

February 2017

BRUCE HOFFMAN

**Georgetown University
Security Studies Program
Mortara Building
3600 N Street, NW
Washington, DC 20007**

**brh6@georgetown.edu
(571) 277 6659**

EDUCATION

D.Phil., International Relations, 1986, St Antony's College, University of Oxford, England.

B.Phil. (now M.Phil.), International Relations, 1978, New College, University of Oxford, England.

A.B. (Honors), Government, History, 1976, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut, U.S.A.

CAREER

Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, California

2016–Present — William F. Podlich Distinguished Fellow and Visiting Professor of Government, fall semester, 2016.

Georgetown University, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Washington, D.C.

2010–Present — Director, Center for Security Studies, and Director, Security Studies Program; 2006–Present — Professor (with tenure), School of Foreign Service (on leave fall semester 2016).

RAND Corporation, Washington, D.C.

2005–2006 — Corporate Chair in Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency; 1998–2006 — Director, Washington Office, and Senior International Policy Analyst, Senior Research Staff; 2004 — Acting Director, Center for Middle East Public Policy; 2001–2004 — Vice President for External Affairs.

University of St Andrews, St Andrews, Scotland

2014–Present — Professor of Terrorism Studies (part-time), School of International Relations; 1996–1998 — Reader in International Relations; 1994–1998 — Founding Director, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV); 1994–1998 — Chairman of the Department of International Relations; 1994–1996 — Senior Lecturer, Department of International Relations.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California

1993–1994 — Director, Strategy and Doctrine Research Program (Associate Director, 1992–1993), Army Research Division, and Senior Social Scientist, Senior Research Staff,

International Policy Department; 1990–1992 — Associate Director, International Security and Defense Strategy Program, National Security Research Division; and Social Scientist, Senior Research Staff, International Policy Department; 1986–1990 — Associate Social Scientist, Political Science Department; 1983–1986 — Assistant Social Scientist, Behavioral Sciences Department; and, 1981–1983 — Consultant, Social Sciences Department.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Rollback: Reagan's Cold Warriors and America's First War on Terrorism (New York: Knopf, forthcoming).

Inside Terrorism—Third Edition, (New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming, August 2017).

Anonymous Soldiers: The Struggle for Israel, 1917–1947 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015; Vintage Books, 2016 & Changsha, China: Changsha Senxin, forthcoming), pp. 640.

- Winner, Washington Institute for Near East Studies' Gold Medal for the best book on Middle Eastern politics, history or society published in 2015
- Winner, Jewish Book Council, Everett Family Foundation Award for the Jewish Book of the Year for 2015
- *St Louis Times-Dispatch* "Best Books of the Year, 2015"
- *Kirkus Review* "Best Books of the Year, 2015"
- *New York Times Book Review* Editors' Choice"

The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat From 9/11 to Osama bin Laden's Death (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014 and 2016), co-edited, pp. 704.

Moles, Defectors, And Deceptions: James Angleton and His Influence on US Counterintelligence—A Wilson Center and Georgetown University Center for Security Studies Joint Conference (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2014), co-edited, pp. 116.

Terrorism And Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment—Readings & Interpretations (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2012), co-edited, pp. 793.

State of the Struggle: Report on the Battle against Global Terrorism (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2007), co-authored, pp. 100.

Inside Terrorism—Second Edition, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, pp. 465; and, Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 2006, pp. 596).

Inside Terrorism—First Edition, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998; London: Victor Gollancz, 1998; Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1999; Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1999; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1999; Warsaw: Bertlesmann Media, 1999; Sofia, Bulgaria: Pleiada, 1999; Tokyo: Hara-Shobo, 1999; Belgrade: Academic, 2000; Moscow: Ultra.Culture Publishers, 2004; Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications, 2004; and, Seoul: DaiHak, 2004), pp. 288.

The Failure of British Military Policy Within Palestine, 1939–1947 (Ramat Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983), pp. 136.

