algeria; The Islamic State in Sinai; The Islamic State in Tunisia; The Islamic State's West Africa Province; The Islamic State's West Africa Province - Greater Sahara; The Islamic State in Somalia; The Islamic State's Central Africa Province - DRC; The Islamic State's Central Africa Province - Mozambique; Conclusion.

### **Counterterrorism – International Law**

Mark Coen (Ed.), *The Offences Against the State Act of 1939 at 80: A Model of Counter-Terrorism Act?* (New York, NY: Hart Publishing/Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2021), 304 pp., US \$ 85.50 [Hardcover], US \$ 43.15 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5099-3199-6.

The contributors to this authoritative, comprehensive and highly detailed volume utilize a multidisciplinary approach to examine Ireland's counter-terrorism-based "Offences Against the State Act" on the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its enactment. In his introductory overview, the volume's editor observes that after 80 years it is likely that the Act's statutes are likely to undergo some changes, as he writes: "The prosecution of Irish citi-

zens for terrorist offences committed abroad will be an emerging issue to monitor. The improving political fortunes of Sinn Fein and the likelihood that that party will form a significant part of a future government, could herald dramatic changes” (p. 4). The volume’s editor is a Lecturer in Law at the Sutherland School of Law, University College Dublin.

*Table of Contents:* Foreword; Table of Cases; Table of Legislation; Introduction; The Prehistory of the Offences Against the State Act; Precursors to the Offences Against the State Act – Emergency Law in the Irish Free State; A Certain Ambivalence: Independent Ireland and Trial by Jury; The Special Criminal Court: A Conveyor Belt of Exceptionality; Terrorism Trials and the Offences Against the State Acts in Comparative Perspective; Threats to Security and Risks to Rights: ‘Belief Evidence’ under the Offences Against the State Act; Disclosure and Privilege: The Dual Role of the Special Criminal Court in Relation to Belief Evidence; The Offences Against the State Acts and Non-Subversive Offences; The Proscription of Organisations in the Republic of Ireland; New Media, Free Expression, and the Offences Against the State Acts; The Offences Against the State Acts and International Human Rights; The Offences Against the State Acts: Reflections from Practice and the Legislature; A Less Exceptional State of Exception: The Offences Against the State Act as an Emergency Response; ‘Contagion’ between the Special and the Normal in Criminal Justice: A Comparative Perspective.

Maureen Duffy, *Detention of Terrorism Suspects: Political Discourse and Fragmented Practices* (New York, NY: Hart Publishing/Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2020), 320 pp., US \$ 99.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 44.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5099-3954-1.

This is an authoritative legal examination of the dilemmas posed by the ‘extraordinary’ detention of terrorism suspects, especially during periods of national security emergencies in democratic states. The subject of targeted assassinations of terrorist leaders is also discussed. The author is Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Calgary.

*Table of Contents:* Preface; Introduction; Part I. Political Discourse; Language Manufactures Truth: The Power of Labels; Breaking Down and Reconstructing Discourse Can Reveal New Realities; Layers of Argumentation Tools and a Fractured Post-9/11 Narrative; Part II: Fragmented Practices; Hasty Inductive Generalisation: The Problem with the Claim that the 9/11 Attacks Exposed a Need for New Detention Paradigms; False Premise: Non-citizens as the Terrorist ‘Other’: False Dichotomies in the Narrative: The ‘Either/or’ Dilemma; Conclusion: Turning the Kaleidoscope; Appendix.

### ***Military Warfare - General***

Greg Cashman and Leonard C. Robinson, *An Introduction to the Causes of War: Patterns of Interstate Conflict from World War I to Iraq* [Second Edition] (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 466 pp., US \$ 120.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 49.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5381-2779-7.

This is an outstanding comprehensive overview of the causes of armed interstate conflict, which the authors define as “sustained armed combat between two or more sovereign states that results in a minimum of 1,000 battle deaths” (p. 1). These issues are examined at the individual level, the substate level, the nation-state level, the dyadic level (peer interaction, such as the distribution of power between states), the international system, and at a multilevel of analysis (i.e., “a process that occurs over time”) (pp. 4-37). These analytic approaches are applied to the volume’s six major interstate wars. In the conclusion, the authors observe that “Many of the wars featured in our case studies appear to be inadvertent in the sense that they were not consciously sought by the initiators – at least not as part of a long-term strategic plan” (p. 402). For analysts of terrorism, another finding is that despite Israel’s military victories in the Yom Kippur War of 1973 and the wars in Lebanon in 1982 and 2006, they did not “prevent the uprising by the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza (the *intifadas*) and the incessant terrorist attacks that have prevented any semblance of peace and security inside Israel in recent years” (p. 403). This volume is highly recommended as a textbook for university courses on military warfare. Greg Cashman is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Salisbury University. Leonard C. Robinson is Professor of Political Science at Salisbury University.

*Table of Contents:* List of Illustrations; Introduction; World War I; World War II in the Pacific; The Six-Day War; The Indo-Pakistani War of 1971; The Iran-Iraq War; The Iraq War; Conclusion; Glossary.

Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and John A. Vasquez (Eds.), *What Do We Know About War?* [Third Edition] (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 466 pp., US \$ 118.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 59.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5381-4009-3.

The contributors to this volume apply a multidisciplinary approach to examine issues concerning the conduct of warfare in all its dimensions. These include the causes of interstate war, the roles of power and parity in the conduct of wars, the roles of alliances in deterring wars (as well as terrorism, such as by the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan), the role of nuclear weapons in conflict, and the outcomes of wars. Also examined are the factors that promote peace, as well as emerging trends in the study of war, such as cyber warfare. This volume is highly recommended as a supplementary textbook for courses on military warfare. Sara McLaughlin Mitchell is the F. Wendell Miller Professor of Political Science at the University of Iowa. John A. Vasquez is the Thomas B. Mackie Scholar in International Relations at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

*Table of Contents:* Part I: Factors that Bring About War; Territory and Contentious Issues; Dyadic Power Distributions and War; Deterrence Theory and Alliance Politics; Arms Races; Rivalries and Crisis Bargaining; Nuclear Weapons; Outcomes and Consequences of War; Part II: Factors that Promote Peace; The Liberal Peace; The Territorial Peace: Current and Future Research; The Peace Puzzle: Understanding Transitions to Peace; Conflict Management of Territorial and Maritime Disputes; Part III: Emerging Trends in Interstate War Research; Cyber War; The Environment and Conflict: Water Wars; Leaders and War; War Financing and Foreign Debt; Trends in Interstate Conflict; Part IV: Conclusion; Some Brief Observations on the Contemporary Study of War; War and the Orient Express; What Do We Know about War?

### ***Military Warfare – Israel***

Ehud Eilam, *Israel's National Security, The Arab Position, and Its Complicated Relations with the United States* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2022), 216 pp., US \$ 100.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1- 66690-750-6.

As the book's author explains, it "presents an in-depth discussion, from the Israeli perspective" (p. viii) to examine major national security threats affecting Israel in the Middle East. These include Iran's nuclear program and its regional ambitions, the Lebanese Hizballah's military arsenal, Syria's chemical weapons, Egypt's internal problems (including threats from the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic State), and the conflict between Israel and Hamas in the Gaza Strip, which might lead to future wars. The author is an independent analyst on military affairs, who resides in the United States. He is a former contractor for the Israeli Ministry of Defence. [For transparency: this reviewer contributed a blurb to the book's back-cover.]

*Table of Contents:* Preface; Introduction; The Conflict between Israel and Iran; The IDF vs. Hamas and Hezbollah; The Civil War in Syria; Syria's Chemical Weapons; The Golan Heights; Egypt's Internal Affairs; Egypt and the United States; The Two Palestinian Entities; Egypt and Israel and the War in Libya; Conclusion; Appendix: Israel and Turkey and Their Relations with Arabs.

***About the Reviewer:*** Dr. Joshua Sinai is the Book Reviews Editor of 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. He can be reached at: [Joshua.sinai@comcast.net](mailto:Joshua.sinai@comcast.net).



**Letizia Paoli, Cyrille Fijnaut and Jan Wouters (Eds.). *The Nexus Between Organized Crime and Terrorism: Types and Responses*.** Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022. 523 pp.; ISBN 978-1-78897-929-0 (hardcover, £ 139.50); ISBN 978-1-78897-930-6 (e-book, £ 25.-).

Reviewed by Alex P. Schmid

This volume, edited by three professors from Leuven University (Belgium), is the outflow of a series of lectures held in early 2018 at their university. It is divided into five parts: I. Literature Review and Conceptualization; II. Transfer of Resources; III. European Case Studies; IV. Non-European Case Studies; and V. International Policies. Five of the twenty chapters are (co-) authored by one or more of the editors, the others were written by researchers and scholars from Belgium, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Spain, Mexico, the United States, Sweden, Switzerland, Nigeria, and Colombia. It is a comprehensive volume, academic in nature, analyzing also EU, UN and other international policy responses. There are twelve case studies and three comparative analyses on organized crime and terrorist groups in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas.

The volume offers a novel tripartite conceptualization of observed and potential linkages between organized crime and terrorism. The first type of nexus, labelled “interaction”, involves, in its ‘milder’ manifestations, the occasional voluntary or non-voluntary transfer of resources (manpower, money, weapons) between organized crime groups (OCGs) and terrorist groups. In its ‘heavier’ manifestation, interaction involves regular collaboration, alliance formation and fusion. The second type of nexus, which the editors call “transformation/imitation”, usually involves a more or less marked shift from terrorism to organized crime - rather than the other way around. The third type, “similarities” is the loosest of the three categories. The editors find similarities in the socio-economic background of the respective individual actors joining clandestine organizations as well as in the type of criminal activities, structure and/or culture of the respective organizations (pp. 9-10). Within each of these three nexus types, L. Paoli and C. Fijnaut distinguish different levels, “...going from zero (thus no interaction, transformation/imitation or similarity) to one (fusion, full transformation or complete overlap)” (p. 490). The last category, they explain, consists, potentially, “...of violent hybrid actors that systematically engage in organized crime activities or act like mafias at the same time as they systematically apply terrorist tactics” (p. 57). This conceptual framework is an improvement over the simplistic but seminal conceptualization of T. Makarenko (2004) which placed the two types of underground organizations on a continuum ranging from profit-oriented crime to politically motivated terrorism.

The new framework is used and tested against actual cases by the editors and the authors of the individual chapters. Prior to that, in chapter 2, the editors identify a number of weaknesses of the existing literature on the assumed nexus, namely, (i) the scarcity of empirical research, (ii) the ambiguous conceptualization of what is meant by “nexus” as well as by the concepts “organized crime” and “terrorism”, and third (iii), a poor understanding of the promoting factors driving organized crime and terrorism to cooperate, despite their different orientations.

The contributors to this volume manage to correct some widespread but untested assumptions about the nexus between terrorism and organized crime. In the case of Libya, for instance, Mark Micallef and Matt Herbert who conducted field interviews with smugglers and other criminal actors, members of civil society, government officials and others between 2015 and 2020, concluded that “Libya is a difficult context to access for foreign terrorist organizations seeking to profit from the country’s illicit economy” (p. 361). In the chapter on Mexico, Luis Astorga concluded that “There are no known links between terrorists and OCGs in Mexico but paramilitary, mafia-type groups have occasionally used terrorist methods and have perpetrated terrorist acts” (p. 408). In one of the volume’s strongest chapters, on Colombia by Gustavo Duncan, Santiago Sosa and Jose Antonio Fortou, the authors noted that “Although drug lords paid FARC to protect their laboratories and runways in some sectors of the country, they were also often kidnapped and extorted by FARC and ELN in other locations” (p. 423). Given the fact that this volume has been four years in the making,



some chapters are unfortunately dated. This is especially true for the one written by Matthew Phillips and Shelby Davis. While the authors note that “The Afghanistan-Pakistan (AfPak) region is perhaps one of the world’s most extreme examples of the nexus between organized crime and terrorism” (p.337), they added only a single paragraph to account for the takeover of Afghanistan by the Taliban without discussing the enhanced status of the Haqqani network which is heavily involved in the illicit drug trade (p. 336).

While the simultaneous presence of terrorist and organized crime groups and the existence of various nexuses are a reality in some countries, they are far from the rule - if only because in more than one hundred countries there are no active terrorist groups. The editors conclude: “Both our review of the literature and the analyses presented in this book reveal that there is typically no nexus between organized crime and terrorism” (p. 489). However, given that in both cases the pool of recruits often consists of unorganized criminals (as in Europe, as acknowledged in this volume), the last word on this is not yet spoken. After reading this volume, this reviewer came to the conclusion that in general, we know far less about organized crime groups than we know about terrorist groups. Yet these remarks should not detract from the great value and the true importance of this volume; it is a milestone on the road towards a better understanding of the linkages in the underworlds of crime and terror.

**About the Reviewer:** *Alex P. Schmid is Editor-in-Chief of ‘Perspectives on Terrorism’ and, in his former capacity as Senior Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Officer at UNODC, author of several reports on terrorism and organized crime.*

## Bibliography: The Kurds and Security in the Middle East

Compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes

*Bibliographic Series of Perspectives on Terrorism – BSPT-JT-2022-1]*

### Abstract

*This bibliography contains journal articles, book chapters, books, edited volumes, theses, grey literature, bibliographies and other resources on the Kurds and security in the Middle East. It focuses on recent publications (up to March 2022) and should not be considered as being exhaustive. The literature has been retrieved by manually browsing more than 200 core and periphery sources in the field of Terrorism Studies. Additionally, full-text and reference retrieval systems have been employed to broaden the search.*

**Keywords:** bibliography, resources, literature, Kurds, Middle East, security, counter-terrorism, SDF, YPG, Rojava, KRG, Kurdistan, Kurdish Question, Kurdish Issue, terrorism, PKK

NB: All websites were last visited on 21.03.2022. - See also Note for the Reader at the end of this literature list.

### Bibliographies and other Resources

Behn, Wolfgang (1977): *The Kurds in Iran: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography*. (2nd ed.). London: Mansell.

Carter Center, The (2013, February-): *Conflict Resolution Program – Program Reports*. URL: [https://www.cartercenter.org/news/publications/peace/conflict\\_reports.html](https://www.cartercenter.org/news/publications/peace/conflict_reports.html)

Deir EzZor 24 (n.d.-): URL: <https://deirezzor24.net/en>

Gunter, Michael M. (2018): *Historical Dictionary of the Kurds*. (3rd ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Gunter, Michael M. (2018, August): *The Kurds*. *Oxford Bibliographies*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780195390155-0161>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2015-): *Turkey's PKK Conflict: A Visual Explainer*. URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/content/turkeys-pkk-conflict-visual-explainer>

Kurdish Studies Network (KSN) (n.d.): *Bibliography*. URL: <https://kurdishstudiesnetwork.net/bibliography>

Kurdish Studies Network (KSN) (2009-): <https://kurdishstudiesnetwork.net>

Landis, Joshua et al. (2004, May-): *Syria Comment*. URL: <https://www.joshualandis.com/blog/>

Lytle, Elizabeth Edith (1977): *A Bibliography of the Kurds, Kurdistan, and the Kurdish Question*. Monticello: Council of Planning Librarians.

Meho, Lokman I. (1997): *The Kurds and Kurdistan: A Selective and Annotated Bibliography*. (Bibliographies and Indexes in World History, Vol. 46). Westport: Greenwood Press.

Meho, Lokman I.; Maglaughlin, Kelly L. (2001): *Kurdish Culture and Society: An Annotated Bibliography*. (Bibliographies and Indexes in Ethnic Studies, Vol. 9). Westport: Greenwood Press.

Mitchell, Jennifer (2004): *Bibliography on the Kurds and Kurdistan*. Washington, DC: Middle East Institute (MEI).

NATO Multimedia Library (2014, September): *The Kurds*. (Thematic Bibliography No. 5/14). URL: [https://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content\\_id=10701660](https://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content_id=10701660)

- NATO Multimedia Library (2015, April): *The Syrian Civil War*. (Thematic Bibliography No. 2/15). URL: [https://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content\\_id=10701655](https://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content_id=10701655)
- NATO Multimedia Library (2018, October): *The Syrian Civil War*. (Thematic Bibliography No. 5/18). URL: [https://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content\\_id=32017936](https://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content_id=32017936)
- Operations & Policy Center et al. (2021, March): *The Kin Who Count: Mapping Raqqa's Tribal Topology*. [Research Tool]. URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/kin-who-count-mapping-raqqas-tribal-topology>
- Qader, Asoss Muhammed (2010): A Selected Bibliography about Kurdology. *ResearchGate*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.36269.31204>
- Raqqa is Being Slaughtered Silently (RBSS) (2014, April-): URL: <https://www.raqqa-sl.com>
- Syrian Civil War (n.d.-): [Discussion Forum]. URL: <https://www.reddit.com/r/syriancivilwar>
- Syrian Network for Human Rights (SNHR) (2011, June-): URL: <https://sn4hr.org>
- Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (SOHR) (2006, May-): URL: <https://www.syriaahr.com/en>
- Tinnes, Judith (2013, December-): Bibliography: Conflict in Syria. [Ongoing Series]. *Perspectives on Terrorism* [PT]
- Part 1. *PT*, 7(6), 2013, December, 137-165. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2013/issue-6/literature-on-the-conflict-in-syria-2011-%E2%80%93-november-2013.pdf>
  - Part 2. *PT*, 9(3), 2015, June, 82-112. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2015/volume-3/9-bibliography-conflict-in-syria-part-2-compiled-and-selected-by-judith-tinnes.pdf>
  - Part 3. *PT*, 11(2), 2017, April, 65-107. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2017/issue-2/0720172-bibliography-conflict-in-syria-part-3-compiled-and-selected-by-judith-tinnes.pdf>
  - Part 4. *PT*, 13(4), 2019, August, 115-157. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-4/tinnes-2.pdf>
- van Bruinessen, Martin (Ed.-in-Chief) (2013, October-): *Kurdish Studies*. [p-ISSN: 2051-4883, e-ISSN: 2051-4891]. URL: <https://kurdishstudies.net>

### **Books and Edited Volumes**

- Açıksöz, Salih Can (2019): *Sacrificial Limbs: Masculinity, Disability, and Political Violence in Turkey*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Ahmed, Mohammed M. A. (2012): *Iraqi Kurds and Nation-Building*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137034083>
- Ahmed, Mohammed M. A. (2018): *How Shiites Won the Battle Against Islamic State: Kurds and Sunnis in Iraq*. (Peter Lang Regional Studies). New York: Peter Lang. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3726/b14217>
- Ahmed, Mohammed M. A.; Gunter, Michael M. (Eds.) (2013): *The Kurdish Spring: Geopolitical Changes and the Kurds*. (Bibliotheca Iranica: Kurdish Studies Series, Vol. 12). Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers.
- Alexander, Yonah; Brenner, Edgar H.; Krause, Serhat Tutuncuoglu (2008): *Turkey: Terrorism, Civil Rights, and the European Union*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Allsopp, Harriet; van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2019): *The Kurds of Northern Syria: Governance, Diversity and Conflicts*. (Kurdish Studies). London: I.B. Tauris.

- Aras, Ramazan (2014): *The Formation of Kurdishness in Turkey: Political Violence, Fear and Pain*. (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics, Vol. 59). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Aslan, Senem (2015): *Nation-Building in Turkey and Morocco: Governing Kurdish and Berber Dissent*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Aydin, Aysegul; Emrence, Cem (2015): *Zones of Rebellion: Kurdish Insurgents and the Turkish State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Aziz, Mahir A. (2015): *The Kurds of Iraq: Ethnonationalism and National Identity in Iraqi Kurdistan*. (Rev. ed.). London: I.B. Tauris. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755692835>
- Baser, Bahar (2016): *Diasporas and Homeland Conflicts: A Comparative Perspective*. (Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Baser, Bahar et al. (Eds.) (2019): *Methodological Approaches in Kurdish Studies: Theoretical and Practical Insights from the Field*. (Kurdish Societies, Politics, and International Relations). Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Bawa, Twana Faris (2014): *The Privatisation of Security in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq*. Buckingham: University of Buckingham Press.
- Bengio, Ofra (2012): *The Kurds of Iraq: Building a State Within a State*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Bengio, Ofra (Ed.) (2014): *Kurdish Awakening: Nation Building in a Fragmented Homeland*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bet-Shlimon, Arbella (2019): *City of Black Gold: Oil, Ethnicity, and the Making of Modern Kirkuk*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bilgin, Fevzi; Sarihan, Ali (Eds.) (2013): *Understanding Turkey's Kurdish Question*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Biner, Zerrin Özlem (2020): *States of Dispossession: Violence and Precarious Coexistence in Southeast Turkey*. (Ethnography of Political Violence). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bozarslan, Hamit; Gunes, Cengiz; Yadirgi, Veli (Eds.) (2021): *The Cambridge History of the Kurds*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bush, J. Andrew (2020): *Between Muslims: Religious Difference in Iraqi Kurdistan*. (Stanford Studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic Societies and Cultures). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Çağlayan, Handan (2020): *Women in the Kurdish Movement: Mothers, Comrades, Goddesses*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan /Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-24744-7>
- Çandar, Cengiz (2020): *Turkey's Mission Impossible: War and Peace with the Kurds*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Černý, Hannes (2018): *Iraqi Kurdistan, the PKK and International Relations: Theory and Ethnic Conflict*. (Exeter Studies in Ethno Politics). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Charountaki, Marianna (2011): *The Kurds and US Foreign Policy: International Relations in the Middle East Since 1945*. (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Christofis, Nikos (Ed.) (2022): *The Kurds in Erdogan's "New" Turkey: Domestic and International Implications*. (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics). Abingdon: Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003143895>
- Çiçek, Cuma (2017): *The Kurds of Turkey: National, Religious and Economic Identities*. (Library of Modern

Middle East Studies, Vol. 184). London: I.B. Tauris.

Çifçi, Deniz (2019): *The Kurds and the Politics of Turkey: Agency, Territory and Religion*. (Kurdish Studies). London: I.B. Tauris.

Clawson, Patrick (Ed.) (2016, November): *Syrian Kurds as a U.S. Ally: Cooperation and Complications*. [e-Book]. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus 150). Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/syrian-kurds-us-ally-cooperation-and-complications>

Dacrema, Eugenio; Talbot, Valeria (Eds.) (2019, September): *Rebuilding Syria: The Middle East's Next Power Game?* [e-Book]. (Report). Milan: Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI) / Ledizioni LediPublishing. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14672/55260589>

Danilovich, Alex; Owtram, Francis (2016): *Iraqi Federalism and the Kurds: Learning to Live Together*. (Federalism Studies). Abingdon: Routledge. (Original work published 2014)

Danilovich, Alex (Ed.) (2017): *Iraqi Kurdistan in Middle Eastern Politics*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Eccarius-Kelly, Vera (2011): *The Militant Kurds: A Dual Strategy for Freedom*. (PSI Guides to Terrorists, Insurgents, and Armed Groups). Santa Barbara: Praeger.

Eccarius-Kelly, Vera; Gunter, Michael M. (Eds.) (2020): *Kurdish Autonomy and U.S. Foreign Policy: Continuity and Change*. New York: Peter Lang. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3726/b15504>

Eliassi, Barzoo (2021): *Narratives of Statelessness and Political Otherness: Kurdish and Palestinian Experiences*. (Minorities in West Asia and North Africa). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-76698-6>

Entessar, Nader (2010): *Kurdish Politics in the Middle East*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Eppel, Michael (2016): *A People Without a State: The Kurds from the Rise of Islam to the Dawn of Nationalism*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Faddis, Sam (2020): *The CIA War in Kurdistan: The Untold Story of the Northern Front in the Iraq War*. Havertown: Casemate Publishers.

Fawaz, Ahmed (2017): *Opportunity, Identity, and Resources in Ethnic Mobilization: The Iraqi Kurds and the Abkhaz of Georgia*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Fernandes, Desmond (2007): *The Kurdish and Armenian Genocides: From Censorship and Denial to Recognition*. Spånga: Apec Forlag.

Gibson, Bryan R. (2015): *Sold Out? US Foreign Policy, Iraq, the Kurds, and the Cold War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goner, Ozlem (2017): *Turkish National Identity and its Outsiders: Memories of State Violence in Dersim*. (Routledge Advances in Sociology). Abingdon: Routledge.

Gourlay, William (2020): *The Kurds in Erdoğan's Turkey: Balancing Identity, Resistance and Citizenship*. (Edinburgh Studies on Modern Turkey). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Gumustekin, Deniz (2021): *Kurds Under Threat: The Role of Kurdish Transnational Networks During Peace and Conflict*. (Kurdish Societies, Politics, and International Relations). Lanham: Lexington Books.

Gunes, Cengiz (2012): *The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey: From Protest to Resistance*. (Exeter Studies in Ethno Politics). Abingdon: Routledge.

Gunes, Cengiz (2019): *The Kurds in a New Middle East: The Changing Geopolitics of a Regional Conflict*.



Cham: Palgrave Pivot / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-00539-9>

- Gunes, Cengiz (2020): *The Political Representation of Kurds in Turkey: New Actors and Modes of Participation in a Changing Society*. (Kurdish Studies). London: I.B. Tauris.
- Gunes, Cengiz; Zeydanlıoğlu, Welat (Eds.) (2014): *The Kurdish Question in Turkey: New Perspectives on Violence, Representation, and Reconciliation*. (Exeter Studies in Ethno Politics). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Gunter, Michael M. (2011): *The Kurds Ascending: The Evolving Solution to the Kurdish Problem in Iraq and Turkey*. (2nd ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gunter, Michael M. (2014): *Out of Nowhere: The Kurds of Syria in Peace and War*. London: Hurst.
- Gunter, Michael M. (Ed.) (2016): *Kurdish Issues: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Olson*. Costa Mesa: Mazda Pub.
- Gunter, Michael M. (2016): *The Kurds: A Modern History*. (2nd ed.). Princeton: Markus Wiener.
- Gunter, Michael M. (Ed.) (2019): *Routledge Handbook on the Kurds*. (Routledge Handbooks). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Gürbüz, Mustafa (2016): *Rival Kurdish Movements in Turkey: Transforming Ethnic Conflict*. (Protest and Social Movements, Vol. 7). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5117/9789089648785>
- Gurses, Mehmet (2018): *Anatomy of a Civil War: Sociopolitical Impacts of the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gurses, Mehmet; Romano, David; Gunter, Michael M. (2020): *The Kurds in the Middle East: Enduring Problems and New Dynamics*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Haner, Murat (2018): *The Freedom Fighter: A Terrorist's own Story*. New York: Routledge.
- Hardi, Choman (2016): *Gendered Experiences of Genocide: Anfal Survivors in Kurdistan-Iraq*. (Voices in Development Management). Abingdon: Routledge. (Original work published 2011)
- Harrak, Amir (2021): *The Political and Cultural History of the Kurds*. (Kurdish People, History and Politics, Vol. 2). New York: Peter Lang.
- Harris, William (2018): *Quicksilver War: Syria, Iraq and the Spiral of Conflict*. London: Hurst.
- Hassaniyan, Allan (2021): *Kurdish Politics in Iran: Crossborder Interactions and Mobilisation since 1947*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heper, Metin (2007): *The State and Kurds in Turkey: The Question of Assimilation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230593602>
- Heshmati, Almas; Khayat, Nabaz T. (Eds.) (2013): *Socio-Economic Impacts of Landmines in Southern Kurdistan*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ihsan, Mohammed (2017): *Nation Building in Kurdistan: Memory, Genocide and Human Rights*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- İnce, Adem (2018): *Turkey's Kurdish Question from an Educational Perspective*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Jabar, Faleh A.; Mansour, Renad (Eds.) (2019): *The Kurds in a Changing Middle East: History, Politics and Representation*. (Kurdish Studies). London: I.B. Tauris.
- Keles, Janroj Yilmaz (2015): *Media, Diaspora and Conflict: Nationalism and Identity Amongst Turkish and Kurdish Migrants in Europe*. London: I.B. Tauris.

- King, Diane E. (2014): *Kurdistan on the Global Stage: Kinship, Land, and Community in Iraq*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Kirmanj, Sherko (2013): *Identity and Nation in Iraq*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Knights, Michael; van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2021): *Accidental Allies: The US–Syrian Democratic Forces Partnership Against the Islamic State*. [e-Book]. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus 168). London / Washington, DC: Bloomsbury Academic / The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/accidental-allies-us-syrian-democratic-forces-partnership-against-islamic-state>
- Kurban, Dilek (2020): *Limits of Supranational Justice: The European Court of Human Rights and Turkey's Kurdish Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108776585>
- Kurt, Mehmet (2020): *Kurdish Hizbullah in Turkey: Islamism, Violence and the State*. (State Crime). London: Pluto Press.
- Lawrence, Quil (2009): *Invisible Nation: How the Kurds' Quest for Statehood Is Shaping Iraq and the Middle East*. New York: Walker & Company.
- Lemmon, Gayle Tzemach (2021): *The Daughters of Kobani: A Story of Rebellion, Courage, and Justice*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Maisel, Sebastian (Ed.) (2018): *The Kurds: An Encyclopedia of Life, Culture, and Society*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Marcus, Aliza (2009): *Blood and Belief: The PKK and the Kurdish Fight for Independence*. (2nd ed.). Chesham: Combined Academic.
- McDowall, David (2021): *A Modern History of the Kurds*. (4th ed.). London: I.B. Tauris.
- McKiernan, Kevin (2006): *The Kurds: A People in Search of their Homeland*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Miley, Thomas Jeffrey; Venturini, Federico (2018): *Your Freedom and Mine: Abdullah Öcalan and the Kurdish Question in Erdoğan's Turkey*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Mlodoch, Karin (2014): *The Limits of Trauma Discourse: Women Anfal Survivors in Kurdistan-Iraq*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag.
- Nader, Alireza et al. (2016): *Regional Implications of an Independent Kurdistan*. [e-Book]. (RAND Research Reports, RR-1452-RC). Santa Monica: RAND Corporation. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7249/RR1452>
- O'Connor, Francis (2021): *Understanding Insurgency: Popular Support for the PKK in Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oktav, Özden Zeynep; Parlar Dal, Emel; Kurşun, Ali Murat (Eds.) (2018): *Violent Non-State Actors and the Syrian Civil War: The ISIS and YPG Cases*. Cham: Springer International Publishing. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-67528-2>
- Omarkhali, Khanna (2014): *Religious Minorities in Kurdistan: Beyond the Mainstream*. (Studies in Oriental Religions, Vol. 68). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Oran, Baskin (2021): *Minorities and Minority Rights in Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the Present State*. (John William Day, Trans.). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Orhan, Mehmet (2016): *Political Violence and Kurds in Turkey: Fragmentations, Mobilizations, Participations and Repertoires*. (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics, Vol. 77). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Özcan, Ali Kemal (2006): *Turkey's Kurds: A Theoretical Analysis of the PKK and Abdullah Öcalan*. (Rout-

ledge *Advances in Middle East and Islamic Studies*). Abingdon: Routledge.

Özderdem, Alpaslan; Whiting, Matthew (2019): *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics*. (Routledge Handbooks). Abingdon: Routledge.

Özpek, Burak (2018): *The Peace Process Between Turkey and the Kurds: Anatomy of a Failure*. (Routledge Focus on the Middle East). Abingdon: Routledge.

Palani, Joanna; with Lara Whyte (2019): *Freedom Fighter: My War against ISIS on the Front Lines of Syria*. London: Atlantic Books.

Pelletiere, Stephen C. (2016): *Oil and the Kurdish Question: How Democracies Go to War in the Era of Late Capitalism*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Phillips, David L. (2017): *The Kurdish Spring: A New Map of the Middle East*. Abingdon: Routledge. (Originally published 2015)

Phillips, David L. (2019): *The Great Betrayal: How America Abandoned the Kurds and Lost the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Plakoudas, Spyridon (2018): *Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Turkey: The New PKK*. Cham: Palgrave Pivot. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75659-2>

Prunhuber, Carol (2019): *Dreaming Kurdistan: The Life and Death of Kurdish Leader Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou*. New York: Peter Lang.

Rafaat, Aram (2018): *Kurdistan in Iraq: The Evolution of a Quasi-State*. (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Democratization and Government). Abingdon: Routledge.

Reisinezhad, Arash (2019): *The Shah of Iran, the Iraqi Kurds, and the Lebanese Shia*. (Middle East Today). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-89947-3>

Romano, David; Gurses, Mehmet (Eds.) (2014): *Conflict, Democratization, and the Kurds in the Middle East: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137409997>

Rostami, Mari R. (2020): *Kurdish Nationalism on Stage: Performance, Politics and Resistance in Iraq*. (Kurdish Studies). London: I.B. Tauris.

Saeed, Seevan (2017): *Kurdish Politics in Turkey: From the PKK to the KCK*. (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics). Abingdon: Routledge.

Saraçoğlu, Cenk (2010): *Kurds of Modern Turkey: Migration, Neoliberalism and Exclusion in Turkish Society*. (Library of Modern Middle East Studies). London: I.B. Tauris.

Sarigil, Zeki (2018): *Ethnic Boundaries in Turkish Politics: The Secular Kurdish Movement and Islam*. New York: New York University Press.

Schmidinger, Thomas (2018): *Rojava: Revolution, War, and the Future of Syria's Kurds*. (Michael Schiffmann, Trans.). London: Pluto Press.

Schmidinger, Thomas (2019): *The Battle for the Mountain of the Kurds: Self-Determination and Ethnic Cleansing in the Afrin Region of Rojava*. (Michael Schiffmann, Trans.). Oakland: PM Press.

Schøtt, Anne Sofie (2021): *Kurdish Diaspora Mobilisation in Denmark: Supporting the Struggle in Syria*. (Edinburgh Studies on Diasporas and Transnationalism). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Şengül, Ceren (2018): *Customized Forms of Kurdishness in Turkey: State Rhetoric, Locality, and Language Use*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

- Seufert, Günter (Ed.) (2015, May): *Der Aufschwung kurdischer Politik: Zur Lage der Kurden in Irak, Syrien und der Türkei*. [e-Book]. (SWP-Studie 2015/S 10). Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/der-aufschwung-kurdischer-politik>
- Seufert, Günter (Ed.) (2018, July): *Die Kurden im Irak und in Syrien nach dem Ende der Territorialherrschaft des »Islamischen Staates«: Die Grenzen kurdischer Politik*. [e-Book]. (SWP-Studie 2018/S 11). Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/die-kurden-im-irak-und-in-syrien-nach-dem-ende-der-territorialherrschaft-des-islamischen-staates>
- Shareef, Mohammed (2014): *The United States, Iraq and the Kurds: Shock, Awe and Aftermath*. (Routledge Studies in US Foreign Policy). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Shareef, Mohammed; Stansfield, Gareth (Ed.) (2017): *The Kurdish Question Revisited*. London: Hurst.
- Sirkeci, Ibrahim; Cohen, Jeffrey H.; Yazgan, Pinar (Eds.) (2016): *Conflict, Insecurity and Mobility*. (Migration Series). London: Transnational Press.
- Spyer, Jonathan (2018): *Days of the Fall: A Reporter's Journey in the Syria and Iraq Wars*. New York: Routledge.
- Stansfield, Gareth (2015): *Islamic State, the Kurds and the Future of Iraq*. London: Hurst.
- Stansfield, Gareth; Shareef, Mohammed (Eds.) (2017): *The Kurdish Question Revisited*. London: Hurst.
- Stein, Aaron (Ed.) (2020, December): *Iraq in Transition: Competing Actors and Complicated Politics*. [e-Book]. Washington, DC: Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI). URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2020/12/iraq-in-transition-volume>
- Stein, Aaron (2022): *The US War against ISIS: How America and its Allies Defeated the Caliphate*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Tahiri, Hussein (2007): *The Structure of Kurdish Society and the Struggle for a Kurdish State*. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers.
- Taucher, Wolfgang; Vogl, Mathias; Webinger, Peter (2015): *The Kurds: History – Religion – Language – Politics*. [e-Book]. Vienna: Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior. URL: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/568cf9924.html>
- Tax, Meredith (2016): *A Road Unforeseen: Women Fight the Islamic State*. New York: Bellevue Literary Press.
- Tejel, Jordi (2008): *Syria's Kurds: History, Politics and Society*. (Routledge Advances in Middle East Islamic Studies Series). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Tekdemir, Omer (2021): *Constituting the Political Economy of the Kurds: Social Embeddedness, Hegemony, and Identity*. (Durham Modern Middle East and Islamic World Series). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Tezcür, Güneş Murat (Ed.) (2019): *A Century of Kurdish Politics: Citizenship, Statehood and Diplomacy*. (Association for the Study of Nationalities). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Tezcür, Güneş Murat (Ed.) (2021): *Kurds and Yezidis in the Middle East: Shifting Identities, Borders, and the Experience of Minority Communities*. (Kurdish Studies). London: I.B. Tauris.
- Toivanen, Mari (2021): *The Kobane Generation: Kurdish Diaspora Mobilising in France*. [e-Book]. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33134/HUP-11>
- Torelli, Stefano M. (Ed.) (2016, June): *Kurdistan: An Invisible Nation*. [e-Book]. (ISPI Report). Milan: Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI). URL: <https://www.ispionline.it/en/pubblicazione/kurdistan-invisible-nation-15350>



- Tugdar, Emel Elif; Al, Serhun (Eds.) (2018): *Comparative Kurdish Politics in the Middle East: Actors, Ideas, and Interests*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-53715-3>
- Türkmen, Gülay (2021): *Under the Banner of Islam: Turks, Kurds, and the Limits of Religious Unity*. (Religion and Global Politics). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Unver, Hamid Akin (2015): *Turkey's Kurdish Question: Discourse and Politics Since 1990*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Vali, Abbas (2020): *The Forgotten Years of Kurdish Nationalism in Iran*. (Minorities in West Asia and North Africa). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16069-2>
- Voller, Yaniv (2014): *The Kurdish Liberation Movement in Iraq: From Insurgency to Statehood*. (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics, Vol. 69). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Voller, Yaniv (2022): *Second-Generation Liberation Wars: Rethinking Colonialism in Iraqi Kurdistan and Southern Sudan*. New York: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009071840>
- White, Paul (2015): *The PKK: Coming Down from the Mountains*. (Rebels). London: Zed Books.
- Yadirgi, Veli (2017): *The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316848579>
- Yilmaz, Kamil (2014): *Disengaging from Terrorism – Lessons from the Turkish Penitents*. (Routledge Transnational Crime and Corruption Series, Vol. 9). Abingdon: Routledge.