Articles in Refereed Journals

- "A First Draft of the History of America's Ongoing Wars On Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 38, no. 1 (January 2015), pp. 9.
- "The Palestine Police Force and the challenges of gathering counterterrorism Intelligence, 1939–1947," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, vol. 24, no. 4 (December 2013), pp. 38.
- "Al Qaeda's Uncertain Future," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 36, no. 8 (August 2013), pp. 18.
- "The Rationality of Terrorism and Other Forms of Political Violence: Lessons from the Jewish Campaign in Palestine, 1939–1947," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, vol. 22, no. 2 (May 2011), pp. 14.
- "Assessing The Terrorist Threat to America and to American Interests," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 34, no. 2 (February 2011), co-authored, pp. 36.
- "The First Non-State Use of A Chemical Weapon in Warfare: The Tamil Tigers' Assault on East Kiran," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, vol. 20, no. 3 (September 2009), pp. 14.
- "A Counter-Terrorist Grand Strategy for the Obama Administration," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 21, no. 3 (July 2009), pp. 18.
- "The Capability of Emergency Departments and Emergency Medical Systems In The U.S. To Respond To Mass Casualty Events Resulting From Terrorist Attacks," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 32, no. 1 (January 2009), pp. 12.
- "Putting German Terrorism in Perspective: An American Response," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, issue 43 (Fall 2008), pp. 8.
- "Terrorism in History," *Journal of Conflict Studies*, vol. XXVII, no. 2 (Winter 2007), pp. 20.
- "The Cult of the Insurgent: It's Tactical and Strategic Implication," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 61, no 3 (September 2007), pp. 17.
- "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 28, no. 2 (February–March 2005), pp. 19.
- "The Changing Face of Al Qaeda and the Global War on Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 27, no. 6 (November–December 2004), pp. 11.
- "Terrorism, Signaling and Suicide Attack," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 27, no. 4 (July–August 2004), pp. 39 (co-author).
- "Al Qaeda, Trends in Terrorism, and Future Potentialities: An Assessment," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 26, no. 6 (November–December 2003), pp. 13.
- "Rethinking Terrorism and Counterterrorism Since 9/11," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 25, no. 5 (September–October 2002), pp. 13.
- "Change and Continuity in Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 24, no. 5 (September–October 2001), pp. 11.

- "Terrorism and Aviation Security," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1998), pp. 18.
- "The RAND–St Andrews Chronology of International Terrorist Incidents, 1996," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 10, no. 2, (Summer 1998), pp. 45 (co–author)
- "La Jonction Entre Tendances Internationales et Interieures du Terrorisme et La Response Americaine," *Stratégique* (Paris), vol. 66/67, nos. 2–3 (1997), pp. 22.
- "La Terror Sacré," *Politique Internationale* (Paris), no. 77 (Autumn 1997), pp. 16.
- "The Confluence of International and Domestic Trends in Terrorism and the Threat to Civil Aviation," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Summer 1997), pp. 14.
- "Terrorism and WMD: Preliminary Hypotheses," *Non–Proliferation Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, (Spring–Summer 1997), pp. 9.
- "Why Terrorists Don't Claim Credit," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 8.
- "The RAND–St Andrews Chronology of International Terrorist Incidents, 1995," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 8, no. 3, (Autumn 1996), pp. 40 (co–author).
- "Una Nueva Era del Terrorismo," *Sistema: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Madrid), nos. 132–133 (June 1996), pp. 15.
- "Intelligence and Terrorism: Emerging Threats and New Security Challenges in the Post–Cold War Era," *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 11, no. 2 (April 1996), pp. 17.
- "The RAND–St Andrews Chronology of International Terrorist Incidents, 1994," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 7, no. 4, (Winter 1995), pp. 48 (co–author).
- "Holy Terror": The Implications of Terrorism Motivated By A Religious Imperative," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 18, no. 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 13.
- "The Role of Foreign Policy, Intelligence, and Law Enforcement in the Prevention of Trans–National Terrorism," *Law Enforcement and Low Intensity Conflict*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 20.
- "The Urbanisation of Insurgency: The Potential Challenge to U.S. Army Operations," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, vol. 6, no.1, (Spring 1995), pp. 19 (co–author).
- "Responding to Terrorism Across the Technological Spectrum," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 6, no. 3, (Autumn 1994), pp. 24
- "Urbanization and Insurgency: The Turkish Case, 1976–1980," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* vol. 5, no. 2 (Autumn 1994), pp. 22 (co–author).
- "Terrorist Targeting: Tactics, Trends and Potentialities," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Summer 1993 vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 17.
- "Current Research on Terrorism and LIC," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. xv, no. 2 1992, pp. 13.

"The PLO and Israel in Central America: The Geopolitical Dimension," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Fall, 1989, pp. 34.

"The Contrasting Ethical Foundations of Terrorism in the 1980s," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Spring, 1989, pp. 16.

"Commando Warfare and Small Raiding Parties as Part of a Counterterrorist Military Policy," *Conflict*, Fall 1986, pp. 28.

"The Plight of the Phoenix: The PLO Since Lebanon," *Conflict Quarterly*, Spring 1985. pp. 13.

Articles in Policy Journals (selected)

"Terrorism Challenges for the Trump Administration," *CTC Sentinel*, vol. 9, issue 11, November/December 2016, pp. 7, https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CTC-Sentinel_Vol9Iss1113.pdf.

"Sorry, Politicians, But Fighting Poverty Isn't Going to Defeat Terrorism," Zócalo, 1 August 2016, <http://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2016/08/01/sorry-politicians-but-fighting-poverty-isnt-going-to-defeat-terrorism/ideas/nexus/>.

"The Coming ISIS-al Qaeda Merger," *Foreign Affairs On-line*," 29 March 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2016-03-29/coming-isis-al-qaeda-merger>.

"Return of the Jihadi," *The National Interest*, no. 141, January/February 2016, pp. 9.