### Theses

- Abid, Istebrak Khalid (2019, May): *The Al-Anfal Campaign: Genocide or Politicide? A Literature Study About the Basis for the US Standpoint Towards the Al-Anfal Campaign*. (Master's Thesis, Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø, Norway). URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/16463>
- Ahmad, Sairan T. (2012, January): *The Role Played by the Kurdistan Regional Government in the Reconstruction of the Iraqi State*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Exeter, Exeter, United Kingdom). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10036/4116>
- Ahmed, Mohammed Ali (2010, November): *The Legal Status of the Kurds in the Middle East: The Twenty-First Century Policies of Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq Towards the Kurds*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Exeter, Exeter, United Kingdom). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10036/3145>
- Alduski, Avraz Hussein Tayib (2021, September): *Prospects for an Independent State for the Kurds in Iraq*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Erfurt, Erfurt, Germany). URL: [https://www.db-thueringen.de/receive/dbt\\_mods\\_00050022](https://www.db-thueringen.de/receive/dbt_mods_00050022)
- Ardic, Zeynep (2018, September): *Searching for Transitional Justice Mechanisms in the Kurdish Question in Turkey: Addressing Violations of Social, Economic and Cultural Rights*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Sussex, Brighton, United Kingdom). URL: <http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/82255>
- Arnold, Nathaniel M. (2014): *Targeting the Minority: A New Theory of Diversionary Violence*. (Master's Thesis, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, United States). URL: [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=wright1590166439219292](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=wright1590166439219292)
- Aslan, Isabella Berfin (2019, Spring): *The Last "Terrorist": Kurdish Marginalized Perspectives in the Turkish Social and Political Landscape*. (Bachelor's Thesis, Malmö University, Malmö, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:mau:diva-22157>



- Bahram, Haqqi (2018): *Kurdish Guests or Syrian Refugees? – Negotiating Displacement, Identity and Belonging in the Kurdistan Region*. (Master's Thesis, Linköping University, Linköping, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-149451>
- Bal, Ihsan (1999, April): *Prevention of Terrorism in Liberal Democracies: A Case Study of Turkey*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Leicester, Leicester, United Kingdom). URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/2381/30117>
- Berg, Frida (2020): *Turkey's Security and the Syrian Civil War: A Case Study About How the Syrian Civil War has Impacted Turkey's State and Human Security from 2011 until 2019*. (Master's Thesis, Linnaeus University, Kalmar / Växjö, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:lnu:diva-91065>
- Bosch, Kirsten Menje (2015, August): *How the Expansion of the Islamic State Influences the Peace Process Between Turkey and the PKK and How it Affects the Prospects of an Independent Kurdish State*. (Master's Thesis, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands). URL: <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/320424>
- Bulut, Ercan (2014, June): *A Checkmate, not a Stalemate: Turkey Versus the PKK*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/42589>
- Burke, Emily A. (2014, September): *Historical Roots of Terrorism and Challenges to Turkey's Territorial Sovereignty*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/43883>
- Caetano, Christina R. (2019, May): *United States Interests in the Debate on Self-Determination of Iraqi Kurds*. (Capstone Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/63193>
- Card, Kathryn (2016, Summer): *Comparative Study of Chechen and Kurdish Female Terrorists in the Mass Media*. (Master's Thesis, George Mason University, Fairfax, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1920/10761>
- Celebi, Erdogan (2006, December): *Systems Approach to Terrorism: Countering the Terrorist Training Subsystem*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/2401>
- Ciziri, Nubin (2018, May): *Education in Conflict and Crisis: The Case of Kurdish Refugees from Syria in Turkey*. (Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-354985>
- Couch, Christopher M. (2015, June): *Aghas, Sheiks, and Daesh in Iraq: Kurdish Robust Action in Turmoil*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/45831>
- Deewanee, Azad Abdullah Mohammed (2018): *The Discursive Construction of Terrorism: The Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and other Kurdish Political Movements in Turkish Official Discourse, and the Approach of the Turkish Authorities Regarding the Kurdish Question*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Bradford, Bradford, United Kingdom). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10454/17226>
- Degany, Ophir (2014, February): *Globalized Nations: The Effects of Globalization on Kurdish and Irish National Movements*. (Master's Thesis, Brandeis University, Waltham, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10192/26326>
- Duman, Gokhan (2014): *Political Terrorism: The Case of Turkey and Spain – Similarities and Differences*. (Doctoral Thesis, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10803/401814>
- Eren, Yunus (2013, December): *The Impact of Land Border Security on Terrorism Financing: Turkey's Southeast Land Border and the PKK*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/42589>

States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/38924>

Fisher, Daren Geoffrey (2014): *The Impact of Natural Disasters on Kurdish Terrorism in Turkey 1987-2011: The Importance of Adequate Government Responses to Natural Disasters*. (Master's Thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1903/15266>

Fourman, Jeffrey F. (2014): *When Insurgents Go Terrorist: The Role of Foreign Support in the Adoption of Terrorism*. (Master's Thesis, Wright State University, Dayton, United States). URL: [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=wright1399546682](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=wright1399546682)

Gailan, Mohammed (2017): *National Security Concerns and the Kurdistan Region in a New Middle East: From Rebellion to Statehood*. (Master's Thesis, Swedish Defence University, Stockholm, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:rhs:diva-7009>

Gergin, Nadir (2010, May): *The Nexus Between the Ballot and Bullet: Popular Support for the PKK and Post-Election Violence in Turkey*. (Doctoral Thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, United States). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25772/KKMF-R387>

Geri, Maurizio (2017, May): *The Treatment of Ethnic Minorities in Democratizing Muslim Countries: The Securitization of Kurds in Turkey versus the Autonomization of Acehnese in Indonesia*. (Doctoral Thesis, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, United States). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25777/579t-6s87>

Guneri, Akin (2013, August): *The Transformation of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party): Exploring Domestic, Regional, and Global Dynamics*. (Doctoral Thesis, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, United States). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25777/30pw-hz87>

Haner, Murat (2016, August): *The Freedom Fighter: A Terrorist's Own Story*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, United States). URL: [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=ucin1479818030113573](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=ucin1479818030113573)

Holland-McCowan, John (2021): *From the Siege of Sinjar to the Battle for Baghuz: The PYD, the YPG, and their Global Coalition-Backed Campaign Against ISIS*. (Doctoral Thesis, King's College London, London, United Kingdom). URL: [https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/from-the-siege-of-sinjar-to-the-battle-for-baghuz\(a3e1783c-c1e3-4158-8927-90ec1bbd6a58\).html](https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/from-the-siege-of-sinjar-to-the-battle-for-baghuz(a3e1783c-c1e3-4158-8927-90ec1bbd6a58).html)

Hugh, Brigitte E. (2020): *Perpetuating Peace: Context Versus Contents of the Power-Sharing Agreements Between the KDP and PUK of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq in 1992 and 1998*. (Master's Thesis, Utah State University, Logan, United States). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26076/d005-191a>

Ibrahim, Abdulilah (2021, Spring): *Syrian Kurds Amid Violence: Depictions of Mass Violence Against Syrian Kurdistan in Kurdish Media, 2014–2019*. (Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-445104>

Ilbiz, Ethem (2014, June): *The Impact of the European Union on Turkish Counter-Terrorism Policy Towards the Kurdistan Workers Party*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, United Kingdom). URL: <http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/id/eprint/14280>

Kanmaz, Mehmet A. (2014, December): *Countering Terrorist Financing: A Case Study of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/44591>

Khorsheed, Hussein M. (2020, March): *The Role of Subnational Forces in Combating Terrorism During Civil War: The Case of Peshmerga of Kurdistan Region-Iraq Against ISIS (2014–2017)*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/64913>

Kilic, Kutbettin (2018, December): *Ethnicity, Religion and Political Behavior: The Kurdish Issue in Turkey*. (Doctoral Thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, United States). URL: <https://www.proquest.com/dis->

[sertations-theses/ethnicity-religion-political-behavior-kurdish/docview/2169488835/se-2](#)

Kirchner, Magdalena (2014, February): *Why States Rebel: Understanding State Sponsorship of Terrorism*. (Doctoral Thesis, Heidelberg University, Heidelberg, Germany). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/heidok.00017170>

Knight, Charles Anthony Howard (2012): *The Iatrogenic Reflex and Belief that Repression Can Coercively Suppress Asymmetric Coercive Violence: Does Very Robust Action by the Government Decrease Functional Support for Insurgents?* (Doctoral Thesis, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia). URL: <https://eprints.qut.edu.au/53229>

Köpsell, Lena (2018, November): *The Representation of Kurdish Women in US American Media After 2013*. (Master's Thesis, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25365/thesis.55969>

Leinonen, Anu (2017, January): *Unity or Diversity? Turkish Nationalism, Kurds, and the Turkish Mainstream Press*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland). URL: <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-51-2890-4>

Mazen, Richard S. (2019, December): *The Elusive State: The Failure of Iraqi Kurds to Secure Independence*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/64021>

Muminovic, Fata (2021): *Turkey and Crimes Against Humanity: A Case Study on Turkish Treatment of Civilian Population*. (Master's Thesis, Linnaeus University, Kalmar / Växjö, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:lnu:diva-100655>

Murad, Kamaran (2017, January): *Between Determination and Pragmatism: Justification for, and Odds Against, a Kurdish State in Northern Iraq*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Leicester, Leicester, United Kingdom). URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/2381/40874>

Patton, Scott (2019, August): *Organisational Relations of Kurdish Political Parties and their Evolution*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11343/233319>

Pokalova, Elena (2011): *Shifting Faces of Terror After 9/11: Framing the Terrorist Threat*. (Doctoral Thesis, Kent State University, Kent, United States). URL: [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=kent1322435499](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=kent1322435499)

Sahin, Fuat Salih (2001, August): *Case Studies in Terrorism-Drug Connection: The Kurdistan Workers' Party, The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, and The Shining Path*. (Master's Thesis, University of North Texas, Denton, United States). URL: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc2871>

Shukri, Nawzad Abdullah (2017, January): *Explaining U.S. Foreign Policy Towards Kurdistan Region of Iraq (2003-2015)*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Leicester, Leicester, United Kingdom). URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/2381/39353>

Simsek, Yilmaz (2006, July): *Impact of Terrorism on Migration Patterns in Turkey*. (Doctoral Thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, United States). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25772/6C8A-YV37>

Stolwijk, Jorien Martine (2015): *A Two Front Battle: A Feminist Perspective on the Dutch Discourse on the Two Folded Battle of the Kurdish Women's Movement*. (Master's Thesis, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands). URL: <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/318220>

Teymur, Samih (2007, August): *A Conceptual Map for Understanding the Terrorist Recruitment Process: Observation and Analysis of DHKP/C, PKK, and Turkish Hezbollah Terrorist Organizations*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of North Texas, Denton, United States). URL: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc3914>

Turhal, Tugrul (2015, Fall): *Organizational Structure of PKK and Non-PKK-Linked Turkish Drug Trafficking Organizations: The Influence of Social Bonds*. (Doctoral Thesis, George Mason University, Fairfax, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1920/10137>

Wikner, Jess (2018): *Non-State Nations in International Relations: The Kurdish Question Revisited*. (Master's Thesis, Murdoch University, Perth, Australia). URL: <http://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/45475>

Yesiltas, Ozum (2014): *Rethinking the National Question: Anti-Statist Discourses Within the Kurdish National Movement*. (Doctoral Thesis, Florida International University, Miami, United States). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25148/etd.FI14040879>

Yoltar, Cagri (2017): *The Politics of Indebtedness: The Dialectic of State Violence and Benevolence in Turkey*. (Doctoral Thesis, Duke University, Durham, United States). URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/10161/14535>

### **Journal Articles and Book Chapters**

Abbas, Tahir (2017): Perspectives on the “Kurdish Issue”. *Contemporary Turkey in Conflict: Ethnicity, Islam and Politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 72-95.

Abbas, Tahir; Yigit, Ismail Hakki (2016): Perspectives on Ethno-National Conflict Among Kurdish Families with Members in the PKK. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28(2), 297-315. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2014.908774>

Abbas Zadeh, Yoosef; Kirmanj, Sherko (2017, Autumn): The Para-Diplomacy of the Kurdistan Region in Iraq and the Kurdish Statehood Enterprise. *The Middle East Journal*, 71(4), 587-606. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/71.4.14>

Abdulrazaq, Tallha; Stansfield, Gareth (2016): The Day After: What to Expect in Post-Islamic State Mosul. *The RUSI Journal*, 161(3), 14-20. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2016.1184013>

Acar, Yasemin Gülsüm (2019, December): Village Guards as “In Between” in the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict: Re-Examining Identity and Position in Intergroup Conflict. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 7(2), 925-940. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v7i2.854>

Adisonmez, Umut Can (2019, December): When Conflict Traumas Fragment: Investigating the Sociopsychological Roots of Turkey's Intractable Conflict. *Political Psychology*, 40(6), 1373-1390. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12631>; URL: <https://kar.kent.ac.uk/79396>

Aghapouri, Jiyar; Ahmadi, Avin (2021, September): The Representation and Reconstruction of Ethno-National Identity on Social Media by Kurdish Women in Rojhelat, Kurdistan-Iran. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 21(2), 104-125. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/sena.12351>

Ahram, Ariel I. (2017, Summer): Territory, Sovereignty, and New Statehood in the Middle East and North Africa. *The Middle East Journal*, 71(3), 345-362. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/71.3.11>

Akbarzadeh, Shahram et al. (2019): The Kurds in Iran: Balancing National and Ethnic Identity in a Securitised Environment. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(6), 1145-1162. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1592671>

Akhtar, Marium (2018): Role of Identity Crisis and Relative Deprivation as Catalysts of Political Violence and Terrorism: Case Study of Kurd Fighters in Turkey. *RAIS Journal for Social Sciences*, 2(1), 49-66. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1196532>

Akin, Cihan Erdost (2020, October): Making the Revolution Intelligible, Rendering Political Imaginations Unthinkable: A Postcolonial Reading of British and American Media Representations of Rojava. *Kurdish Studies*, 8(2), 313-338. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v8i2.521>



- Akkaya, Ahmet Hamdi (2015, May): The “Palestinian Dream” in the Kurdish Context. *Kurdish Studies*, 3(1), 47-63. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v3i1.391>
- Al, Serhun (2019): Islam, Ethnicity and the State: Contested Spaces of Legitimacy and Power in the Kurdish-Turkish Public Sphere. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 19(1), 119-137. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2019.1578052>
- Al-Ali, Nadje; Tas, Latif (2021): Kurdish Women’s Struggles with Gender Equality: From Ideology to Practice. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(9), 2133-2151. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1906642>
- Alemdaroğlu, Aya et al. (Eds.) (2020, Summer): Kurdistan, One and Many. [Special Issue]. *Middle East Report*, 295. URL: <https://merip.org/magazine/295>
- Alhamid, Lolav M. Hassan (2017, September): Kurdish Women and War-Related Violence in Iraqi Kurdistan. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 11(3), 161-175. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.11.3.161\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.11.3.161_1)
- Alhamid, Lolav M. Hassan (2018, May): The Representation of Post-Conflict Gender Violence in Iraqi Kurdish Novelistic Discourse in Bahdinan. *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1), 31-57. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v6i1.433>
- Ali, Ali Abdul Kadir (2015): The Security Gap in Syria: Individual and Collective Security in “Rebel-Held” Territories. *Stability*, 4(1), Article 40. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.gd>
- Ali, Hadi (Interviewee); Ali, Rebaz (Interviewer) (2015, September): Kurdistan and the Challenge of Islamism: A Conversation with Dr. Hadi Ali, Former Chairman of Kurdistan Islamic Union’s Political Bureau. *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, 19, 109-119. URL: <http://s3.amazonaws.com/media.hudson.org/files/publications/20150929CurrentTrends19.pdf>
- Ali, Majid Hassan; Hosseini, Seyedeh Behnaz (2018): Between Rights, Political Participation and Opposition: The Case of Yezidis in Syrian Kurdistan (Rojāvā). *Syrian Studies Association Bulletin*, 23(1). URL: <https://ojcs.siue.edu/ojs/index.php/ssa/article/view/3283>
- Alptekin, Hüseyin (2021, March): Tracking Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: Introducing the Turkey Terrorism Incidents Database. *Mediterranean Politics*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2021.1894727>
- al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad (2017, September): The Islamic State and the Kurds: The Documentary Evidence. *CTC Sentinel*, 10(8), 33-38. URL: [https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol10Iss8-9.pdf](https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss8-9.pdf)
- Arslan, Sinem (2019): Transborder Ethnic Kin and the Dynamics of Peace Processes: Insights from the Kurdish Conflict. *Civil Wars*, 21(3), 410-433. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2019.1667721>
- Askari, Lana (2015, October): Filming Family and Negotiating Return in Making “Haraka Baraka: Movement is a Blessing”. *Kurdish Studies*, 3(2), 192-208. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v3i2.414>
- Ayan Musil, Pelin; Maze, Jacob (2021): Pro-Rebel Party Behavior during Civil Wars: The Case of the Pro-Kurdish Parties in Turkey. *Civil Wars*, 23(1), 25-56. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2021.1898159>
- Aydin, Aysegul; Emrence, Cem (2021): Counterinsurgency as an Institution: Evidence from Turkey. *International Interactions*, 47(3), 530-558. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2021.1898953>
- Aydın, Bermal (2020): The Role of Kurdish Media in the Resistance Against Turkification: A Case Study of an Online Kurdish News Platform. *Turkish Studies*, 21(5), 726-749. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2019.1699408>



- Aytekin, Mahmut (2019): Radicalisation Processes of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK): Ideology and Recruitment Tactics. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 14(1), 62-81. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2019.1572912>
- Aziz, Sardar; Cottey, Andrew (2021): The Iraqi Kurdish Peshmerga: Military Reform and Nation-Building in a Divided Polity. *Defence Studies*, 21(2), 226-241. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14702436.2021.1888644>
- Bache, Christina (2018): Mutual Economic Interdependence or Economic Imbalance: Turkish Private Sector Presence in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1), 61-75. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2017.1418206>
- Bachman, Jeffrey S. (2018): A History of Genocide in Iraq. In: *The United States and Genocide: (Re)Defining the Relationship*. (Routledge Studies in Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity). Abingdon: Routledge, 123-155.
- Baczko, Adam; Dorronsoro, Gilles; Quesnay, Arthur (2018): The Kurds and the PKK. In: *Civil War in Syria: Mobilization and Competing Social Orders*. (Problems of International Politics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 164-177. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108355322.010>
- Badran, Yazan; De Angelis, Enrico (2016, January): "Independent" Kurdish Media in Syria. *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, 9(3), 334-351. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18739865-00903001> URL: [https://cris.vub.be/files/26813267/Kurdish\\_media\\_authors\\_version.pdf](https://cris.vub.be/files/26813267/Kurdish_media_authors_version.pdf)
- Bagci, Hüseyin; Gullu, Hasan Hilmi (2015): A Comparison Between Ethnic-Driven and Religious-Driven Terrorism: A Study of PKK and IS in Turkey and their Future Prospects. In: Wilhelm Hofmeister; Megha Sarmah (Eds.): *From the Desert to World Cities: The New Terrorism*. (KAS Panorama, 01/2015). Singapore: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), 71-89. URL: <https://www.kas.de/en/web/politikdialog-asien/panorama/detail/-/content/from-the-desert-to-world-cities-the-new-terrorism>
- Bahadır Türk, H. (2020): Hegemonic Masculinity and Terrorism: The Case of the PKK and Abdullah Öcalan. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 13(2), 258-279. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2019.1708039>
- Bahcheli, Tozun; Fragiskatos, Peter (2008, July): Iraqi Kurdistan: Fending off Uneasy Neighbours. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 2(1), 67-82. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.2.1.67\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.2.1.67_1)
- Bakan, Ronay (2020, October): Socio-Spatial Dynamics of Contentious Politics: A Case of Urban Warfare in the Kurdish Region of Turkey. *Kurdish Studies*, 8(2), 245-270. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v8i2.491>
- Baker, Rauf (2021, Fall): Turkish Imperialism: When Will Turkey Annex Northern Syria? *Middle East Quarterly*, 28(4). URL: <https://www.meforum.org/62607/when-will-turkey-annex-northern-syria>
- Balanche, Fabrice (2018, February): Syrian Kurdistan Under the PYD. In: *Sectarianism in Syria's Civil War: A Geopolitical Study Featuring 70 Original Maps*. [e-Book]. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 51-67. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/sectarianism-in-syrias-civil-war>
- Baser, Bahar (2017): Intricacies of Engaging Diasporas in Conflict Resolution and Transitional Justice: The Kurdish Diaspora and the Peace Process in Turkey. *Civil Wars*, 19(4), 470-494. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2017.1396528> URL: <https://pureportal.coventry.ac.uk/en/publications/intricacies-of-engaging-diasporas-in-conflict-resolution-and-tran>
- Baser, Bahar (2017): Tailoring Strategies According to Ever-Changing Dynamics: The Evolving Image of the Kurdish Diaspora in Germany. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(4), 674-691. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1060226> URL: [https://pure.coventry.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/11017763/Tailoring\\_Strategies\\_Bahar\\_Baser.pdf](https://pure.coventry.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/11017763/Tailoring_Strategies_Bahar_Baser.pdf)
- Baser, Bahar (2018): Homeland Calling: Kurdish Diaspora and State-Building in the Kurdistan Region of

Iraq in the Post-Saddam Era. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1), 77-94. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2017.1415512>

Baser, Bahar; Akgönül, Samim; Öztürk, Ahmet Erdi (2017): "Academics for Peace" in Turkey: A Case of Criminalising Dissent and Critical Thought via Counterterrorism Policy. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 10(2), 274-296. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2017.1326559> URL: <http://repository.londonmet.ac.uk/5407>

Baser, Bahar; Özerdem, Alpaslan (2021): Conflict Transformation and Asymmetric Conflicts: A Critique of the Failed Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33(8), 1775-1796. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1657844>

Baser, Bahar; Toivanen, Mari (2017): The Politics of Genocide Recognition: Kurdish Nation-Building and Commemoration in the Post-Saddam Era. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 19(3), 404-426. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2017.1338644> URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10138/325889>

Başer, Zeynep; Çelik, Ayşe Betül (2014): Imagining Peace in a Conflict Environment: Kurdish Youths' Framing of the Kurdish Issue in Turkey. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 48(3), 265-285. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2014.925197>

Bayani, Farhad (2019): The Jurisprudence Trace Behind the DAESH Trench: Theoretical Basis of Islamic Fundamentalism Focusing on Kurdistan Province of Iran. *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, 13(3), 370-386. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/25765949.2019.1630577>

Beehner, Lionel M. (2018): A Means of First Resort: Explaining "Hot Pursuit" in International Relations. *Security Studies*, 27(3), 379-409. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2017.1416815>

Begikhani, Nazand; Hamelink, Wendelmoet; Weiss, Nerina (Guest Eds.) (2018, May): Women and War in Kurdistan. [Special Issue]. *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1). URL: <https://kurdishstudies.net/journal/ks/issue/view/52>

Begikhani, Nazand; Hamelink, Wendelmoet; Weiss, Nerina (2018, May): Theorising Women and War in Kurdistan: A Feminist and Critical Perspective. [Editorial]. *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1), 5-30. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v6i1.432>

Belser, Eva Maria (2021): A Failure of State Transformation Rather than a Failure of Federalism? The Case of Iraq. In: Soeren Keil; Elisabeth Alber (Eds.): *Federalism as a Tool of Conflict Resolution*. Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 4.

Bengio, Ofra (2015): The Kurds and the Islamic State: Redrawing the Map in Mesopotamia. In: Wilhelm Hofmeister; Megha Sarmah (Eds.): *From the Desert to World Cities: The New Terrorism*. (KAS Panorama, 01/2015). Singapore: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), 91-103. URL: <https://www.kas.de/en/web/politik-dialog-asien/panorama/detail/-/content/from-the-desert-to-world-cities-the-new-terrorism>

Bengio, Ofra (2016, Winter): Game Changers: Kurdish Women in Peace and War. *Middle East Journal*, 70(1), 30-46. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/70.1.12>

Bengio, Ofra (2017): The "Other Iraq" After Mosul: What Future for the Kurdish Region? In: Andrea Plebani (Ed.): *After Mosul: Re-Inventing Iraq*. Milan: Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI) / Ledizioni LEDI, 69-90. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14672/67056330>

Bengio, Ofra (2021): Jews, Israel and the Kurds: Unravelling the Myth. *Israel Affairs*, 27(5), 827-851. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537121.2021.1968209>

Beyribey, Tuncer (2020): Medico-Political Metaphors of Counter-Terrorism: The Case of Turkey. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 13(3), 418-440. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2020.1791388>

Bezci, Egemen B. (Guest Ed.) (2018): Trajectory for Kurds. [Special Issue]. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1). URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ccri20/27/1>

- Bezci, Egemen B. (2018): Guest Editor's Introduction: Trajectory for Kurds. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1), 1-6. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2017.1411108>
- Bezwan, Naif (2021, May): The State and Violence in Kurdistan: A Conceptual Framework. *Kurdish Studies*, 9(1), 11-36. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v9i1.582>
- Bilgel, Firat; Karahasan, Burhan Can (2019): Thirty Years of Conflict and Economic Growth in Turkey: A Synthetic Control Approach. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 30(5), 609-631. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242694.2017.1389582>
- Bishku, Michael B. (2018, Winter): Israel and the Kurds: A Pragmatic Relationship in Middle Eastern Politics. *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 41(2), 52-72. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.33428/jsoutasiamideas.41.2.0052>
- Bocheńska, Joanna (2018, November): Humanising the Actors and Working Through the Conflict: The Role of Kurdish Literary Narratives and Culture in the Reconciliation Process in Turkey. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 12, Article a636. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4119/ijcv-3114>
- Bozarslan, Hamit (2014, May): The Kurds and Middle Eastern "State of Violence": The 1980s and 2010s. *Kurdish Studies*, 2(1), 4-13. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v2i1.376>
- Bozarslan, Hamit (2018): When the Present Sends Back to the Past: Reading the Kurdish Issue in the 2010s. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1), 7-24. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2017.1411109>
- Bozarslan, Hamit (2019): "Being in Time": Kurdish Movement and Quests of Universal. In: Peter Sluglett; Victor Kattan (Eds.): *Violent Radical Movements in the Arab World: The Ideology and Politics of Non-State Actors*. London: I.B. Tauris, 177-194.
- Brandon, James (2018, January): Party for Free Life in Kurdistan: The PKK's Iranian Wing Bides its Time. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(1), 3-6. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Terrorism-Monitor-January-15-2018.pdf>
- Buffon, Veronica; Allison, Christine (2016, October): The Gendering of Victimhood: Western Media and the Sinjar Genocide. *Kurdish Studies*, 4(2), 176-196. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v4i2.427>
- Burton, James (2017, January): Why America Should Care About the YPJ in Syria. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/why-america-should-care-about-the-ypj-in-syria>
- Butcher, Charity (2016): Terrorism and External Audiences: Influencing Foreign Intervention into Civil Wars. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28(4), 774-794. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2014.955572>
- Cagaptay, Soner (2016, December): Turkey Faces its Toughest Tests. In: Andrew J. Tabler (Ed.): *The Lines That Bind: 100 Years of Sykes-Picot*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus 151). Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 53-57. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/lines-bind-100-years-sykes-picot>
- Cagaptay, Soner (2017): The Future of the Turkish Kurds: Peace or Fire? In: *The New Sultan: Erdogan and the Crisis of Modern Turkey*. (2nd ed.). London: I.B. Tauris, 143-156.
- Cambanis, Thanassis et al. (2019, November): The Kurdish Parties of Iraq. In: *Hybrid Actors: Armed Groups and State Fragmentation in the Middle East*. New York: The Century Foundation Press, 91-96. URL: <https://tcf.org/content/report/hybrid-actors>
- Cancian, Matthew F. (2016, October): Untangling the Arab-Kurdish Web in Post-ISIL Northern Iraq. *Small Wars Journal*, 10/2016. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/untangling-the-arab-kurdish-web-in-post-isil-northern-iraq>
- Cancian, Matthew (2021, August): The Motivation to Enlist Among Kurds. *Armed Forces & Society*. Ad-

vance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X211038026>

Cancian, Matthew F.; Fabbe, Kristin E. (2019, April): Informal Institutions and Survey Research in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 52(3), 485-489. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096519000131>

Cantenaar, Ömer Faruk (2021, July): Turkey Conducting Targeted Killings of PKK Leaders in Iraq: What's Next? *Terrorism Monitor*, 19(15), 8-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/turkey-conducting-targeted-killings-of-pkk-leaders-in-iraq-whats-next>

Çelik, Adnan (2021, May): "Keep Your Mouth Shut in the Day and Your Door Shut at Night.": Intra-Kurdish Violence in the Shadow of the State: The Case of Hizbullah in Kurdistan of Turkey. *Kurdish Studies*, 9(1), 37-57. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v9i1.563>

Çelik, Ayşe Betül (2021): Inclusive Citizenship and Societal Reconciliation Within Turkey's Kurdish Issue. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 21(2), 313-332. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2021.1909284>

Çelik, Ayşe Betül (2021, March): Agonistic Peace and Confronting the Past: An Analysis of a Failed Peace Process and the Role of Narratives. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 56(1), 26-43. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836720938401>

Cemgil, Can; Hoffmann, Clemens (2016, May): The "Rojava Revolution" in Syrian Kurdistan: A Model of Development for the Middle East? *IDS Bulletin*, 47(3). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19088/1968-2016.144>

Cengiz, Mahmut; Özeren, Süleyman (2018): The Evolution of the PKK into a Criminal Enterprise. In: Kimberley L. Thachuk; Rollie Lal (Eds.): *Terrorist Criminal Enterprises: Financing Terrorism through Organized Crime*. (Praeger Security International). Santa Barbara: Praeger, 133-144.

Charountaki, Marianna (2015): Kurdish Policies in Syria Under the Arab Uprisings: A Revisiting of IR in the New Middle Eastern Order. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(2), 337-356. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1015786>

Charountaki, Marianna (2018): From Resistance to Military Institutionalisation: The Case of the Peshmerga Versus the Islamic State. *Third World Quarterly*, 39(8), 1583-1603. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1449633>

Chatty, Dawn (2017): The Kurds Seeking Freedom of Ethnic Identity Expression. In: *Syria: The Making and Unmaking of a Refuge State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 111-144.

Chomani, Kamal; Jasim, Dastan (2022, February): Kurdish Allies and Kurdish Enemies: Turkey's New War Against the PKK. *The Commentaries*, 2(1), 13-23. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/com.v2i1.2101> URL: <https://journals.tplondon.com/com/article/view/2101>

Çiğci, Deniz (2018): Political Incongruity Between the Kurds and the "Opposition" in the Syrian Uprising. In: Raymond Hinnebusch; Omar Imady (Eds.): *The Syrian Uprising: Domestic Origins and Early Trajectory*. (Routledge/ St. Andrews Syrian Studies Series). Abingdon: Routledge, 309-328. DOI [Book]: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315143798>

Ciftci, Irfan; Kula, Sedat (2015, January): The Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Policies on the PKK-Inflicted Violence During the Democratization Process of Turkey. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 6(1), 27-42. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.1075>

Corneau-Tremblay, Guillaume (2017, June): The Threat from Western Volunteers in Kurdish Groups. *Small Wars Journal*, 6/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-threat-from-western-volunteers-in-kurdish-groups>

Costantini, Irene; O'Driscoll, Dylan (2020, June): Practices of Exclusion, Narratives of Inclusion: Violence,



- Population Movements and Identity Politics in Post-2014 Northern Iraq. *Ethnicities*, 20(3), 481-500. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796819858712>
- Dag, Rahman (2018, December): The Spillover Effect of the Syrian Crisis on the Peace Process in Turkey. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(8), 1251-1270. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909618781647>
- Daher, Joseph (2019): The Kurdish Question in Syria. In: *Syria After the Uprisings: The Political Economy of State Resilience*. London: Pluto Press, 148-187.
- Delay, Galip (2018): The Kurdish Fight Against ISIS: Realizing the Virtual Kurdistan Through Factionalized Politics in a Fragmented Homeland. In: Murat Yeşiltaş; Tuncay Kardaş (Eds.): *Non-State Armed Actors in the Middle East: Geopolitics, Ideology, and Strategy*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 77-95. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55287-3\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55287-3_4)
- Daoudy, Marwa (2020, September): Water Weaponization in the Syrian Conflict: Strategies of Domination and Cooperation. *International Affairs*, 96(5), 1347-1366. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaa131>
- Darden, Jessica Trisko; Henshaw, Alexis; Szekely, Ora (2019): The Kurdish Regions: Fighting as Kurds, Fighting as Women. In: *Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil Wars*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 34-56.
- Darweish, Marwan; Alsayid Mohammed, Maamoon (2020): War and Peace in Iraqi Kurdistan's History Curricula. In: Annick T. R. Wibben; Amanda E. Donahoe (Eds.): *Teaching Peace and War: Pedagogy and Curricula*. Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 15.
- Davidovic, Maja (2018, May): Mother-Activism Before the European Court of Human Rights: Gender Sensitivity Towards Kurdish Mothers and Wives in Enforced Disappearances Cases. *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1), 133-153. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v6i1.437>
- Davis, Paul K. et al. (2012): Public Support for the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in Turkey. In: *Understanding and Influencing Public Support for Insurgency and Terrorism*. [e-Book]. (RAND Monographs, MG-1122-OSD). Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 99-118. URL: <https://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG1122.html>
- Degli Esposti, Nicola (2021): The 2017 Independence Referendum and the Political Economy of Kurdish Nationalism in Iraq. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(10), 2317-2333. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1949978>
- Dekmejian, Richard Hrair (2007): The Kurdish Genocide. In: *Spectrum of Terror*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 265-276.
- Demiralp, Emre (2017): The Uniqueness of Hybrid War and an Evaluation of PKK's Hybrid Capability. *Defence Against Terrorism Review*, 9, 9-33. URL: [http://www.coedat.nato.int/publication/datr/volume9-2017/01-The\\_UniquenessofHybrid\\_WarandEvaluationofPKK\\_Hybrid\\_Cap.pdf](http://www.coedat.nato.int/publication/datr/volume9-2017/01-The_UniquenessofHybrid_WarandEvaluationofPKK_Hybrid_Cap.pdf)
- Dietl, Gulshan (2022): Iraq: Wars, Kurds and the Islamic State. In: *The Global Game of Oil Pipelines*. Abingdon: Routledge, 107-130.
- Dilek, Esra (2021): Rethinking the Role of Track Two Diplomacy in Conflict Resolution: The Democratic Progress Institute's Turkey Programme. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 21(2), 293-311. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2021.1909291>
- Doyle, Damian; Dunning, Tristan (2018): Recognizing Fragmented Authority: Towards a Post-Westphalian Security Order in Iraq. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(3), 537-559. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1455324>
- Dulz, Irene (2016, October): The Displacement of the Yezidis After the Rise of ISIS in Northern Iraq. *Kurdish Studies*, 4(2), 131-147. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v4i2.425>



- Eliassi, Barzoo (2013): Kurdish Identities and Political Struggle in the Middle East. In: *Contesting Kurdish Identities in Sweden: Quest for Belonging Among Middle Eastern Youth*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 21-36. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137282088\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137282088_2)
- El-Said, Hamed (2015): From Militarization to Democratization: The Transformation of Turkey's Counter Terrorism Strategy (CTS). In: *New Approaches to Countering Terrorism: Designing and Evaluating Counter Radicalization and De-Radicalization Programs*. (New Security Challenges). New York: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 218-253. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137449979\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137449979_8)
- Eppel, Michael (2018, Spring): A Future for Kurdish Independence? *Middle East Quarterly*, 25(2). URL: <https://www.meforum.org/7226/kurdish-independence>
- Ergil, Doğu (2007): PKK: Partiya Karkarên Kurdistan. In: Marianne Heiberg; Brendan O'Leary; John Tirman (Eds.): *Terror, Insurgency, and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 323-358.
- Erlich, Reese (2014): Will the Kurds Have their Way? In: *Inside Syria: The Backstory of their Civil War and What the World Can Expect*. New York: Prometheus Books, 167-190.
- Firmian, Federico Manfredi (2021): Strengthening the US Partnership with the Syrian Democratic Forces. *Survival*, 63(6), 159-182. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2021.2006456>
- Fishman, Louis (2019, December): Pushing for a Political Breakthrough: Kurds in Turkey and Palestinians in Israel. *Current History*, 118(812), 355-360. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1525/curh.2019.118.812.355>
- Flood, Derek Henry (2017, October): The Hawija Offensive: A Liberation Exposes Faultlines. *CTC Sentinel*, 10(9), 24-28. URL: [https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol10Iss9-21.pdf](https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss9-21.pdf)
- Forestier-Peyrat, Etienne (2021, October): Communist Europe and the Kurdish Question During the Cold War (1940s 1980s). *Kurdish Studies*, 9(2), 175-187. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v9i2.568>
- Frantzman, Seth J. (2016, Winter): Kurdistan After Islamic State: Six Crises Facing the Kurds in Iraq. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 20(3), 12-23.
- Fritz, Jason; Young, Joseph K. (2020): Transnational Volunteers: American Foreign Fighters Combating the Islamic State. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32(3), 449-468. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1377075>
- Gazzini, Tarcisio (2018): Intervention in Iraq's Kurdish Region and the Creation of the No-Fly Zones in Northern and Southern Iraq – 1991-2003. In: Tom Ruys; Olivier Corten; Alexandra Hofer (Eds.): *The Use of Force in International Law: A Case-Based Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 469-481. DOI [Book]: <https://doi.org/10.1093/law/9780198784357.001.0001>
- Gergin, Nadir; Duru, Hacı; Çetin, Hakan Cem (2015): Profile and Life Span of the PKK Guerillas. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 38(3), 219-232. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.981989>
- Getmansky, Anna; Sınmazdemir, Tolga; Zeitzoff, Thomas (2018, July): Refugees, Xenophobia, and Domestic Conflict: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Turkey. *Journal of Peace Research*, 55(4), 491-507. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343317748719>
- Glastonbury, Nicholas S. (2018, May): Building Brand Kurdistan: Helly Luv, the Gender of Nationhood, and the War on Terror. *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1), 111-132. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v6i1.436> URL: [https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc\\_pubs/436](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_pubs/436)
- Golubev, Denis S. (2021): Transnational Ethnic Channels as Factors of Contagion, Internationalization, and the "Proxyfication" of Internal Conflicts: The Contrasting Cases of Amazighs and Kurds. *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 12(1), 19-48. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2021.1877494>