"Low-Tech Terrorism," *The National Interest*, no. 30, March/April 2014 pp. 11.

"Al Qaeda Rises in Yemen's Chaos," *The National Interest*, no. 23, January/February 2013, pp. 7.

"American Jihad," *The National Interest*, no. 107, May/June 2010, pp. 11.

"The Age of Woman Power," *The National Interest*, no. 99, January/February 2009, pp. 7.

"Cell Phones in the Hindu Kush," *The National Interest*, no. 96, July/August 2008, pp. 9 (co-authored).

"The Myth of Grass-Roots Terrorism: Why Osama bin Laden Still Matters," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 87, no. 3, May/June 2008, pp. 5.

"Making The Grade: From A to F, how the U.S. measures up in its struggle against global extremism," *The National Interest*, no. 94, March/April 2008, pp. 4 (co-authored).

"Is Al-Qaeda on the Run or on the March?" *Middle East Policy*, vol. xiv, no. 2, Summer 2007, pp. 15.

"From the War on Terror to Global Counterinsurgency," *Current History*, vol. 105, December 2006, no. 695, pp. 7.

"Al Qaeda and the War on Terrorism: An Update," *Current History*, vol. 103, no. 677, December 2004, pp. 5.

"Is Europe Soft on Terrorism?" *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1999), pp. 14.

"Illicit Trafficking in Nuclear Materials," *Conflict Studies nos. 314/315* (London), (January/February 1999), pp. 42.

"The Mind of the Terrorist: Perspectives From Social Psychology," *Psychiatric Annals*, vol. 29, no. 6 (June 1999), pp. 337–340.

"Old Madness, New Methods," *RAND Review*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Winter 1998–99), pp. 6.

"Terrorism: Who Is Fighting Whom?" *World Policy Journal*, vol. XVI, no. 1, (March 1997), pp. 6.

"Responding to Terrorism Across the Technological Spectrum," *Strategic Studies Institute Papers*, U.S. Army War College, 15 July 1994, pp. 32.

Right-Wing Terrorism in Germany, Research Report No. 13, Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, England, December 1986, pp. 18.

"Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe Since 1980," *Orbis*, Spring 1984, pp. 12.

Chapters in Edited Books (selected)

"Wilkinson, Paul (1937–2011)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 2.

"Who Fights?—A Comparative Demographic Depiction of Terrorists and Insurgents in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries" in Hew Strachan and Sibylle Scheipers (eds.), *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 19.

"Assessing the State of Al Qaeda and Current and Future Terrorist Threats," in Ibrahim Karawan, Wayne McCormack, and Stephen E. Reynolds, *Values and Violence: Intangible Aspects of Terrorism* (Rotterdam: Springer, 2008), pp. 16.

"CBRN Terrorism Post-9/11," in Russell Howard and James Forest (eds.), *Weapons of Mass Destruction and Terrorism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2007), pp. 15.

"Al Qaeda Then and Now," in Karen J. Greenberg (ed.), *Al Qaeda Now: Understanding Today's Terrorists* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 6.

"The Debate over Future Terrorist Use of Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Weapons," in Brad Roberts (ed.), *Hype or Reality? The "New Terrorism" And Mass Casualty Attacks* (Alexandria, VA: Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute, 2000), pp. 14.

"La menace d'attentats au moyen d'armes atomiques, bactériologiques et chimiques," in Arnaud Blinn, et. al., *Puissances et Influences: Annuaire géopolitique et géostratégique 2000–2001* (Paris: Éditions Mille et Une Nuits, 2000), pp. 3.

"New Forms of Terrorism and the Threat of Terrorist Use of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Weapons," in Kai Hirschmann and Peter Gerhard (eds.), *Terrorismus als wetweites Phänomen* (Berlin: Berlin Publishers, 2000), pp. 7.

"A Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism," in Fernando Reinares (ed.), *European Democracies Against Terrorism: Government Policies and Supranational Cooperation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), pp. 26.

“Les terroristes et la réponse américaine,” in Gérard Chaliand (ed.), *Les Stratégies du terrorisme* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1999), pp. 21.

“Terrorist Targeting: Tactics, Trends and Potentialities,” in Conor Gearty (ed.), *Terrorism: International Library of Criminology, Criminal Justice and Penology* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing, 1999).

“How Terrorism is Analysed,” in Alan Thomsson (ed.) *Terrorism and the 2000 Olympics* (Canberra: Australian Defence Studies Centre, 1996), pp. 9.

“Terrorism: Its Motives, Methods, and Immediate Results,” in Eugene Sevin, et al., *Protecting Buildings from Bomb Damage: Transfer of Blast Mitigation Technologies from Military to Civilian Applications* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences Press, September 1995), pp. 17.

“Origins and Expressions of Religious Conflict,” in Hendrick Frieman (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Low Intensity Conflict* (Stockholm: Defence Research Establishment, 1995), pp. 14.

“Command and Control of Operations Other Than War,” in Hendrick Frieman (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Low Intensity Conflict* (Stockholm: Defence Research Establishment, 1995), pp. 22.

“Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe,” in Edward Moxon-Browne (ed.), *European Terrorism* (New York and Toronto: G.K. Hall, 1994), pp. 11.

“Terrorist Targeting: Tactics, Trends and Potentialities,” in Paul Wilkinson (ed.), *Technology and Terrorism* (London: Frank Cass, 1994), pp. 17.

“Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Iranian Sponsored International Terrorism,” in Yonah Alexander (ed.), *Middle Eastern Terrorism: Current Threats and Future Prospects* (New York and Toronto: G.K. Hall, 1994), pp. 45.

“Low-intensity Conflict: Terrorism and Guerrilla Warfare in the Coming Decades,” in Lawrence Howard (ed.), *Terrorism: Roots, Impact, Responses* (New York: Praeger, 1992), pp. 15.

Articles, Review Articles and Newspaper Opinion Pieces (selected)

“How Much Really Changed About Terrorism on 9/11?” *The Atlantic*, 11 September 2016 (co-authored) at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/09/jenkins-hoffman-crenshaw-september-11-al-qaeda/499334/>

“ISIL IS Winning,” *Politico*, 10 September 2015, at: <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/09/isil-is-winning-213136>.

“Al-Qaeda’s continued core strategy and disquieting leader-led trajectory,” Real Instituto Elcano (Madrid), ARI 37/2013, October 9, 2013 (co-authored) at: http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_eng/Content?WCM_GLOBAL_CO NTEXT=/elcano/elcano_es/zonas_es/terrorismo+internacional/ari372013-hoffman-reinares-al-qaeda-strategy-leader-led-trajectory

“Spoiler Alert,” *Foreign Policy*, 18 December 2012 at:

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/12/18/spoiler_alert

“Photography Changes The Face Of Terrorism,” in Marvin Heiferman (ed.), *Photography Changes Everything* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution and Aperture Foundation, 2012), pp. 3.

“What Osama Was Thinking at the End,” *Wall Street Journal*, 8 May 2012.

“Tweeting für Terror,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), 29 March 2012.

“Why al Qaeda Will Survive: Awlaki’s death is nothing more than a glancing blow to al Qaeda,” *Daily Beast*, 30 September 2011 at:

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/09/30/al-awlaki-s-death-nothing-more-than-a-glancing-blow-al-qaeda-stronger-than-everest.html>

“The Leaderless Jihad’s Leader: Why Osama Bin Laden Mattered,” *Foreign Affairs* (online) 13 May 2011 at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67851/bruce-hoffman/the-leaderless-jihads-leader>.

“American Jihad—Part II,” *National Interest Online*, 21 July 2010 at <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=23716>.

“Al-Qaeda’s New Grand Strategy,” *Washington Post* (*Sunday Outlook* section), 10 January 2010.

“How to Win Afghanistan,” *National Interest Online* 10 October 2009 at <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=22272>.

“Econo-Jihad,” *National Interest Online*, 13 May 2009 at <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=21464> (co-authored).

“Terrorism’s Twelve Step Program,” *National Interest Online*, 13 January 2009 at: <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=20592>

“Lessons from Mumbai,” *National Interest Online*, 1 December 2008 at: <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=20308>

“Innovative, ruthless, disciplined terrorism stalks us again,” *Sunday Times* (London), 29 November 2008.

“Al-Qaeda Dangerous As Ever,” *National Interest Online*, 10 September 2008 at: <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=19846>

“Al Qaeda isn’t dead yet,” *CNNPolitics.com*, 10 September 2008 at: <http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/09/09/hoffman.alqaeda/index.html?iref=newssearch>

“Wenn du deinen Gegner und dich selber kennst . . .’: Perspektiven auf den radikalen Islamismus” (“If you know your opponent and yourself. . .’: Perspectives on the radical Islamism,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich), 7 August 2008.

"Scarier Than Bin Laden," *Washington Post (Sunday Outlook section)*, 9 September 2007.

"We Can't Win If We Don't Know the Enemy," *Washington Post (Sunday Outlook section)*, 25 March 2007.

"Remember Al Qaeda? They're baaack: Defeating Osama bin Laden's resurgent terrorist network requires far more than military might," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 February 2007.

"What went wrong?" *Washington Post Book World*, 27 August 2006, p. 1.

"Wars on Terrorism," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 295, no. 4, May 2006, p. 1.

"The War for Muslim Minds," *Washington Post Book World*, 18 December 2005, p. 1.

"Plan of attack," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 293, no. 6, July–August 2004, pp. 2.

"Aftermath: Cleaning up after suicide bombings," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 293, no. 1, January–February 2004, pp. 2.

"Saddam Is Ours. Does Al Qaeda Care?" *New York Times*, 17 December 2003, p. 1.

"In the Calculus of Fear, Terrorists Have an Edge," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Opinion section*, 2 November 2003, pp. 2.

"The Wall," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 291, no. 6, July–August 2003, p. 1.