- Göral, Özgür Sevgi (2021, May): Memory as Experience in Times of Perpetual Violence: The Challenge of Saturday Mothers Vis-à-Vis Cultural Aphasia. *Kurdish Studies*, 9(1), 77-95. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v9i1.569>
- Gourlay, William (2018): Kurdayetî: Pan-Kurdish Solidarity and Cross-Border Links in Times of War and Trauma. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1), 25-42. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2017.1411110>
- Gourlay, William (2018): Oppression, Solidarity, Resistance: The Forging of Kurdish Identity in Turkey. *Ethnopolitics*, 17(2), 130-146. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2017.1339425> URL: <https://research.monash.edu/en/publications/oppression-solidarity-resistance-the-forging-of-kurdish-identity->
- Gourlay, William (2018): The Kurds and the “Others”: Kurdish Politics as an Inclusive, Multi-Ethnic Vehicle in Turkey. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 38(4), 475-492. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2018.1541300>
- Gourlay, William (2020): Beyond “Brotherhood” and the “Caliphate”: Kurdish Relationships to Islam in an Era of AKP Authoritarianism and ISIS Terror. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 47(4), 612-631. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2018.1534679>
- Green, Hannah; Sperlinger, David; Carswell, Kenneth (2012): Too Close to Home? Experiences of Kurdish Refugee Interpreters Working in UK Mental Health Services. *Journal of Mental Health*, 21(3), 227-235. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3109/09638237.2011.651659>
- Grojean, Olivier (2007): Violence Against the Self: The Case of a Kurdish Non-Islamist Group. In: Amélie Blom; Laetitia Bucaille; Luis Martinez (Eds.): *The Enigma of Islamist Violence*. (The CERJ Series in Comparative Politics and International Studies). London: Hurst, 105-120.
- Gruber, Verena (2015, October): Revisiting Civil-Military-Relations Theory: The Case of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq. *Small Wars Journal*, 10/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/revisiting-civil-military-relations-theory-the-case-of-the-kurdistan-regional-government-of>
- Gunter, Michael M. (2014, Spring): Unrecognized De Facto States in World Politics: The Kurds. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 20(2), 161-178. URL: <http://bjwa.brown.edu/20-2/unrecognized-de-facto-states-in-world-politics-the-kurds>
- Gunter, Michael M. (2015, Spring): Iraq, Syria, ISIS and the Kurds: Geostrategic Concerns for the U.S. and Turkey. *Middle East Policy*, 22(1), 102-111. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12116>
- Gunter, Michael M. (2015, May): The Kurds in the Changing Political Map of the Middle East. [Viewpoint]. *Kurdish Studies*, 3(1), 64-81. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v3i1.392>
- Gunter, Michael M. (2017, Summer): Trump, Turkey and the Kurds. *Middle East Policy*, 24(2), 78-86. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12269>
- Gunter, Michael M. (2018, Spring): Kurdish Disunity in Historical Perspective. *Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 19(1-2), 26-45. URL: <http://blogs.shu.edu/journalofdiplomacy/files/2018/06/Journal-of-Diplomacy-Vol.-19-no-1-2.pdf>
- Gunter, Michael M. (2018, Winter): Erdogan’s Future: The Failed Coup, the Kurds and the Gulenists. *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 41(2), 1-15. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.33428/jsoutasiamideas.41.2.0001>
- Gunter, Michael M. (2021): Thinking Theoretically About the Kurds. *Middle East Critique*, 30(3), 287-306. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2021.1957561>
- Gunter, Michael M.; Yavuz, M. Hakan (2020, Spring): The October 2019 Turkish Incursion into Kurdish Syria: Its Background and Broader Implications. *Middle East Policy*, 27(1), 86-101. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12476>

- Gürcan, Efe Can (2019): Political Geography of Turkey's Intervention in Syria: Underlying Causes and Consequences (2011-2016). *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*, 11(1), 1-10. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1108/JACPR-10-2017-0329> URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Efe\\_Guercan/publication/321917003\\_Political\\_geography\\_of\\_Turkey%27s\\_intervention\\_in\\_Syria\\_underlying\\_causes\\_and\\_consequences\\_2011-2016](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Efe_Guercan/publication/321917003_Political_geography_of_Turkey%27s_intervention_in_Syria_underlying_causes_and_consequences_2011-2016)
- Gürcan, Metin (2015): Arming Civilians as a Counterterror Strategy: The Case of the Village Guard System in Turkey. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward terrorism and genocide*, 8(1), 1-22. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2014.948026> URL: <http://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/handle/11693/23791>
- Gürcan, Metin (2015, October): The Ankara Bombings and the Islamic State's Turkey Strategy. *CTC Sentinel*, 8(10), 27-29. URL: <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/CTCSentinel-Vol8Iss1034.pdf>
- Gürcan, Metin (2016, July): The Kurdistan Freedom Falcons: A Profile of the Arm's-Length Proxy of the Kurdistan Worker's Party. *CTC Sentinel*, 9(7), 24-27. URL: [https://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/CTC-SENTINEL\\_Vol9Iss79.pdf](https://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/CTC-SENTINEL_Vol9Iss79.pdf)
- Gürcan, Metin; Ünal, Mustafa Coşar (Ed.) (2019): *Reaching a Balance of Resolve: The Enduring Conflict Between Turkey and the PKK*. (Contemporary Terrorism Studies). Abingdon: Routledge, 181-218.
- Gurses, Mehmet (2015, January): Is Islam a Cure for Ethnic Conflict? Evidence from Turkey. *Politics and Religion*, 8(1), 135-154. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048315000024>
- Gurses, Mehmet (2020): The Evolving Kurdish Question in Turkey. *Middle East Critique*, 29(3), 307-318. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2020.1770448>
- Gurses, Mehmet; Ozturk, Ahmet Erdi (2020, June): Religion and Armed Conflict: Evidence from the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 59(2), 327-340. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/jssr.12652>
- Hadad, Hamzeh; Wallace, Brandon L. (2017, September): The Iraqi Kurdish Security Apparatus: Vulnerability and Structure. *Small Wars Journal*, 9/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-iraqi-kurdish-security-apparatus-vulnerability-and-structure>
- Hader, Thomas; Forster, Peter K. (2018, March): Virtual Recruitment of Foreign Fighters and their Threat Upon Return: The Case of the Peshmerga and the People's Protection Units. *Small Wars Journal*, 3/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/virtual-recruitment-foreign-fighters-and-their-threat-upon-return-case-peshmerga-and>
- Hama, Hawre Hasan (2019): Framing the Fall of Sinjar: Kurdish Media's Coverage of the Yazidi Genocide. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 55(5), 798-812. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2019.1580192>
- Hama, Hawre Hasan (2020): Iraqi Kurdistan's 2017 Independence Referendum: The KDP's Public and Private Motives. *Asian Affairs*, 51(1), 109-125. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2019.1706338>
- Hama, Hawre Hasan (2021): The Consequences of the Fragmented Military in Iraqi Kurdistan. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 48(2), 331-346. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2019.1582321>
- Hama, Hawre Hasan; Abdullah, Farhad Hassan (2021, June): Political Parties and the Political System in Iraqi Kurdistan. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 56(4), 754-773. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909620941548>
- Harris, Winston (2014, August): Chaos in Iraq: Are the Kurds Truly Set to Win? *Small Wars Journal*, 8/2014. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/chaos-in-iraq-are-the-kurds-truly-set-to-win>
- Hartman, Alexandra C.; Morse, Benjamin S.; Weber, Sigrid (2021, November): Violence, Displacement, and Support for Internally Displaced Persons: Evidence from Syria. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 65(10),

1791-1819. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220027211011523>

Hashemi, Mukhtar (2014): Contemporary Kurdish Diaspora in Europe: A Driving Force Toward Peace and Democracy in the Middle East. In: Galia Golan; Walid Salem (Eds.): *Non-State Actors in the Middle East: Factors for Peace and Democracy*. (UCLA Center for Middle East Development [CMED], Vol. 5). Abingdon: Routledge, 117-145.

Hashimoto, Chikara; Bezci, Egemen B. (2016): Do the Kurds Have “no Friends but the Mountains”? Turkey’s Secret War Against Communists, Soviets and the Kurds. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 52(4), 640-655. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2016.1175344>

Hassan, Hassan (2017, June-July): The Battle for Raqqa and the Challenges After Liberation. *CTC Sentinel*, 10(6), 1-10. URL: [https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol10Iss6-4.pdf](https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss6-4.pdf)

Hassan, Zheger (2013, June): Kurdish Nationalism: What are its Origins? *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 7(2), 75-89. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.7.2.75\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.7.2.75_1)

Hazelton, Jacqueline L. (2021): How Much Does the Compellence Theory Explain? Turkey and the PKK. In: *Bullets Not Ballots: Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs). Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 130-146.

Heras, Nicholas A. (2015, April): The Struggle for Syria’s al-Hasakah Governorate: Kurds, the Islamic State and the IRGC. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(7), 8-11. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue7\\_03.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue7_03.pdf)

Heras, Nicholas A. (2016, January): Powerful Turkmen Iraqi Leader, Arshad Al-Salehi. *Militant Leadership Monitor*, 7(1). URL: <https://jamestown.org/brief/january-2016-briefs-free>

Heras, Nicholas A. (2017, September): The Yazidi Commander in Sinjar: Haydar Shasho’s Push for Independence. *Militant Leadership Monitor*, 8(8). URL: <https://jamestown.org/brief/the-yazidi-commander-in-sinjar-haydar-shashos-push-for-independence>

Hinnebusch, Raymond (2015): Back to Enmity: Turkey-Syria Relations Since the Syrian Uprising. *ORIENT*, 56(1), 14-22. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10023/6068>

Honigman, Jonathan (2022): Never Mind Betrayal: America’s Indifference to the Kurds is a Strategic Blunder. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 15(1), 54-74. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.15.1.1973>

Hoover, Patrick (2019, August): Understanding Turkey’s National Security Priorities in Syria. *Georgetown Security Studies Review*, 7(2), 6-21. URL: <https://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Download-File.pdf>

Hürman, Hazal (2020, October): Penalisation of Kurdish Children Under the Turkish Anti-Terror Law: Abandonment, Sovereignty and Lawfare. *Kurdish Studies*, 8(2), 271-295. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v8i2.464>

Hussain, Serena (2021, October): Islamic Universalism or Ethno-Nationalism? Exploring Identity Salience Within a Kurdish Migrant Community in Britain. *Kurdish Studies*, 9(2), 205-221. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v9i2.619>

Işık, Ayhan (2021): Pro-State Paramilitary Violence in Turkey Since the 1990s. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 21(2), 231-249. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2021.1909285>

Jalal, Pishtiwan; Ahram, Ariel I. (2021 Autumn): Salafism, Sectarianism, and National Identity in Iraqi Kurdistan. *The Middle East Journal*, 75(3), 386-406. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/75.3.12>

Jameel, Rami (2020, December): The Iraqi and Kurdish Regional Government’s Sinjar Agreement: Consequences for U.S., Turkish, and Iranian Influence and Rebel Rivalries. *Terrorism Monitor*, 18(23), 9-12.



URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/TM-December-17-2020-Issue.pdf>

Jongerden, Joost (2018): From Containment and Rollback to Escalation: Turkey's Kurdish Issue Under the AKP. *europa ethnica*, 75(1-2), 40-48. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24989/0014-2492-2018-12-40>

Jongerden, Joost (2019, June): Learning from Defeat: Development and Contestation of the "New Paradigm" Within Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). *Kurdish Studies*, 7(1), 72-92. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v7i1.507>

Jüde, Johannes (2017, July): Contesting Borders? The Formation of Iraqi Kurdistan's De Facto State. *International Affairs*, 93(4), 847-863. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix125>

Kadıoğlu, İ. Aytaç (2019): The Oslo Talks: Revealing the Turkish Government's Secret Negotiations with the PKK. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(10), 915-933. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1430658>

Kanmaz, Mehmet Asım (2015, May): Turkey's Fight to Shut Off the Flow of PKK Finances. *CTX*, 5(2), 13-27. URL: <https://nps.edu/documents/110773463/120118754/CTX+Vol+5+No+2.pdf>

Kaptan, Senem (2017, March): Gendering Landscapes of War Through the Narratives of Soldiers' Mothers: Military Service and the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 13(1), 47-68. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1215/15525864-3728635>

Karakoç, Ekrem; Sarıgil, Zeki (2020, June): Why Religious People Support Ethnic Insurgency? Kurds, Religion and Support for the PKK. *Politics and Religion*, 13(2), 245-272. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048319000312> URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11693/53234>

Karakoç, Ercan; Taşlı, İlmut Taha (2021): Political Conjuncture, Intended Audience and the "Historiography" of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) Terrorist Organisation. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 16(2), 157-172. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2021.1892807>

Karakoç, Jülide (2021): Revisiting Multilateralism in the Middle East Between Securitization and Desecuritization of the Kurds. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 48(5), 960-978. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2020.1737915>

Kardaş, Şaban (2018): Transformation of Turkey's Regional Policies: The Case of the KRG Referendum Debacle. *The International Spectator*, 53(4), 16-34. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2018.1528004>

Kardaş, Şaban (2021, Fall-Winter): Turkey's Military Operations in Iraq: Context and Implications. *Middle East Policy*, 28(3-4), 133-143. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12582>

Kardaş, Tuncay; Balci, Ali (2016): Inter-Societal Security Trilemma in Turkey: Understanding the Failure of the 2009 Kurdish Opening. *Turkish Studies*, 17(1), 155-180. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2015.1126183>

Kardaş, Tuncay; Yesiltaş, Murat (2017): Rethinking Kurdish Geopolitical Space: The Politics of Image, Insecurity and Gender. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 30(2-3), 256-282. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2017.1410098>

Kardaş, Tuncay; Yesiltaş, Murat (2018): Global Politics of Image and the Making of a Legitimate Non-State Armed Actor: Syrian Kurds and "The Secular West" in Kobane. In: Murat Yeşiltaş; Tuncay Kardaş (Eds.): *Non-State Armed Actors in the Middle East: Geopolitics, Ideology, and Strategy*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 97-118. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55287-3\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55287-3_5)

Karimi, Yusef; Nussbaum, David; Mohammadi, Razgar (2021, March): Recruitment Process in Salafi-Jihadist Groups in the Middle East (A Qualitative Study). *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260521997931>

- Kasapoglu, Can (2021, May): Maximum Pressure: Turkey's Anti-PKK Counter-Terrorism Campaigns in Northern Iraq. *Terrorism Monitor*, 19(9), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/TM-May-7-2021-Issue.pdf>
- Katman, Filiz; Muhammad, Dilshad (2022): Tracing Kurdish Politics in Syria and its Prospects. In: Jasmine K. Gani; Raymond Hinnebusch (Eds.): *Actors and Dynamics in the Syrian Conflict's Middle Phase: Between Contentious Politics, Militarization and Regime Resilience*. Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 12.
- Kaya, İlhan (2016): Marginality as a Site of Youth Kurdish Resistance. In: Sıddık Ekici et al. (Eds.): *Countering Terrorist Recruitment in the Context of Armed Counter-Terrorism Operations*. (NATO Science for Peace and Security Series – E: Human and Societal Dynamics, Vol. 125). Amsterdam: IOS Press, 33-39. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3233/978-1-61499-613-2-33>
- Kaya, Zeynep; Whiting, Matthew (2017, Spring): Sowing Division: Kurds in the Syrian War. *Middle East Policy*, 24(1), 79-91. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12253> URL: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/69930>
- Kevers, Ruth; Rober, Peter; De Haene, Lucia (2017, October): The Role of Collective Identifications in Family Processes of Post-Trauma Reconstruction: An Exploratory Study with Kurdish Refugee Families and their Diasporic Community. *Kurdish Studies*, 5(2), 107-133. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v5i2.440>
- Kibris, Arzu (2015, June): The Conflict Trap Revisited: Civil Conflict and Educational Achievement. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(4), 645-670. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002713516845>
- Kibris, Arzu (2021, September): The Geo-Temporal Evolution of Violence in Civil Conflicts: A Micro Analysis of Conflict Diffusion on a New Event Data Set. *Journal of Peace Research*, 58(8), 885-899. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343320978695>
- Kim, Eunyong; Yun, Minwoo (2008): What Works? Countermeasures to Terrorism: A Case Study of PKK. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 32(1), 65-88. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2008.9678778>
- Kışlıoğlu, Reşit; Cohrs, J. Christopher (2018): Nationhood as a Social Representation: Making Sense of the Kurdish Opening in Turkey. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 24(2), 165-174. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000317>
- Kizilhan, Jan İlhan; Noll-Hussong, Michael; Wenzel, Thomas (2022): Transgenerational Transmission of Trauma Across Three Generations of Alevi Kurds. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 19(1), Article 81. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19010081>
- Klein, Janet (2020, June): The Kurds and the Territorialization of Minorityhood. *Journal of Contemporary Iraq & the Arab World*, 14(1-2), 13-30. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1386/jciaw\\_00016\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/jciaw_00016_1)
- Klich, Sebastian (2022): The Kurdistan Region of Iraq. In: *De Facto State Identity and International Legitimation*. (Routledge Advances in International Relations and Global Politics). Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 5.
- Knapp, Michael; Jongerden, Joost (2020, October): Peace Committees, Platforms and the Political Ordering of Society: Doing Justice in the Federation of Northern and Eastern Syria (NES). *Kurdish Studies*, 8(2), 297-312. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v8i2.534>
- Knoope, Peter; Knoope, Saré (2018, April): The Breakdown of State-Building: From the Nation to Radicalisation: The Security Aspects of Exclusion and Identity Formation. *Security and Human Rights*, 28(1-4), 145-160. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18750230-02801001>
- Koch, Ariel (2021): The Non-Jihadi Foreign Fighters: Western Right-Wing and Left-Wing Extremists in Syria. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33(4), 669-696. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1581614>

- Kofman, Michael (2017): A Tale of Two Campaigns: U.S. and Russian Military Operations in Syria. *Pathways to Peace and Security*, 2017/1(52), 163-170. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20542/2307-1494-2017-1-163-170>
- Körpe, Özgür (2021, September-October): Framing Turkey's Cross-Border Counterterrorism Operations in the Context of Pragmatic Strategic Culture: An Operational Design. *Military Review*, 9-10/2021, 116-128. URL: <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/SO-21/korpe-turkey/korpe.pdf>
- Kösebalaban, Hasan (2020): Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy Toward Syria: The Return of Securitization. *Middle East Critique*, 29(3), 335-344. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2020.1770450>
- Koseli, Mutlu et al. (2021): Use of Kidnapping and Extortion as a Tool for Financing Terrorism: The Case of the PKK. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 13(3), 215-230. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2020.1745257>
- Kosker, Maksut (2014, July): Oil Fuels the Kurdistan-ISIS Conflict. *Terrorism Monitor*, 12(14), 6-7. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/TerrorismMonitorVol12Issue14\\_01.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/TerrorismMonitorVol12Issue14_01.pdf)
- Kreyenbroek, Philip G.; Omarkhali, Khanna (2016, October): Introduction to the Special Issue: Yezidism and Yezidi Studies in the Early 21st Century. *Kurdish Studies*, 4(2), 122-130. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v4i2.424>
- Kunst, Jonas R. et al. (2018, January): Engaging in Extreme Activism in Support of Others' Political Struggles: The Role of Politically Motivated Fusion with Out-Groups. *PLoS ONE*, 13(1), Article e0190639. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0190639>
- Larrabee, F. Stephen (2016): Turkey and the Changing Dynamics of the Kurdish Issue. *Survival*, 58(2), 67-73. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2016.1161900>
- Li, Ruiheng (2021, Autumn): The Failed Ba'athification of Iraqi Kurdistan: The Ideological and Organizational Strategies of the Ba'ath Party in Northern Iraq, 1968–2003. *The Middle East Journal*, 75(3), 407-427. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/75.3.13>
- Lindenstrauss, Gallia M. (2014): Turkey, the Kurds, and Turkey's Incursions into Iraq: The Effects of Securitization and Desecuritization Processes. In: Dan Miodownik; Oren Barak (Eds.): *Nonstate Actors in Intrastate Conflicts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 125-139.
- Lucas, Rebecca (2017, December): US Assistance to Syrian Kurdish Forces. *Georgetown Security Studies Review*, 6(1), 22-32. URL: <https://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/GSSR-6.1-December-2017.pdf>
- Lucas, Rebecca (2020): Taking to the Streets: The Kurdistan Workers' Party and the Urbanization of Insurgency. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 31(1), 61-86. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2020.1672963>
- Machlis, Elisheva (2021, Fall-Winter): Shii-Kurd Relations in Post-2003 Iraq: Visions of Nationalism. *Middle East Policy*, 28(3-4), 116-132. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12572>
- Malmvig, Helle (2017): Wars Within Wars: Regional Actors' Involvement in the Battle for Syria. In: Rasmus Alenius Boserup et al. (Eds.): *New Conflict Dynamics: Between Regional Autonomy and Intervention in the Middle East and North Africa*. [e-Book]. (Defence and Security Studies). Copenhagen / Beirut: Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) / American University of Beirut, 67-78. URL: [http://pure.diis.dk/ws/files/841797/2017\\_DIIS\\_New\\_Conflict\\_Dynamics\\_in\\_the\\_Middle\\_East\\_and\\_North\\_Africa\\_web.pdf](http://pure.diis.dk/ws/files/841797/2017_DIIS_New_Conflict_Dynamics_in_the_Middle_East_and_North_Africa_web.pdf)
- Marsili, Marco (2016): The Islamic State: A Clash Within the Muslim Civilization for the New Caliphate. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39(2), 85-105. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1100010>
- Masullo, Juan; O'Connor, Francis (2020): PKK Violence Against Civilians: Beyond the Individual, Understanding Collective Targeting. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32(1), 77-99. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/>

[09546553.2017.1347874](https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1347874)

- McCauley, Clark (2016, August): What Comes After ISIS? A Peace Proposal. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10(4), 64-68. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2016/issue-4/407-what-comes-after-isis-a-peace-proposal-by-clark-mccauley.pdf>
- McDowall, David (Interviewee); Atmaca, Metin (Interviewer) (2020, October): Kurds and their History: An Interview with David McDowall. *Kurdish Studies*, 8(2), 233-244. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v8i2.587>
- McGee, Thomas (2018, May): Saving the Survivors: Yezidi Women, Islamic State and the German Admissions Program. *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1), 85-109. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v6i1.435>
- Meier, Daniel (2020): "Disputed Territories" in Northern Iraq: The Frontiering of In-Between Spaces. *Mediterranean Politics*, 25(3), 351-371. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2019.1681733>
- Meininghaus, Esther; Schlüsing, Carina (2020): War in Syria: The Translocal Dimension of Fighter Mobilization. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 31(3), 475-510. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2020.1726568>
- Milburn, Franc (2017, May): Iranian Kurdish Militias: Terrorist-Insurgents, Ethno Freedom Fighters, or Knights on the Regional Chessboard? *CTC Sentinel*, 10(5), 29-35. URL: [https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol10Iss512.pdf](https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss512.pdf)
- Moghadam, Assaf; Wyss, Michel (2020, Spring): The Political Power of Proxies: Why Nonstate Actors Use Local Surrogates. *International Security*, 44(4), 119-157. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1162/isec\\_a\\_00377](https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00377)
- Mohammed, Jihan A.; Alrebh, Abdullah F. (2020, Fall): Iraqi Kurds: The Dream of Nation State. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 29(2), 215-229. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12216>
- Mohsényi, Chirine (2018): The Instrumentalization of Ethnic Conflict by the State: The Azeri-Kurdish Conflict in Iran. In: Gilles Dorronsoro; Olivier Grojean (Eds.): *Identity, Conflict and Politics in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan*. (Comparative Politics and International Studies Series). New York: Oxford University Press, 217-231.
- Mojab, Shahrzad (Interviewee); Schäfers, Marlene (Interviewer) (2021, May): Feminism, Gender and Power in Kurdish Studies: An Interview with Prof. Shahrzad Mojab. *Kurdish Studies*, 9(1), 97-111. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v9i1.637>
- Morad, Kawa (2014): Living on the Edge: Syrian Kurdish Refugees in the KRG. *Syrian Studies Association Bulletin*, 19(1). URL: <https://ojcs.siue.edu/ojs/index.php/ssa/article/view/3019>
- Muhammedally, Sahr (2015): Iraq: Learning Civilian Protection the Hard Way. *Stability*, 4(1), Article 42. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.ge>
- Mustafa, Sara D. (2021): Iraqi Kurdistan Independence Referendum: Political Parties, Opportunity and Timing. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 48(5), 890-907. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2020.1724077>
- Natali, Denise (2015): The Kurdish Quasi-State: Leveraging Political Limbo. *The Washington Quarterly*, 38(2), 145-164. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2015.1064715>
- Natali, Denise (2017, Spring): Syria's Spillover on Iraq: State Resilience. *Middle East Policy*, 24(1), 48-61. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12251>
- Nilsson, Marco (2016): Mental Strategies for Fighting the IS: A Field Study of the Peshmerga Soldiers in Northern Iraq. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39(11), 1007-1018. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1154750>



- Nilsson, Marco (2018, April): Muslim Mothers in Ground Combat Against the Islamic State: Women's Identities and Social Change in Iraqi Kurdistan. *Armed Forces & Society*, 44(2), 261-279. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X17699568>
- Nilsson, Marco (2018, October): Primary Unit Cohesion Among the Peshmerga and Hezbollah. *Armed Forces & Society*, 44(4), 647-665. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X17720922>
- Nilsson, Marco; Esmail, Leah (2021, November): Kurdish Women and TV Journalism in Iraqi Kurdistan: Experiences and Strategies. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 14(2), 169-188. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr\\_00036\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr_00036_1)
- Ocakli, Feryaz (2015, August): Why is Turkey Attacking the Kurdish Militants Instead of ISIS? *Small Wars Journal*, 8/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/why-is-turkey-attacking-the-kurdish-militants-instead-of-isis>
- O'Connor, Francis Patrick (2015, October): Radical Political Participation and the Internal Kurdish Diaspora in Turkey. *Kurdish Studies*, 3(2), 151-171. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v3i2.412>
- O'Connor, Francis Patrick; Baser, Bahar (2018): Communal Violence and Ethnic Polarization Before and After the 2015 Elections in Turkey: Attacks Against the HDP and the Kurdish Population. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 18(1), 53-72. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2018.1451035>
- Odintsov, Nikita (2018, Fall): The PKK in Regional Energy Security. *Middle East Policy*, 25(3), 97-110. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12364>
- O'Driscoll, Dylan (2021): Everyday Peace and Conflict: (Un)privileged Interactions in Kirkuk, Iraq. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(10), 2227-2246. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1925104>
- O'Driscoll, Dylan; Baser, Bahar (2019): Independence Referendums and Nationalist Rhetoric: The Kurdistan Region of Iraq. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(11), 2016-2034. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1617631>
- O'Driscoll, Dylan; van Zoonen, Dave (2017, Fall): The Future of Iraq: Is Reintegration Possible? *Middle East Policy*, 24(3), 34-47. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12285>
- Öğür, Berkan; Baykal, Zana (2018): Understanding "Foreign Policy" of the PYD/YPG as a Non-State Actor in Syria and Beyond. In: Murat Yeşiltaş; Tuncay Kardaş (Eds.): *Non-State Armed Actors in the Middle East: Geopolitics, Ideology, and Strategy*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 43-75. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55287-3\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55287-3_3)
- Omarkhali, Khanna; Kreyenbroek, Philip G. (Guest Eds.) (2016, October): Yezidism and Yezidi Studies in the Early 21st Century. [Special Issue]. *Kurdish Studies*, 4(2). URL: <https://kurdishstudies.net/journal/ks/issue/view/51>
- Onat, Ismail; Çubukçu, Suat (2019): Unresolved Conflict, Urban Insurgency and Devastating Consequences in Turkey Between 2015 and 2016. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 14(2), 164-182. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2019.1617431>
- Orhan, Mehmet (2012): Kurdish Rebellions and Conflict Groups in Turkey During the 1920s and 1930s. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 32(3), 339-358. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2012.727294>
- Orhan, Mehmet (2020, Summer): Research Methodology in Kurdish Studies: Interactions Between Fieldwork, Epistemology and Theory. *Anthropology of the Middle East*, 15(1), 1-19. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3167/ame.2020.150102>
- Orton, Kyle (2019, June): The PKK Roots of America's Ally in Syria. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(12), 6-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/TM-June-14-2019-1.pdf>

- Orton, Kyle (2019, November): Rift Emerges in PKK Command Structure Over Ties to U.S. Coalition Forces in Syria. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(22), 7-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/TM-Nov.-18-2019-Issue.pdf>
- Ozkahraman, Cemal (2021): Kurdish Cross-Border Trade Between Syria and Turkey: The Socio-Political Trajectories of Syrian Kurds. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 57(4), 567-580. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2021.1874365>
- Özpek, Burak Bilgehan (2018): Paradigm Shift Between Turkey and the Kurds: From “Clash of the Titans” to “Game of Thrones”. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1), 43-60. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2017.1415513>
- Oztig, Lacin Idil (2019, Spring): Syria and Turkey: Border-Security Priorities. *Middle East Policy*, 26(1), 117-126. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12404>
- Paasche, Till F. (2015): Fighting Falcons Over Northern Iraq: A Kurdish Perspective on F-16 Fighters and Regional Security. *Critical Studies on Security*, 3(1), 122-126. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2015.1005421>
- Paasche, Till F. (2015, Spring): Syrian and Iraqi Kurds: Conflict and Cooperation. *Middle East Policy*, 22(1), 77-88. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12114>
- Paasche, Till F.; Gunter, Michael M. (2016, Winter): Revisiting Western Strategies Against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. *The Middle East Journal*, 70(1), 9-29. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/70.1.11>
- Palani, Kamaran et al. (2019): The Development of Kurdistan’s De Facto Statehood: Kurdistan’s September 2017 Referendum for Independence. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(12), 2270-2288. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1619452>
- Palani, Kamaran et al. (2021): De Facto States Engagement with Parent States: Kurdistan’s Engagement with the Iraqi Government. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 48(4), 770-788. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2020.1714429>
- Park, Bill (2016): The Kurds: A Nation Divided, a Nation Without a State. In: Karl Cordell; Stefan Wolff (Eds.): *The Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict*. (2nd ed.). Abingdon: Routledge, 313-329.
- Park, Bill et al. (2017, October): On the Independence Referendum in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Disputed Territories in 2017. [Field Notes]. *Kurdish Studies*, 5(2), 199-214. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v5i2.445>
- Peic, Goran (2021): Divide and Co-Opt: Private Agendas, Tribal Groups, and Militia Formation in Counterinsurgency Wars. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 44(12), 1022-1049. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2019.1620432>
- Peled-Shapira, Hilla (2014, May): Was Halabja a Turning Point for the Poet Buland al-Haydari? *Kurdish Studies*, 2(1), 14-33. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v2i1.377>
- Perkins, Joshua A. (2015, December): Kurdistan: The Permanent Solution to Daesh. *Small Wars Journal*, 12/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/kurdistan-the-permanent-solution-to-daesh>
- Phillips, David L. (2009): Kurdistan Worker’s Party. In: *From Bullets to Ballots: Violent Muslim Movements in Transition*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 107-138.
- Pischedda, Costantino (2020): Inter-Rebel War in the Shadow of Genocide: The Kurdish Insurgencies in Iraq. In: *Conflict Among Rebels: Why Insurgent Groups Fight Each Other*. New York: Columbia University Press, 41-79.
- Plakoudas, Spyridon (2017, March): The Syrian Kurds and the Democratic Union Party: The Outsider in

- the Syrian War. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 28(1), 99-116. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1215/10474552-3882819>
- Plakoudas, Spyridon (2017, October): "Phil-Kurdism" Like Philhellenism? The Role and Impact of the Western Volunteers Alongside Kurds. *Small Wars Journal*, 10/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/phil-kurdism-philhellenism-role-and-impact-western-volunteers-alongside-kurds>
- Plakoudas, Spyridon; Michnik, Wojciech (2021, Fall): Turkish Imperialism: Whither the Syrian Kurds? *Middle East Quarterly*, 28(4). URL: <https://www.meforum.org/62609/whither-the-syrian-kurds>
- Pollock, David (2016, December): Ending a Century of Subjugation: Sykes-Picot's Kurdish Legacy. In: Andrew J. Tabler (Ed.): *The Lines That Bind: 100 Years of Sykes-Picot*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus 151). Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 32-37. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/lines-bind-100-years-sykes-picot>
- Polo, Sara M. T. (2020, November): How Terrorism Spreads: Emulation and the Diffusion of Ethnic and Ethnoreligious Terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(10), 1916-1942. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002720930811>
- Portzer, Joshua M. M. (2020, May-June): The People's Protection Units' Branding Problem: Syrian Kurds and Potential Destabilization in Northeastern Syria. *Military Review*, 5-6/2020, 92-103. URL: <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/Military-Review/English-Edition-Archives/May-June-2020/Portzer-Peoples-Protection-Unit>
- Post, Jerrold M. (2007): Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). In: *The Mind of the Terrorist: The Psychology of Terrorism from the IRA to al-Qaeda*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 67-82.
- Pothecary, James (2017, June): Russia a Fair-Weather Friend for Syria's Kurds. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(11), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Terrorism-Monitor-June-2-2017.pdf>
- Protner, Beja (2018, May): Reading and Feeling Gender in Perpetrator Graffiti and Photography in Turkey. *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1), 59-83. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v6i1.434>
- Rasheed, Amjed (2019): The Kurdish Cause in Iraq: From the Second Republic to the Fall of Kirkuk (2003-2018). In: Jacob Eriksson; Ahmed Khaleel (Eds.): *Iraq After ISIS: The Challenges of Post-War Recovery*. Cham: Palgrave Pivot, 57-78. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-00955-7\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-00955-7_5)
- Renahan, Thomas M. (2017): Part 3. Kurdistan from the Inside. In: *The Struggle for Iraq: A View from the Ground Up*. Lincoln: Potomac Books, 341-390.
- Rifai, Ola (2016): The Kurdish Identity: From Banishment to Empowerment. *Syria Studies*, 8(2), 12-24. URL: <https://ojs.st-andrews.ac.uk/index.php/syria/article/view/1377>
- Romano, David (2020, October): Sub-State Actors and Foreign Policy Risk-Taking: The Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq. *Kurdish Studies*, 8(2), 339-369. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v8i2.533>
- Rørbæk, Lasse Lykke (2019): Ethnic Exclusion and Civil Resistance Campaigns: Opting for Nonviolent or Violent Tactics? *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(3), 475-493. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1233872>
- Roussinos, Aris (2017, June): After Raqqa: The Challenges Posed by Syria's Tribal Networks. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(12), 8-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Terrorism-Monitor-June-16-2017.pdf>
- Ruehsen, Moyara (2016): Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (PKK). In: Michael Freeman (Ed.): *Financing Terrorism: Case Studies*. Abingdon: Routledge, 63-74. (Original work published 2012).
- Rumelili, Bahar; Çelik, Ayşe Betül (2017, August): Ontological Insecurity in Asymmetric Conflicts: Reflections on Agonistic Peace in Turkey's Kurdish Issue. *Security Dialogue*, 48(4), 279-296. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362533717710000>

[org/10.1177/0967010617695715](https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617695715)

- Sahin, Selver B. (2015): The Kurdish Regional Government and the Question of Increasing Autonomy. In: *International Intervention and State-Making: How Exception Became the Norm*. (Routledge Studies in Intervention and Statebuilding). Abingdon: Routledge, 87-109.
- Salt, Jeremy (2016, Summer): Erdogan's "New Turkey" Slides into Turmoil. *Middle East Policy*, 23(2), 119-131. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12199>
- Sarigil, Zeki (2021, July): A Micro-Level Analysis of the Contagion Effect: Evidence from the Kurdish Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 58(4), 763-777. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343320957386>
- Savran, Arin (2020): The Peace Process Between Turkey and the Kurdistan Workers' Party, 2009–2015. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 22(6), 777-792. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2020.1801243>
- Scalbert-Yücel; Clémence (2018): Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Hierarchy: The Use of Categories in the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey. In: Gilles Dorransoro; Olivier Grojean (Eds.): *Identity, Conflict and Politics in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan*. (Comparative Politics and International Studies Series). New York: Oxford University Press, 45-64.
- Scham, Sandra (2018): "The Fanged Serpents of the Mountain": Kurdish Separatism in the Context of the Ancient Past. In: *Extremism, Ancient and Modern: Insurgency, Terror and Empire in the Middle East*. Abingdon: Routledge, 53-73.
- Schoon, Eric W. (2019): Building Legitimacy: Interactional Dynamics and the Popular Evaluation of the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) in Turkey. In: Isabelle Duyvesteyn (Ed.): *Rebels and Legitimacy: Processes and Practices*. Abingdon: Routledge, 66-86.
- Self, Andrew; Ferris, Jared (2016): Dead Men Tell No Lies: Using Killed-in-Action (KIA) Data to Expose the PKK's Regional Shell Game. *Defence Against Terrorism Review*, 8, 9-35. URL: [http://www.coedat.nato.int/publication/datr/volume8-2016/01-Dead Men Tell No Lies.pdf](http://www.coedat.nato.int/publication/datr/volume8-2016/01-Dead%20Men%20Tell%20No%20Lies.pdf)
- Sentas, Vicki (2016, September): Policing the Diaspora: Kurdish Londoners, MI5 and the Proscription of Terrorist Organizations in the United Kingdom. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 56(5), 898–918. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azv094>
- Sentas, Vicki (2018): Terrorist Organization Proscription as Counterinsurgency in the Kurdish Conflict. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(2), 298-317. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1432215>
- Shannon, Vaughn (2019): Terrorism and Counterterrorism on Europe's Edge: Turkey, the PKK, and the TAK. In: Glen Duerr (Ed.): *Secessionism and Terrorism: Bombs, Blood and Independence in Europe and Eurasia*. (Political Violence). Abingdon: Routledge, 105-124.
- Shkolnik, Michael (2021, August): Rival Consolidation in Nascent Insurrections: Why Some Militant Groups Wage Sustained Insurgencies. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 15(4), 11-26. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2021/issue-4/shkolnik.pdf>
- Sirkeci, Ibrahim; Privara, Andrej (2017, October): Kurdish Studies in Russian Language: 1917-2017. *Kurdish Studies*, 5(2), 187-198. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v5i2.444>
- Smets, Kevin (2016): Ethnic Media, Conflict, and the Nation-State: Kurdish Broadcasting in Turkey and Europe and Mediated Nationhood. *Media, Culture & Society*, 38(5), 738-754. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443715620928>
- Smets, Kevin; Akkaya, Ahmet Hamdi (2016, April): Media and Violent Conflict: Halil Dağ, Kurdish Insurgency, and the Hybridity of Vernacular Cinema of Conflict. *Media, War & Conflict*, 9(1), 76-92. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635215611611>



- Smith, Crispin (2018, Winter): Independent Without Independence: The Iraqi-Kurdish Peshmerga in International Law. *Harvard International Law Journal*, 59(1), 245-277. URL: [https://harvardilj.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/HLI102\\_crop-1.pdf](https://harvardilj.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/HLI102_crop-1.pdf)
- Soleimani, Kamal; Mohammadpour, Ahmad (2020): The Securitisation of Life: Eastern Kurdistan Under the Rule of a Perso-Shi'i State. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(4), 663-682. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1695199>
- Sönmez, Göktuğ (2017, April): A Scorecard for Turkey's Operation Euphrates Shield. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(7), 3-5. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/TM\\_April-7-2017.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/TM_April-7-2017.pdf)
- Sönmez, Göktuğ (2017, May): The Dangerous Implications of Raising the Kurdish Flag in Kirkuk. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(10), 6-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/dangerous-implications-raising-kurdish-flag-kirkuk>
- Sönmez, Göktuğ (2016, August): Political Turmoil in KRG Risks Hindering Kurdish Efforts Against Islamic State. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(17), 5-7. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/TM\\_Vol\\_14\\_Issue\\_08.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/TM_Vol_14_Issue_08.pdf)
- Sozer, Mehmet Alper; Yilmaz, Kamil (2019): The PKK and its Evolution in Britain (1984–Present). *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(2), 185-203. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1194269>
- Spät, Eszter (2016, October): Hola hola Tawûsî Melek, hola hola şehidê Şingalê: Persecution and the Development of Yezidi Ritual Life. *Kurdish Studies*, 4(2), 155-175. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v4i2.426>
- Speckhard, Anne; Shajkovci, Ardian (2019, July 9): With International Help, SDF Can Lead in Prepping ISIS Fighters for Prosecution, Rehabilitation. *Homeland Security Today*. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/perspective-with-international-help-sdf-can-lead-in-prepping-isis-fighters-for-prosecution-rehabilitation>
- Stansfield, Gareth (2017): The Consolidation of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and the Integrity of the Iraqi State. In: Benjamin Isakhan; Shamiran Mako; Fadi Dawood (Eds.): *State and Society in Iraq: Citizenship Under Occupation, Dictatorship and Democratisation*. London: I.B. Tauris, 217-237. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350988217.ch-010>
- Talhami, Ghada Hashem (2013, March): Diplomacy of the Kurdish Territorial Nation. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 7(1), 21-42. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.7.1.21\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.7.1.21_1)
- Tank, Pinar (2017): Kurdish Women in Rojava: From Resistance to Reconstruction. *Die Welt des Islams*, 57(3-4), 404-428. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700607-05734p07>
- Tekdemir, Omer; Toivanen, Mari; Baser, Bahar (2018): Peace Profile: Academics for Peace in Turkey. *Peace Review*, 30(1), 103-111. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2017.1419968>
- Tezcür, Güneş Murat (2021): Kurdish Politics in Post-2011 Syria: From Fragmentation to Hegemony. *Mediterranean Politics*, 26(1), 130-138. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2019.1671677>
- Tezcür, Güneş Murat; Gurses, Mehmet (2017, January): Ethnic Exclusion and Mobilization: The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey. *Comparative Politics*, 49(2), 213-234. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041517820201378>
- Thornton, Rod (2015): Problems with the Kurds as Proxies Against Islamic State: Insights from the Siege of Kobane. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 26(6), 865-885. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2015.1095844>
- Tokdemir, Efe (2021, September): Feels Like Home: Effect of Transnational Identities on Attitudes Towards Foreign Countries. *Journal of Peace Research*, 58(5), 1034-1048. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343320943251>

- Tokdemir, Efe; Klein, Graig R. (2021, June): Strategic Interaction of Governments and Terrorist Groups in Times of Economic Hardship. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 32(6), 742-756. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242694.2021.1940457>
- Tokdemir, Efe et al. (2020): “Wars of Others”: National Cleavages and Attitudes Towards External Conflicts. *International Interactions*, 46(6), 953-986. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2020.1792898>
- Tsafirir, Eliezer (2015): Rediscovering the Kurds. *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 9(3), 453-458. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23739770.2015.1128740>
- Tuğrul, Barış; Lafaye, Caroline Guibet (2022): Kurdish “Patriotic” Families: An Incentive or an Impediment to Joining the PKK Through the Generations and According to Gender. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2022.2049947>
- Turkut, Emre (2017): Accommodating Security Imperatives v. Protecting Fundamental Rights: The Challenge of States of Emergency in the Context of Countering Terrorism in Turkey. *Security and Human Rights*, 28, 62-91. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18750230-02801002>
- Uluğ, Özden Melis; Cohrs, J. Christopher (2016): An Exploration of Lay People’s Kurdish Conflict Frames in Turkey. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 22(2), 109-119. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000165>
- Uluğ, Özden Melis; Cohrs, J. Christopher (2017): “If We Become Friends, Maybe I Can Change My Perspective”: Intergroup Contact, Endorsement of Conflict Narratives, and Peace-Related Attitudes in Turkey. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 23(3), 278-287. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000216> URL: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313815514> [If We Become Friends Maybe I Can Change My Perspective Intergroup Contact Endorsement of Conflict Narratives and Peace-Related Attitudes in Turkey](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313815514)
- Uluğ, Özden Melis; Cohrs, J. Christopher (2017, April): “Who Will Resolve this Conflict if the Politicians Don’t?”: Members’ of Parliament Understandings of the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 28(2), 245-266. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCMA-10-2015-0071>
- Uluğ, Özden Melis; Cohrs, J. Christopher (2017, Winter): How Do Experts Differ from Politicians in Understanding a Conflict? A Comparison of Track I and Track II Actors. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 35(2), 147-172. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/crq.21208>
- Uluğ, Özden Melis; Cohrs, J. Christopher (2019, March): Examining the Ethos of Conflict by Exploring Lay People’s Representations of the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 36(2), 169-190. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894216674969>
- Uluğ, Özden Melis et al. (2017, August): Understanding the Kurdish Conflict Through the Eyes of Kurds and Turks: New Conflict Reflections from Lay People in Turkey. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 28(4), 483-508. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCMA-05-2016-0035>
- Ünal, Mustafa Coşar (2016): Is it Ripe yet? Resolving Turkey’s 30 Years of Conflict with the PKK. *Turkish Studies*, 17(1), 91-125. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2015.1124020> URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11693/36604>
- Ünal, Mustafa Coşar (2016): Opening a Door for Return to Home: Impact and Effectiveness of Turkish Repentance Laws. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39(2), 128-164. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1093889> URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11693/21480>
- Üngör, Uğur Ümit; Işık, Ayhan (2021, May): Mass Violence and the Kurds. [Special Issue]. *Kurdish Studies*, 9(1). URL: <https://kurdishstudies.net/journal/ks/issue/view/59>
- Üngör, Uğur Ümit; Işık, Ayhan (2021, May): Mass Violence and the Kurds: Introduction to the Special

Issue. *Kurdish Studies*, 9(1), 1-9. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v9i1.634>

Urosevich, Kerrie (2006): Kurdistan. In: Derek S. Reveron; Jeffrey Stevenson Murer (Eds.): *Flashpoints in the War on Terrorism*. New York: Routledge, 43-64.