"The Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 291, no. 5, June 2003, pp. 8.

"The Leadership Secrets of Osama bin Laden," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 291, no. 3, April 2003, pp. 2.

"A Nasty Business: Gathering 'good intelligence' against terrorists is an inherently brutish enterprise, involving methods a civics class might not condone. Should we care?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 289, no. 1, January 2002, pp. 4.

"All You Need Is Love: How the terrorists stopped terrorism," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 288, no. 5, December 2001, pp. 3.

"One Alarm Fire," *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 228, no. 5, December 2001, pp. 3.

"A Counterterrorism Policy for Yesterday's Threat," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Opinion section*, 16 September 2001, pp. 2.

"Terrorism: A Policy Behind the Times," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Opinion section*, 12 November 2000, pp. 2.

"America and the New Terrorism: The American Perspective," *Survival*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Summer 2000), pp. 5.

"Is Europe Soft on Terrorism?" *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1999), pp. 14.

"Illicit Trafficking in Nuclear Materials," *Conflict Studies nos. 314/315* (London), (January/February 1999), pp. 42.

"Russia: Conventional Terrorism Still Works," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Opinion* section, 26 September 1999, pp. 2.

"The Mind of the Terrorist: Perspectives From Social Psychology," *Psychiatric Annals*, vol. 29, no. 6 (June 1999), pp. 337–340.

"Old Madness, New Methods," *RAND Review*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Winter 1998–99), pp. 6.

"Globalisierung des Schreckens—Privatisierung der Tat," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich), 26–27 September 1998.

"The New Face of Terrorism" *Shinchosha Foresight* (Tokyo), no. 9, 9 September–16 October 1998, pp. 4.

"The New Terrorist: Mute, Unnamed, Bloodthirsty," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Opinion* section, 16 August 1998, pp. 2.

"Religious Extremism," in *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism*, vol. 1 (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 3.

"Terrorism: Who Is Fighting Whom?" *World Policy Journal*, vol. XVI, no. 1, (March 1997), pp. 6.

"Creatures of the Cold War: the JRA," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, vol. 9, no. 2 (February 1997) pp. 3.

"A New Kind of Terrorism: Silence is Deadlier," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Opinion* section, 18 August 1996, pp. 2.

"Americans Who Are Threatened By the Shadows of Terrorists Within," *Shinchosha Foresight* (Tokyo), no. 8, 8 August 1996–9 September 1996, pp. 3.

"Mourning a lost immunity," *The Sunday Times* (London), 28 July 1996, p. 1.

"How to tackle the murder and mayhem: what governments can do to fight terrorism," *The Independent* (London), 19 April 1996, p. 1.

"Holy Terror: An Act of Divine Duty" *The World Today* (London), vol. 52, no. 3 (March 1996), pp. 3.

"The New Era of Terrorism," *Shinchosha Foresight* (Tokyo), no. 12, 16 December 1995–19 January 1996, pp. 5.

"American Right-Wing Extremism," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, vol. 7, no. 7 (July 1995) pp. 2.

"In America, Too, Violence All the Worse for Its Religious Pretenses," *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), 27 April 1995, pp. 2.

"Finally the Age of Religious Terrorism Has Begun: Approaching the Year 2000 the Danger Will Be Increased," *Shinchosha Foresight* (Tokyo), no. 4, 15 April–19 May 1995, pp. 3.

"Responding to Terrorism Across the Technological Spectrum," *Strategic Studies Institute Papers*, U.S. Army War College, 15 July 1994, pp. 32.

"N.Y. Bombing Bares Vulnerability," *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), 17 March 1993 (co-author).

"Saddam Hussein's Ultimate Fifth Column--Terrorists," *Los Angeles Times* Sunday Opinion section, 26 August 1990.

Right-Wing Terrorism in Germany, Research Report No. 13, Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, England, December 1986, pp. 18.

"Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe Since 1980," *Orbis*, Spring 1984, pp. 12.

Congressional Testimony (selected) and Commission Reports

"The Commission on the 9/11 Review of the FBI," U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, Science and Related Agencies, 26 March 2014.

"Jihadist Terrorism: A Threat Assessment," Homeland Security Project (successor to the "9/11 Commission"), Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, 9 September 2013 (co-author), pp. 73.

"Assessing Attacks On The Homeland: From Fort Hood To Boston," U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, 10 July 2013.

Report Of The Mayor's Blue Ribbon Panel On Airport Security: A report to Los Angeles Mayor Antonio R. Villaraigosa concerning public safety at Los Angeles International Airport (Los Angeles: Office of the Mayor, 2011), (co-author), pp. 162.

"The Future of Al Qaeda," U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Non-Proliferation and Trade, 27 May 2011.

"Assessing the Terrorist Threat," National Security Preparedness Group (successor to the "9/11 Commission", Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, 10 September 2010 (co-author), pp. 43.

"Internet Terror Recruitment And Tradecraft: How Can We Address An Evolving Tool While Protecting Free Speech," U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Intelligence, Information Sharing, and Terrorism Risk Assessment, 26 May 2010.

"Homeland Security Policymaking: HSC at a Crossroads and Presidential Study Directive 1," U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, 2 April 2009.

"The Capability of Emergency Departments and Emergency Medical Systems In The U.S. To Respond To Mass Casualty Events Resulting From Terrorist Attacks," U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, 5 May 2008.

"Using the Web as a Weapon: The Internet as a Tool for Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism," U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Intelligence, Information Sharing, and Terrorism Risk Assessment, 6 November 2007.

“Challenges for the U.S. Special Operations Command Posed by the Global Terrorist Threat: Al Qaeda on the Run or on the March?,” U.S. House of Representatives House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Unconventional Threats and Capabilities, 14 February 2007.

“Iraq: Democracy or Civil War?” U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs, and International Relations, 11 September 2006.

“Islam and the West: Searching for Common Ground: The Terrorist Threat and the Counter-Terrorism Effort,” U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 18 July 2006.

“Combating Al Qaeda and the Militant Islamic Threat,” U.S. House of Representatives House Armed Services Committee, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Unconventional Threats and Capabilities, 16 February 2006.

“Does Our Counter-Terrorism Strategy Match the Threat?” U.S. House of Representatives International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation, 29 September 29, 2005.

“Lessons of 9/11,” U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives Select Committees on Intelligence, Joint September 11, 2001 Inquiry, 8 October 2002:

“Re-thinking Terrorism in Light of a War on Terrorism,” U.S. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Subcommittee on Terrorism and Homeland Security, 26 September 2001.

“Preparing for the War on Terrorism,” U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs, and International Relations, 21 September 2001.

“Protecting American Interests Abroad: U.S. Citizens, Businesses, and Non-Governmental Organizations,” U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs, and International Relations, 3 April 3, 2001.

“Combating Terrorism: In Search of a National Strategy,” U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs, and International Relations, 27 March 2001.

Book Reviews (selected)

Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden by Peter L. Bergen, (in *The Atlantic Monthly*), 2002, pp. 2.

Terrorism with Chemical and Biological Weapons: Calibrating Risks and Responses, edited by Brad Roberts, (in *Survival*), 1998, p. 1.

Among The Thugs, by Bill Buford, 1998 (in *Terrorism and Political Violence*), pp. 2.

Diplomacy and Crisis Management in the Balkans: A U.S. Foreign Policy Perspective, by Gazmen Xhudo, 1997 (in *Jane's Intelligence Review*), p. 1.

Blood In Zion: How the Jewish Guerrillas drove the British out of Palestine, by Saul Zadka, 1997 (in *Small Wars and Insurgencies*), pp. 2.

The Age of Terrorism and the International Political System, by Adrian Guelke, 1996 (in *Intelligence and National Security*), pp. 2.

Shoot The Women First, by Eileen MacDonald, 1995, (in *The Oral History Review: The Journal of The Oral History Association*), pp. 4.

Special Operations and Elite Units, 1939–1988: A Research Guide, by Roger Beaumont, 1990 (in *Conflict Quarterly*), pp. 2.

Multidimensional Terrorism, edited by Martin Slann and Bernard Schechterman, 1988 (in *The American Political Science Review*), pp. 1.

Zionism and Arabism in Israel and Palestine in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, edited by Elie Kedourie and Sylvia Haim, 1983 (in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*), pp. 2.

RAND Corporation Reports (selected)*

The Early History of al Qaeda (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, 2011, pp. 150 (co-author).

The Victims of Terrorism: An Assessment of Their Influence and Growing Role in Policy, Legislation, and the Private Sector (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, OP-180-CTRMP, 2007), pp. 48 (co-author).

The Dynamics of Suicide Terrorism (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, MR-2468-RC, 2005), pp. 168 (co-author).

Preparing for Suicide Terrorism: A Primer for American Law Enforcement Agencies and Officers (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, TR-204-FFF, 2004), pp. 33 (co-author).

Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, OP-127-IPD & CMEPP, 2004), pp. 27.

Trends in Terrorism: Threats to the United States and the Future of the Terrorism Risk Insurance Act (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, MG-393-CTRMP, 2004), pp. 75 (co-authored).

Arms Trafficking and Colombia (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, MR-1468-OTI, 2003), pp. 85 (co-author).

Trends In Outside Support For Insurgent Movements (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, MR-1405-OTI, 2001), pp. 136 (co-author).

Security in the Nation's Capital and the Closure of Pennsylvania Avenue: An Assessment (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, MR-1293-FCCDC, 2001), pp. 67 (co-author)

*N.B. RAND reports with an "MR" "TR" "OP" or "R" prefix were peer-reviewed by at least two referees; those reports with an "N" prefix were peer-reviewed by at least one referee.

First Annual Report to the President and Congress of the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction, 15 December 1999, pp. 67 (co-author).

Countering the New Terrorism (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, MR-989-AF, 1999), pp. 153 (co-author).