Uzun Avci, Emel (2019, February): Denial of the Kurdish Question in the Personal Narratives of Lay People. *Ethnicities*, 19(1), 156-173. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796818786307>

van Bruinessen, Martin (2016, October): Editorial. *Kurdish Studies*, 4(2), 119-121. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v4i2.423>

van Bruinessen, Martin (2018, May): Editorial. *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1), 1-3. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v6i1.431>

van den Berge, Wietse (2015, May): Syrian Kurdish Political Activism: A Social Movement Theory Perspective. *Area Studies*, 4, 160-169. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17192/meta.2015.4.2520>

van den Berge, Wietse (2016): The Cleavage in Syrian Kurdish Politics: Equality Versus Non-Violence. In: Sara Zeiger (Ed.): *Expanding Research on Countering Violent Extremism*. Abu Dhabi / Perth: Hedayah / Edith Cowan University, 55-70. URL: <https://hedayahcenter.org/resources/expanding-research-on-cve>

van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2014, May): Kurdish Enclaves in Syria Battle Islamist Militant Groups. *Terrorism Monitor*, 12(9), 6-7. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/TerrorismMonitor-Vol12Issue9\\_02.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/TerrorismMonitor-Vol12Issue9_02.pdf)

van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2015, March): Islamic State Develops New Strategies to Destabilize the KRG. *Terrorism Monitor*, 8(6), 6-7. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue6\\_02.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue6_02.pdf)

van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2015, May): Kurdish-Shi'a Tensions in Iraq Amid the Struggle Against the Islamic State. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(10), 6-8. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue10\\_02.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue10_02.pdf)

van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2015, September): Turkey's New Syria Policy: Preventing Islamic State and Kurdish Expansion. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(19), 6-8. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue19\\_02.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue19_02.pdf)

van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2015, October): Caught Between Russia, the United States and Turkey, Syrian Kurds Face Dilemma. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(21), 6-8. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue21\\_02.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue21_02.pdf)

van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2015, December): The Kurdish Periphery. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(24), 13-15. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue24\\_04.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue24_04.pdf)

van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2016, February): The Battle for the Euphrates: Turkey's Response to Kurdish Expansion. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(4), 3-5. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/February\\_19\\_2016\\_TM\\_01.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/February_19_2016_TM_01.pdf)

van Wilgenburg, Wladimir (2016, June): U.S. Backing Gives Kurds Cover for United Federal Region in Northern Syria. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(12), 8-10. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/TM\\_June\\_13\\_2016\\_03.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/TM_June_13_2016_03.pdf)

Voller, Yaniv (2017, Summer): Identity and the Ba'ath Regime's Campaign Against Kurdish Rebels in Northern Iraq. *The Middle East Journal*, 71(3), 383-401. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/71.3.13>

Waziri, Hoshang; Wilson, Lydia (2015, June): Haunted by their Past: Kurds and the Islamic State. *CTC Sentinel*, 8(6), 21-24. URL: <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CTCSentinel-Vol8Issue66.pdf>

- Weiss, Jacob (2021, July): Iranian-Backed Iraqi Militias Deter Turkish Intervention in Sinjar. *Terrorism Monitor*, 19(14), 8-11. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/TM-July-16-2021-Issue.pdf>
- Weiss, Jacob (2021, November): Iran's Impending Military Intervention in Iraqi Kurdistan: Catalysts and Unintended Consequences. *Terrorism Monitor*, 19(21), 8-11. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/TM-PDF-Draft.pdf>
- Weiss, Nerina (2020): Good Radicals? Trajectories of Pro-Kurdish Political and Militant Mobilisation to the Wars in Syria, Turkey and Iraq. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 13(3), 373-395. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2020.1759955>
- Whitehead, Brandon (2017, April): After ISIL: The Conflict Following the War. *Small Wars Journal*, 4/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/after-isil-the-conflict-following-the-war>
- Whiting, Matthew; Kayab, Zeynep N. (2021): Autocratization, Permanent Emergency Rule and Local Politics: Lessons from the Kurds in Turkey. *Democratization*, 28(4), 821-839. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2021.1871602>
- Wörmer, Nils; Lamberty, Lucas (2018): Scattered Dreams: The Independence Referendum, the Fall of Kirkuk and the Effect on Kurdish and Iraqi Politics. *KAS Auslandsinformationen*, 1/2018, 78-91. URL: <https://www.kas.de/de/web/auslandsinformationen/artikel/detail/-/content/der-kurdische-alb-traum1>
- Yarkin, Güllistan (2015, May): The Ideological Transformation of the PKK Regarding the Political Economy of the Kurdish Region in Turkey. *Kurdish Studies*, 3(1), 26-46. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v3i1.390>
- Yavuz, M. Hakan; Özcan, Nihat Ali (2015, Winter): Turkish Democracy and the Kurdish Question. *Middle East Policy*, 22(4), 73-87. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12159>
- Yeğen, Mesut (2016): Armed Struggle to Peace Negotiations: Independent Kurdistan to Democratic Autonomy, or The PKK in Context. *Middle East Critique*, 25(4), 365-383. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2016.1218162>
- Yeğen, Mesut (2021): State Violence in "Kurdistan". In: Stephan Astourian; Raymond Kévorkian (Eds.): *Collective and State Violence in Turkey: The Construction of a National Identity from Empire to Nation-State*. New York: Berghahn Books / The Zoryan Institute, 303-346.
- Yesiltas, Ozum (2021, October). Rethinking State-Non-State Alliances: A Theoretical Analysis of the U.S. Kurdish Relationship. *Kurdish Studies*, 9(2), 189-204. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v9i2.589>
- Yoshioka, Akiko (2015, March): The Shifting Balance of Power in Iraqi Kurdistan: The Struggle for Democracy with Uninstitutionalized Governance. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 9(1), 21-35. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.9.1.21\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.9.1.21_1)
- Yoshioka, Akiko (2020): Challenges for the Kurdistan Region. In: Keiko Sakai; Philip Marfleet (Eds.): *Iraq Since the Invasion: People and Politics in a State of Conflict*. Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 9.
- Yücel, Clémence Scalbert (2016): Common Ground or Battlefield? Deconstructing the Politics of Recognition in Turkey. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 22(1), 71-93. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2016.1133862>
- Yuksel-Pecen, Ayse Seda (2018): Representation of Terror and Ethnic Conflict in the Turkish Press: An Analysis of the Peace Process in Turkey. *Middle East Critique*, 27(2), 207-219. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2018.1443848>



**Grey Literature**

Alaranta, Toni (2017, February): *Turkish Troops in Syria: Is it All About the Kurds from Now on?* (FIIA Briefing Paper 214). URL: [https://www.fiaa.fi/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/bp214\\_turkish\\_troops\\_in\\_syria.pdf](https://www.fiaa.fi/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/bp214_turkish_troops_in_syria.pdf)

Aljazeera Centre for Studies (2017, October): *The Costs of Voting on Kurdistan's Secession*. (Policy Brief). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/positionpapers/2017/10/costs-voting-kurdistan-secession-171011105926310.html>

Aljazeera Centre for Studies (2017, November): *After Kirkuk: What Does Erbil's Defeat Mean for the Regional Balance of Power?* (Policy Brief). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/positionpapers/2017/11/kirkuk-erbils-defeat-regional-balance-power-171112070301674.html>

Amnesty International (2015, October): *"We Had Nowhere Else to Go": Forced Displacement and Demolitions in Northern Syria*. (Report MDE 24/2503/2015). URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde24/2503/2015/en>

Amnesty International (2016, January): *Banished and Dispossessed: Forced Displacement and Deliberate Destruction in Northern Iraq*. (Report MDE 14/3229/2016). URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde14/3229/2016/en>

Amnesty International (2021, June): *Turkey: Weaponizing Counterterrorism: Turkey Exploits Terrorism Financing Assessment to Target Civil Society*. (Report EUR 44/4269/2021). URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur44/4269/2021/en>

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), Policy Analysis Unit (2016, March): *Syria's Kurds: Hopes of Independence Clash with the Reality of Geography and Demographics*. (Assessment Report). URL: [https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Syrias\\_Kurds\\_Hopes\\_of\\_Independence\\_Clash\\_with\\_the\\_Reality\\_of\\_Geography\\_and\\_Demographics.aspx](https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Syrias_Kurds_Hopes_of_Independence_Clash_with_the_Reality_of_Geography_and_Demographics.aspx)

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), Policy Analysis Unit (2017, November): *The Iraqi Kurdistan Referendum: Repercussions and Future Prospects*. (Situation Assessment). URL: [https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Kurdistan\\_Referendum\\_Repercussions\\_and\\_the\\_Perspectives\\_of\\_the\\_Crisis.aspx](https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Kurdistan_Referendum_Repercussions_and_the_Perspectives_of_the_Crisis.aspx)

Arin, Kubilay (2015, March): *Turkey and the Kurds – From War to Reconciliation?* (Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies Working Paper Series). URL: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3229m63b>

Ashour, Omar (2020, August): *Punching Above Weights: Combat Effectiveness of Armed Nonstate Actors in the Arab World and Beyond*. (ACRPS Strategic Papers, No. 2). URL: <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Combat-Effectiveness-of-Armed-Nonstate-Actors-in-the-Arab-World-and-Beyond.aspx>

Atran, Scott et al. (2014, November): *The Devoted Actor, Sacred Values, and Willingness to Fight: Preliminary Studies with ISIL Volunteers and Kurdish Frontline Fighters*. (ARTIS Research Paper). URL: <https://artisinternational.org/the-devoted-actor-sacred-values-and-willingness-to-fight-preliminary-studies-with-isil-volunteers-and-kurdish-frontline-fighters>

Aviles, Weston (Ed.) (2018, April): *How Can the US Retain Stability in Post-Kurdish Referendum Iraq?* (SMA Reach-back Report). URL: <https://nsiteam.com/how-can-the-us-retain-stability-in-post-kurdish-referendum-iraq>

Aydın, Ayşegül; Emrence, Cem (2016, December): *Two Routes to an Impasse: Understanding Turkey's Kurdish Policy*. (Brookings Institution Turkey Project Policy Paper No. 10). URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/two-routes-to-an-impasse-understanding-turkeys-kurdish-policy>

Bakr, Mera Jasm (2021, July): *The War at Home: The Need for Internal Security Sector Reform in Iraqi Kurd-*

- istan*. (MEI Policy Paper). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/war-home-need-internal-security-sector-reform-iraqi-kurdistan>
- Barabandi, Bassam; Itani, Faysal (2015, August): *Seizing Local Opportunities in Syria*. (Atlantic Council Issue in Focus). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/seizing-local-opportunities-in-syria>
- Barfi, Barak (2016, April): *Ascent of the PYD and the SDF*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Research Notes, 32). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/ascent-pyd-and-sdf>
- Barkey, Henri J. (2015, July): *On the KRG, the Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process, and the Future of the Kurds*. (IAI Global Turkey in Europe Series, Working Paper 12). URL: <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/krg-turkish-kurdish-peace-process-and-future-kurds>
- Bassiri Tabrizi, Aniseh et al. (2017, June): *New Emerging Trends to an Age-Old Challenge: Stable Governance in Northern Iraq*. (RUSI Conference Report). URL: <https://rusi.org/publication/conference-reports/new-emerging-trends-age-old-challenge-stable-governance-northern-iraq>
- Bengio, Ofra (2017): *The Kurds in a Volatile Middle East*. (BESA Report; Mideast Security and Policy Studies, No. 130). URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep04759.1>
- Bilgel, Firat; Karahasan, Burhan Can (2013): *The Economic Costs of Separatist Terrorism in Turkey*. (IREA Working Paper 2013/22). URL: [https://www.ub.edu/irea/working\\_papers/2013/201322.pdf](https://www.ub.edu/irea/working_papers/2013/201322.pdf)
- Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) (2016, June): *Authoritarianism and Escalation: Preparing for the Worst in Turkey's Resurgent Kurdish Conflict*. (Report). URL: <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/report/turkey-kurdish-conflict>
- Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) (2016, July): *Turkey vs. ISIS and PKK: A Matter of Distinction*. (Issue Brief). URL: <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/report/turkey-isis-pkk-brief>
- Cagaptay, Soner (2016, September): *After the Jarabulus Offensive: How Far Will Turkey Shift its Syria Policy?* (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes, No. 28). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/after-jarabulus-offensive-how-far-will-turkey-shift-its-syria-policy>
- Can, Osman (2021, June): *The Motion Before Turkey's Constitutional Court to Ban the Pro-Kurdish HDP: An Example of the Entanglement of Politics and the Judiciary, and a Bad Omen for a Peaceful Solution to the Kurdish Conflict*. (SWP Comments, 2021/C 38). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/the-motion-before-turkeys-constitutional-court-to-ban-the-pro-kurdish-hdp>
- Cancian, Matthew (2019, August): *Trained to Kill: Battlefield Participation in Kurdish Fighters*. [Audio File]. (SMA Speaker Session). URL: <https://nsiteam.com/trained-to-kill-battlefield-participation-in-kurdish-fighters>
- Canna, Sarah; Aviles, Weston (Eds.) (2017, June): *Impact of Kurdish Independence in the Region*. (SMA Reach-back Report). URL: <https://nsiteam.com/kurdish>
- Carter Center, The (2017, February): *Foreign Volunteers for the Syrian Kurdish Forces*. (Report). URL: [https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict\\_resolution/syria-conflict/foreign-volunteers-for-syrian-kurdish-forces-2017.02.23.pdf](https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/foreign-volunteers-for-syrian-kurdish-forces-2017.02.23.pdf)
- Constant, Louay et al. (2021): *In Search of a Durable Solution: Examining the Factors Influencing Postconflict Refugee Returns*. (RAND Research Reports, RR-A1327-1). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7249/RR1327-1>
- Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) (2017, October): *The Time of the Kurds*. (CFR InfoGuide Presentation). URL: <https://www.cfr.org/time-kurds/#!/time-kurds>
- Dalay, Galip (2015, February): *Regional Kurdish Politics in the Post-ISIS Period*. (Aljazeera Centre for Stud-

ies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/ar/node/1393>

Delay, Galip (2015, March): *Reflecting on Regional Kurdish Politics in the Post-ISIS Period (II): Forces of Rivalry Amongst the Kurds*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/ar/node/1401>

Delay, Galip (2015, April): *The Kurdish Peace Process: From Dialogue to Negotiation?* (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2015/04/2015422115349145185.html>

Delay, Galip (2015, September): *Is Turkey's Kurdish Peace Process on the Brink?* (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2015/09/20159813236393942.html>

Delay, Galip (2016, February): *Kurdish Politics Amid the Fight Against the ISIS: Can a Common Cause Surmount Old Rivalries?* (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/02/201627855330580.html>

Delay, Galip (2017, February): *What Is Driving Turkish Foreign Policy Today?* (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2017/02/driving-turkish-foreign-policy-to-day-170227091853603.html>

Delay, Galip (2017, April): *Drivers of Turkish Foreign Policy: Part II: Imperative of Regional Politics, not Personality or Ideology, Drives Turkish Policy*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2017/04/drivers-turkish-foreign-policy-part-ii-imperative-regional-politics-personality-ideo-170409100710306.html>

Delay, Galip (2017, October): *Iraqi Kurdish Independence Referendum: The Road Ahead*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2017/10/iraqi-kurdish-independence-referendum-road-171024102636556.html>

Delay, Galip (2017, December): *Evolution of Turkey – Iraqi Kurdistan's Relations*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2017/12/evolution-turkey-iraqi-kurdistan-relations-171220092851950.html>

Dobbins, James; Gordon, Philip; Martini, Jeffrey (2015): *A Peace Plan for Syria*. (RAND Perspectives, PE-182-RC). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7249/PE182>

Fleet, Mike (2019, September): *Decentralization and its Discontents in Iraq*. (MEI Policy Paper 2019-18). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/decentralization-and-its-discontents-iraq>

Fleet, Mike; Connelly, Megan (2021, June): *Games Without Frontiers: Renegotiating the Boundaries of Power in Iraqi Kurdistan*. (MEI Policy Paper). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/games-without-frontiers-renegotiating-boundaries-power-iraqi-kurdistan>

Fliervoet, Feike (2018, March): *Fighting for Kurdistan? Assessing the Nature and Functions of the Peshmerga in Iraq*. (CRU Report). URL: <https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2018/fighting-for-kurdistan>

Gunes, Cengiz; Lowe, Robert (2015, July): *The Impact of the Syrian War on Kurdish Politics Across the Middle East*. (Research Paper; Chatham House Middle East and North Africa Programme). URL: <https://syria.chathamhouse.org/research/the-impact-of-the-syrian-war-on-kurdish-politics-across-the-middle-east>

Gurbuz, Mustafa (2018, October): *False Hopes? Political Inclusion Prospects in Rojava and Iraqi Kurdistan*. (Research Paper; James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University). URL: <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/research/political-inclusion-rojava-and-iraqi-kurdistan>

Hama, Hawre Hasan; Connelly, Megan (2017, September): *Kurdistan's Struggle for Sovereignty: State, Societal, and Human Security*. (ACRPS Case Analysis). URL: <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Kurdistan%E2%80%99s-Struggle-for-Sovereignty-State,-Societal,-and-Human-Security.aspx>



- Hassaniyan, Allan (2021, November): *The Iranian Kurdish Movement at Home and in Exile: From Decline to Revival*. (ACRPS Research Paper). URL: <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/ResearchAndStudies/Pages/The-Iranian-Kurdish-Movement-at-Home-and-in-Exile-From-Decline-to-Revival.aspx>
- Helfont, Samuel (2017, May): *Getting Peshmerga Reform Right: Helping the Iraqi Kurds to Help Themselves in Post-ISIS Iraq*. (FPRI / IRIS Report). URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/05/getting-peshmerga-reform-right-helping-iraqi-kurds-help-post-isis-iraq>
- Hoffman, Max (2019, August 12): *The State of the Turkish-Kurdish Conflict*. (Center for American Progress Report). URL: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/08/12/473508/state-turkish-kurdish-conflict>
- Holland-McCowan, John (2018, October): *The Kurds After the “Caliphate”: How the Decline of ISIS has Impacted the Kurds of Iraq and Syria*. (ICSR Report). URL: <https://icsr.info/2018/10/10/the-kurds-after-the-caliphate-how-the-decline-of-isis-has-impacted-the-kurds-of-iraq-and-syria>
- Holmes, Amy Austin; Hawezzy, Diween; Cohen, Brett (2021, August): *Five Years of Airstrikes: Turkish Aggression and International Silence in Sinjar, 2017-2021*. (ICSVE Research Reports). URL: <https://www.icsve.org/five-years-of-airstrikes-turkish-aggression-and-international-silence-in-sinjar-2017-2021>
- Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2016, November): *Marked with an “X”: Iraqi Kurdish Forces’ Destruction of Villages, Homes in Conflict with ISIS*. (Report). URL: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/11/13/marked-x/iraqi-kurdish-forces-destruction-villages-homes-conflict-isis>
- Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP) (2016, December): *Turkey’s Kurdish Conflict: 2015-Present*. (Background). URL: <https://isdp.eu/publication/turkeys-kurdish-conflict-2015-present>
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2014, May): *Flight of Icarus? The PYD’s Precarious Rise in Syria*. (Middle East Report N°151). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/flight-icarus-pyd-s-precarious-rise-syria>
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2015, May): *Arming Iraq’s Kurds: Fighting IS, Inviting Conflict*. (Middle East Report N°158). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/arming-iraq-s-kurds-fighting-inviting-conflict>
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2015, December): *A Sisyphean Task? Resuming Turkey-PKK Peace Talks*. (Europe Briefing N°77). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/sisyphean-task-resuming-turkey-pkk-peace-talks>
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, March): *The Human Cost of the PKK Conflict in Turkey: The Case of Sur*. (Crisis Group Europe Briefing N°80). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/human-cost-pkk-conflict-turkey-case-sur>
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, April): *Steps Toward Stabilising Syria’s Northern Border*. (Crisis Group Middle East Briefing N°49). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/steps-toward-stabilising-syria-s-northern-border>
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, April): *Fighting ISIS: The Road to and Beyond Raqqa*. (Middle East Briefing N°53). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/b053-fighting-isis-road-and-beyond-raqqa>
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, May): *Managing Turkey’s PKK Conflict: The Case of Nusaybin*. (Europe Report N°243). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/243-managing-turkeys-pkk-conflict-case-nusaybin>
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, May): *The PKK’s Fateful Choice in Northern Syria*. (Middle East Report N°176). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syr->



[ia/176-pkk-s-fateful-choice-northern-syria](#)

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, October): *Oil and Borders: How to Fix Iraq's Kurdish Crisis*. (Middle East Briefing N°55). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/55-settling-iraqi-kurdistan-boundaries-will-help-defuse-post-referendum-tensions>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, February): *Winning the Post-ISIS Battle for Iraq in Sinjar*. (Middle East Report N°183). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/183-winning-post-isis-battle-iraq-sinjar>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, June): *Turkey's Election Reinvigorates Debate Over Kurdish Demands*. (Europe Briefing N°88). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europe-mediterranean/turkey/b88-turkeys-election-reinvigorates-debate-over-kurdish-demands>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, September): *Prospects for a Deal to Stabilise Syria's North East*. (Middle East Report N°190). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/190-prospects-deal-stabilise-syrias-north-east>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, December): *Avoiding a Free-for-all in Syria's North East*. (Middle East Briefing N°66). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/b066-avoiding-free-all-syrias-north-east>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, December): *Reviving UN Mediation on Iraq's Disputed Internal Boundaries*. (Middle East Report N°194). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/194-reviving-un-mediation-iraqs-disputed-internal-boundaries>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2019, March): *After Iraqi Kurdistan's Thwarted Independence Bid*. (Middle East Report N°199). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/199-after-iraqi-kurdistan-thwarted-independence-bid>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2019, July): *Squaring the Circles in Syria's North East*. (Middle East Report N°204). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/204-squaring-circles-syrias-north-east>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2020, June): *Iraq: Fixing Security in Kirkuk*. (Middle East Report N°215). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/215-iraq-fixing-security-kirkuk>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2021, November): *Syria: Shoring Up Raqqa's Shaky Recovery*. (Middle East Report N°229). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/east-mediterranean-mena/syria/229-syria-shoring-raqqas-shaky-recovery>

Itani, Faysal; Stein, Aaron (2016, May): *Turkey's Syria Predicament*. (Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/turkey-s-syria-predicament>

Jasim, Dastan (2021, January): *Biden's Challenge: Kurdish Autonomy and Turkish Expansionism*. (GIGA Focus Middle East). URL: <https://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/publications/23480846-biden-challenge-kurdish-autonomy-turkish-expansionism>

Jasim, Dastan; Rodgers, Winthrop (2021, February): *Beyond the Elite: Taking Protest and Public Opinion Seriously in the Kurdistan Region*. (MEI Policy Analysis). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/beyond-elite-taking-protest-and-public-opinion-seriously-kurdistan-region>

Jensehaugen, Jørgen; Tank, Pinar (2019): *Kurdish and Palestinian Quests for Self-Determination*. (PRIO MidEast Policy Brief, 01/2019). URL: <https://www.prio.org/Publications/Publication/?x=12153>

Kaddorah, Emad Y. (2016, January): *Change in Turkish Foreign Policy: Reassessments and New Trends*. (ACRPS Policy Analysis). URL: [https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Change\\_in\\_Turk](https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Change_in_Turk)

[ish Foreign Policy Reassessment and New Trends.aspx](#)

Kader, Ariz; Soler i Lecha, Eduard (2018, February): *Iraqi Kurdistan and Beyond: The EU's Stakes*. (MENARA Future Notes, No. 9). URL: <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/iraqi-kurdistan-and-beyond-eus-stakes>

Kajjo, Sirwan (2020, October): *Prospects for Syrian Kurdish Unity: Assessing Local and Regional Dynamics*. (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes, PN86). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/prospects-syrian-kurdish-unity-assessing-local-and-regional-dynamics>

Khalaf, Rana (2016, December): *Governing Rojava: Layers of Legitimacy in Syria*. (Research Paper; Chatham House Middle East and North Africa Programme). URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/governing-rojava-layers-legitimacy-syria>

Kızılkaya, Zafer; Hamdi, Sofie; Salman, Mohammad (2021, July): *The PYD/YPG in the Syrian Conflict: Aspirations for Autonomy in North-Eastern Syria*. (Brussels School of Governance Report). URL: <https://brussels-school.be/publications/other-publications/pydypg-syrian-conflict-aspirations-autonomy-north-eastern-syria>

Knights, Michael (2016, October): *How to Secure Mosul: Lessons from 2008–2014*. (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Research Notes, No. 38). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/how-secure-mosul-lessons-2008-2014>

Koontz, Kayla (2019, October): *Borders Beyond Borders: The Many (Many) Kurdish Political Parties of Syria*. (MEI Policy Paper 2019-21). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/borders-beyond-borders-many-many-kurdish-political-parties-syria>

Kozak, Chris (2016, May): *Russia and Turkey Escalate: Russia's Threat to NATO Goes Beyond Eastern Europe*. (ISW Backgrounder). URL: <http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/russia-and-turkey-escalate-russia%E2%80%99s-threat-nato-goes-beyond-eastern-europe>

Liga, Aldo (2016, December): *Israel and Iraqi Kurds in a Transforming Middle East*. (IAI Working Papers, 16 | 34). URL: <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/israel-and-iraqi-kurds-transforming-middle-east>

Liga, Aldo (2017, October): *The "Israel Factor" and the Iraqi-Kurdish Quest for Independence*. (IAI Commentaries, 17|20). URL: <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/israel-factor-and-iraqi-kurdish-quest-independence>

Lin, Christina (2015, August): *Syrian Buffer Zone – Turkey-Qatar Pipeline*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 367). URL: [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/192741/367\\_Lin.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/192741/367_Lin.pdf)

Lin, Christina (2015, September): *Turkey's Double Standard on Terrorism: Accuses BBC of Supporting PKK, Backs other Groups from China, Russia and US*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 370). URL: [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/193475/370\\_Lin.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/193475/370_Lin.pdf)

Lin, Christina (2016, March): *A Tale of Two Buffer Zones in Syria and ISIS' Pivot to Asia*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 407). URL: [https://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/407\\_Lin.pdf](https://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/407_Lin.pdf)

Lin, Christina (2016, May): *Will China Support an Independent Kurdistan?* (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 424). URL: [https://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/424\\_Lin.pdf](https://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/424_Lin.pdf)

Maenza, Julia (2019, July): *The Kurdish Struggle for Autonomy from the 1970s to the Present*. (FPRI Intern Corner). URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2019/07/the-kurdish-struggle-for-autonomy-from-the-1970s-to-the-present>

- Martin, Patrick; Kozak, Christopher (2016, February): *The Pitfalls of Relying on Kurdish Forces to Counter ISIS*. (ISW Backgrounder). URL: <http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/pitfalls-relying-kurdish-forces-counter-isis>
- Mavromates, Nickolaos (2014, October): *Kobane: The Syrian Kurdish Thermopylae*. (RIEAS Editorial). URL: <http://www.rieas.gr/images/editorial/kobane18.pdf>
- Mustafa, Mohammad Salih (2016, April): *Iran's Role in the Kurdistan Region*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/04/160420105055207.html>
- O'Connor, Francis (2017): *The Kurdish Movement in Turkey: Between Political Differentiation and Violent Confrontation*. (PRIF Report No. 147). URL: <https://www.hsfk.de/en/publications/publication-search/publication/the-kurdish-movement-in-turkey>
- O'Leary, Carole A.; Heras, Nicholas A. (2019): *Political Strategy in Unconventional Warfare: Opportunities Lost in Eastern Syria and Preparing for the Future*. (JSOU Report 19-1). URL: [https://jsou.libguides.com/ld.php?content\\_id=48094082](https://jsou.libguides.com/ld.php?content_id=48094082)
- Orton, Kyle (2016, December): *Turkey and the West in Syria: Course Correction*. (CRT Policy Paper No. 7). URL: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Turkey-and-the-West-in-Syria.pdf>
- Orton, Kyle (2017, August): *The Forgotten Foreign Fighters: The PKK in Syria*. (CRT Report). URL: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/publications/the-forgotten-fighters-the-pkk-in-syria>
- Oweis, Khaled Yacoub (2015, October): *The West's Darling in Syria: Seeking Support, the Kurdish Democratic Union Party Brandishes an Anti-Jihadist Image*. (SWP Comments, 2015/C 47). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/the-west-darling-in-syria>
- Özertem, Hasan Selim (2015, December): *Russia's Shifting Strategy in Syria: Implications for Turkish Foreign Policy*. (ACRPS Case Analysis). URL: [https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/Russias Shifting Strategy in Syria Implications for Turkish Foreign Policy.pdf](https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/Russias%20Shifting%20Strategy%20in%20Syria%20Implications%20for%20Turkish%20Foreign%20Policy.pdf)
- Parello-Plesner, Jonas (2018, August): *Post-ISIS Challenges for Stabilization: Iraq, Syria and the U.S. Approach*. (Hudson Institute Report). URL: <https://www.hudson.org/research/14527-post-isis-challenges-for-stabilization-iraq-syria-and-the-u-s-approach>
- Rashid, Bedir Mulla (2018, July): *The Autonomous Administration in Northern Syria: Questions of Legitimacy and Identity*. (Omran Analysis Paper). URL: <https://omranstudies.org/publications/papers/the-autonomous-administration-in-northern-syria-questions-of-legitimacy-and-identity.html>
- Resch, Eva Maria (2017, June): *Syria's Impact on the Kurdish Peace Process in Turkey*. (IAI Working Papers, 17 | 24). URL: <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/syrias-impact-kurdish-peace-process-turkey>
- Rubin, Michael (2016, July): *Kurdistan Rising? Considerations for Kurds, their Neighbors, and the Region*. (AEI Report). URL: <https://www.aei.org/kurdistan-rising>
- Sary, Ghadi (2016, September): *Kurdish Self-Governance in Syria: Survival and Ambition*. (Research Paper; Chatham House Middle East and North Africa Programme). URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2016/09/kurdish-self-governance-syria-survival-and-ambition>
- Schøtt, Anne Sofie (2017, June): *The Kurds of Syria: From the Forgotten People to World-Stage Actors*. (Royal Danish Defence College Brief). URL: [https://pure.fak.dk/files/7248264/The\\_Kurds\\_of\\_Syria.pdf](https://pure.fak.dk/files/7248264/The_Kurds_of_Syria.pdf)
- Seufert, Günter (2015, August): *The Return of the Kurdish Question: On the Situation of the Kurds in Iraq, Syria and Turkey*. (SWP Comments, 2015/C 38). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/the-return-of-the-kurdish-question>
- Singh, Michael; Stroul, Dana (Co-Chairs) (2019, September): *Syria Study Group 2019: Final Report and*



*Recommendations*. URL: <https://www.usip.org/syria-study-group-final-report>

Slim, Randa (2019, May): *Iraq: A Conflict Over State Identity and Ownership*. (MEI Policy Paper 2019-11). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/iraq-conflict-over-state-identity-and-ownership>

Stansfield, Gareth (2017, September): *A New State in the Middle East? From the Kurdistan Region of Iraq to the Republic of Kurdistan*. (RUSI Briefing Paper). URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep37267>

Stein, Aaron (2017, February): *Reconciling U.S.-Turkish Interests in Northern Syria*. (CFR Discussion Paper). URL: <https://www.cfr.org/report/reconciling-us-turkish-interests-northern-syria>

Stein, Aaron; Burchfield, Emily (2019, August): *The Future of Northeast Syria*. (Report; Atlantic Council / Foreign Policy Research Institute / Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/the-future-of-northeast-syria>

Steinberg, Guido (2007, July): *Der Irak zwischen Föderalismus und Staatszerfall: Interessen und Handlungsoptionen irakischer und regionaler Akteure*. (SWP-Studie 2007/S 18). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/irak-foederalismus-oder-staatszerfall>

Todman, Will (2019, January): *Settling Kurdish Self-Determination in Northeast Syria*. (CSIS Briefs). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/settling-kurdish-self-determination-northeast-syria>

Uzun, Adem (2014, March): *“Living Freedom”: The Evolution of the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey and the Efforts to Resolve it*. (Berghof Transitions Series No. 11). URL: <https://berghof-foundation.org/library/living-freedom-the-evolution-of-the-kurdish-conflict-in-turkey-and-the-efforts-to-resolve-it>

Wilson, Isaiah (Ike), III; Smitson, Scott A. (2017, April): *After Mosul: Enlarging the Context of the Syria-Iraq Conflict(s)*. (New America Policy Paper). URL: <https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/policy-papers/after-mosul>

Yacoubian, Mona (2017, October): *Governance Challenges in Raqqa After the Islamic State*. (USIP Special Report 414). URL: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2017/10/governance-challenges-raqqa-after-islamic-state>

Yeğen, Mesut (2015, May): *The Kurdish Peace Process in Turkey: Genesis, Evolution and Prospects*. (IAI Global Turkey in Europe Series, Working Paper 11). URL: <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/kurdish-peace-process-turkey>

Yılmaz, Arzu (2018, October): *The Changing Dynamics of the Kurdish Question*. (SWP Comments, No. 45). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/kurdish-question-changing-dynamics>

Yılmaz, Kamil (2020, December): *Claiming and Glorifying Environmental Terrorism Online: The Case of PKK’s “Children of Fire Initiative”*. (GNET Insights). URL: <https://gnet-research.org/2020/12/15/claiming-and-glorifying-environmental-terrorism-online-the-case-of-pkks-children-of-fire-initiative>

**Note:** Whenever retrievable, URLs for freely available versions of subscription-based publications (e.g., self-archived manuscripts in institutional repositories, on professional networking sites, or author homepages) have been provided. Please note, that the content of such Green Open Access documents is not necessarily identical to the official publisher versions (e.g., in case of preprints); it might therefore not have passed through all editorial stages publishers employ to ensure quality control (peer review, copy and layout editing etc.). In some cases, articles may only be cited after obtaining permission by the author(s).

**About the Compiler:** Judith Tinnes, Ph.D., is a Professional Information Specialist. Since 2011, she works for the Leibniz Institute for Psychology (ZPID). Additionally, she serves as Information Resources Editor to ‘Perspectives on Terrorism’. In her editorial role, she regularly compiles bibliographies and other resources for *Terrorism Research* (for an inventory visit <https://archive.org/details/terrorism-research-bibliographies>). She wrote her *doctoral thesis* on Internet usage of Islamist terrorists and insurgents (focus: media-oriented hostage takings). Twitter: @CountingLivesPT; E-mail: j.tinnes@gmx.de



## 40+ Full-Text Academic Theses (Ph.D. and M.A.) on Victims of Terrorism, written in English between 2003 and 2021

Compiled and selected by Brody McDonald

**Abstract:** *This bibliography contains doctoral dissertations (Ph.D.) and Master theses (M.A.) on victims of terrorism. Titles were retrieved manually by searching the Open Access Theses and Dissertations Database (OATD), using various combinations of search terms, including – but not limited to – ‘Victims of Terrorism’, ‘Fatalities’, ‘Terrorism’, ‘Violent Extremism’. More than 220 entries were evaluated, of which 41 were ultimately selected for this list. All theses are open source. However, readers accessing them should observe possible copyright restrictions. The title entries below are hyperlinked, or ‘clickable’, allowing access to full texts.*

**Keywords:** terrorism, violent extremism, fatalities, victims of terrorism, political violence

- Abayomi, Abdultaofeek. “Towards real-time tracking of persons in distress phase situations using emotional physiological signals.” 2019. M.A. Thesis, Durban University of Technology. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10321/3373>.
- Adinoyi, Adavize J. “Impact of Terrorism on Human Rights in Africa: The Case Study of Counterterrorism in Kenya, 1998 - 2014.” 2016. M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi. URL: [http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/99474/Adinoyi\\_Impact%20of%20Terrorism%20on%20Human%20Rights%20in%20Africa%20The%20Case%20Study%20of%20Counterterrorism%20in%20Kenya,1998%20-2014.pdf?sequence=1](http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/99474/Adinoyi_Impact%20of%20Terrorism%20on%20Human%20Rights%20in%20Africa%20The%20Case%20Study%20of%20Counterterrorism%20in%20Kenya,1998%20-2014.pdf?sequence=1)
- Al-Anaibi, Faris Kareem Mohammad. “The rights of victims of violence by non-state actors in Iraq post-2003.” 2018. Ph.D. Dissertation, Durham University. URL: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/12706/>
- Ardic, Zeynep. “Searching for Transitional Justice Mechanisms in the Kurdish question in Turkey: Addressing violations of social, economic and cultural rights.” 2019. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Sussex. URL: <http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/82255/>
- Askam, Richard. “Memory, Truth and Justice: A Contextualisation of the Uses of Photographs of the Victims of State Terrorism in Argentina, 1972-2012: Communicating an intersection of art, politics and history.” 2014. Ph.D. Dissertation, Edith Cowan University. URL: <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/1339>
- Brooks, Aloysia. “The Annihilation of Memory and Silent Suffering: Inhibiting Outrage at the Injustice of Torture in the War on Terror in Australia.” 2016. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wollongong. URL: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/4865>
- Collinge, David M. “The Turning Wheel of Hostility: The E.T.A. in Literature and Film in Spain since the 1970s.” 2015. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/113544>
- Dahabreh, Peter Cephas. “The International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Foreign Fighters Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law Committed in the Territory of the Syrian Arab Republic Since 2011.” 2019. M.A. Thesis, Harvard University. URL: [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3350683](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3350683)
- Darden, Shantal. “Victimology: Rights, Changes, and the Need for Continued Change.” 2014. M.A. Thesis, Rutgers University. URL: <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/45089/>
- Gunnarsson Herlitz, A K H. “Examining Agency in the News: A content analysis of Swedish media’s portrayal of Western women joining Daesh.” 2016. M.A. Thesis, Universiteit Utrecht. URL: <http://dspace.library.uu.nl:8080/handle/1874/334589>
- Hallman, Francis Candler. “Debating Death: Discourse and Legitimacy in the Northern Irish victims’ rights movement.” 2014. M.A. Thesis, University of California – San Diego. URL: <http://www.escholarship.org/>

[uc/item/5m34j04g](#)

- Heger, Lindsay L. "In the Crosshairs: Explaining Violence against Civilians" 2010. Ph.D. Thesis, University of California – San Diego. URL: <http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/6705k88s>
- Hossaini, Abbas Ali. "Survivors of Terrorism: A Study on How Survivors of the Terrorist Attacks Perceive their Attackers." 2019. M.A. Thesis, Malmö University. URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:mau:diva-24026>
- Hudd, Ellie Catherine. "Quantifying and Typifying Image Use in Television News Coverage of Mass Shootings." 2020. M.A. Thesis, University of Kentucky. URL: [https://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1096&context=comm\\_etds](https://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1096&context=comm_etds)
- Iqbal, Khuram. "Evolution of Suicide Terrorism: A Case Study of Pakistan." 2014. Ph.D. Dissertation, Macquarie University. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1959.14/1054978>
- Jacques, Carmen. "Everyday Ethics and Storytelling after Terrorism: Collaborative ethnographies exploring intersubjective identities through anthropology, victim/survivor studies and communication and cultural studies." 2021. M.A. Thesis, Edith Cowan University. URL: <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/2392>
- Jhangiani, Rajiv Sunil. "Processing Terror: An Investigation into the Immediate and Short-Term Psychological Effects of a Terrorist Attack." 2008. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of British Columbia. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/2780>
- Kadmon Sella, Zohar. "News Media and the Authority of Grief: The Journalistic Treatment of Terrorism Victims as Political Activists." 2014. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University. <https://doi.org/10.7916/D8PR7SZJ>
- Kihara, Evonne W. "Impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism on the right to education." 2010. M.A. Thesis, University of Pretoria. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/16771>
- Leiby, Michele. "State-Perpetrated Wartime Sexual Violence in Latin America." 2012. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1928/20221>
- Moran, M J. "Trafficked into War: Investigating the case of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, how do women and girls continue to be disproportionately vulnerable to sex trafficking and systematic rape in periods of armed conflict and civil unrest?" 2016. M.A. Thesis, Universiteit Utrecht. URL: <https://student-theses.uu.nl/handle/20.500.12932/24266>
- Noorzai, Roshan. "The Role of Media in the Framing of the Afghan Conflict and the Search for Peace." 2012. Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio University. URL: [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc\\_num=ohiou1343658475](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=ohiou1343658475)
- Nqweni, Zinziswa C. "A phenomenological approach to families victimized by political violence." 2007. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pretoria. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/23337>
- Ogionwo, Theresa. "Social Problems and the Rise of Terrorism in Nigeria: Implications for International Social Work practice." 2016. M.A. Thesis, University of Gävle. URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:hig:diva-21093>
- Okan, Ceylan. "Individual differences in empathy towards terrorism." 2017. M.A. Thesis, Western Sydney University. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1959.7/uws:45565>
- Olson, Danel. "9/11 Gothic: Trauma, Mourning, and Spectrality in Novels from Don DeLillo, Jonathan Safran Foer, Lynne Sharon Schwartz, and Jess Walter." 2016. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Stirling. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1893/25276>
- Park, Rebekah Su. "We Are Militants and Victims of State Terrorism": Resistance and Reparations in the Association of Former Political Prisoners of Córdoba, Argentina." 2012. M.A. Thesis, UCLA. URL: <http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/4d91759p>

- Phelps, Brian J. "Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Towers: Allegorical Figures of 9/11." 2013. M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin – Oshkosh. URL: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1793/67049>
- Ragsdale, Andrew Mark. "Effects of Extensive Television and Newspaper Exposure to Terrorism Reporting on Fear of Victimization and Curtailing Civil Liberties: Media Use Interactions and Gender Differences." 2003. M.A. Thesis, University of Florida. URL: <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UFE0000888>
- Ryder, Emily Jennifer. "Memory, Perception, Reception: Following the fate of the victims of Italy's anni di piombo through the writing of their children." 2015. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Glasgow. URL: <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.679565>
- Sanchez, Amairini. "An Analysis of Terrorism and Mental Health in Mass Shootings as Perceived by the Media." 2018. M.A. Thesis, University of Central Florida. URL: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd/5852>
- Schares, Evan Mitchell. "On Body Dumps: The Rhetorics of Corporeal Narcoterrorism." 2015. M.A. Thesis, University of Northern Iowa. URL: <https://scholarworks.uni.edu/etd/160>
- Scott, K Michelle. "Shadows of the Soul: Exploring the Transitory Nature of the Human Spirit in Response to the Violence and Trauma associated with Terrorist Phenomena." 2009. M.A. Thesis, Nova Southeastern University. URL: <https://www.proquest.com/docview/305045589?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true>
- Singh, Milan. "The Bombing of Air India Flight 182: Demanding Justice, Public Inquiries, and Acts of Citizenship." 2015. M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University. URL: <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/15624>
- Smirnova, Tatiana. "United Nations Office of Counter Terrorism and Russia Directives and Practices Concerning Supporting Victims of Terrorism." 2021. M.A. Thesis, Tampere University. URL: <https://trepo.tuni.fi/handle/10024/131761>
- St. George, Sarah. "Assessing the vulnerability in targets of lethal domestic extremism." 2017. M.A. Thesis, Michigan State University. URL: [https://d.lib.msu.edu/etd/6682/datastream/OBJ/download/Assessing\\_the\\_Vulnerability\\_in\\_Targets\\_of\\_Lethal\\_Domestic\\_Extremism.pdf](https://d.lib.msu.edu/etd/6682/datastream/OBJ/download/Assessing_the_Vulnerability_in_Targets_of_Lethal_Domestic_Extremism.pdf)
- Tervooren, K H. "Representing Women and Terrorist Violence. A feminist interrogation of female agency in the gendered discourse of the public." 2016. M.A. Thesis, Universiteit Utrecht. URL: <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/09/21/women-at-war-in-the-middle-east-gendered-dynamics-of-isis-and-the-kurdish-ypj/>
- Ushiyama, Rin. "Memory struggles: Narrating and commemorating the Aum Affair in contemporary Japan, 1994-2015." 2017. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge. URL: <https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/267895>
- Wabuyabo, Justus A. "Humanitarian Law and the War against International Terrorism: Challenges and Opportunities since September 11, 2001." 2008. M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi. URL: <https://imusic.br.com/books/9783838390475/justus-wabuyabo-2010-humanitarian-law-and-the-war-against-international-terrorism-challenges-and-opportunities-since-september-11-2001-paperback-book>
- Waheed, Athar. "Victims of Terrorism in Pakistan: Review of Existing Victim Services and Scope of Improvement." 2018. Ph.D. Dissertation. URL: <https://research.tilburguniversity.edu/en/publications/19823f75-a3f9-4c5d-8c38-e318e7977bff>
- Williamson, Jason Kirk. "Mutable Terrorism: Gerhard Richter, Hans-Peter Feldmann, and the cultural memory of Germany's Red Army Faction." 2012. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas – Austin. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2152/ETD-UT-2012-08-6070>

*About the Compiler: Brody McDonald is a Ph.D. student at St Catherine's College (University of Oxford) and Assistant Editor for Theses of Perspectives on Terrorism*

## Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects

Compiled and selected by Berto Jongman

Most of the clickable items included below became available online between March and April 2022. They are categorized under 13 headings (as well as sub-headings, not listed below). In addition, there is a special focus on war and political violence in the Ukraine in several sections.

1. Non-Religious Terrorism
2. Religious Terrorism
3. Terrorist Strategies and Tactics
4. Conflict, Crime and Political Violence other than Terrorism
5. Extremism, Radicalization
6. Counterterrorism - General
7. Counterterrorism: Specific Operations and/or Specific Policy Measures
8. Prevention, Preparedness and Resilience and Rehabilitation Studies
9. State Repression, Civil War and Clandestine Warfare
10. Intelligence Operations
11. Cyber Operations
12. Risk and Threat Assessments, Forecasts and Analytical Studies
13. Also Worth to Read/Listen and Watch

*N.B. Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects is a regular feature in 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. For past listings, search under 'Archive' at [www.universiteitleiden.nl/PoT](http://www.universiteitleiden.nl/PoT)*

### **1. Non-Religious Terrorism**

M. Schikowski. M23 rebels resurface in DR Congo. *Deutsche Welle*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/m23-rebels-resurface-in-dr-congo/a-61383104>

M. Nijhuis. Diep in de jungle trainen Myanmarezen voor de strijd tegen de junta. *NRC Handelsblad*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2022/04/06/in-de-jungle-trainen-voor-strijd-tegen-de-junta-van-myanmar-a4108744-/handelsblad/2022/04/07/>

A. Grant. Afghan National Resistance advancing against Taliban: 'We are actually operating in 12 provinces,' it tells the Sun. *The Sun*, April 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.nysun.com/article/afghan-national-resistance-advancing-against-taliban-we-are-actually-operating-in-12-provinces-it-tells-the-sun>

H. Beech. Driven from city life to jungle insurgency. *The New York Times*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/30/world/asia/myanmar-jungle-insurgency.html>

E. Egbejule. Who are the 'bandits' terrorizing Nigeria's 'Wild Wild West'? *Al Jazeera*, March 29, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/3/29/who-are-the-armed-bandits-of-northwest-nigeria>

Tigray rebels agree to stop fighting under Ethiopia ceasefire. *The National Interest*, March 25, 2022. URL: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/africa/2022/03/25/tigray-rebels-agree-to-stop-fighting-under-ethiopia-ceasefire/>

Map: active separatist movements in Europe. March 16, 2022. URL: <https://mapsontheweb.zoom-maps.com/post/117595851106/active-separatist-movements-in-europe-source>

S. Morgan. CODECO: the DRC's lesser-known insurgent force continues to fight on. *Militant Wire*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.militantwire.com/p/codeco-the-drcs-lesser-known-insurgent?r=8utdx->



[&s=w&utm\\_campaign=post&utm\\_medium=web](#)

T. Durul. Greece ignoring PKK terror group's operations within its borders. *Anadolu Agency*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/world/greece-ignoring-pkk-terror-group-s-operations-within-its-borders/2527033>

Hundreds killed in violence in South Sudan between June-September 2021, UN says. *Reuters*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/hundreds-killed-violence-south-sudan-between-june-sept-2021-un-says-2022-03-01/>

S. Morgan. The Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamanche and West Africa's hidden conflict. *Militant Wire*, February 10, 2022. URL: [https://www.militantwire.com/p/the-movement-of-democratic-forces?s=w&utm\\_medium=web](https://www.militantwire.com/p/the-movement-of-democratic-forces?s=w&utm_medium=web)

## 2. Religious Terrorism

### 2.1. Al-Qaeda and its Affiliates

Eleven Taliban insurgents were killed, and dozens more were seriously injured in an attack by National Resistance Front in Andaraab ha. *NRF*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.nationalresistance.org/en/press-and-media/news/eleven-taliban-insurgents-were-killed-and-dozens-more-were-seriously-injured-in-an-attack-by-national-resistance-front-forces-in-andaraab-ha.html>

D. Krause. Failed Transnationalization? The challenges faced by al-Qaeda and IS in South Asia. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2058347?af=R&journalCode=uter20>

A. Chew. Malaysian scientists who ran al-Qaeda's anthrax lab freed from police monitoring. Official says. *South China Morning Post*, April 8, 2022. URL: [https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3173510/malaysian-scientist-who-ran-al-qaedas-anthrax-lab-freed-police?utm\\_source=Twitter&utm\\_medium=share\\_widget&utm\\_campaign=3173510](https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3173510/malaysian-scientist-who-ran-al-qaedas-anthrax-lab-freed-police?utm_source=Twitter&utm_medium=share_widget&utm_campaign=3173510)

HTS chief orders release of 30 militants from Idlib prison to fight in Ukraine: report. *The Cradle*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://thecradle.co/Article/news/8881>

J.J. Green. The hunt: al-Qaida leader Ayman al-Zawahiri. *WTOP News*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://wtop.com/j-j-green-national/2022/04/the-hunt-al-qaida-leader-ayman-al-zawahiri-resurfaces/>

K. Gannon. Al-Qaida leader circulates video, dispels rumor of his death. *Associated Press*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/ayman-al-zawahiri-india-asia-islamabad-religion-0a86c9db-2813f4258a01b146102628af>

N. Lahoud. The Bin Laden papers: how the Abbottabad raid revealed the truth about al Qaeda, its leader and his family. 2022. URL: <https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/events/online-the-bin-laden-papers-how-the-abbottabad-raid-revealed-the-truth-about-al-qaeda/>

R. Jha. In new video, Qaida chief Ayman al-Zawahiri wades into Karnataka hijab row. *The Times of India*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/in-new-video-qaida-chief-ayman-al-zawahiri-wades-into-karnataka-hijab-row/articleshow/90672577.cms?>

S. Mariet D'Souza. In Afghanistan, the NRF can force a power shift. *MSN*, February 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.msn.com/en-in/news/opinion/in-afghanistan-the-nrf-can-force-a-power-shift/ar-AAU29yA>

A. Cascais. Mali's crisis hits 10-year mark. *Deutsche Welle*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/malis-crisis-hits-10-year-mark/a-61302175>

- D. Mukhopadhyay. The Taliban have not moderated. An extremist regime is pushing Afghanistan to the brink. *Foreign Affairs*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/central-asia/2022-03-28/taliban-have-not-moderated>
- S. Wicks, M. Criezis. Al Qaeda's Algerian strategy: attempts to co-opt the Hirak and rehabilitate the Salafi-Jihadi image. The Hague: *ICCT*, March 31, 2022. URL: [https://icct.nl/publication/al-qaedas-algerian-strategy-co-opt-hirak-rehabilitate-salafi-jihadi/?utm\\_content=buffer8b031&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=twitter.com&utm\\_campaign=buffer](https://icct.nl/publication/al-qaedas-algerian-strategy-co-opt-hirak-rehabilitate-salafi-jihadi/?utm_content=buffer8b031&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer)
- Syrians accuse extremist group HTS of causing food crisis in Idlib. *The New Arab*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/departments-defenses-jad2c-plan-puts-premium-speed-201487>
- L. O'Donnell. As the world watches Ukraine, Afghanistan goes full Taliban. *Foreign Policy*, March 24, 2022. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/22/afghanistan-taliban-control-arrest-journalists-women/>
- C. Malkasian. The West still doesn't understand the Taliban. How to engage with the new Afghan regime. *Foreign Affairs*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2022-03-21/west-still-doesnt-understand-taliban>
- M. Lodge. Police quizzed Bin Laden's former spin doctor for just one hour on a video call before he was waved back into Britain after being released early from 25-year prison sentence in the US. *Daily Mail Online*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10632519/Bin-Ladens-spin-doctor-quizzed-ONE-HOUR-let-UK-25-years-prison.html>
- Jihadi reactions to Ukraine war: celebration, hopes for escalation, disagreements over which side to support recommendations to exploit the conflict to wage jihad. *MEMRI, Jihad and Terrorism Threat Monitor*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://www.memri.org/jttm/jihadi-reactions-ukraine-war-celebration-hopes-escalation-disagreements-over-which-side-support>
- A.Y. Zelin. Turkey calls for recognition of the Taliban's Islamic emirate. *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/turkey-calls-recognition-talibans-islamic-emirate>
- The resurgence of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan after the Taliban's return to power in Afghanistan. *European Eye on Radicalization*, March 14, 2022. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/the-resurgence-of-tehreek-e-taliban-pakistan-after-the-talibans-return-to-power-in-afghanistan/>
- Program on Extremism launches nexus project to track global jihadist movement. *Homeland Security Today*, March 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/program-on-extremism-launches-nexus-project-to-track-global-jihadist-movement/>
- H. Shaffi Nuhu. Terrorists taking advantage of starvation to recruit IDPs in Borno. *HumAngle*, March 6, 2022. URL: <https://humangle.org/terrorists-taking-advantage-of-starvation-to-recruit-idps-in-borno/>
- Nearly 400 civilians killed in Afghanistan under Taliban rule: UN. *Al Jazeera*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/7/un-400-civilians-killed-in-afghanistan-under-taliban-rule>
- Taliban restrict Afghans going abroad, raises concern from US and UK. *Reuters*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/taliban-restrict-afghans-going-abroad-draws-criticism-uk-envoy-2022-02-28/>
- B. Lia. A Kurdish al-Qaida? Making sense of the Ansar al-Islam movement in Iraqi Kurdistan in the early 2000s. *Religions*, 13(3), 2022. URL: [https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/13/3/203?fbclid=IwAR0Rlmdgk8Tb\\_ZaPA7iF5mTmww4jv0efDpBlodC4c2XQyGpVeeCj4kJgWYQ](https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/13/3/203?fbclid=IwAR0Rlmdgk8Tb_ZaPA7iF5mTmww4jv0efDpBlodC4c2XQyGpVeeCj4kJgWYQ)
- J. Zenn. Tajikistan maintains cool ties with the Taliban. *Terrorism Monitor*, 20(4), February 25, 2022. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/briefs-360/>

A. Roul. Ansar al-Islam Bangladesh's unchecked online recruitment campaign. *Terrorism Monitor*, 20(4), February 25, 2022. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/ansar-al-islam-bangladeshs-unchecked-online-recruitment-campaign/>

## 2.2. ISI, IS, Daesh and its Affiliates

Spotlight on global jihad (March 31-April 7, 2022). *The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/spotlight-on-global-jihad-march-31-april-6-2022/>

Spotlight on global jihad (March 10-16, 2022). *The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/spotlight-on-global-jihad-march-10-16-2022/>

Spotlight on global jihad (March 3-9, 2022). *The Meir Amit Intelligence & Terrorism Information Center*, March 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/spotlight-on-global-jihad-march-3-9-2022/>

Spotlight on global jihad (February 24 - March 2, 2022). *The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*. March 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/spotlight-on-global-jihad-february-24-march-2-2022/>

Islamic State morphs and grows in Pakistan, Afghanistan. *Associated Press*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/islamic-state-group-afghanistan-taliban-pakistan-religion-9bcf86bdc4b-7f3e5aa2553f649538b62>

Mozambique Palma terror attack: 'I can't go back' *BBC*, April 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-61029991>

ISIS attacks, March 2022: key trends, statistics, and geographical analysis. *Flashpoint*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.flashpoint-intel.com/blog/isis-attacks-march-2022/>

C. Weiss, R. O'Farrell. ADF renews pledge of allegiance to new Islamic State leader. *FDD's Long War Journal*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2022/04/adf-renews-pledge-of-allegiance-to-new-islamic-state-leader.php>

N. Harley. UN Security Council says ISIS 'weakening' in Africa as fighters desert group. *The National News*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/uk-news/2022/04/05/un-security-council-says-isis-weakening-in-africa-as-fighters-desert-group/>

G. Waters. ISIS redux: the central Syria insurgency in March 2022. *Counter Extremism Project*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/blog/isis-redux-central-syria-insurgency-march-2022>

Cabo Ligado Weekly: 28 March – 3 April 2022. URL: <https://www.caboligado.com/reports/cabo-ligado-weekly-28-march-3-april-2022>

Egyptian writer following killing of ISS operative who was nephew of Hamas leader Yahya al-Sinwar: there is no difference between ISIS, Hamas, and Muslim Brotherhood. *MEMRI, Special Dispatch* No.9873, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.memri.org/reports/egyptian-writer-following-killing-isis-operative-who-was-nephew-hamas-leader-yahya-al-sinwar>

After the terrorist attacks in the Israeli cities of Beersheba and Hadera, ISIS launches campaign to encourage its supporters to continue carrying out attacks in Israel. *The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/after-the-terrorist-attacks-in-the-israeli-cities-of-beersheba-and-hadera-isis-launches-campaign-to-encourage-its-supporters-to-continue-carrying-out-attacks-in-israel/>

T. al-Hajj. The Islamic State (ISIS) has morphed into a non-spatial insurgency capable of conquering terri-

torial boundaries. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/86643?>

ISIS mobilizes its fighters in Rojava, seeking chaos: SDF. *Rudaw*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/syria/290320221>

I. al-Marash. ISIL's new 'caliph' may be a bigger threat than his predecessor. *Al Jazeera*, March 29, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2022/3/29/isils-new-caliph-may-be-a-bigger-threat-than-his-predecessor>

Terrorist in deadly Hadera attack handed reduced prison sentence by judge in 2016, *The Times of Israel*, March 29, 2022. URL: [https://www.timesofisrael.com/terrorist-in-deadly-hadera-attack-handed-reduced-prison-sentence-by-judge-in-2016/?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.timesofisrael.com/terrorist-in-deadly-hadera-attack-handed-reduced-prison-sentence-by-judge-in-2016/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter)

Why the Sahel region is witnessing a new spike in jihadist attacks. *France24*, March 25, 2022. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/video/20220325-why-the-sahel-region-is-witnessing-a-new-spike-in-jihadist-attacks>

L. Webber. Fighting, fishing, and filming: the Islamic State's maritime operations. *CIMSEC*, March 22, 2022. URL: <https://cimsec.org/fighting-fishing-and-filming-the-islamic-states-maritime-operations/>

M. Shabir Ahmadi. Jihadists around the world pledge allegiance as the Islamic State names new leaders. *Militant Wire*, March 21, 2022. URL: [https://www.militantwire.com/p/jihadists-around-the-world-pledge?r=s8x4i&s=w&utm\\_campaign=post&utm\\_medium=web](https://www.militantwire.com/p/jihadists-around-the-world-pledge?r=s8x4i&s=w&utm_campaign=post&utm_medium=web)

Chief Bisong Etahoben. Islamic State in DR Congo, a regional threat – US. *HumAngle*, March 19, 2022. URL: <https://humanglemedia.com/islamic-state-in-dr-congo-a-regional-threat-us/>

M. Abdulahi. ISWAP: seven years after becoming an ISIS franchise. *HumAngle*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://humanglemedia.com/nigeria-over-1700-lives-lost-to-insecurity-in-2-months-nearly-1000-kidnapped/>

L. Webber. Islamic State in Afghanistan publishes first official English language book, criticizes Taliban relations with China, Russia, and America. *Military Wire*, February 24, 2022. URL: <https://www.militantwire.com/p/islamic-state-in-afghanistan-publishes?>

L. Webber, R. Valle. Perspectives. Islamic State in Afghanistan seeks to recruit Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kyrgyz. *Eurasia Net*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://eurasianet.org/perspectives-islamic-state-in-afghanistan-seeks-to-recruit-uzbeks-tajiks-kyrgyz>

D. Garofalo. Announcement of Islamic State's new leader and possible implications. *Militant Wire*, March 14, 2022. URL: [https://www.militantwire.com/p/announcement-of-islamic-states-new?s=r&utm\\_campaign=post&utm\\_medium=web](https://www.militantwire.com/p/announcement-of-islamic-states-new?s=r&utm_campaign=post&utm_medium=web)

M. Durmaz. How Burkina Faso became the epicenter of conflict in the Sahel. *Al Jazeera*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/3/11/how-burkina-faso-became-the-new-epicentre-of-sahelian>

R. Dass, J. Singh. Islamic State in West Africa Province video signals the group's grand strategy for the future. *Terrorism Monitor*, 20(5), March 11, 2022. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/islamic-state-in-west-africa-province-video-signals-the-groups-grand-strategy-for-the-future/>

New Islamic State leader is brother of slain caliph Baghdadi – sources. *Reuters*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/exclusive-new-islamic-state-leader-is-brother-slain-caliph-baghdadi-sources-2022-03-11/>

L. Webber. Russia, Afghanistan, and the Islamic State threat to Central Asia. *European Eye on Radicalization*, March 9, 2022. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/russia-afghanistan-islamic-state-report-lucas-webber>



[ber/](#)

Philippine military identifies IS extremist group's new regional leader. *Benar News*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/philippine/leader-identified-03022022143616.html>

A. Haruna. Fishermen fleeing Lake Chad over forced conscription, Taxes by ISWAP. *HumAgle*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://humangle.org/fishermen-fleeing-lake-chad-over-forced-conscription-taxes-by-iswap/>

J. Zenn. Malaysia's new most wanted terrorist: Mundi Sawadjaan. *Militant Leadership Monitor*, 1392), March 3, 2022. URL: <https://jamestown.org/brief/malaysias-new-most-wanted-terrorist-mundi-sawadjaan/>

J. Zenn. Islamic State in flux after Caliph Abu Ibrahim al-Hashmi al-Qurashi's death. *Terrorism Monitor*, 20(4), February 25, 2022. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/briefs-360/>

ISIS attacks, February 2022; key trends, statistics, and geographic analysis. *Flashpoint*, March 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.flashpoint-intel.com/blog/isis-attacks-feb-2022/>

Daesh hits back, aided by power vacuum in Iraq and Syria. *Gulf News*, February 2, 2022. URL: [https://gulfnews.com/world/mena/daesh-hits-back-aided-by-power-vacuum-in-iraq-and-syria-1.85373322?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://gulfnews.com/world/mena/daesh-hits-back-aided-by-power-vacuum-in-iraq-and-syria-1.85373322?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter)

*Cabo Ligado Weekly*: 21-27 February. March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.cabolidado.com/reports/cabo-ligado-weekly-21-27-february-2022>

### 2.3. Other Groups and/or Organizations

Israel officials believe PA is losing control over Jenin. *Middle East Monitor*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220409-israel-officials-believe-pa-is-losing-control-over-jenin/>

Iraqi armed groups link disarmament to US withdrawal, formation of new government. *Middle East Monitor*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220408-iraqi-armed-groups-link-disarmament-to-us-withdrawal-formation-of-new-government/>

K. Ayuningtyas. Indonesian militant chief on death row for terror attacks now condemns them. *Benar News*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/indonesian/indonesia-jad-abdurrahman-terror-04042022113028.html>

Houthi say prisoner swap deal includes 16 Saudis, brother of Yemen president. *Reuters*, March 27, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/houthi-official-says-new-prisoner-swap-deal-includes-16-saudis-brother-yemen-2022-03-27/>

International bodies reject Houthi militias in Yemen, tighten noose on their leaders. *Sharq al-Awsat*, March 24, 2022. URL: <https://english.aawsat.com/home/article/3550901/int'l-bodies-reject-houthi-militias-yemen-tighten-noose-their-leaders>

### 3. Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

A. Alexander, T. MacDonald. Examining digital currency usage by terrorists in Syria. *CTC sentinel*, 15(3), March 2022. URL: <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/examining-digital-currency-usage-by-terrorists-in-syria/>

C. Realuyo. How cryptocurrencies are empowering transnational criminal organizations and countries in Latin America. *Dialogo, Digital Military Magazine*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://dialogo-americas.com/articles/how-cryptocurrencies-are-empowering-transnational-criminal-organizations-and-countries-in-latin-america/ - .Yjjs75rMISL>

R.J. Bunker. Terrorism futures: evolving technology and TTPs use. *Xlibris*, 2020, 160 pp. URL: [https://www.amazon.com/TERRORISM-FUTURES-Evolving-Technology-TTPs/dp/1664137815/ref=tmm\\_pap](https://www.amazon.com/TERRORISM-FUTURES-Evolving-Technology-TTPs/dp/1664137815/ref=tmm_pap)

[swatch\\_0? encoding=UTF8&qid=&sr=](#)

A. Webb. The next pandemic could start with a terrorist attack. *The Atlantic*, February 14, 2022. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2022/02/pandemic-terrorist-attack-biowarfare/622067/>

#### **4. Conflict, Crime and Political Violence other than Terrorism**

##### *4.1. Criminal Groups*

US arrests leader of Japanese crime syndicate on drugs, weapons charges. *Reuters*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/us-arrests-leader-japanese-crime-syndicate-drugs-weapons-charges-2022-04-07/>

L. Jaime Acosta. Colombia court approves extradition to the US of accused drug trafficker Otoniel. *Reuters*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/colombia-court-approves-extradition-us-accused-drug-trafficker-otoniel-2022-04-06/>

A. Torres. American daughter of fugitive Mexican drug lord El Mencho who has a \$10 million bounty on his head, is freed from California prison after 25 months for money laundering. *Daily Mail Online*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10688537/American-daughter-fugitive-Mexican-drug-lord-El-Mencho-freed-California-prison.html>

C. Garcia. Are MS-13 leaders wanted for extradition to US free in El Salvador? *InSight Crime*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://insightcrime.org/news/ms13-leaders-extradition-us-free-el-salvador/>

Surge in gang killings spurs fear, uncertainty in El Salvador. *Al Jazeera*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/28/surge-in-gang-killings-spurs-fear-uncertainty-in-el-salvador>

L. Dollimore. 'Stop killing ...or your friends are going to pay for it': El Salvador's president threatens to 'punish' the 16,000 imprisoned MS-13 and Barrio-18 gangsters if spike in murders does not end. *Daily Mail Online*, March 29, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10662767/El-Salvadors-president-threatens-punish-16-000-imprisoned-gangsters-murder-spike-continues.html>

M. Paarlberg. The emerging gang state in El Salvador. *Global Americans*, February 15, 2022. URL: <https://theglobalamericans.org/2022/02/the-emerging-gang-state-in-el-salvador/>

A. Boukhars, C. Lena Kelly. Comparative perspectives on linkages between violent extremism and organized crime in Africa. *African Security*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19392206.2022.2048582?>

P. Asmann. What does massive weapons seizure say about Sinaloa cartel feud in Mexico? *InSight Crime*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://insightcrime.org/news/massive-weapons-seizure-sinaloa-cartel-feud-mexico/>

##### *4.2. Anti-Crime Strategy & Tactics, Operations*

T. Filseth. Taliban bans opium cultivation in Afghanistan. *The National Interest*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/taliban-bans-opium-cultivation-afghanistan-201631>

C. Matthews. Taliban bans opium: hardline rulers Afghanistan say anyone caught growing poppy crop will be subjected to Sharia law. *Daily Mail Online*, April 3 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10681195/Afghanistans-Taliban-announce-ban-poppy-production.html>

K. Gannon, M. Shoaib Amin. Afghanistan's Taliban announce ban on poppy production. *Associated Press*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/afghanistan-business-taliban-flowers-1645cbd-08660c6115e2d7d4cb6ac0183>

M. Aleman. El Salvador hikes prison sentences for gang members. *Associated Press*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/nayib-bukele-el-salvador-san-salvador-gangs-f02a10fd0179144516e803ed717b6546>

A. Williams. Want to tackle crime? Help police and civilians to work together. *The Hill*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://thehill.com/opinion/criminal-justice/598564-want-to-tackle-crime-help-police-and-civilians-to-work-together>

German plan to tackle far right could strip 1,500 suspects of gun licences. *The Guardian*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/15/germany-far-right-extremists-suspects-gun-licences>

Miljoenen voor aanpak drugsmokkel via Rotterdam om 'criminele structuur kapot te maken. *NOS.nl*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://nos.nl/artikel/2421250-miljoenen-voor-aanpak-drugsmokkel-via-rotterdam-om-criminele-structuur-kapot-te-maken>

Preventie of harde aanpak: hoe houd je als gemeente jongere uit de criminaliteit? *NOS.nl*, March 12, 2022. URL: <https://nos.nl/artikel/2420785-preventie-of-harde-aanpak-hoe-houd-je-als-gemeente-jongeren-uit-de-criminaliteit>

C. Rainsford, S. Saffon. Paraguay's narco-politics exposed by colossal anti-drug operation. *Insight Crime*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://insightcrime.org/news/historic-antinarcotics-operation-narcopolitics-paraguay/>

D. Wilcock. Ministers warned Britain needs 30,000 new police and civilian fraud experts to tackle explosion in financial crimes that costs the economy £137 billion a year- after failing 'utterly' to keep up with scale of the problem. *Daily Mail Online*, March 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10578633/Ministers-warned-Britain-needs-THIRTY-THOUSAND-new-police-civilian-fraud-experts.html>

#### 4.3. Hate Crimes, Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, Xenophobia

G. Martinez. Terrifying moment arsonist douses LGBTQ bar with gasoline and sets it ablaze with people still inside: bartender and DJ are badly burned. *Daily Mail Online*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10693769/Moment-arsonist-douses-LGBTQ-bar-gasoline-sets-ablaze-people-inside.html>

Daily briefing April 5: anti-zionism, anti-Semitism brewing in US. *The Times of Israel*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/daily-briefing-april-5-anti-zionism-antisemitism-brewing-in-us/>

A. Talbot. Swastikas are found spray-painted on trees outside Quaker cemetery in South Jersey as hate crimes in the state skyrocket. *Daily Mail Online*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10681551/Swastikas-spray-painted-outside-Quaker-cemetery-South-Jersey-local-hate-crimes-spike.html>

L. Alsaafin. Islamophobia rises in France as presidential election nears. *Al Jazeera*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/3/france-election-muslims-islamophobia-macron>

US: Biden signs bill making lynching a federal hate crime. *Al Jazeera*, March 29, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/29/us-biden-signs-bill-making-lynching-a-federal-hate-crime>

ADL video series explores the most enduring anti-Semitic tropes. *Homeland Security Today*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/adl-video-series-explores-the-most-enduring-antisemitic-tropes/>

B. Nur Cakmak. Islamophobia continues to spread like plague in West: Turkish president. *Anadolu Agency*,

March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/islamophobia-continues-to-spread-like-plague-in-west-turkish-president/2535867>

A. Morrison. SPLC report: hate groups in decline as views hit mainstream. *Associated Press*, March 9, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/df3c64930014a61c9e430a195f575ad0>

## 5. Extremism, Radicalization

R. Coolsaet. When do individuals radicalize? EU strategy and foreign policy, terrorism. *Egmont Institute*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.egmontinstitute.be/when-do-individuals-radicalize/>

Understanding the game: bridging research gaps at the nexus of gaming and extremism. *Homeland Security Today*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/understanding-the-game-bridging-research-gaps-at-the-nexus-of-gaming-and-extremism/>

J. Jekielek, Maajid Nawaz part 2: how our elites destroyed public trust and created a recruiting ground for extremism. *The Epoch Times*, March 12, 2022. URL: [https://www.theepochtimes.com/part-2-maajid-nawaz-how-our-elites-destroyed-public-trust-and-created-a-recruiting-ground-for-extremism\\_4333639.html](https://www.theepochtimes.com/part-2-maajid-nawaz-how-our-elites-destroyed-public-trust-and-created-a-recruiting-ground-for-extremism_4333639.html)

M. Iqbal, K.S. O'Brien, A.M. Bliuc. The relationship between existential anxiety, political efficacy, extrinsic religiosity and support for violent extremism in Indonesia. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, February 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/P74T9PD2KJ5K3V2WPY5W/full?target=10.1080/1057610X.2022.2034221>

Extremism and gaming research network. *RUSI*, 2022. URL: <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/projects/extremism-and-gaming-research-network>

### 5.1. Rightwing Extremism

C. Wallner, J. White. Global violent right-wing extremism: mapping the threat and response in the Western Balkans, Turkey, and South Africa. February, 2022. URL: <https://ct-morse.eu/resource/global-violent-right-wing-extremism-mapping-the-threat-and-response-in-the-western-balkans-turkey-and-south-africa/>