Domestic Terrorism: A National Assessment of State and Local Preparedness, MR-505-NIJ, 1995, pp. 66 (co-author).

The Urbanization of Insurgency: The Potential Challenge to U.S. Army Operations, MR-398-A, 1994, pp. 30 (co-author).

"Operations Other Than War," in Paul Davis (ed.), *New Challenges for Defense Planning: Rethinking How Much Is Enough* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1994), pp. 30 (co-author).

"Aviation Security" in Richard Hilestad (ed.), *Safety Study Schiphol: A Study of the External Risk and Possible Safety Concerns*, MR-288-EAC/VW, 1993, pp. 12.

Force-on-Force Attacks: Their Implications for the Defense of U.S. Nuclear Facilities, N-3638-DOE, 1993 (co-author), pp. 48.

The RAND Chronology of International Terrorism for 1988, R-4180-RC, 1992, pp. 128 (co-author).

Defense Policy and Low-Intensity Conflict: The Development of Britain's "Small Wars" Doctrine During the 1950s, R-4015-A, 1991, pp. 41 (co-author).

The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion, 1988 and 1989, MR-225-FF, 1993, pp. 49 (co-author).

A Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, N-3506-DOS, 1992), pp. 146 (co-author).

Lessons for Contemporary Counterinsurgencies: The Rhodesian Experience (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, R-4979-A, 1991), pp. 95 (co-author).

The RAND Chronology of International Terrorism for 1987, R-3890-RC, September 1990, pp. 107 (co-author).

Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Iranian Sponsored International Terrorism, R-3783-USDP, March 1990, pp. 43.

The RAND Chronology of International Terrorism for 1986, R-3890-RC, March 1990, pp. 105 (co-author).

Insider Crimes: The Threat to Nuclear Facilities and Programs, R-3782-DOE, February 1990, pp. 53 (co-author).

British Air Power in Peripheral Conflict, 1919-1976 (Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation, R-3749-AF, October 1989), pp. 121.

Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Terrorism in the United States, R-3618, May 1988, pp. 71.

The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism: A Reassessment, N-2706, January 1988, pp. 16 (co-author).

The PLO and Israel in Central America: The Geopolitical Dimension, N-2685-RC, November 1987, pp. 41.

A Reassessment of Potential Adversaries to U.S. Nuclear Programs, R-3363-DOE, March 1986, pp. 29 (co-author).

Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Weapons Facilities, R-3351-DOE, January 1986, pp. 56.

Commando Raids, 1946-1983, N-2316-USDP, October 1985, pp. 64.

Trends in International Terrorism, 1982 and 1983, R-3183-SL, August 1984, pp. 54 (co-author).

Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe, N-1856-AF, March 1982, pp. 31.

AWARDS, ACADEMIC HONORS, AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Provost's Extraordinary Merit Award for Excellent in Scholarship, Teaching, and Service, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

William F. Podlich Distinguished Fellowship, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, California, 2016.

Harriet Buescher Lawrence '34 Prize to Connecticut College Alumni for Leadership or Inspiring Others for Good Through Direct Service, Connecticut College Alumni Association, New London, CT, June 2016.

Presented 4th Annual Vincent Briscoe Security Sciences Lecture, Imperial College, London, England, November 2013.

Presented 1st Annual Paul Wilkinson Memorial Lecture, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, St Andrews University, St Andrews, Scotland, April 2013.

Distinguished Scholar, International Security Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., 2012.

Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., 2010.

Visiting Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford University, Oxford, England, 2009.

S. Rajaratnam Visiting Professor of Strategic Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 2009.

Visiting Fellow, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Canberra, Australia, 2007.

Fellow and C. V. Starr Distinguished Visitor, American Academy of Berlin, Germany, 2006.

Honorary Degree recipient, Garfield Society, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio, 2006.

Fellow, World Economic Forum, Geneva, Switzerland, 2003–2005.

Santiago Grisolia Chair and Prize for Excellence in the Study of Violence, Queen Sofia Centre for the Study of Violence, Valencia, Spain, 1998 (first recipient of the prize and first holder of the chair).

U.S. Intelligence Community Award Medallion (highest level of award presented to a non-government employee), 1994.

Senior Visiting Associate Member, St. Antony's College, Oxford, 1987.

Visiting Scholar, Oxford Centre for Hebrew Studies, 1987.

National Foundation for Jewish Culture Doctoral Research Fellowship, 1982.

Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture Doctoral Scholarship, 1981.

Conder Junior Research Fellowship in Anglo-Zionist History, University of Oxford, 1980.

Government of Israel Scholarship for Doctoral Research, 1979.

Member, Council on Foreign Relations (New York).

MAJOR RESEARCH GRANTS

The Flora Foundation, Washington, D.C., "Primer for Law Enforcement Responses to Suicide Terrorism," (2003).

The W. Alton Jones Foundation, Charlottesville, VA, "Major Enhancement to the Program of Work Carried Out by the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence," (1997).