S. Foggett. The far-right idealized the Russian military. Ukraine exposes all the ways they're wrong. *Lawfare*, April 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/far-right-idealized-russian-military-ukraine-exposes-all-ways-theyre-wrong>

A. Speckhard, W.W. Warren, K. Strezishar, M. Ellenberg. Perspective: a summer inside QAnon and White Supremacist online forums. *Homeland Security Today*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/perspective-a-summer-inside-qanon-and-white-supremacist-online-forums/>

The Azov battalion & Ukraine's far right, explained. *Novara Media*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5OzBa8ntEns>

C. Skopeliti. Far-right activist Tommy Robinson says he is being detained at Mexican airport. *The Guardian*, April 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/apr/02/far-right-activist-tommy-robinson-says-he-is-being-detained-at-mexican-airport>

D.H. Heinke. The security threat posed by the Corona-sceptic Querdenken Movement in Germany. *CTC Sentinel*, 15(3), March 2022. URL: <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/the-security-threat-posed-by-the-corona-skeptic-querdenken-movement-in-germany/>

T. John, T. Lister, A far-right battalion has a key role in Ukraine's resistance. Its neo-Nazi history has been



exploited by Putin. *CNN*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/03/29/europe/ukraine-azov-movement-far-right-intl-cmd/index.html>

V. Likhachev. The far right in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. *Russie.Nei.Visions* #95, Notes de d'IFRI, July 2016. URL: [https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/rnv95\\_uk\\_likhachev\\_far-right\\_radicals\\_final.pdf](https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/rnv95_uk_likhachev_far-right_radicals_final.pdf)

H. Neely. Neo-Nazism and racist violence in Russia. *CERS Working Paper* 2015. URL: <https://cers.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/97/2016/04/NeoNazism-and-Racist-Violence-in-Russia-Harriet-Neely.pdf>

H. Roonema, M. Laine, M. Weiss. Russia backs Europe's far right. Emails and documents show just how closely Italian, French, German and Austrian politicians coordinate with Moscow. *New Lines Magazine*, March 24, 2022. URL: <https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/exclusive-russia-backs-europes-far-right/>

O. Fortunato, R. Dierenfeldt, S. Basham. Examining the impact of the Obama and Trump candidacies on right-wing domestic terrorism in the United States: a time-series analysis. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/08862605221078813>

R. Scrivens. Examining online indicators of extremism among violent and non-violent right-wing extremists. *Terrorism & Political Violence*, March 22, 2022. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2022.2042270?journalCode=ftpv20>

T. Owen. US extremists have picked a side in Ukraine: 'Lol Putin is brilliant'. *Vice*, March 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.vice.com/en/article/wxd7zn/us-extremists-putin-nicholas-fuentes>

Male state: the Russian online hate group backing Putin's war. *Homeland Security Today*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/male-state-the-russian-online-hate-group-backing-putins-war/>

IntelBrief: Russian Imperial Movement labeled a specially designated global terrorist entity. *The Soufan Center*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-russian-imperial-movement-labeled-a-specially-designated-global-terrorist-entity/>

D. Byman. Spreading hate. The global rise of white supremacist terrorism. 2022. URL: <https://parliamentobserver.com/2022/03/03/spreading-hate-the-global-rise-of-white-supremacist-terrorism/>

C. Mudde. The far-right threat in the United States: a European perspective.

Germany to disarm far-right extremists restricts gun access. *Associated Press*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/00027162211070060?journalCode=anna>

R. Katz. Neo-Nazis are exploiting war in Ukraine for their own purpose. *Washington Post*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2022/03/14/neo-nazi-ukraine-war/>

A. Roussinos. The truth about Ukraine's far-right militias. *UnHerd*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://unherd.com/2022/03/the-truth-about-ukraines-nazi-militias/>

Neo-fascist skullmask movement. *GW Extremism Tracker, Program on Extremism, INCITE*, March 10, 2022. URL: [https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/Neo-Fascist\\_Skullmask\\_Movement.pdf](https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/Neo-Fascist_Skullmask_Movement.pdf)

Extremist content online: white supremacists continue to spread propaganda and seek to gain followers through rhetoric on Russian invasion of Ukraine. *Counter Extremist Project*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/press/extremist-content-online-white-supremacists-continue-spread-propaganda-and-seek-gain>

M.A. Jensen, S. Kane. QAnon-inspired violence in the United States: an empirical assessment of a misunderstood threat. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*. December 2021. URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/publication/qanon-inspired-violence-united-states-empirical-assessment-misunder>

stood-threat,

ADL: White Supremacist propaganda remained at historic levels in 2021. *Homeland Security Today*, March 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/adl-white-supremacist-propaganda-remained-at-historic-levels-in-2021/>

### 5.2. Leftwing Extremism

Kenosha elects GOP executive for first time ever in wake of 2020 BLM riots that caused \$50m damage and left city looking 'like a war zone' as conservatives claim it's early sign of mid-terms 'red-wave'. *Daily Mail Online*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10694023/Kenosha-elects-GOP-executive-time-wake-2020-BLM-riots-caused-50m-damage.html>

M. Thompson. Hillary Clinton's campaign lawyer and man who funded Steele dossier is now representing BLM after leaders fled the charity over investigation into \$60m finances. *Daily Mail Online*, February 17, 2022. URL: [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10520471/Hillary-Clintons-campaign-lawyer-man-funded-Steele-dossier-representing-BLM.html?ito=social-twitter\\_dailymailus&ito=social-twitter\\_dailymailus](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10520471/Hillary-Clintons-campaign-lawyer-man-funded-Steele-dossier-representing-BLM.html?ito=social-twitter_dailymailus&ito=social-twitter_dailymailus)

### 5.3. Islamism

D. Casciani. Sir David Amess: how MP's killer was a textbook case of radicalization. *BBC*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-61062285>

Hawthorne, California imam Hamdy Sadek in Friday sermon: the Jews gave the prophets a hard time, then killed them; oh Allah, purify al-Aqsa mosque from the malevolence of the Jews! *MEMRI Special Dispatch* No. 9874, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.memri.org/reports/hawthorne-california-imam-hamdy-sadek-friday-sermon-jews-gave-prophets-hard-time-then-killed>

T. Hussein. A British ex-jihadist reinvents himself. *New Lines Institute*, March 24, 2022. URL: <https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/a-british-ex-jihadist-reinvents-himself/>

T. Hussain. Jailing jihadists in the West. *NewLines Institute*, February 1, 2022. URL: <https://newlinesmag.com/essays/jailing-jihadists-in-the-west/>

G. Wood. Why an ISIS propagandist abandoned Islam. *The Atlantic*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/03/deprogramming-isis-supporters-jihadi-extremism/629433/>

L. Dawson. Oliver Roy and the 'Islamization of radicalism': overview and critique of a theory of Western jihadist radicalization. *Journal for Deradicalization*, no. 30, Spring 2022. URL: <https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/exclusive-russia-backs-europes-far-right/>

L. Resnyansky, C. Smith, C. Taylor, P. Sulistiyanto, G. Merryman, Mujahiduddin. Reasons behind reasons: a communitarian reading of women's radicalization and family bombings in South East Asia. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2034229?af=R>

I. Frydenlund, E. Leidig. Introduction: 'Love jihad': sexuality, reproduction and the construction of the predatory Muslim male. *Religions*, 13(3), February 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/13/3/201>

H. Micheron. *Le jihadisme français. Quartiers, Syrie, prisons*. Gallimard, 2020, 406 pp. URL: <https://relibib.de/Record/1746381949>

#### 5.4. Single Issue Extremism

J. Gordon. Radical environmental group calls on activists to deflate tires of SUVs in ‘wealthy areas’ to combat climate change. *Daily Mail Online*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10706161/Environmental-group-calls-deflating-tires-SUVs-wealthy-areas-combat-climate-change.html>

M. Powell. Hunt for arsonist who set up to 40 cars ablaze: 20 vehicles parked overnight in car park at Rolls Royce plant near Bristol are among ‘trail of destruction.’ *Daily Mail Online*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10681243/Hunt-arsonist-set-40-cars-ablaze-near-Bristol-including-car-park-Rolls-Royce-plant.html>

M. Duell, C. Quinn. Extinction Rebellion will bring London to a standstill again: eco-mob plan ‘mass daily protests’ across the Capital this month – as activist today block 10 oil terminals across London, Birmingham and Southampton. *Daily Mail Online*, April 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10675231/Hundreds-Just-Stop-Oil-Extinction-Rebellion-protestors-block-entrances-seven-oil-terminals.html>

K. Stevens. Telstra tower in Australia’s anti-vaxxer capital is suddenly burned down by vandals in the middle of the night – leaving flooded town where 5G conspiracy theories have run rampant cut off from communications. *Daily Mail Online*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10625641/Telstra-tower-Australias-anti-vaxxer-capital-Mullumbimby-fire-days-floods-hit-NSW-town.html>

M. Lodge. The Swedish climate change academic who inspired the Tyre Extinguisher’s campaign as eco-zealots target ‘hundreds’ of SUVs across the UK in bizarre war on air pollution from ‘gaz guzzlers.’ *Daily Mail Online*, March 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10599537/The-Swedish-academic-inspired-eco-zealots-campaign-targeting-hundreds-SUVs-UK.html>

R. Tingle, M. Robinson. Extinction Rebellion announces plans to block UK oil refineries: Eco mob will stage mass protests at sites in April and attempt to bring London to a standstill again. *Daily Mail Online*, March 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10593833/Extinction-Rebellion-announces-plans-block-major-UK-oil-refineries.html>

### 6. Counterterrorism – General

N. Turse. US didn’t expect major explosions when an ISIS bomb factory was bombed. *The Intercept*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://theintercept.com/2022/04/08/isis-bomb-factory-iraq-pentagon-airstrike/>

A. Martini. The UN and counter-terrorism. Global hegemonies, power and identities. 2021, 220 pp. URL: <https://www.routledge.com/The-UN-and-Counter-Terrorism-Global-Hegemonies-Power-and-Identities/Martini/p/book/9780367564216>

L.K. Johnson. The third option. Covert action and American foreign policy. 2022. URL: [https://books.google.nl/books/about/The\\_Third\\_Option.html?id=EbnLEAAQBAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.nl/books/about/The_Third_Option.html?id=EbnLEAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y)

G. Tol. Erdoğan’s war. A strongman’s struggle at home and in Syria. 2022. URL: <https://www.amazon.fr/Erdogans-War-Strongmans-Struggle-Syria/dp/1787387984>

N. Turse. The military isn’t tracking US-trained officers in Africa. *Responsible Statecraft*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/03/30/us-military-isnt-tracking-the-officers-it-trains-in-africa/>

K. Osborn. The Department of Defense’s JAD2C plan puts a premium on speed. *The National Interest*, March 25, 2022. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/departments-defenses-jad2c-plan-puts-premium-speed-201487>

R. Stone. China won’t save the Afghan Taliban. *The National Interest*, March 29, 2022. URL: <https://nation->

[alinterest.org/feature/china-won't-save-afghan-taliban-201457?page=0,1](https://www.alinterest.org/feature/china-won't-save-afghan-taliban-201457?page=0,1)

Israel and Morocco sign military co-operation agreement. *The National Interest*, March 25, 2022. URL: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/mena/2022/03/25/israel-and-morocco-sign-military-co-operation-agreement/>

East African leaders meet in Jordan to discuss efforts to counter terrorism. *The National Interest*, March 25, 2022. URL: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/mena/jordan/2022/03/25/east-african-leaders-meet-in-jordan-to-discuss-efforts-to-counter-terrorism/>

EU to establish rapid reaction force with up to 5,000 troops. *Reuters*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/germany-offers-provide-core-eu-quick-reaction-force-2022-03-21/>

Departments of Justice and State launch international program to support women in leadership roles in counterterrorism. *Homeland Security Today*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/departments-of-justice-and-state-launch-international-program-to-support-women-in-leadership-roles-in-counterterrorism/>

D. Kilcullen. *The dragons and the snakes. How the rest learned to fight the West.* Hurst, 2022, 336 pp. URL: [https://www.hurstpublishers.com/book/the-dragons-and-the-snakes/?mc\\_cid=5a99167f86&mc\\_eid=2229bf5699](https://www.hurstpublishers.com/book/the-dragons-and-the-snakes/?mc_cid=5a99167f86&mc_eid=2229bf5699)

G. Cascone. NATO counterterrorism trends: current and future threats. March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/nato-counterterrorism-trends-current-and-future-threats>

US Central Command and Africa Command generals testify in Senate committee hearing. *PBS News Hour*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pG3RuyFiZvk>

T. Durden. The next terror wave looms. *ZeroHedge*, March 12, 2022. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/geopolitical/next-terror-wave-looms>

J. Jidson. US army to demo offensive drone swarms in next Project Convergence. *C4ISRNet*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.defensenews.com/industry/techwatch/2022/02/28/north-korea-says-it-tested-cameras-for-spy-satellite/>

## **7. Counterterrorism: Specific Operations and/or Specific Policy Measures**

### *7.1. Military: Kinetic Operations, Military Assistance & Training*

Mali says it has opened investigation into alleged massacre in village of Moura. *France24*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20220406-mali-opens-investigation-into-alleged-massacre-in-village-of-moura>

'Bad intelligence' behind Mali military operation that 'killed 300 civilians.' *France24*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20220406-bad-intelligence-behind-mali-military-operation-that-killed-300-civilians>

Analysing Nigerian military's deep push into Sambisa forest. *HumAngle*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://hummanglemedia.com/analysing-nigerian-militarys-deep-push-into-sambisa-forest/>

A. Ahronheim. IDF uses elite Shayetet 13 in Jenin arrest raids. *The Jerusalem Post*, April 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-703757>

Israel army raids West Bank town as tensions soar. *The Hill*, April 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/israel-army-raids-west-bank-town-as-tensions-soar/a-61424549>

Israeli air raids target positions in Syria. *Al Jazeera*, April 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/>



[news/2022/4/9/israeli-air-strikes-target-positions-in-syria?](#)

Israeli security forces kill Palestinian youth behind Tel Aviv attack. *Middle East Monitor*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220408-israeli-security-forces-kill-palestinian-youth-behind-tel-aviv-attack/>

I. Kaledzi. Malian army and suspected Russian fighters accused of massacre. *Deutsche Welle*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/mali-army-russian-fighters-accused-of-massacre/a-61377799>

Chief Bisong Etahoben. UN soldiers destroy CODECO rebels' camp in Eastern Congo, kill five. *HumAngle*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://humanglemedia.com/un-soldiers-destroy-codeco-rebels-camp-in-eastern-drc-congo-kill-5/>

J. Maitem. Philippine troops kill two Abu Sayyaf suspects ahead of Ramadan. *Benar News*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/philippine/militant-fight-04042022115103.html>

D. Koswaraputra. Indonesia's manhunt for MIT holdouts drags on. *Benar News*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/indonesian/mit-manhunt-04052022105238.html>

Israel killed 355 Palestinians last year, including 87 children: Palestinian health ministry. *The New Arab*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/news/israel-killed-355-palestinians-last-year-health-ministry>

N. Turse. US airstrike killed 11 Libyan civilians and allies. Human rights groups say. *The Intercept*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://theintercept.com/2022/04/03/libya-airstrike-civilian-deaths-lawsuit/>

AMISOM officially transitions to ATMIS, to stay in Somalia for 33 months. *Garowe Online*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/amisom-officially-transitions-to-atmis-to-stay-in-somalia-for-33-months>

Mali: massacre by army, foreign soldiers. 300 civilians, suspects allegedly killed; set independent, credible inquiry. *Human Rights Watch*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/04/05/mali-massacre-army-foreign-soldiers>

E. Fabian. At least 10 terror attacks foiled in past two weeks, IDF chief says. *The Times of Israel*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/at-least-10-terror-attacks-foiled-in-past-two-weeks-idf-chief-says/>

Somalia: Somali National Army Special Forces of Danab kill 7 al-Shabab militants, seize cache of weapons. *AllAfrica*, April 3, 2022. URL: [https://allafrica.com/stories/202204030099.html?utm\\_source=iterable&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=4009048](https://allafrica.com/stories/202204030099.html?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=4009048)

SADC: SAMM de-escalation in Cabo Delgado to begin mid-April. *Club of Mozambique*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://clubofmozambique.com/news/sadc-samm-de-escalation-in-cabo-delgado-to-begin-mid-april-213423/>

Israel: West Bank raid kills members of Palestinian Islamic Jihad group. *Deutsche Welle*, April 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/israel-west-bank-raid-kills-members-of-palestinian-islamic-jihad-group/a-61338949>

J. Kaplan, J. Sapien, B.J. Conley, Mohammed J. Alizada, S. Nuhzat, M. Sadid, A. Ahad Poya. Hell at Abbey Gate: Chaos, confusion and death in the final days of the war in Afghanistan. *Pro Publica*, April 2, 2022. URL: [https://www.propublica.org/article/hell-at-abbey-gate-chaos-confusion-and-death-in-the-final-days-of-the-war-in-afghanistan?utm\\_source=twitter&utm\\_medium=social-1298716](https://www.propublica.org/article/hell-at-abbey-gate-chaos-confusion-and-death-in-the-final-days-of-the-war-in-afghanistan?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social-1298716)

Three suspected terrorists killed by Israeli forces in West Bank gunfight. *The Times of Israel*, April 2, 2022. URL: [https://www.timesofisrael.com/three-suspected-terrorists-killed-by-israeli-forces-in-west-bank-gunfight/?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.timesofisrael.com/three-suspected-terrorists-killed-by-israeli-forces-in-west-bank-gunfight/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter)

- UN authorizes new AU mission in Somalia to dislodge armed groups. *Al Jazeera*, April 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/1/un-authorises-new-au-mission-in-somalia-to-dislodge-armed-groups>
- A. Sheline. Numbers don't lie: more Saudi attacks on Yemen came after new US support. *Responsible Statecraft*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://responsiblestatecraft.org/2022/03/21/numbers-dont-lie-more-saudi-attacks-on-yemen-came-after-new-us-support/>
- T. Tritten. Military's bloody battle for Raqqa seen as 'cautionary tale' as Pentagon promises to limit civilian deaths. *Military.com*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2022/03/31/militarys-bloody-battle-raqqa-seen-cautionary-tale-pentagon-promises-limit-civilian-deaths.html>
- Israel launched over a thousand airstrikes on Syria in last 5 years: report. *Middle East Monitor*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220331-israel-launched-over-a-thousand-airstrikes-on-syria-in-last-5-years-report/>
- ISIS affiliates arrested in al-Hol in an ongoing security operation. *Rudaw*, March 19, 2022. URL: <https://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/syria/19032022>
- Hundreds of civilians killed in Afrin since Turkey's invasion of the city. *Rudaw*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/syria/18032022>
- Israel changes policy towards ISIS, hires 15,000 personnel to confront threats. *Asharq al-Awsat*, March 29, 2022. URL: <https://english.aawsat.com/home/article/3560496/israel-changes-policy-towards-isis-hires-15000-personnel-confront-threats>
- L. Jaime Acosta. Venezuelan security forces carry out operations with ELN rebels-HRW. *Reuters*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/venezuelan-security-forces-carry-out-operations-with-eln-rebels-hrw-2022-03-28/>
- Iraq building Syria wall to keep out ISIS fighters. *Asharq al-Awsat*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://english.aawsat.com/home/article/3557891/iraq-building-syria-wall-keep-out-isis-fighters>
- A. Syamsudin, T. Dianti. Amnesty: violence, repression grow near planned gold mine in Indonesia's Papua. *Benar News*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/indonesian/gold-mine-03212022104952.html>
- Troops kill senior Abu Sayyaf leader in southern Philippines. *Benar News*, March 26, 2022. URL: <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/philippine/militant-clash-03262022084138.html>
- M. Beals. El Salvador declares state of emergency amid spike in gang killings. *The Hill*, March 27, 2022. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/international/599944-el-salvador-declares-state-of-emergency-amid-spike-in-gang-killings>
- UN report says nearly 600 civilians killed in Mali amid anti-jihadist fight. *France24*, March 24, 2022. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20220324-un-report-says-nearly-600-civilians-killed-in-mali-amid-anti-jihadist-fight>
- A. Ahronheim. Two Iranian drones shot down over Iraq were heading to Israel. *The Jerusalem Post*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/article-701888>
- Ex-Xinjiang paramilitary anti-terror chief appointed commander of China's military's Hong Kong garrison. *HKFP*, January 10, 2022. URL: <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/01/10/ex-xinjiang-paramilitary-anti-terror-chief-appointed-commander-of-china-militarys-hong-kong-garrison/>
- Chief Bisong Etahoben. New French military contingent arrives Central African Republic capital Bangui. *HumAngle*, March 19, 2022. URL: <https://humanglemedia.com/new-french-military-contingent-arrives-central-african-republic-capital-bangui/>

- L. C. Baldor. General: Iran, Israel missile strikes put US troops at risk. *AP*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-iran-israel-syria-iraq-4062b761cc397b1f4e9c4e1ee2c1c5d2>
- T. Phillips. Battle-scarred ghost town bears mute witness to Mexico's drug wars. *The Guardian*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/17/mexico-ghost-town-drug-wars-limoncito>
- D. Rosenberg. Israel destroyed hundreds of Iranian drones in massive attack. *Arutz Sheva*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/323976>
- E. Emre Ozcan. It has been 11 years since civil war erupted in Syria. 6.7m people internally displaced, over 350,000 others died during war. *Anadolu Agency*, March 14, 2022. URL: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/it-has-been-11-years-since-civil-war-erupted-in-syria/2534621>
- Ten years after the Libyan revolution, victims wait for justice. *Airwars*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://airwars.org/news-and-investigations/ten-years-after-libyan-revolution-victims-wait-for-justice/>
- I. Levy, A. Yusuf. The 'Lightning' Brigade: security force assistance and the fight against al-Shabaab. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2045967?af=R&journalCode=uter20>
- France to continue aerial support to Mali after troops withdrawal. *Reuters*, March 12, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/france-continue-aerial-support-mali-after-troop-withdrawal-2022-03-11/>
- Boko Haram: fear grips Borno community as brigade commander withdraws troops, weapons 'because he doesn't want to stay in the bush'- sources. *Sahara Reporters*, March 10, 2022. URL: <http://saharareporters.com/2022/03/10/boko-haram-fear-grips-borno-community-brigade-commander-withdraws-troops-weapons-“because>
- I. Singh Bisht. Israeli air force F-35 downs Iranian drone in first kill. *The Defense Post*, March 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.thedefensepost.com/2022/03/09/israel-air-force-iran-drone/>
- Chief Bisong Etahoven. DR Congo, Ugandan forces recapture three villages from ADF in Irumu territory. *HumAngle*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://humangle.org/dr-congo-ugandan-forces-recapture-3-villages-from-adf-in-irumu-territory/>
- M. Abdullahi. Military strides lead to decline in civilian casualties in northeast Nigeria. *HumAngle*, March 5, 2022. URL: <https://humangle.org/military-strides-records-decline-in-civilian-casualties-in-northeast-nigeria/>
- C. Weiss. French forces report killing al-Qaeda veteran in Mali. *FDD's Long War Journal*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2022/03/french-forces-report-killing-al-qaeda-veteran-in-mali.php>
- French army says senior AQIM leader Djouadi killed in Mali. *The Defense Post*, March 7, 2022. URL: [https://www.thedefensepost.com/2022/03/07/aqim-leader-killed-mali/?utm\\_source=feedly&utm\\_medium=rss&utm\\_campaign=aqim-leader-killed-mali](https://www.thedefensepost.com/2022/03/07/aqim-leader-killed-mali/?utm_source=feedly&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=aqim-leader-killed-mali)
- J. Zenn. Operation Shujaa targets Islamic State's leadership in Congo with arrests of Salim Mohammed, Benjamin Kisokeranio, and Cheikh Banza. *Militant Leadership Monitor*, February 3, 2022. URL: <https://jamestown.org/brief/operation-shujaa-targets-islamic-states-leadership-in-congo-with-arrests-of-salim-mohammed-benjamin-kisokeranio-and-cheikh-banza/>
- Israel warplanes bomb areas surrounding Damascus. *Middle East Monitor*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220307-israel-warplanes-bomb-areas-surrounding-damascus/>
- Israel dredges up details of Iranian drones ferrying arms to Gaza. *Middle East Monitor*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220307-syria-pro-assad-fighters-recruited-by-russia-to-fight-in-ukraine/>

H. Shuldiner. Military-grade weapons in Michoacan put Mexican forces on war footing. *InSight Crime*, March 4, 2022. URL: <https://insightcrime.org/news/war-type-weapons-in-michoacan-put-mexican-forces-on-battle-footing/>

### 7.1. Prosecution and Sentences

US: two of four acquitted in Michigan governor kidnap case. *Deutsche Welle*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/us-2-of-4-men-acquitted-in-michigan-governor-kidnap-case/a-61415790>

Egypt: imprisonments for 14 Muslim Brotherhood leaders. *Middle East Monitor*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220409-egypt-imprisonments-for-14-muslim-brotherhood-leaders/>

Boston marathon bomber again tries to avoid execution. *Associated Press*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/us-supreme-court-boston-executions-bombings-dzhokhar-tsarnaev-af3ca1e72cb-697905daa5090fa990418>

Indonesia jails senior member of Islamist group on militancy charges. *Reuters*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/indonesia-jails-senior-member-islamist-group-militancy-charges-2022-04-06/>

Bellini gets life for Bologna bombing. *ANSA*, April 6, 2022. URL: [https://www.ansa.it/english/news/2022/04/06/bellini-gets-life-for-bologna-bombing\\_9043210f-9bbe-46ce-af36-268dbd28fb3a.html](https://www.ansa.it/english/news/2022/04/06/bellini-gets-life-for-bologna-bombing_9043210f-9bbe-46ce-af36-268dbd28fb3a.html)

T. Ndiga. Burkina Faso's ex-president Compaore handed life sentence in absentia over Sankara murder. *Reuters*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/burkina-fasos-former-president-compaore-sentenced-life-prison-over-sankara-2022-04-06/>

Rwandan court maintains 'Hotel Rwanda' hero's 25-year sentence. *Reuters*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/rwandan-court-maintains-hotel-rwanda-heros-25-year-sentence-2022-04-04/>

Guatemalan court jails eight for murder of soldiers. *Reuters*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/guatemalan-court-jails-eight-murder-soldiers-2022-03-30/>

S.M. Najmus Sakib. Ex-lawmaker given death penalty for war crimes in Bangladesh. *Anadolu Agency*, March 24, 2022. URL: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/ex-lawmaker-given-death-penalty-for-war-crimes-in-bangladesh/2544425>

F. van Straeten. Hezbollah-leden schuldig aan moord op ex-premier. *NRC Handelsblad*, March 12, 2022. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2022/03/12/vn-tribunaal-leidschendam-hezbollah-leden-schuldig-aan-moord-op-ex-premier-a4100679 - /handelsblad/2022/03/12/>

Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, Boston marathon bomber death penalty reinstated. *SOF Magazine*, March 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.sofmag.com/dzhokhar-tsarnaev-boston-marathon-bomber-death-penalty-reinstated/>

### 7.2. Foreign Fighters, with a Focus on the Russia-Ukraine War

E. Vardy. 'I'm under no illusions.' Says British soldier in Ukraine, after comrades killed. *BBC*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61058139>

M. Zuppello. Latin American foreign fighters in Ukraine. *Militant Wire*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.militantwire.com/p/latin-american-foreign-fighters-in/>

J. Cole. Syria's dire economy and years of fighting send young 'mercenaries' to fight in Ukraine. *Informed Comment*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.juancole.com/2022/04/economy-fighting-mercenaries.html>



British veteran of US Marines who battled ISIS is now helping Ukraine's special forces take the fight to Putin's battalions. *Daily Mail Online*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10702587/War-Ukraine-British-Marine-Corps-veteran-training-Kyiv-special-forces.html>

A. Ritzmann, H.J. Schindler, S. Koller. Foreign fighters in the 2022 Russia-Ukraine war (update 1). An assessment of extremist volunteers. *Counter Extremism Project*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/2022-04/Update 1 CEP Policy Brief Foreign Fighters in the 2022 Russia-Ukraine War April 2022.pdf>

German security officials visit far-right extremists to warn them not to travel to Ukraine. *The National News*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/uk-news/2022/04/06/german-security-officials-visit-far-right-extremists-to-warn-them-not-to-travel-to-ukraine/>

What is the role of Russia's paramilitary Wagner Group in the Ukraine war? *Deutsche Welle*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-o0Yqmqzkcgk>

Paramilitaries in Ukraine – how Ramzan Kadyrov and Chechen mercenaries shape the war. *Deutsche Welle*, YouTube, March 30, 202. URL: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vuy1\\_hjNkpM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vuy1_hjNkpM)

CEP Webinar: extremist foreign fighters traveling to Ukraine – security risks and mitigation measures. *Counter Extremism Project*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/press/cep-webinar-extremist-foreign-fighters-traveling-ukraine-security-risks-and-mitigation>

How Belarussian fighters in Ukraine evolved into prominent force against Russian invasion – analysis. *Eurasia Review*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.eurasiareview.com/03042022-how-belarusian-fighters-in-ukraine-evolved-into-prominent-force-against-russian-invasion-analysis/>

D. Boffey. 'I don't like bullies': British volunteers tell why they're fighting for Ukraine. *The Guardian*, April 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/02/i-dont-like-bullies-british-volunteers-tell-why-theyre-fighting-for-ukraine>

TSC Webinar: foreign fighters, volunteers, & mercenaries. *The Soufan Center*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HuAYrJ59MIE>

A. Rubinstein. US veteran who volunteered to fight for Ukraine describes 'suicide mission.' *The Grayzone*, March 30, 202. URL: <https://thegrayzone.com/2022/03/30/us-veteran-fight-ukraine-suicide-mission/>

M. Introvigne. Nazism in Ukraine – separating facts from fiction. 6. Pro-Russian Nazi fighters in the Ukrainian war. *Bitter Winter*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://bitterwinter.org/nazism-in-ukraine-6-pro-russian-nazi-fighters/>

Ukraine war is our war, say Brit x-squaddies heading to Lviv. *BBC*, March 27, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-60886295>

Des mercenaires britanniques fuient l'Ukraine après de lourdes pertes. *Research International*, March 25, 2022. URL: <https://reseauinternational.net/des-mercenaires-britanniques-fuient-lukraine-apres-de-lourdes-pertes/>

F. Flade. Ukraine-Kämpfer: gegen Russland, und gegen das Gesetz? *Jih@d*, March 22, 2022. URL: <https://ojihad.wordpress.com/2022/03/22/ukraine-kampfer-gegen-russland-und-gegen-das-gesetz/>

Ukraine's secret weapons: inside the training camps for foreign fighters. *60 Minutes Australia*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQMKbn5WrB8>

M. Townsend. Russian mercenaries in Ukraine linked to far-right extremists. *The Guardian*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/20/russian-mercenaries-in-ukraine-linked-to-far-right-extremists>

- A. Nazaryan. 'A psychopath': Chechen warlord Kadyrov raises prospect of more brutal phase to Ukraine war. *Yahoo*, March 19, 2022. URL: <https://news.yahoo.com/a-psychopath-chechen-warlord-kadyrov-raises-prospect-of-more-brutal-phase-to-ukraine-war-090033439.html>
- S. Al-Khalidi, L. Bassam. Some Syrian veterans ready for Ukraine fight, commander say. *Reuters*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/some-syrian-veterans-ready-ukraine-fight-commanders-say-2022-03-20/>
- Russian war report: Russia sends military contractors from Georgian breakaway region to Ukraine. *Atlantic Council*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/russian-war-report-russia-sends-military-contractors-from-georgian-breakaway-region-to-ukraine/>
- A. Campana. Chechens fighting in Ukraine: Putin's psychological weapon could backfire. *The Conversation*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://theconversation.com/chechens-fighting-in-ukraine-putins-psychological-weapon-could-backfire-179447>
- S. Foggett, M. Saltskog, C. Clarke. How are Putin's far-right fans in the West reacting to his war? *War on the Rocks*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/03/how-are-putins-far-right-fans-in-the-west-reacting-to-his-war/>
- P. Suci. War in Ukraine attracts over 20,000 foreign volunteers. *The National Interest*, March 14 2022. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/war-ukraine-attracts-over-20000-foreign-volunteers-201214>
- D. Malet. The risky status of Ukraine's foreign fighters. *Foreign Policy*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/15/ukraine-war-foreign-fighters-legion-volunteers-legal-status/>
- C. Miller-Idriss. Fighting Russia in Ukraine sadly appeals to racist, far-right extremists. *MSNBC*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/fighting-russia-ukraine-sadly-appeals-far-right-extremists-n1290901>
- K. Feehan, J. Newman, I. Gallagher, M. Nicol. Russian spies 'infiltrated Ukraine's international volunteers' to launch missile attack that killed three British special forces veterans and nearly killed dozens more Brits who were only yards away. *Daily Mail Online*, March 14, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10612993/British-volunteer-fighters-yards-barracks-Russian-strikes-killed-Ukrainian-soldiers.html>
- M. Petkova. Ukraine's foreign legion joins the battle against Russia. *Al Jazeera*, March 14, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/14/russia-ukraine-war-international-legion-foreign-fighters>
- Fighters with Ukrainian's foreign legion are being asked to sign indefinite contracts. Some have refused. *The Economist*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.economist.com/1843/2022/03/11/fighters-with-ukraines-foreign-legion-are-being-asked-to-sign-indefinite-contracts-some-have-refused>
- P, Conradi, H. Daniel. The new legion of foreign fighters: who are they and where do they come from? *The Sunday Times*, March 12, 2022. URL: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/call-centre-welcomes-foreign-legion-d03lf0wwb?>
- Don't go to Ukraine as foreign fighters: State Department to US citizens. *The Hill*, March 12, 2022. URL: <https://thehill.com/changing-america/resilience/597933-dont-go-to-ukraine-as-foreign-fighters-state-dept-to-us-citizens>
- Russian President Vladimir Putin orders entry into Ukraine of 'volunteer' fighters, as Moscow strikes hit Lutsk and Ivano-Frankiivsk. *ABC News*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-03-11/putin-holds-meeting-with-russian-security-council-west-ukraine/100904764>
- B. Fox. Americans turn to Ukrainian embassy in bid to join fight against Russia. *The Times of Israel*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/americans-turn-to-ukrainian-embassy-in-bid-to-join-fight-against-russia/>

L. Fisher, P. Sawyer, J. Johnson. A warning to British soldiers going AWOL to shoot Russians: 'They will be prosecuted.' *National Post*, March 10, 2022. URL: <https://nationalpost.com/news/world/a-warning-to-british-soldiers-going-awol-to-shoot-russians-they-will-be-prosecuted>

T. Blackwell. So many Canadian fighters in Ukraine, they have their own battalion, source says. *National Post*, March 9, 2022. URL: <https://nationalpost.com/news/world/exclusive-so-many-canadian-fighters-in-ukraine-they-have-their-own-battalion-source-says>

B. Hamilton. Over 100 Danes have travelled to Ukraine to fight, claims ambassador. *CHP Post Online*, March 10, 2022. URL: <https://cphpost.dk/?p=131991>

M. Weaver. It is illegal to join fight in Ukraine, Grant Shapps tells UK troops. *The Guardian*, March 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/09/it-is-to-join-fight-in-ukraine-grant-shapps-tells-uk-troops>

E. Tanatarova. Nearly 20,000 people have joined Ukraine's 'foreign legion' of volunteers who have travelled to the country to fight Russia. *Daily Mail Online*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10585499/Nearly-20-000-people-joined-Ukraines-foreign-legion-volunteers.html>

Ukraine war: a new battlefield for Syrian mercenaries. *Asharq al-Awsat*, March 5, 2022. URL: <https://english.aawsat.com/home/article/3512791/ukraine-war-new-battlefront-syrian-mercenaries>

M. Mustaffa. The Kadyrovtsy: Putin's force multiplier or propaganda tool? *Newsline Institute*, March 4, 2022. URL: <https://newlinesinstitute.org/russia/the-kadyrovtsy-putins-force-multiplier-or-propaganda-tool/>

R. Olearchyk, W. Wallis, M. Ellingham. Zelensky's call for volunteers to defend Ukraine heeded by thousands from abroad. *Financial Times*, March 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.ft.com/content/2a877400-50df-4878-8815-605405e92c68?shareType=nongift>

Chechen president Kadyrov about Ukraine crisis: 'we have jihad!' *Pravda*, March 4, 2022. URL: [https://english.pravda.ru/news/world/150586-kadyrov\\_ukraine\\_jihad/](https://english.pravda.ru/news/world/150586-kadyrov_ukraine_jihad/)

A. Hock, A. Nabert. Deutsche Rechtsextremisten in die Ukraine ausgereist. *Die Welt*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article237266471/Nach-russischer-Invasion-Deutsche-Rechtsextremisten-in-die-Ukraine-ausgereist.html>

T. O'Connor. As Ukraine rallies nation to defend from Russia, far-right joins the fight. *Newsweek*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.newsweek.com/ukraine-rallies-nation-defend-russia-far-right-joins-fight-1684187>

Ukraine: 'More than 100' people from Scotland volunteer to fight. *BBC*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-60589580>

D. Byman. Foreign fighters in Ukraine? Evaluating the benefits and risks. *Lawfare*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/cyber-realism-time-war>

## **8. Prevention, Preparedness and Resilience and Rehabilitation Studies**

DPT-Gutachen zum Schwerpunktthema 'Kinder im Fokus der Prävention'. *Der Deutsche Präventionstag*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.praeventionstag.de/nano.cms/news/details/6145>

Amnesty Report 2021: Staatengemeinschaft bewältigt Konflikte weltweit unzureichend. *Der Deutsche Präventionstag*, April 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.praeventionstag.de/nano.cms/news/details/6143>

H. Pilkington, A. Hussain. Why wouldn't you consult us? Reflections on preventing radicalization among actors in radical(ising) milieus. *Journal for Deradicalization*, No.30, 2022. URL: <https://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/571>

S. Raets. Trial and terror. Countering violent extremism and promoting disengagement in Belgium. *Journal of Deradicalization*, No.30, 2022. URL: <https://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/581>

M. J. Williams. Research methods brief: anatomy of process evaluations for P/CVE. *Journal of Deradicalization*, No.30, Spring 2022. URL: <https://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/583>

Preventing extremism through integrating young displaced people. Fighting terror, *Counter Extremism Project*, March 24, 2022. URL: <https://podcasts.apple.com/gb/podcast/fighting-terror/id1537595348?i=1000554343751>

C. Krippahl. Nigeria: ex-Boko Haram fighters face tough path to reintegration. *Deutsche Welle*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/nigeria-ex-boko-haram-fighters-face-tough-path-to-reintegration/a-61169893>

R. Walsh. Responding to suffering and evil: integral principles. *Integral+Life*, March 6, 2022. URL: <https://integrallife.com/responding-to-suffering-and-evil-integral-principles/>

Key principles and recommendations for the management of violent extremist prisoners and the prevention of radicalization to violence in prisons. *UNODC*, 2022. URL: [https://www.unodc.org/pdf/criminal\\_justice/Summary-of-recommendations-on-VEPs.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/pdf/criminal_justice/Summary-of-recommendations-on-VEPs.pdf)

### **9. State Repression: Aggression, War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity, with a Focus on the Russia-Ukraine War**

D. Rivers. The horrific final moments of three victims that lay bare the brutality of Kremlin's thug. The harrowing scenes uncovered by Ukrainian liberators in Bucha. *Daily Mail Online*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10709259/DAN-RIVERS-reports-harrowing-scenes-uncovered-Ukrainian-liberators-Bucha.html>

Y. Limaye. Ukraine conflict: 'Russian soldiers raped me and killed my husband.' *BBC*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61071243>

O. Oshin. Clapper fears more 'organized' brutality with new Russian general leading invasion. *The Hill*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/international/3264225-clapper-fears-more-organized-brutality-with-new-russian-general-leading-invasion/>

T. Mockaitis. The Russian army has a long history of brutality – Ukraine is no exception. *The Hill*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://thehill.com/opinion/international/3264042-the-russian-army-has-a-long-history-of-brutality-ukraine-is-no-exception/>

L. Dubenko. French forensics arrive to investigate Russian war crimes in Ukraine. *Kyiv Post*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/french-forensics-arrive-to-investigate-russian-war-crimes-in-ukraine.html>

C. Stephen. Witnessing atrocities in real time in Ukraine is changing everything. *The Guardian*, April 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2022/apr/10/witnessing-atrocities-in-real-time-in-ukraine-is-changing-everything?>

Ukraine: 52 people die in rocket strike on Kramatorsk train station. *Deutsche Welle*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/ukraine-52-people-die-in-rocket-strike-on-kramatorsk-train-station/a-61415393>

S. Walker. 'The Russians are trying to obliterate us. You think that we'd agree to half measures now?' *The Guardian*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/09/the-russians-are-trying-to-obliterate-us-you-think-that-wed-agree-to-half-measures-now>

J. Goodman, K. Devlin, M. Korenyuk, J. Cheetham. Chernihiv: are these Russia's weapons of war? *BBC*, April 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61036880>



I. Birrell. Is this depravity intrinsic to war, to Russians - or to all humanity once its veneer of civilization is stripped away. *Daily Mail Online*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10703283/Is-depravity-intrinsic-war-Russians-humanity-asks-IAN-BIRRELL.html>

A. Kovalev. Russia's Ukraine propaganda has turned fully genocidal. *Foreign Policy*, April 9, 2022. URL: [https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/09/russia-putin-propaganda-ukraine-war-crimes-atrocities/?tpcc=recirc\\_latest062921](https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/09/russia-putin-propaganda-ukraine-war-crimes-atrocities/?tpcc=recirc_latest062921)

O. Kozhukhar, P. Poliyuk. Ukraine urges civilians to flee from east as rail attack toll rises. *Reuters*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-demands-tough-global-response-train-station-missile-strike-2022-04-08/>

UK says Russia continues to hit Ukrainian non-combatants. *Reuters*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/uk-says-russia-continues-hit-ukrainian-non-combatants-2022-04-09/>

C. Anna. War crimes watch: a devastating walk through Bucha's horror. *Associated Press*, April 9, 2022. URL: [https://l.facebook.com/l.php?u=http%3A%2F%2Fapne.ws%2FyWXdWij%3Ffbclid=IwAR1ZLAsu2LnN7b5j\\_RlSJncECa3vV3ZB83ThmjF-PV0f1qyjuBY0ASDP5zA&h=AT1tUsVNsK6hx-Uxuwf8oq6UcqYyg49\\_Qcna2k9cLok9zn57g1t55a00Vwj45fkJELB7JdGx-K56GduSiO0K9\\_aL-FY3rfVQUg\\_1hTMSZP-WHECDrW88eVZspR](https://l.facebook.com/l.php?u=http%3A%2F%2Fapne.ws%2FyWXdWij%3Ffbclid=IwAR1ZLAsu2LnN7b5j_RlSJncECa3vV3ZB83ThmjF-PV0f1qyjuBY0ASDP5zA&h=AT1tUsVNsK6hx-Uxuwf8oq6UcqYyg49_Qcna2k9cLok9zn57g1t55a00Vwj45fkJELB7JdGx-K56GduSiO0K9_aL-FY3rfVQUg_1hTMSZP-WHECDrW88eVZspR)

M. Episkopos. Mariupol mayor says Russia has turned the city into a 'death camp.' *The National Interest*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://transnational.live/2022/04/08/europe-is-sleepwalking-into-another-world-war/?fbclid=IwAR0dGk94BBqqMDyWeE3Q64V0Ni48dRmYGNcCt-PIv7s9Yam3etkRqQlWjP4>

C. Jewers. Another 132 civilians have been found shot in Ukrainian town of Makariv which has been 40% destroyed by Russian occupation, says mayor. *Daily Mail Online*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10702271/Bodies-132-civilians-bullet-wounds-new-war-crime-site-Ukraine.html>

Kramatorsk station attack: what we know so far. *BBC*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61036740>

T. Bateman. 'Mariupol is a graveyard': evacuees recount terror of Russian assault. *BBC*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61035565>

C. Jewers. The monstrous Russian general behind the attack on a Ukrainian railway station that was branded 'a crime against humanity' after it killed at least 50 civilians – including five children – who were fleeing Kremlin atrocities. *Daily Mail Online*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10700871/France-blasts-crime-against-humanity-Russian-troops-fired-Tockha-U-missiles-refugees.html>

G. Keogh. Barbarity in the school basement: 300 people were trapped for a month in a 700sq foot room in a Ukrainian village...and the names of some of the 20 who never made it out are scrawled on the walls. *Daily Mail Online*, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10701303/More-300-people-trapped-month-school-basement-Ukrainian-village-Russian-troops.html>

Ukraine: Russian forces extra-judicially executing civilians in apparent war crimes – new testimony. *Amnesty International*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/04/ukraine-russian-forces-extrajudicially-executing-civilians-in-apparent-war-crimes-new-testimony/>

L. Hinnant, M. Chernov. Doctors, crater disprove Russia's hospital airstrike misinfo. *Associated Press*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-europe-25204be08db8868e858f624f851d2ae3>

T. Snyder. Russia's genocide handbook. April 8, 2022. URL: [https://snyder.substack.com/p/russias-genocide-handbook?s=r&utm\\_campaign=post&utm\\_medium=web](https://snyder.substack.com/p/russias-genocide-handbook?s=r&utm_campaign=post&utm_medium=web)

R. Bunyan. Russian troops raped a 16-year-old girl and 78-year-old woman, claim liberated Ukrainians in

latest reports of atrocities by Putin's soldiers. *Daily Mail Online*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10699571/Russian-troops-raped-16-year-old-girl-78-year-old-woman-claim-liberated-Ukrainians.html>

Kremlin denies Russian involvement in missile strike on Kramatorsk station. *Al Arabiya*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://english.alarabiya.net/News/world/2022/04/08/Kremlin-denies-Russian-involvement-in-missile-strike-on-Kramatorsk-station>

Over 30 killed, 100 wounded in Russian rocket strike on Ukrainian station, rail company says. *The New Arab*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/news/over-30-killed-100-wounded-russian-rocket-strike-ukrainian-station-rail-company-says>

G. Wright. Russia's war: do Bucha civilian killings amount to genocide? *BBC*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61017352>

Video appears to show killing of captive Russian soldier. *BBC*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/61025388>

Germany intercepted Russian troop calls on atrocities in Ukraine: report. *Deutsche Welle*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-intercepted-russian-troop-calls-on-atrocities-in-ukraine-report/a-61390212>

L. Rzhetska. Bucha mayor: 'We're finding more bodies every day'. *Deutsche Welle*, April 7, 2022 URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/bucha-mayor-were-finding-more-bodies-every-day/a-61401139>

T. Prince. Is Russia committing genocide in Ukraine? <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-ukraine-genocide-war-crimes-explainer/31791236.html>

G7 condemns 'in strongest terms' Russian 'atrocities' in Bucha. *RFE/RL*, April 7, 2022. URL: [https://www.rferl.org/a/g7-condemns-bucha-atrocities/31791098.html?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.rferl.org/a/g7-condemns-bucha-atrocities/31791098.html?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter)

Possible evidence of Russian atrocities: German intelligence intercepts radio traffic discussing the murder of civilians in Bucha. *Der Spiegel*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/possible-evidence-of-russian-atrocities-german-intelligence-intercepts-radio-traffic-discussing-the-murder-of-civilians-in-bucha-a-0a191c96-634f-4d07-8c5c-c4a772315b0d>

J. Thorburn. 'Take them all f\*\*king out!: Shrieking Russian commander 'orders his soldiers to shoot at Mariupol civilians' - as Ukraine claims Putin's invaders are plotting 'false flag' in the besieged southern city using the bodies of people they've killed. *Daily Mail Online*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10694101/Take-f-king-Russian-commander-orders-soldiers-shoot-Mariupol-civilians.html>

S.M. Lepore. Horrifying video shows Ukrainian soldiers shooting captured Russian troops with their hands tied behind their backs amid accusations of similar Russian atrocities in Bucha. *Daily Mail Online*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10694119/Horrifying-video-shows-Ukrainian-soldiers-shooting-captured-Russian-troops-hands-tied.html>

Ukraine says Russia attempting to obstruct war crimes probe –live updates. *Deutsche Welle*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/ukraine-says-russia-attempting-to-obstruct-war-crimes-probe-live-updates/a-61385721>

J. Gunter. Bucha killings: 'I wish they had killed me too.' *BBC*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61003878>

A. Schreck, A. Rosa. Ukrainians pore over grisly aftermath of atrocities. *Associated Press*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-zelenskyy-business-europe-crime-a16ccf4774ddcd-224c8e07685148b6f1>

- E. Finkel. What's happening in Ukraine is genocide. Period. *Washington Post*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/04/05/russia-is-committing-genocide-in-ukraine/>
- J. Wright. Revealed, the Butcher of Bucha: Russian general blessed by the Orthodox Church before Putin's invasion 'organized mass rape and assassination' in Ukraine town – hours after Zelensky showed the UN gory pictures and demanded Nuremberg-style trials for war criminals. *Daily Mail Online*, April 6, 2022. URL: [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10689983/Ukraine-war-Revealed-Butcher-Bucha.html?i-to=social-twitter\\_mailonline](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10689983/Ukraine-war-Revealed-Butcher-Bucha.html?i-to=social-twitter_mailonline)
- F. Greenwood. Ukraine war is being watched from the sky. *Foreign Policy*, April 2, 2022. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/02/russia-ukraine-war-drones-risks/>
- A thread on Bucha incident. Particularly events on Yablunska Street presented by Ukrainian as a deliberate massacre on civilians. @antiwar-soldier URL: [https://twitter.com/antiwar\\_soldier/status/1511086358110027791](https://twitter.com/antiwar_soldier/status/1511086358110027791)
- M. Phillips. Secretary of State Blinken says Putin's troops are on a 'deliberate campaign to rape, kill and torture' in Bucha and UN ambassador says reports of Russians being sent to 'filtration camps' are 'chilling.' *Daily Mail Online*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10688795/Blinken-says-Putins-troops-deliberate-campaign-rape-kill-torture-Bucha.html>
- E.M. Lederer. Russia urged to stop using land mines in its war in Ukraine. *Associated Press*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-2022-midterm-elections-united-nations-human-rights-watch-europe-aeb0d403ebd62e543c95b3089611505c>
- O. Stashevskiy. Zelensky at the UN accuses Russian military of war crimes. *Associated Press*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-putin-zelenskyy-biden-business-1b84b61ca7b7bf3c31b-b856845269efd>
- Bucha victim: 'Russian troops beat me, doused me in diesel fuel.' *Al Jazeera*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/5/bucha-massacre-lets-set-him-afire>
- S. Ritter. The truth about Bucha is out there, but perhaps too inconvenient to be discovered. *RT*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://archive.ph/op6X1>
- P. Caddick-Adams. Is Putin's war turning genocidal? *The Critic*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://thecritic.co.uk/is-putins-war-turning-genocidal/>
- 'Russia must answer to the world': global condemnation of Ukraine killings mounts. *RFE/RL*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-russia-bucha-killings-atrocities-condemnation/31784634.html>
- L. Stek. Bucha residents describe 'systematic' killings by Russian troops. *RFE/RL*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-bucha-killings-russia-/31785129.html>
- J. Ashmore. Russia's massacre of Ukrainian civilians is appalling, but not surprising. *CapX*, April 4, 2022. URL: [https://capx.co/russias-massacre-of-ukrainian-civilians-is-appalling-but-not-surprising/?utm\\_source=newsletter&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=01%2F04%2F2022+\(Copy\)](https://capx.co/russias-massacre-of-ukrainian-civilians-is-appalling-but-not-surprising/?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=01%2F04%2F2022+(Copy))
- E. Kinetz. War crimes watch: hard path to justice in Bucha atrocities. *Associated Press*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-putin-zelenskyy-biden-world-war-ii-b6d021c5b906bcc2d9db-d2eedf2aa4b8>
- Global lies over Bucha: how people's minds are manipulated. *War on Fakes*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://waronfakes.com/lies-about-bucha/strong-global-lies-over-bucha-how-people-s-minds-are-manipulated-strong/>
- US to build case for Russia war crimes in ICC or other venue – Sullivan. *Reuters*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/legal/government/biden-push-russia-war-crimes-accountability-icc-or-other->

[venue-sullivan-2022-04-04/](#)

M. Djurica, A. Boumzar. West pledges to punish Russia over civilian killings in Bucha. *Reuters*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-accuses-russia-war-crimes-after-bodies-found-bound-shot-2022-04-04/>

J. Thomsen, M. Scarcella. Explainer: how could Russia's Putin be prosecuted for war crimes in Ukraine? *Reuters*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/how-could-russias-putin-be-prosecuted-war-crimes-ukraine-2022-04-04/>

N. Bose. Biden urges Putin war crimes trial after Bucha killings. *Reuters*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/biden-says-putin-is-war-criminal-calls-war-crimes-trial-2022-04-04/>

M. Djurica. Ukrainian village leader and family found buried in shallow grave. *Reuters*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/village-leader-family-found-buried-shallow-grave-outside-ukrainian-capital-2022-04-04/?>

M. Brown, D. Bott, H. Willis. Satellite images show bodies lay in Bucha for weeks, despite Russian claims. *The New York Times*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/04/world/europe/bucha-ukraine-bodies.html>

K. Feehan, R. Bunyan, C. Pleasance. Killings of hundreds of civilians is 'tip of the iceberg' say Ukrainians who believe atrocities were 'much worse in Borodyanka 14 miles to the west. *Daily Mail Online*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10686215/Bucha-tip-iceberg-Ukrainians-say-atrocities-worse-Borodyanka.html>

D. Boffey. 'Why did they do this to us?': Bucha's survivors come out of hiding. *The Guardian*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/04/why-did-they-do-this-to-us-buchas-survivors-come-out-of-hiding>

E. Higgins. Russia's Bucha 'facts' versus the evidence. *Bellingcat*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/2022/04/04/russias-bucha-facts-versus-the-evidence/>

Zelensky says Russian forces committing 'genocide'. *The Moscow Times*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/04/03/zelensky-says-russian-forces-committing-genocide-a77192>

What we know about what happened in Ukraine's Bucha. *The Moscow Times*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2022/04/04/what-we-know-about-what-happened-in-ukraines-bucha-a77197>

Russia to present its own version of alleged mass killings near Ukrainian capital. *The Times of Israel*, April 4, 2022. URL: [https://www.timesofisrael.com/russia-to-present-its-own-version-of-alleged-mass-killings-near-ukrainian-capital/?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.timesofisrael.com/russia-to-present-its-own-version-of-alleged-mass-killings-near-ukrainian-capital/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter)

K. Feehan. Russia claims it has 'empirical evidence' that war crimes in Ukraine including executions and rapes are 'a staged provocation' and Putin's Foreign Minister says UN press conference will prove claims are false. *Daily Mail Online*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10685595/Russia-claims-evidence-war-crimes-Ukraine-staged-provocation-Kyiv-regime.html>

R. Bunyan. The horror that was too much even for Ukraine's hero president: emotional Zelensky has to compose himself and says he finds it 'difficult to talk' as he surveys the carnage at Bucha and condemns Russian 'genocide'. *Daily Mail Online*, April 4, 2022. URL: [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10684331/Emotional-Zelensky-says-finds-difficult-talk-surveys-carnage-Bucha.html?ito=social-twitter\\_mailonline](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10684331/Emotional-Zelensky-says-finds-difficult-talk-surveys-carnage-Bucha.html?ito=social-twitter_mailonline)

O. Shashevski, N. Qena. Russia faces global outrage over bodies in Ukraine's streets. *Associated Press*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-zelensky-kyiv-business-moscow-3a40c029638ffddb289ceba89462c1aa>



Y. Gorbunova. Devastation and loss in Bucha, Ukraine. *Human Rights Watch*, March 30, 2022. URL: [https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/03/30/devastation-and-loss-bucha-ukraine?fbclid=IwAR3Cr73V-rq6d-QevOdMaZiALabTgwDDBmwQ0gdT4VwKs\\_B0HzuHQoBNg4gQ](https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/03/30/devastation-and-loss-bucha-ukraine?fbclid=IwAR3Cr73V-rq6d-QevOdMaZiALabTgwDDBmwQ0gdT4VwKs_B0HzuHQoBNg4gQ)

Russia-Ukraine war: Israeli envoy condemns 'war crimes' as hundreds of dead civilians found in Bucha. *Middle East Eye*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/russia-ukraine-war-israel-bucha-ambassador-condemns-war-crimes?fbclid=IwAR33v1dLuh64GUC8t6Ox6FQidcv4dX-GVNg9XUe3f5kTCW9bspmm1g9kniNA>

S. Gardner. Ukraine accuses Russia of civilian 'massacre'; Moscow denies it. *Reuters*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/ukraine-claims-control-over-kyiv-region-russia-looks-east-2022-04-03/>

Satellite images show long trench at Ukrainian mass grave, Maxar says. *Reuters*, April 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/satellite-images-show-45-foot-long-trench-grave-site-bucha-maxar-2022-04-03/>

A. Jehring, M. Nicol, S. Wynn-Davies. 'It's not a battlefield, it is a crime scene': Putin's fleeing troops behind 410 bodies amid evidence of civilian executions, rapes and mass graves in worst European atrocity since Balkan Wars as Europe's leaders call for international probe. *Daily Mail Online*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10681529/Boris-Johnson-condemns-Russias-despicable-attacks-Ukrainians-Bucha-Irpin.html>

Ex-UN prosecutor urges global arrest warrant for Putin. *Associated Press*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://ap-news.com/article/russia-ukraine-putin-europe-international-criminal-court-war-crimes-4a6bd9c60b1d-cf3e01b0d3723207c927>

D. Boffey. Ukrainian children used as 'human shields' near Kyiv, say witness reports. *The Guardian*, April 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/02/ukrainian-children-used-as-human-shields-near-kyiv-say-witness-reports>

S. Wolfson. 'It's a slam dunk': Philippe Sands on the case against Putin for the crime of aggression. *The Guardian*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2022/mar/30/vladimir-putin-ukraine-crime-aggression-philippe-sands>

A. Jehring. Russia 'is using banned landmines': campaign group says anti-personnel devices that failed to deploy were found in Kharkiv. *Daily Mail Online*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10670465/Russia-using-banned-landmines-Kharkiv-campaign-group-says.html>

Does video show Russian prisoners being shot? *BBC*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/60907259>

T. Durden. UN established war crimes tribunal to probe Russian actions in Ukraine. *ZeroHedge*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/geopolitical/un-establishes-formal-war-crimes-tribunal-probe-russian-action-ukraine>

C. Philp. 'Russian soldiers raped me as my terrified son cried.' *The Times*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/one-soldier-raped-me-then-the-other-as-my-son-cried-7xbqwzdqw>

WHO says 64 hospitals attacked since Russian invasion of Ukraine. *Al Jazeera*, March 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/24/who-says-64-hospitals-attacked-since-russia-invasion-of-ukraine>

R. Crilly. The US officially accuses Putin's forces of committing war crimes against civilians in Ukraine: Blinken condemns 'brutal' attacks on schools, hospitals, children and the 2,400 killed in Mariupol. *Daily Mail Online*, March 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10644929/US-officially-says-Russian-forces-committing-war-crimes-Ukraine-targeting-civilians.html>

Hospitals bombed and apartments destroyed: mapping incidents of civilian harm in Ukraine. *Homeland Security Today*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/ukraine/hospitals-bombed-and-apartments-destroyed-mapping-incidents-of-civilian-harm-in-ukraine/>

J. Trahan. UN General Assembly should recommend creation of crime of aggression tribunal for Ukraine: Nuremberg is not the model. *Just Security*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.justsecurity.org/80545/u-n-general-assembly-should-recommend-creation-of-crime-of-aggression-tribunal-for-ukraine-nuremberg-is-not-the-model/>

Is Vladimir Putin a war criminal and who decides? *The Guardian*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/17/vladimir-putin-war-criminal-ukraine-russia-president-justice>

D. Stableford, C. Wilson. Biden calls Putin a ‘war criminal’. *Yahoo*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://www.yahoo.com/news/biden-says-putin-is-a-war-criminal-195001204.html>

C. Pleasance. UN’s top court orders Putin to stop his invasion of Ukraine as President Zelensky says ignoring the ruling will ‘isolate Russia even further.’ *Daily Mail Online*, March 16, 2022. URL: [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10620221/Ukraine-war-UNs-court-orders-Putin-stop-invasion.html?ito=social-twitter\\_mailonline](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10620221/Ukraine-war-UNs-court-orders-Putin-stop-invasion.html?ito=social-twitter_mailonline)

Donbass residents have been exposed to eight years of genocide – Putin. *TASS*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://tass.com/world/1423131>

Russia collects evidence of Kiev war crimes – Lavrov. *TASS*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://tass.com/world/1423167>

Allegations of genocide under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Ukraine v. Russian Federation). *ICJ*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://www.icj-cij.org/public/files/case-related/182/182-20220316-PRE-01-00-EN.pdf>

J. Lopez, B. Worthington. The ICC investigates the situation in Ukraine: jurisdiction and potential implications. *Lawfare*, March 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/icc-investigates-situation-ukraine-jurisdiction-and-potential-implications>

Justice secretary to offer support in investigating Russian war crimes in visit to The Hague. *Gov.uk*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/justice-secretary-to-offer-support-in-investigating-russian-war-crimes-in-visit-to-the-hague>

Germany launches probe into suspected war crimes in Ukraine. *Al Jazeera*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/8/germany-launches-probe-into-suspected-war-crimes-in-ukraine>

D. Casciani. What is a war crime, and could Putin be prosecuted over Ukraine? *BBC*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-60690688>

Don’t let Ukraine become another Syria: UN investigators. *Arab News*, March 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2039351/world>

P. Kenny. Int’l Court of Justice starts hearing ‘genocide allegations’ against Russia. *Anadolu Agency*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/russia-ukraine-crisis/intl-court-of-justice-starts-hearing-genocide-allegations-against-russia/2526588>

P. Sands. Why we need a new Nuremberg trial to make Putin pay: from Britain’s leading expert on crimes against humanity Philippe Sands, a powerfully personal plea for the world to hold a tribunal just like the one which condemned Hitler’s henchmen. *Daily Mail Online*, March 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/ukraine/article-10579137/PHILIPPE-SANDS-need-new-Nuremberg-trial-make-Putin-pay.html>

ICC opens war crimes probe, as Russia intensifies assault, appears to take major city. *The Times of Israel*,

March 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/icc-opens-war-crimes-probe-as-russia-intensifies-as-sault-appears-to-take-major-city/>

World Court to hear Ukraine/Russia case March 7-8. 2022. *Reuters*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/world-court-hear-ukrainerussia-case-march-7-8-2022-03-01/>

## 10. Intelligence

### 10.1 Operations, with a Focus on the Russia-Ukraine War

Putin 'purges' 150 FSB agents in response to Russia's botched war with Ukraine. *The Times*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/putin-purges-150-fsb-agents-in-response-to-russias-botched-war-with-ukraine-lf9k6tn6g?>

C. Corra. Ukraine: inside the spies' attempts to stop the war. *BBC*, April 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61044063>

CIA covert operations in Ukraine. *The Team House*, YouTube, March 26, 2022. URL: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJ50hsp\\_X34](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJ50hsp_X34)

C. Albon. Intelligence agencies accelerate use of commercial space imagery to support Ukraine. *C4ISRNet*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.c4isrnet.com/battlefield-tech/space/2022/04/06/intelligence-agencies-accelerate-use-of-commercial-space-imagery-to-support-ukraine/>

D. Sabbagh. Why is GCHQ saying Putin has been misinformed about Ukraine war? *The Guardian*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/31/peace-talks-between-russia-and-ukraine-to-resume-on-friday-says-negotiator>

Y. Melman. Western intel is a force multiplier for Ukraine. Russia's weakness is a surprise. *Haaretz*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/western-intelligence-has-been-a-force-multiplier-in-ukraine-1.10708444>

R. Camber. Vladimir Putin's failing war: GCHQ boss says invasion of Ukraine is in chaos due to 'incompetence' and brands it the Russian leader's 'personal war.' *Daily Mail Online*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10669969/GCHQ-boss-says-Ukraine-invasion-chaos-Russian-incompetence.html>

Ukraine intelligence publishes names of 620 alleged Russian agents. *Asharq al-Awsat*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://english.aawsat.com/home/article/3559091/ukraine-intelligence-publishes-names-620-alleged-russian-agents>

S. Hettema. Sources say oligarch funded scheme to paint swastikas in Ukraine. *Rolling Stone*, March 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/putin-russia-ukraine-invasion-nazi-operation-1325817/>

A. Solomons. Ukraine claims to have thwarted another bid to assassinate Zelensky as '25-strong hit squad led by Russia's secret service is rounded up near Slovakia-Hungary border. *Daily Mail Online*, March 22, 2022. URL: [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10639435/Ukraine-arrests-Zelensky-hit-squad-25-men-sent-Putin-close-Slovakian-border.html?ito=social-twitter\\_mailonline](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10639435/Ukraine-arrests-Zelensky-hit-squad-25-men-sent-Putin-close-Slovakian-border.html?ito=social-twitter_mailonline)

A. Zegart. The weapon the West used against Putin. *The Atlantic*, March 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/03/russia-ukraine-invasion-classified-intelligence/626557/>

J. Grady. Intel sharing between US and Ukraine 'revolutionary' says DIA director. *USNI News*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://news.usni.org/2022/03/18/intel-sharing-between-u-s-and-ukraine-revolutionary-says-dia-director>

- L. May. CIA veterans trained Ukrainian snipers during secret trips to the country after Russia invaded the Crimea peninsula in 2014, it is claimed. *Daily Mail Online*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10624155/CIA-veterans-trained-Ukrainian-snipers-secret-trips-Crimea-peninsula-invasion-2014.html>
- M. Nicol. Russian spies are tracking British former special forces teams by their mobile numbers – and the data is then used to decided where to launch missile attacks. *Daily Mail Online*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10629125/Russian-spies-tracking-British-former-special-forces-teams-mobile-numbers.html>
- M. Galeotti. Why Vladimir Putin may be starting to fall out with his spies. *The Telegraph*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2022/03/15/vladimir-putin-may-starting-fall-spies/>
- W. Stewart. Russian GRU intelligence officer is killed in Ukraine – the latest of 12 senior figures to have now lost their lives during Russian invasion. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10610071/Ukraine-war-Russia-admits-loss-GRU-intelligence-officer.html>
- B. Gourley. We are in the first open source intelligence war. *OODA Loop*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.oodaloop.com/archive/2022/03/13/we-are-in-the-first-open-source-intelligence-war/>
- P. Dave, J. Destin. Ukraine has started using Clearview AI's facial recognition during war. *Reuters*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/technology/exclusive-ukraine-has-started-using-clearview-ais-facial-recognition-during-war-2022-03-13/>
- L. Brown. How Western spy planes keep tabs on Russian tactics. *The Sunday Times*, March 11, 2022. URL: [https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/how-western-spy-planes-keep-tabs-on-russian-tactics-8slcm0j22?utm\\_medium=Social&utm\\_source=Facebook&fbclid=IwAR1aJxyMr9ZdPXNqelUuAkq-oqpFc0glSgEaFTYAN-4VbEUgL5ye2zflqKFE - Echobox=1647087195](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/how-western-spy-planes-keep-tabs-on-russian-tactics-8slcm0j22?utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Facebook&fbclid=IwAR1aJxyMr9ZdPXNqelUuAkq-oqpFc0glSgEaFTYAN-4VbEUgL5ye2zflqKFE - Echobox=1647087195)
- Putin said to be conducting internal purge of military generals, intel personnel. *The Times of Israel*, March 12, 2022. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/putin-said-to-be-conducting-internal-purge-of-military-generals-intel-personnel/>
- N. Musumeci. Ukraine revealed secret battle plans left behind by Russian troops and claimed they show Russia planned a 15-day war. *Business Insider*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.businessinsider.com.au/ukraine-revealed-secret-battle-plans-left-behind-by-russian-troops-2022-3>
- H.I. Sutton. Controversial Russian spy ship Yantar leaves base. March 6, 2022. URL: <http://www.hisutton.com/Russian-Spy-Ship-Yantar-2022-03-06.html>
- S. Wynn-Davies. Ukrainian peace negotiator is shot dead of latest round of talks to end war – amid claims he was a Russian spy. *Daily Mail Online*, March 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10582805/Ukrainian-peace-negotiator-shot-dead-amid-claims-Russian-spy.html>
- Former MI6 chief on the Ukraine & Russia conflict. *Oxford Union*, YouTube, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yw5lzKVn3sc>
- M. Brown. Security service of Ukraine: the assassinations. *SOF Magazine*, March 5, 2022. URL: [https://www.sofmag.com/security-service-of-ukraine-the-assassinations/?fbclid=IwAR2Se5J9Pg7\\_6Kc8ZWVOZ-RZaNbKfgZVBZPcPBlKB5nbJ3tCDS0YgbWoYODo](https://www.sofmag.com/security-service-of-ukraine-the-assassinations/?fbclid=IwAR2Se5J9Pg7_6Kc8ZWVOZ-RZaNbKfgZVBZPcPBlKB5nbJ3tCDS0YgbWoYODo)
- 10.2. *Information Operations, Propaganda, Psyops with a Focus on Russia-Ukraine War*
- J. Goodman, O. Robinson. Putin's mysterious Facebook 'superfans' on a mission. *BBC*, April 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-61012398>
- W. Stewart. Russians turn on Putin over deaths of 'cannon fodder soldiers': Wave of dissent against Mos-



cow's war hits social media as anger grows over catastrophic toll among young troops. *Daily Mail Online*, April 11, 2022. URL: [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10706827/Wave-Russian-dissent-against-Putins-war-hits-social-media-despite-threat-severe-punishment.html?ito=social-twitter\\_mailonline](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10706827/Wave-Russian-dissent-against-Putins-war-hits-social-media-despite-threat-severe-punishment.html?ito=social-twitter_mailonline)

M. Colbert. 'De-Nazification' & Putin's disinformation war. *Byline Times*, April 5, 2022. URL: [https://bylinetimes.com/2022/04/05/de-nazification-and-putin-disinformation-war/?utm\\_content=buffer0e44](https://bylinetimes.com/2022/04/05/de-nazification-and-putin-disinformation-war/?utm_content=buffer0e44)

I. Kagubare, R. Klar, C. Mills Rodrigo. Hillicon Valley – Meta reveals Russian hacking attempts. *The Hill*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/technology/overnights/3262256-hillicon-valley-meta-reveals-russian-hacking-attempts/>

W. Yang. Ukraine war: how Russian propaganda dominates Chinese social media. *Deutsche Welle*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/ukraine-war-how-russian-propaganda-dominates-chinese-social-media/a-61375386>

B. McCarthy. No, NATO allied land command leader wasn't captured by Russians in Ukraine. *Politifact*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2022/apr/05/tweets/no-nato-allied-land-command-leader-wasnt-captured-/>

A. Seitz, A. Lajka. Russian media campaign falsely claims Bucha deaths are fakes. *Associated Press*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-kyiv-business-media-facebook-21d36ea4370bab-98b1cc93baa0815dd8>

M. Colbert. 'De-Nazification' & Putin's disinformation war. *Byline Times*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://bylinetimes.com/2022/04/05/de-nazification-and-putin-disinformation-war/>

Ukrainian MP Ilya Kiva: Bucha was prepared by SBU and planned by MI6. URL: <https://twitter.com/Kees71234/status/1511064488312778752>

Integrity Initiative. *Wikispooks*, 2022. URL: [https://wikispooks.com/wiki/Integrity\\_Initiative](https://wikispooks.com/wiki/Integrity_Initiative)

D. Wilcock. 'History will remember who looked the other way': Boris Johnson pleads with Russians in their own language to get online and seek out 'the truth' of Putin's horrific war crimes in Ukraine. *Daily Mail Online*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10688917/Boris-Johnson-pleads-Russians-language-seek-trust-Putins-war-crimes.html>

S. Tulp. Ukraine blogger video fuels false info on Mariupol bombing. *Associated Press*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-europe-misinformation-bombings-a39d9438da3c55d-691742229cc87b2a0>

C. Quinn. Now Kremlin is accused of faking a Ukrainian missile attack on Russian city after Kyiv denied mounting helicopter attack on fuel depot. *Daily Mail Online*, April 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10678803/Kremlin-accused-FAKING-Ukrainian-missile-attack-Belgorod-helicopter-attack-fuel-depot.html>

L. Thornton. How democracies can respond to the invasion of Ukraine. *Lawfare*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/how-democracies-can-respond-invasion-ukraine>

UK sanctions Russian media over disinformation. *Associated Press*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-business-europe-evacuations-bba63fd33627404f185803d5d92ec054>

M. Weiss. Inside Ukraine's psyops on Russian and Belarussian soldiers. *Newlines Institute*, March 29, 2022. URL: <https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/inside-ukraines-psyops-on-russian-and-belarusian-soldiers/>

D. Robert Grimes. Russian misinformation seeks to confound, not convince. *Scientific American*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/russian-misinformation-seeks-to-confound-not-convince/>

- T. Wen Liu. Chinese state media is pushing pro-Russian misinformation worldwide. *Foreign Policy*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/23/chinese-state-media-russian-misinformation-world-wide/>
- D. Averre. Doing their duty? Wounded Russian soldiers look distinctly awkward as they are handed courage medals by Putin's deputy defence minister after fighting during the invasion of Ukraine. *Daily Mail Online*, March 27, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10657283/Terrified-looking-wounded-Russian-soldiers-look-uneasy-handed-courage-medals.html>
- A. Taher. British film-maker who used to work for a Kremlin-funded propaganda channel is reporting from Ukraine on the 'positive work' of Russian troops *Daily Mail Online*, March 27, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10656207/British-film-maker-reporting-Ukraine-Russian-troops-positive-work.html>
- G. Keogh. Russian troops are using rape as an 'instrument of war' to terrorise Ukrainian families, country's prosecutor-general warns. *Daily Mail Online*, March 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10645735/Russian-troops-using-rape-instrument-war-countrys-prosecutor-general-warns.html?>
- D. Cohen. Ukraine's propaganda war: international PR firms, DC lobbyists and CIA cutouts. *Mint Press*, March 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.mintpressnews.com/ukraine-propaganda-war-international-pr-firms-dc-lobbyists-cia-cutouts/280012/>
- Media, social media, and disinformation in Ukraine. *European Eye on Radicalization*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/media-social-media-and-disinformation-in-ukraine/>
- C. Johnstone. The jaw dropping power of US propaganda. *Consortium News*, March 20, 2022. URL: [https://futurism.com/the-byte/suicide-drones-russia-ukraine?taid=6239c9bb52440400013bd626&utm\\_campaign=trueanthem\\_AI&utm\\_medium=trueanthem&utm\\_source=twitter](https://futurism.com/the-byte/suicide-drones-russia-ukraine?taid=6239c9bb52440400013bd626&utm_campaign=trueanthem_AI&utm_medium=trueanthem&utm_source=twitter)
- Russia' bans 'extremist' Facebook and Instagram. *Deutsche Welle*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/russia-bans-extremist-facebook-and-instagram/a-61203007>
- S. Wynn-Davies. 'That face is the cover page of American imperialism': Russian state TV host attacks Arnold Schwarzenegger days after he made emotional video imploring Russians to learn the truth about Putin's bloody war. *Daily Mail Online*, March 22, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10639463/Russian-state-TV-host-attacks-Arnold-Schwarzenegger-days-emotional-video.html>
- M. Powell. Russian TV station accuses hero presenter of being a British spy and 'speaking to UK embassy in Moscow' shortly before staging her brave on-air anti-war protest. *Daily Mail Online*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10636685/Russian-TV-station-accuses-hero-presenter-British-spy-speaking-UK-embassy.html>
- E. Tanararova. 'Russia is drowning Ukraine in tears and blood and children's corpses': Ukrainians produce slick – and horrifying- video showing sickening results of Putin's war as it vows to rebuild stronger and better than before. *Daily Mail Online*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10633291/Ukrainians-produce-video-showing-sickening-results-Putins-war.html>
- L. Fox. Our values are better than those of China and Russia – and we need to say so ... or we face a very difficult future. *Daily Mail Online*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10631719/Our-values-better-China-Russia-need-say-writes-LIAM-FOX.html>
- R. Coalson. Special operation Z: Moscow's pro-war symbol conquers Russia – and sets alarm bells ringing. *RFE/RL*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-ukraine-letter-z-fascist-symbol/31758267.html>
- C. Pleasance. The Vladimir Putin show: strongman holds huge pro-war rally in front of thousands of 'Z' flag-waving Russians as he hails Ukraine 'special operation'... before his speech is mysteriously cut off