The Airey Neave Foundation Trust, London, England, "Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction," (1996).

National Institute of Justice, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., "Domestic Terrorism: A National Assessment of State and Local Preparedness," (1992).

The Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y., "The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion," (1988).

APPOINTMENTS and CONSULTING

2014–2015 — Commissioner (appointed by the U.S. Congress), Independent Commission to Review the FBI's Post-9/11 Response to Terrorism and Radicalization, Washington, D.C.

2013–present — Wilson Center Global Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.

2011 — Member, Mayor's Blue Ribbon Panel On Airport Security at Los Angeles International Airport (appointed by Los Angeles Mayor Antonio R. Villaraigosa).

- 2011 – 2014 — Adviser, Palantir Technologies, Inc., Palo Alto, CA.
- 2009 – Present — Adviser, National September 11 Memorial & Museum, New York, NY.
- 2009 – Present — Member, Advisory Board, FBI Intelligence Analysts Association, Washington, DC.
- 2009 – 2012 — Member, Advisory Board, Biteback Publishing (political and current affairs), London, England.
- 2008 – Present — Member, Homeland Security Program (formerly National Security Preparedness Group), Washington, D.C. (successor to the 9/11 Commission and chaired again by Governor Thomas H. Kean and Congressman Lee H. Hamilton).
- 2008 – Present — Series Editor, Columbia University Press Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare, New York, NY.
- 2008 – Present — Contributing Editor, *The National Interest*, Washington, D.C.
- 2008 – Present — Member, Board of Directors, Jamestown Foundation, Washington, D.C.
- 2007 – 2013 — Member, Advisory Board, Home Team Academy, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of Singapore, Singapore.
- 2007 – Present — Member, Advisory Board, “Our Voices Together: September 11 friends and families to help build a safer, more compassionate world,” Washington, D.C.
- 2007 – Present — Member, Advisory Board, Arms Sales Monitoring Project, Federation of American Scientists, Washington, D.C.
- 2007 – 2010 — Member, Editorial Board, *Review of International Studies* (Journal of the British International Studies Association), St Andrews, Scotland, UK.
- 2007 – 2009 — Distinguished Fellow and Senior Advisor on International Security Programs, Institute of Public and International Affairs, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- 2006 – 2012 — Member, Advisory Committee of the Terrorism and Counterterrorism Program, Human Rights Watch, New York, NY.
- 2006 — Iraq Experts Working Group (providing analytical support to the U.S. Congressionally appointed Iraq Study Group), U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, DC.
- 2006 – 2007 — Visiting Professor at the University of Sergio Arboleda, Bogota, Colombia.
- 2006 – Present — Visiting Professor at the Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel.
- 2005 – 2013 — Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.
- 2005 – Present — Visiting Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

- 2005 – 2007 — Senior Fellow, National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa, Haifa, Israel.
- 2004 – Present – Senior Fellow, Combating Terrorism Center, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York.
- 2004 – 2006 — Scholar in Residence for Counterterrorism, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C.
- 2004 – 2005 — Adviser on Counterinsurgency, Office of Strategy, Plans and Analysis, Multinational Force Headquarters, Baghdad Iraq.
- 2004 — Adviser on Counterterrorism, Office of National Security Affairs, Coalition Provisional Authority, Baghdad, Iraq.
- 2003 – 2006 — Adjunct Professor, Security Studies Program, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
- January 2002 – Present — Adjunct Instructor, U.S. State Department Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, VA.
- 2000 – Present — Member, Editorial Board, *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs* (Blackwell, Ltd., Publishers).
- 1999 – 2002 — Chairman, International Research Group on Political Violence, Washington, D.C. and London, England.
- 1998 – 2000 — Executive Director, Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Preparedness for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction (Gilmore Commission), Washington, D.C.
- 1998 — Member, Panel of Experts Convened by the Argentina National Congress, Special Bichamber Investigation Follow-Up Commission of the Attacks Against the Israeli Embassy and the A.M.I.A. Building, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- 1997 – Present — Editor-in-Chief (Associate Editor, 1991–1996), *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (Taylor and Francis, Ltd., publishers).
- 1994 – Present — Member, Editorial Board, *Terrorism and Political Violence* (Frank Cass, Ltd., publishers).
- 1994 – 2000 -- Member, Advisory Board, International Group for Research and Information on Security, Brussels, Belgium.
- 1994 – 1998 — Consultant, International Policy Department, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California.
- 1994 – 1996 — Member, Committee on Assessing the Feasibility of Applying Military Blast Mitigation Technologies to Civilian Buildings, National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, Washington, D.C.
- 1994 — Consultant, World Cup '94, The Office of the Vice President for Security, Los Angeles, California.

1993 — Member, U.S. Department of Defense International Counterterrorism Advisory Board.

1988 – 1990 — Advisory Board, The Fundamentalism Project, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Chicago, Illinois.

1987 – 1988 — Consultant, U.S. General Accounting Office, Project Evaluation, Methodology and Assessment Division.