- by 'technical glitch.' *Daily Mail Online*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10627555/Vladimir-Putin-holds-huge-rally-thousands-Z-flag-waving-Russians.html>
- C. Krebs, R. Chesney. Gray zone, twilight zone or danger zone/ Russian cyber and information operations in Ukraine. *War on the Rocks*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2022/03/gray-zone-twilight-zone-or-danger-zone-russian-cyber-and-information-operations-in-ukraine/>
- L. Schwartz. Amateur open-source researchers went viral unpacking the war in Ukraine. *Rest of the World*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://restofworld.org/2022/osint-viral-ukraine/?ref=sidebar>
- T. Durden. Putin addresses huge pro-war rally at Moscow soccer stadium. *ZeroHedge*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/geopolitical/putin-speaks-huge-pro-war-rally-moscow-soccer-stadium>
- J. Thorburn. Kremlin's RT news channel license is finally revoked by Ofcom after airing Russian propaganda over invasion of Ukraine. *Daily Mail Online*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10626681/Russian-broadcaster-RT-s-UK-licence-revoked-Ofcom.html>
- J. Newman. It's a cheapfake! Experts laugh off Kremlin misinformation attempt as amateurish 'deepfake' video of Zelensky 'surrendering' is posted by hackers – and spotted almost immediately. *Daily Mail Online*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10625935/Experts-laugh-Kremlins-amateurish-deepfake-video-Zelensky-surrendering.html>
- R. Luscombe. Arnold Schwarzenegger appeals to Russian people to reject Kremlin misinformation. *The Guardian*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/mar/17/arnold-schwarzenegger-video-russia-putin-ukraine>
- M. Ryan, E. Nakashima, M. Birnbaum, D.L. Stern. Outmatched in military might, Ukraine has excelled in the information war. *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/03/16/ukraine-zelensky-information-war/>
- Fighting propaganda with censorship: a study of Ukrainian ban on Russian social media. *Eurasia Review*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://www.eurasiareview.com/17032022-fighting-propaganda-with-censorship-a-study-of-ukrainian-ban-on-russian-social-media/>
- M. Kelly. Facebook removes 'deepfake' of Ukrainian President Zelenskyy. *The Verge*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://www.theverge.com/2022/3/16/22981806/facebook-removes-deepfake-ukraine-zelenskyy-meta-instagram>
- Western 'empire of lies' has resources, but it can not defeat truth. *TASS*, March 16, 2022. URL: <https://tass.com/world/1423145>
- E. Elkind. Russian state TV calls for reparations from the US over sanctions: Putin's lapdogs demand return of 'Alaska and California's Fort Ross, threaten nuclear strikes on US, and call for public hangings in Ukraine. *Daily Mail Online*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10614915/Russian-state-TV-demands-REPARATIONS-sanctions-public-hangings-Ukraine.html>
- L. Lewis. Instagram is inaccessible in Russia after Moscow accuses Meta of allowing incitement of violence against Russians. *Daily Mail Online*, March 14, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10610351/Instagram-inaccessible-Russia-Moscow-accused-site-incitement-violence.html>
- Instagram restricted in Russia as online space continues to shrink. *Netblocks*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://netblocks.org/reports/instagram-restricted-in-russia-as-online-space-continues-to-shrink-JBQXvVAo>
- A. Winstanley. Twitter is censoring reporting on Ukrainian Nazis on the pretext of 'abusive behavior'. *Daily Mail Online*, March 12, 2022. URL: [https://asawinstanley.substack.com/p/twitter-is-censoring-reporting-on?s=r&utm\\_campaign=post&utm\\_medium=email](https://asawinstanley.substack.com/p/twitter-is-censoring-reporting-on?s=r&utm_campaign=post&utm_medium=email)
- G. Owen. Vladimir Putin 'is suffering 'thyroid rage from steroid treatment for cancer' Western spies

- believe his ‘increasingly erratic’ behavior, bloated appearance and absurd social distancing for visitors is caused by medical treatment. *Daily Mail Online*, March 12, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10606487/Is-Putin-suffering-roid-rage-Spies-suggest-bloated-appearance-drugs-effect.html>
- C. Freeman. ‘Do not invade Kyiv, we have already lost this war’: the pleas of Russia’s captured pilots. *The Telegraph*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://uk.news.yahoo.com/not-invade-kyiv-already-lost-211432417.html>
- N. Lomas. YouTube is now blocking Russia state-affiliated media globally. *Techcrunch*, March 11, 2022. URL: [https://techcrunch.com/2022/03/11/youtube-is-now-blocking-russia-state-affiliated-media-globally/?fbclid=IwAR1vAXVBN1tQ9bchjyoqfKqbhVi2\\_9rDfQGzEeWn-IuXAOEU8M3HsHfVqJg](https://techcrunch.com/2022/03/11/youtube-is-now-blocking-russia-state-affiliated-media-globally/?fbclid=IwAR1vAXVBN1tQ9bchjyoqfKqbhVi2_9rDfQGzEeWn-IuXAOEU8M3HsHfVqJg)
- War in Ukraine: Instagram banned in Russia over ‘calls to violence.’ *BBC*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-60709208>
- M. Vengattil, E. Cullifod. Facebook temporarily allows posts on Ukraine war calling for violence against invading Russians or Putin’s death. *Reuters*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/exclusive-facebook-instagram-temporarily-allow-calls-violence-against-russians-2022-03-10/>
- Abby Martin: how the media manufactures ‘bloodlust’ for war. *The Real News Network*, March 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XUVxdM5giKE>
- M. Mirovalev. As bombs fall on Ukraine, members ridicule Russian aggression. *Al Jazeera*, March 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/10/ukrainian-wartime-humour-derides-and-ridicules-russia>
- G. Oladipo. Woman who ran Russia propaganda center in New York charged as foreign agent. *The Guardian*, March 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/mar/09/elena-branson-russia-propaganda-center-new-york-charged>
- S. Tisdall. Ukraine-Russia crisis: who’s winning the international influence war? *The Guardian*, February 19, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/19/ukraine-russia-crisis-whos-winning-the-international-influence-war-russia-putin>
- K. Paul. Flood of Russian misinformation puts tech companies in the hot seat. *The Guardian*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2022/feb/28/facebook-twitter-ukraine-russia-misinformation>
- Why the pro-war ‘Z’ campaign you’ve been seeing has proven to be another Putin regime propaganda flop. URL: <https://twitter.com/irgarner/status/1500875002647822336>
- J. Tidy. Twitter is part of our war effort – Ukraine minister. *BBC*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-60608222>
- J. Clayton, J. Dyer. Ukraine war: the TikToker spreading viral videos. *BBC*, March 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-60613331>
- In Russia’s dystopia, the truth is a crime. *Daily Mail Online* March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10584577/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Russias-dystopia-truth-crime.html>
- J. Phillips. BBC world news is taken off air in Russia – two days after Putin approved law that could lock up journalists for 5 years for spreading ‘fake information.’ *Daily Mail Online*, March 6, 2021. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10583045/BBC-World-News-taken-AIR-Russia.html>
- Russia’s Novaya Gazeta cuts Ukraine war reporting under censorship. *Reuters*, <https://www.reuters.com/world/russias-novaya-gazeta-cuts-ukraine-war-reporting-under-censorship-2022-03-04/>
- A. Malik. Apple maps now displays Crimea as part of Ukraine to viewers outside of Russia. *Techcrunch*, March 4, 2022. URL: <https://techcrunch.com/2022/03/04/apple-maps-now-displays-crimea-as-part-of->



[ukraine-to-viewers-outside-of-russia/amp/?](#)

M. Meaker. Russia blocks Facebook and twitter in a propaganda standoff. *WIRED*, March 4, 2022. URL: <https://www.wired.com/story/russia-ukraine-social-media/>

J. Wakefield. Ukraine invasion: how the war is being waged online. *BBC*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-60559011>

G. Mezzofiore, K. Polglase. How CNN geolocates and verifies social media footage from Ukraine. *CNN*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/02/28/world/ukraine-social-media-footage-verification/index.html>

### **11. Cyber Operations, with a Focus on the Russia-Ukraine War**

L. Laikola. Finland hit by cyber attack, airspace breach as NATO bid weighed. *BNN Bloomberg*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.bnnbloomberg.ca/finland-hit-by-cyber-attack-airspace-breach-as-nato-bid-weighed-1.1749688>

E. Tucker, M. Balsamo. US charges Russian oligarch, dismantles cybercrime operation. *Associated Press*, April 6, 2022. URL: <https://apnews.com/article/russia-ukraine-putin-technology-viktor-vekselberg-europe-b5505db50b8a6337e647fe08b74fbe99>

K. Minero. Hackers flood internet with what they say are Russian companies' files. *NBC News*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/security/hackers-flood-internet-say-are-russian-companies-files-rcna21853>

List of Russian soldiers in Ukraine leaked by Anonymous. URL: <https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/21280272/orcs.pdf>

M. Owen. Russian secret police details surface in delivery app data leak. *Apple Insider*, April 3, 2022. URL: <https://appleinsider.com/articles/22/04/03/russian-secret-police-details-surface-in-delivery-app-data-leak?>

J. Vijayan. Nation-state hackers ramp up Ukraine war-themed attacks. *Dark Reading*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.darkreading.com/attacks-breaches/nation-state-backed-actors-ramp-up-ukraine-war-themed-attacks?>

P. Holderith. Russia's aviation authority switches back to pen and paper after huge alleged cyber attack. *The Drive*, April 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.thedrive.com/news/45031/russias-aviation-authority-switches-back-to-pen-and-paper-after-huge-alleged-cyberattack?>

C. Quinn. China 'launched huge cyber-attack' on Ukraine's military and nuclear infrastructure days before Russia invaded, Kyiv intelligence claims. *Daily Mail Online*, April 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10678709/China-launched-huge-cyber-attack-Ukraine-days-Russia-invaded-Kyiv-intelligence-claims.html>

F. Bajak. Satellite modems nexus of worst cyberattack of Ukraine war. *ABC News*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/cyberattack-ukraine-war-affected-thousands-europe-83765998?>

P. Rosen. About half of the cryptocurrency donation campaigns for Ukraine were scams, says blockchain research report. *Business Insider*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://markets.businessinsider.com/news/currencies/ukraine-crypto-donations-scams-trm-blockchain-firm-russia-twitter-war-2022-3?utmSource=twitter&utmContent=referral&utmTerm=topbar&referrer=twitter>

S. Gatlan. US national emergency extended due to elevated malicious cyber activity. *Bleeping Computer*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://www.bleepingcomputer.com/news/security/us-national-emergency-extended-due-to-elevated-malicious-cyber-activity/>

- C. Cohn, Noor Zainab Hussain. Cyber insurers face hefty Ukraine war-related claims, despite fine print. *Reuters*, March 31, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/business/cyber-insurers-face-hefty-ukraine-war-related-claims-despite-fine-print-2022-03-31/>
- D. Goodin. IR giant Globant discloses hack after Lapsys\$ leaks 70GB of stolen data. *Ars Technica*, March 30, 2022. URL: <https://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2022/03/it-giant-globant-discloses-hack-after-lapsus-leaks-70gb-of-stolen-data/>
- C. Vallance. Ukraine war: major internet provider suffers cyber-attack. *BBC*, March 29, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/60854881>
- R. Laksmanan. Russian Gamaredon hackers targeted 'Western government entity' in Ukraine. *The Hackers News*, February 4, 2022. URL: <https://thehackernews.com/2022/02/russian-gamaredon-hackers-targeted.html>
- M. Burgess. A mysterious satellite hack has victims far beyond Ukraine. *WIRED*, March 23, 2022. URL: [https://www.wired.co.uk/article/viasat-internet-hack-ukraine-russia-intcid=wired-uk-right-rail\\_cd-946be7-664d-4b63-8ba0-67c48cbe285e\\_popular4-1](https://www.wired.co.uk/article/viasat-internet-hack-ukraine-russia-intcid=wired-uk-right-rail_cd-946be7-664d-4b63-8ba0-67c48cbe285e_popular4-1)
- J. Tidy. Anonymous: how hackers are trying to undermine Putin. *BBC*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-60784526>
- Ukraine conflict presents a minefield for Anonymous and hacktivists. *France24*, March 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20220323-ukraine-conflict-presents-a-minefield-for-anonymous-and-hacktivists>
- L. Brown. Russian social media 'hacked by western intelligence agency' *The Times*, March 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ukraine-war-russian-social-media-hacked-by-western-intelligence-agency-qzcf293sz>
- AI experts warn of potential cyberwar facing banking sector. *The Wall Street Journal*, March 22, 2022. URL: [https://www.wsj.com/articles/ai-experts-warn-of-potential-cyberwar-facing-banking-sector-11647941402?fbclid=IwAR0fZ6edXPWVm68HlHqzPzgsX\\_gOL92FTMPTPw6\\_KZr9FWHWhgaXff-54h8U](https://www.wsj.com/articles/ai-experts-warn-of-potential-cyberwar-facing-banking-sector-11647941402?fbclid=IwAR0fZ6edXPWVm68HlHqzPzgsX_gOL92FTMPTPw6_KZr9FWHWhgaXff-54h8U)
- T. Tidy. The three Russian cyber-attacks the West most fears. *BBC*, March 22, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-60841924>
- Z. Abbany. Ukraine: cyberwar creates chaos, 'it won't win the war.' *Deutsche Welle*, March 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/ukraine-cyberwar-creates-chaos-it-wont-win-the-war/a-60999197>
- B. Johnson. Anonymous hackers vow to accelerate cyber war, 'paralyze regime 'by any means necessary.' *Homeland Security Today*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/cybersecurity/anonymous-hackers-vow-to-accelerate-cyber-war-paralyze-putin-regime-by-any-means-necessary/>
- K. Fendorf, J. Miller. Tracking cyber operations and actors in the Russia-Ukraine war. *Council on Foreign Relations*, March 21, 2022. URL: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/tracking-cyber-operations-and-actors-russia-ukraine-war>
- J. Tidy. Anonymous: how hackers are trying to undermine Putin. *BBC*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-60784526>
- G. Owen, M. Nicol. Missile attack on Ukrainian military base was launched after Russian forces hacked into British phones. *Daily Mail Online*, March 20, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10631861/Missile-attack-Ukrainian-military-base-launched-Russian-forces-hacked-British-phones.html>
- G. Parry. Elon Musk's satellites help Zelensky dominate the skies: US billionaire's internet. *Daily Mail*

Online, March 19, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10630625/Elon-Musks-internet-allowing-Ukrainian-drones-pound-Putins-helpless-tanks.html>

D. Boyle. Is Putin trying to knock out West's GPS network? EU aviation authorities claim satellites are under constant 'jamming' or 'spoofing' attacks disrupting navigation from Finland to the Mediterranean. *Daily Mail Online*, March 19, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10630393/EU-air-safety-regulator-warns-possible-interference-GPS-system.html>

C. Vakil. Russian ministry says it is 'recording unprecedented attacks' on government websites. *The Hill*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/technology/598653-russian-ministry-says-its-recording-unprecedented-attacks-on-government>

M. Burgess. Leaked ransomware docs show Conti helping Putin from the shadows. *WIRED*, March 18, 2022. URL: <https://www.wired.com/story/conti-ransomware-russia/>

B. Valeriano, E.D. Lonergan. What Ukraine shows about cyber defense and partnerships. *The National Interest*, March 17, 2022. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/techland-when-great-power-competition-meets-digital-world/what-ukraine-shows-about-cyber>

C. Stokel-Walker, D. Milmo. 'It's the right thing to do': the 300,000 volunteer hackers coming together to fight Russia. *The Guardian*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/15/volunteer-hackers-fight-russia>

S. Gatan. New CaddyWiper data wiping malware hits Ukrainian networks. *Bleeping Computer*, March 14, 2022. URL: <https://www.bleepingcomputer.com/news/security/new-caddywiper-data-wiping-malware-hits-ukrainian-networks/>

S. Goble. Hackers hit Rosneft. *Infosecurity Magazine*, March 15, 2022. URL: [https://www.infosecurity-magazine.com/news/hackers-hit-rosneft/?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.infosecurity-magazine.com/news/hackers-hit-rosneft/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter)

T. Brewster. Bombs and hackers are battering Ukraine's Internet providers. 'Hidden heroes' risk their lives to keep their country online. *Forbes*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/thomasbrewster/2022/03/15/internet-technicians-are-the-hidden-heroes-of-the-russia-ukraine-war/?ss=cybersecurity&sh=fe8679628844>

Rosneft's German unit reports cyber attack – social media reports. *Reuters*, March 13, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/rosnefts-german-unit-reports-cyber-attack-media-reports-2022-03-13/>

Russia ramps up cyberattacks and disinformation amid war in Ukraine. *CBS News*, March 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/video/russia-ramps-up-cyber-attacks-disinformation-ukraine/>

T. Cozzens. Ukraine hackers target GLONASS for cyberattacks. *GPS World*, March 6, 2022. URL: <https://www.gpsworld.com/ukraine-hackers-target-glonass-for-cyberattacks/>

T. Simonite. Online sleuths are using facial recognition to identify Russian soldiers. *WIRED*, March 10, 2022. URL: <https://www.wired.com/story/facial-recognition-identify-russian-soldiers/>

J. Newman. Anonymous hacks Russian media censorship agency and leaks 340,000 files amid claims Moscow could try to cut the country off from the internet. *Daily Mail Online*, March 11, 2022. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10602197/Anonymous-hacks-Russian-censorship-agency-leaks-340-000-files-amid-fears-internet-shutdown.html?>

Update 7. 2022 Russia-Ukraine war – cyber group tracker. March 6, 2022. URL: <https://link.medium.com/8ZNx49i9aob>

P. Howell O'Neill. The propaganda war has eclipsed cyberwar in Ukraine. *Technology Review*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.technologyreview.com/2022/03/02/1046646/the-propaganda-war-has-eclipsed-cyberwar-in-ukraine>

Cyberattacken als Rache für Sanktionen? *Tageschau*, March 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/investigativ/russland-cyberattacken-105.html>

J. Wakefield. Russia 'successfully tests' its unplugged Internet. *BBC*, December 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-50902496>

Submarine cables: EU under threat of Internet blackout. *Yellowdanfo*, March 3, 2022. URL: <https://yellowdanfo.com.ng/2022/03/03/submarine-cables/>

War in Ukraine: is a giant Internet blackout possible in Europe because of Russia? *News Founded*, March 6, 2022. URL: <https://newsfounded.com/franceeng/war-in-ukraine-is-a-giant-internet-blackout-possible-in-europe-because-of-russia/>

J. Ran. Chinese telecoms giant Huawei has been helping Vladimir Putin's efforts to stabilize Russia's internet network after cyber attacks, reports reveal. *Daily Mail Online*, March 6, 2022. URL: [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10583207/Chinese-telecoms-giant-Huawei-helping-Putins-efforts-stabilise-Russias-internet.html?ito=social-twitter\\_mailonline](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10583207/Chinese-telecoms-giant-Huawei-helping-Putins-efforts-stabilise-Russias-internet.html?ito=social-twitter_mailonline)

T. Robertson. Where are the devastating Russian cyber attacks? *The National Interest*, February 28, 2022. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/techland-when-great-power-competition-meets-digital-world/where-are-devastating-russian-cyber>

F. Bajak. Ukraine volunteer 'hacker' corps fights Russia with cyber attacks, intel and info war. *The Times of Israel*, March 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/ukraine-volunteer-hacker-corps-fights-russia-with-cyberattacks-intel-and-infowar/>

Destructive 'HermeticWiper' malware strikes Ukraine. *Secoperations*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://secoperations.pt/2022/03/02/destructive-hermeticwiper-malware-strikes-ukraine/>

J. Greenwood. NB65 hackers shutdown control center of Russian space agency. *The Cyber Security Times*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.thecybersecuritytimes.com/nb65-hackers-shutdown-control-center-of-russian-space-agency/>

Decryptable Party Ticket ransomware reportedly targeting Ukrainian entities. *CrowdStrike*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.crowdstrike.com/blog/how-to-decrypt-the-partyticket-ransomware-targeting-ukraine/>

D.E. Sanger, J.E. Barnes, K. Conger. As tanks rolled into Ukraine, so did malware. Then Microsoft entered the war. *The New York Times*, February 28, 2022. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/us/politics/ukraine-russia-microsoft.html?>

Cyberknow. 2022 Russia-Ukraine war – cyber group tracker. Update 3. *Medium*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://cyberknow.medium.com/2022-russia-ukraine-war-cyber-group-tracker-update-3-56f15e83f407>

Russia space agency head says satellite hacking would justify war – report. *Reuters*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/world/russia-space-agency-head-says-satellite-hacking-would-justify-war-report-2022-03-02/?>

C. Martin. Cyber realism in a time of war. *Lawfare*, March 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/cyber-realism-time-war>

B. Johnson. Anonymous claims hacks on more than 300 Russian cyber targets in 48 hours, including gas control system. *Homeland Security Today*, February 27, 2022. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/featured/anonymous-claims-hits-on-more-than-300-russian-cyber-targets-in-48-hours-including-gas-control-system/>

J. Schectman, C. Bing, J. Pearson. Ukrainian cyber resistance group targets Russian power grid, railways. *Reuters*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/technology/ukrainian-cyber-resistance-group-targets-russian-power-grid-railways-2022-03-01/>



V. Elliott. 'Ukraine has been a giant test lab': Russia's cyberwar risks more death and collateral damage. *Rest of World*, February 27, 2022. URL: <https://restofworld.org/2022/russias-cyber-war-ukraine-risks-death-collateral-damage/>

WhisperGate malware corrupts computers in Ukraine. *Insikt*, February 28, 2022. URL: [https://www.recordedfuture.com/whispergate-malware-corrupts-computers-ukraine/?\\_hstc=156209188.ae764645af-29467530fa89a8b0ea37a7.1629123468658.1645656564020.1646163912709.41&\\_hssc=156209188.1.1646163912709&\\_hsfp=3346479184](https://www.recordedfuture.com/whispergate-malware-corrupts-computers-ukraine/?_hstc=156209188.ae764645af-29467530fa89a8b0ea37a7.1629123468658.1645656564020.1646163912709.41&_hssc=156209188.1.1646163912709&_hsfp=3346479184)

E. Vail. Russia or Ukraine: hacking groups take sides. *The Record*, February 25, 2022. URL: <https://therecord.media/russia-or-ukraine-hacking-groups-take-sides/>

R. Laksmanan. Conti ransomware gang's internal chats leaked online after siding with Russia. *The Hacker News*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://thehackernews.com/2022/03/conti-ransomware-gangs-internal-chats.html>

## 12. Risk and Threat Assessments, Forecasts and Analytic Studies

### 12.1. Analytical Studies

C. Winter. The terrorist image. Decoding the Islamic State's photo-propaganda. 2022, 320p. URL: <https://www.hurstpublishers.com/book/the-terrorist-image/>

E. Chenoweth, Z. Marks. Revenge of the patriarchs. *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2022. URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-02-08/women-rights-revenge-patriarchs?>

#ReaCT2022. Report on Terrorism and Radicalization in Europe – No.3, Year 3. *START/Insight*, March 2022. URL: <https://www.startinsight.eu/en/react2022-n-3-year-3-review-report-2/>

J. Barcelo, R. Kubinec, C. Cheng. Windows of repression: using COVID-19 policies against political dissidents? *Journal of Peace Research*, March 6, 2022. URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/00223433211062389?icid=int.sj-full-text.citing-articles.3>

R. Haer, B.RezaeeDaryakenari. Disasters and civilian victimization: exploiting the dynamic effect in Africa, 1977-2017. *Journal of Peace Research*, March 6, 2022. URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/00223433211061672>

C. Faulkner, J. Johnson, N. Singh. Don't blame contagion for the resurgence of coups. *World Politics Review*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/30361/don-t-blame-contagion-for-the-resurgence-in-military-coups>

### 12.2. Databases

The INFORM severity index. ACAPS, April 2022. URL: <https://www.acaps.org/methodology/severity>

Monitor. Tracking civic space. CIVICUS, April 2022. URL: <https://monitor.civicus.org/>

M. von Hein. Civil society under pressure worldwide, says new report. *Deutsche Welle*, April 7, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/civil-society-under-pressure-worldwide-says-new-report/a-61389258>

Crisis updates. *CrisisInSight*. April 2022. URL: <https://www.acaps.org/countries>

Ukraine Crisis. ACLED. March 2022. URL: <https://acleddata.com/ukraine-crisis/>

ACLED 2021. The year in review. Key trends in political violence and demonstration activity around the world. March 2021. URL: <https://acleddata.com/year-in-review-2021/>

Global Terrorism Index 2022. Measuring the impact of terrorism. *IEP*, March 2022. URL: <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/GTI-2022-web.pdf>

### 12.3. Special and National Threat Assessments/Warnings & Alerts

Tunisia facing risk of outbreak of an unprecedented violence, think tank warns. *Middle East Monitor*, April 8, 2022. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20220408-tunisia-facing-risk-of-outbreak-of-an-unprecedented-violence-think-tank-warns/>

Populations at risk: Ukraine: more than 10 million displaced since February 24. *Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect*, April 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.globalr2p.org/countries/ukraine/>

Populations at risk: Nigeria: More than 5,000 people killed in the north-west by armed bandits since 2018. *Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.globalr2p.org/countries/nigeria/>

Populations at Risk: Cameroon: 646,000+ people displaced by conflict in the north-west and south-west regions. *Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.globalr2p.org/countries/cameroon/>

Populations at Risk: CAR: 63 percent of the population needs humanitarian assistance and protection. *Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.globalr2p.org/countries/central-african-republic/>

Populations at Risk: Central Sahel: At least 2.1 million people displaced in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger. *Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect*, March 1, 2022. URL: <https://www.globalr2p.org/countries/mali/>

### 12.4. Forecasts and Trend Studies

Strategic Monitor 2021-2022. Hanging together: partners and policies for the Netherlands and EU in turbulent times. *HCSS*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://hcss.nl/report/strategic-monitor-2021-2022-hanging-together/>

Strategic Monitor 2021-2022. *Clingendael*, March 28, 2022. URL: <https://www.clingendael.org/publication/strategic-monitor-2021-2022>

B. van der Haak, D. Romeijn. Boek van de toekomst. *VPRO Tegenlicht*. 2022. URL: <https://winkel.vpro.nl/boek-van-de-toekomst-vpro-tegenlicht/>

Ten conflicts to worry about in 2022. *ACLED*, 2022. URL: <https://acleddata.com/10-conflicts-to-worry-about-in-2022/>

M. von Hein. Munich Security Report: a grim analysis of a wave of global crises. *Deutsche Welle*, February 14, 2022. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/munich-security-report-a-grim-analysis-of-a-wave-of-global-crises/a-60765510>

Risk Map 2022. Top risks. *Control Risks*, February 2022. URL: <https://www.controlrisks.com/riskmap/top-risks>

The world in 2022. *Geopolitical Futures*, 2022. URL: <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/product/geopolitical-futures-discounted-annual-subscription/>

### 13. Also Worth to Read/Listen and Watch

#### 13.1. Videos of Conferences, Seminars, Webinars

START hosts virtual book talk on 'Insurgent Terrorism.' *START*, February 25, 2022. URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/news/start-hosts-virtual-book-talk-insurgent-terrorism>

Understanding COVID-19 to prepare for the next pandemic. *Nature Conferences*, April 4-5, 2022. URL: <https://conferences.nature.com/event/1b18665c-e4a6-4fa2-abb7-89143ddabbd9/summary?RefId=Twitterads&twclid=11496577365153140740>

Fixing America's troubled democracy. *Atlantic Council*, YouTube, February 23, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVNpKxRzEUA>

What future for international cybercrime cooperation? *Chatham House*, March 2, 2022. URL: <http://form.jotform.com/220523734246350>

I. Levy, C. Whiteside. Targeting the Islamic State: jihadist military threats and the US response. *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, February 16, 2022. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/targeting-islamic-state-jihadist-military-threats-and-us-response>

ICSVE panel – Preventing and countering violent extremism in Sweden. *ICSVE*, You Tube, February 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vdtIVpxOwUc>

The dynamic terrorism landscape and what it means for America. Committee on Homeland Security, February 2, 2022. URL: <https://homeland.house.gov/activities/hearings/the-dynamic-terrorism-landscape-and-what-it-means-for-america>

NCITE-GWU panel on foreign fighter families. *University of Nebraska Omaha*, February 2, 2022. URL: <https://www.unomaha.edu/ncite/news/2022/01/ncite-foreign-fighters-panel.php>

C.P. Clarke – Terrorism and Violent Extremism – 2021 in review – 12/2021. *TRC Terrorism Research Center*, February 2, 2022. URL: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2\\_1mjD64k\\_E](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2_1mjD64k_E)

Webinar on the far right in Israel. A. Perliger. The Israeli far-right - conceptualization and current trends. *C-Rex – Center for Research and Extremism*, December 1, 2021. URL: <https://www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/english/news-and-events/events/2021/global-perspectives-on-the-far-right/1201-perliger-israel.html?>

E. Cohanim. Jesse Morton: the man who brought al-Qaeda to Americans. *JNS*, December 15, 2021. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=55F158uRCdg>

M. Hecker, E. Tenenbaum. The war on jihadism: lessons from 20 years of counterterrorism. *Washington Institute*, December 17, 2021. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gU0H9io4gSo>

ICCT Annual Conference 2021 – day 2. International Centre for Counterterrorism, December 9, 2021. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sP5LS0JYDi0>

ICCT Annual Conference 2021 – day 1. International Centre for Counterterrorism, December 8, 2021. URL: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sZaBPQ\\_plnI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sZaBPQ_plnI)

#### 13.2. Podcasts

Podcast: The largest counterterrorism investigation in history, with Aki Peritz. *Lawfare*, December 20, 2021. URL: <https://shows.acast.com/lawfare/episodes/the-largest-counterterrorism-investigation-in-history?>

Podcast: Sebastian Rotella and the fusion of criminality, borders and terrorism. *DEEP Dive* episode 4.

NATO, December 17, 2021. URL: <https://deeportal.hq.nato.int/eacademy/2021/12/>

Podcast: Counterterrorism after 9/11. The Hague: ICCT, 2021. URL: <https://icct.nl/podcast/>

Fighting terror. CEP podcast compilation. October 2020-September 2021. October 6, 2021. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HDnOY3YMmoo>

Podcast. Conflicted. Message Heard. Aimen Dean and Thomas Small unpack the realities of war, fundamentalism and their global implications through first-hand experience. URL: <https://open.spotify.com/show/1pgRlNKUjQksdy90usLyM5>

The Wagner Group's shadow mission in Ukraine. *The Guardian*, March 15, 2022. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/audio/2022/mar/15/the-wagner-group-shadow-mission-ukraine-podcast>

M Levitt. Podcast: Hezbollah's golden rule. *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, February 9, 2022. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/podcast-breaking-hezbollahs-golden-rule>

L. Creighton. Fighting terror. Preventing radicalization in the UK. *Buzzprout*, February 3, 2022. URL: <https://www.buzzsprout.com/1118519/9998614-preventing-radicalization-in-the-uk>

Is ISIS back? *The Washington Post Daily Podcast*, February 9, 2021. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/podcasts/post-reports/is-isis-back/>

**About the Compiler:** **Berto Jongman** is Associate Editor of 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. He is a former senior Military Intelligence Analyst and currently serves as an International Consultant on CBRN issues. A sociologist by training, he previously worked for Swedish and Dutch civilian research institutes. Drs. Jongman was the recipient of the Golden Candle Award for his *World Conflict & Human Rights Maps*, published by PIOOM. He is editor of the volume 'Contemporary Genocides' (1996) and has also contributed to various editions of 'Political Terrorism', the award-winning handbook of terrorism research edited by Alex P. Schmid.



---

## Conference Monitor/Calendar of Events (April 2022 and beyond)

Compiled by Olivia Kearney

*The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), in its mission to provide a platform for academics and practitioners in the field of terrorism and counter-terrorism, compiles an online calendar, listing recent and upcoming academic and professional conferences, symposia and similar events that are directly or indirectly relevant to the readers of Perspectives on Terrorism. The calendar includes academic and (inter-) governmental conferences, professional expert meetings, civil society events and educational programs organised between April and June 2022 (with a few shortly thereafter). The listed events are organised by a wide variety of governmental and non-governmental institutions, including several key (counter) terrorism research centres and institutes listed in the February 2021 issue of this journal.*

*We encourage readers to contact the journal's Associate Editor for Conference Monitoring, Olivia Kearney, and provide her with relevant information, preferably in the same format as the items listed below. Olivia Kearney can be reached at <[oliviaj.kearney@gmail.com](mailto:oliviaj.kearney@gmail.com)> or via Twitter: [@oliviajkearney](https://twitter.com/oliviajkearney).*

### **April 2022**

#### **Launch of the Regional Youth Engagement and Empowerment Programme in South and Southeast Asia**

*United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT), Online*  
5 April, New York, United States  
Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@UN\\_OCT](https://twitter.com/UN_OCT)

#### **Funding and Enabling Community-Level P/CVE**

*Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF), Online*  
5 April, The Hague, Netherlands  
Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@theGCTF](https://twitter.com/theGCTF)

#### **Turbulent vs. Stable Cooperation: How (Dis)location Affects Pathways of Civilian Cooperation in Boko Haram-controlled Territory**

*Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Online*  
7 April, Cambridge, Mass., United States  
Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@BelferCenter](https://twitter.com/BelferCenter)

#### **The Context of a Refugee Return in Syria**

*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Online*  
11 April, Beirut, Lebanon  
Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CarnegieEndow](https://twitter.com/CarnegieEndow)

#### **ASPI Publication Launch: Global Terrorism Index 2022**

*Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI),*  
12 April, Canberra, Australia  
Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ASPI\\_org](https://twitter.com/ASPI_org)

#### **Webinar on the Far Right in Central America**

*Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), Online*  
13 April, Oslo, Norway  
Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CrexUiO](https://twitter.com/CrexUiO)

**Offline Exclusion, Online Exclusion? Understanding the Interplay Between Social Exclusion, Online Communities and Extremist Ideologies***Institute for Security and Global Affairs (ISGA), Leiden University*14 April, *Campus The Hague, Netherlands*Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ISGA\\_Hague](#)**Counterterrorism Between the Wars: An International History, 1919-1937***The Wilson Center, Online*18 April, *Washington DC, United States*Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@TheWilsonCenter](#)**Covid19 Challenge, Gender and Extremism, Understanding Terrorist Threats***The Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society (TSAS),*22 April, *Ottawa, Canada*Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@TSASNetwork](#)**Terrorism Financing and New Technologies in Europe: Report Launch***Project CRAAFT,*27 April, *Brussels, Belgium*Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ProjectCRAAFT](#)**Tech Against Terrorism E-learning Webinar Series***GIFCT, Online*

28 April

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@GIFCT\\_official](#)**May 2022****A Group Affair: Understanding Involvement in Terrorism in Mali***Institute for Security and Global Affairs (ISGA), Leiden University*11 May, *Campus The Hague, Netherlands*Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ISGA\\_Hague](#)**Fusion Conference: Polariserende communicatie als vector van radicalisering – La communication polarisante en tant que vecteur de radicalisation***Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations,*12 May, *Brussels, Belgium*Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@EgmontInstitute](#)**What can we Learn from Interviewing ‘Formers’?***Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), Online*12 May, *Oslo, Norway*Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CrexUiO](#)**Ideology***Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR), online*18 May, *United Kingdom*Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@C4ARR](#)

**Stockholm Forum on Peace and Development**

*Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Online*

23 – 25 May, Sweden

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@sipriorg](#)

**Online Summer Law Programme on International Criminal Law & International Legal & Comparative Approaches to Counter-Terrorism**

*Asser Institute, Online*

31 May – 24 June, *The Hague, The Netherlands*

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@TMCAsser](#)

**June 2022****GLOBSEC 2022 Bratislava Forum**

*Globsec,*

2-4 June, *Bratislava, Slovakia*

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@Globsec](#)

**Countering Tomorrow's Threats, Today**

*Counter Terror Expo (CTX),*

8-9 June, *London, United Kingdom*

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CTX\\_Event](#)

**Going Nativist: How to Interview the Radical Right**

*Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), Online*

9 June, *Oslo, Norway*

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CrexUiO](#)

**2022 CNAS National Security Conference: Security in the Balance**

*Center for a New American Security (CNAS), Online*

14-16 June, *Washington, DC, United States*

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CNASdc](#)

**BISA 2022 Conference**

*British International Studies Association,*

15-17 June, *Newcastle-upon-Tyne, United Kingdom*

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@MYBISA](#)

**International Terrorism and Social Media Conference**

*Swansea University,*

28-29 June, *Swansea, United Kingdom*

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@SwanseaUni](#)

**Acknowledgment:** Special thanks go to Alex Schmid and Berto Jongman for their suggestions and contributions to this conference calendar.

**About the Compiler:** Olivia Kearney is an Associate Editor of *Perspectives on Terrorism* as well as a member of the Editorial Board for the *ICTR Journal*. She is the Community Building Officer for Project CRAAFT led by RUSI Europe. Before that, she worked as a Project Assistant for the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT) after having obtained a Master's degree in Crime and Criminal Justice at Leiden University.

## About Perspectives on Terrorism

*Perspectives on Terrorism* (PoT) is a joint publication of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), headquartered in Vienna, Austria, and the Institute of Security and Global Affairs (ISGA) of Leiden University, Campus The Hague. Now in its 16<sup>th</sup> year, PoT is published six times annually as a free, independent, scholarly peer-reviewed online journal available at the URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/perspectives-on-terrorism>.

*Perspectives on Terrorism* has recently been ranked by Google Scholars again as No. 3 in ‘Terrorism Studies’ (as well as No. 5 in ‘Military Studies’). Jouroscope™, a directory of scientific journals, has just listed PoT as one of the top ten journals in the category free open access journals in social sciences, with a Q1 ranking. PoT has more than 9,500 registered subscribers and many more occasional readers.

Our journal seeks to provide a platform for established scholars as well as academics and professionals entering the interdisciplinary fields of (Counter-)Terrorism, Political Violence and Conflict Studies.

The editors invite researchers and readers to:

- use the journal as a forum for debate and commentary on issues related to the above.
- present their perspectives on the prevention of, and response to, terrorism and related forms of violent conflict; and
- submit to the journal accounts of evidence-based, empirical scientific research and analyses on terrorism.

*Perspectives on Terrorism* has sometimes been characterised as ‘non-traditional’ in that it dispenses with some of the rigidities associated with commercial print journals. Topical articles can be published at short notice and reach, through the Internet, a much larger audience than subscription-fee based paper journals. Our online journal also offers contributors a higher degree of flexibility in terms of content, style and length of articles – but without compromising professional scholarly standards. The journal’s Research Notes, Special Correspondence, Op-Eds and other content are reviewed by members of the Editorial Team, while its Articles are peer-reviewed (double-blind) by members of the Editorial Board and outside academic experts and professionals. Due to the hundreds of submissions we receive every year, only the most promising and original ones can be sent for external peer-review.

While aiming to be policy-relevant, PoT does not support any partisan policies regarding (counter-) terrorism and waging conflicts. Impartiality, objectivity and accuracy are guiding principles that we require contributors to adhere to. They are responsible for the content of their contributions and retain the copyright of their publication.

The Editorial Team of *Perspectives on Terrorism* consists of:

<b>Prof. em. Alex P. Schmid</b> , Editor-in-Chief <b>Prof. James J.F. Forest</b> , Co-Editor <b>Dr. Tricia Bacon</b> , Associate Editor <b>Dr. Tore Bjørgo</b> , Associate Editor <b>Dr. Jeffrey Kaplan</b> , Associate Editor <b>Dr. John Morrison</b> , Associate Editor <b>Dr. Kumar Ramakrishna</b> , Associate Editor <b>Dr. Jeanine de Roy van Zuijdewijn</b> , Associate Editor <b>Dr. Rashmi Singh</b> , Associate Editor <b>Ms. Audrey J. Vrolijk</b> , Associate Editor IT	<b>Dr. Craig Whiteside</b> , Associate Editor <b>Dr. Aaron Y. Zelin</b> , Associate Editor <b>Dr. Joshua Sinai</b> , Books Reviews Editor <b>Dr. Judith Tinnes</b> , Information Resources Editor <b>Drs. Berto Jongman</b> , Associate Editor for Web Resources <b>Ms. Olivia Kearney</b> , Associate Editor for Conference Monitoring <b>Mr. David Teiner</b> , Assistant Information Resources Editor <b>Mr. Brody McDonald</b> , Assistant Editor for Theses <b>Mrs. Jodi Moore</b> , Editorial Assistant for Proofreading
---	--