

BARAK MENDELSON, Ph.D

Professor of Political Science

Haverford College

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Employment

2022 – Professor, Haverford College

2013 – 2022 Associate Professor, Haverford College

2007- 2013, Assistant professor, Haverford College

Education

Ph.D. Cornell University, Government, 2006.

M.A. Cornell University, Government, 2004.

M.A. Tel Aviv University, Security Studies, 1999.

B.A. Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Middle East Studies, 1992.

Books

- *Jihadism Constrained: The Limits of Transnational Jihadism and What It Means for Counter-Terrorism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019).

- *The al-Qaeda Franchise: The Expansion of al-Qaeda and Its Consequences* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

- *Combating Jihadism: American Hegemony and Interstate Cooperation in the War on Terrorism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Book Chapters

- "Terrorism and Protean Power: How Terrorists Navigate Uncertainty." In Peter Katzenstein and Lucia Seybert, eds., *Protean Power: Exploring the Uncertain and Unexpected in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 188-208.

Articles

- "Paper Tiger: The Enemy Image of America," *Survival* 65:3 (June-July 2023), 1-30. (With Dominic Tierney)
- "Justice, Inequality and Order: The Curious Case of the Jihadi Divine Justice" *International Affairs* 99:1 (2023), 81-100.
- "Casting Shadow: Founders and the Unique Challenges of a Terrorist Group's First Leadership Change," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2021), DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2021.2018903
- "The Limits of Ideologically-Unlikely Partnerships: Syria's Support for Jihadi Terrorist Groups," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 46:9 (2023).
- "Ayman al-Zawahiri and the Challenges of Succession in Terrorist Organization," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34:8 (2022), 1826-1845.
- "In Limited Demand: The Other Foreign Volunteers in the Syrian Civil War," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34:4 (2022), 682-705.
- "Why Do jihadi Groups Recruit Foreign Fighters? The Case of the Islamic State," *Orbis* 64:1 (2020), 111-130.
- "The Battle for Algeria: Explaining Organizational Fratricide Among Armed Non-State Actors," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 44:9 (2021), 776-798.
- "The Future of al-Qaeda: Lessons from the Muslim Brotherhood," *Survival* 60:2 (2018), 151-178.
- "Israel and Its Messianic Right: Path Dependency and State Authority in International Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 60:1 (2016), 47-58.
- "Threat Identification and the UN's 1267 Sanctions Committee." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27:4 (2015), 609-627.
- "State Authority in the Balance: The Israeli State and the Messianic Settler Movement." *International Studies Review* 16:4 (December 2014), 499-521.
- "U.S. Strategy in a Transitioning Middle East: Reviving 'State Responsibility'." *Orbis* 58:2 (April 2014), 198-211.
- "Al Qaeda and Global Governance: The Constraining Impact of Rigid Ideology." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26:3 (2014), 470-487.
- "God vs. Westphalia: Radical Islamist Movements and the Battle for Organizing the World." *Review of International Studies* 38 (2012), 589-613.
- "Al Qaeda's Franchising Strategy." *Survival* 53:3 (May/June 2011), 29-50.
- "Foreign Fighters: Recent Trends." *Orbis* 55:2 (Spring 2011), 189-202.

- “Bolstering the State: A Different Perspective on the War on the Jihadi Movement.” *International Studies Review* 11:4 (December 2009), 663-686.
- “Al Qaeda’s Palestinian Problem.” *Survival* 51:4 (August/September 2009), 71-86. Reprinted in Paul Cruickshank, ed., *Al Qaeda: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. 5 (Oxford: Routledge, 2012).
- “English School American Style: Testing the Preservation-Seeking Quality of the International Society.” *European Journal of International Relations* 15:2 (June 2009), 291-318.
- “Sovereignty Under Attack: The International Society Meets the al Qaeda Network.” *Review of International Studies* 31:1 (January 2005), 45-68. Reprinted in Jeffrey Haynes, ed., *Religion and Politics: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies*, Vol. 4 (Oxford: Routledge, 2009).
- “Israeli Self-Defeating Deterrence in the 1991 Gulf War.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 26:4 (December 2003), 83-107.

Additional Works

- “Review of Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler and Cas Mudde, The Israeli Settler Movement: Assessing and Explaining Social Movement Success,” *Israel Studies Review* 37:3 (2022), 164-168.
- “Al-Qaeda Is Being Hollowed to Its Core,” *War on the Rocks*, February 24, 2021 (with Colin Clarke).
- “Review of Jessie Blackburn, Danis Kayis, and Nicola McGarrity, Anti-Terrorism Law and Foreign Terrorist Fighters,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34:4 (2022), 877-878.
- “Bound to Fail: Transnational Jihadism and the Aggregation Problem,” *War on the Rocks*, August 28, 2018.
- “Review of William Polk, Crusade and Jihad.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (forthcoming).
- “Review of Richard Nielsen, Deadly Clerics.” *Middle East Journal* 72:4 (2018), 718-720.
- “Review of Marc Sageman, Misunderstanding Terrorism.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 30:5-6 (2017), 588-590.
- “Review of Nahed Artoul Zehr, The War against al-Qaeda: Religion, Policy, and Counter-narratives,” *Politics and Religion* 10:4 (2017), 927-930.
- “Deviance and Uncertainty in the International System. Review of William J. Brenner, Confounding Powers: Anarchy and International Society from the Assassins to Al Qaeda.” *International Studies Review*, 19:3 (2017), 537-539.

- "Power, Legitimacy, and the Self-Limiting Logic of Terrorism." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, February 24, 2017.
- "Al Qaeda's Ruthless Pragmatism Makes It More Dangerous Than Islamic State." *Reuters*, October 27, 2016 (with Colin Clarke).
- "It's Been 15 Years Since 9/11. How Has al-Qaeda Changed?." *The Washington Post's Monkey Cage*, September 10, 2016.
- "ISIS' Lone Wolf Threat and How the West Should Respond." *Foreign Affairs*, August 25, 2016.
- "Jihad's Civil War: The Battle Between ISIS and al Qaeda Simmers On," *Foreign Affairs*, June 16, 2016.
- "Experts Weigh In: What Is the Future of al-Qaida and the Islamic State?." *Markaz* (Brookings Institution), January 7, 2016.
- "Divide and Conquer in Syria and Iraq: Why the West Should Plan for a Partition." *Foreign Affairs*, November 30, 2015.
- "Threat Analysis and Multilateral Counterterrorism." *Lawfare* (Brookings Institution), October 4, 2015.
- "Al-Qaeda After Omar: Why His Death Could Hurt the Terrorist Group and Empower ISIS." *Foreign Affairs*, August 9, 2015.
- "The Jihadi Threat to International Order." *The Washington Post's Monkey Cage*, May 15, 2015. Reprinted in *Islam and International Order*, POMEPS Studies no. 15, July 22, 2015.
- "Islamic State in Yemen: Why IS Is Seeking to Expand," *BBC.com*, March 21, 2015.
- "Accepting al Qaeda: The Enemy of the United States' Enemy." *Foreign Affairs*, March 9, 2015.
- "Review of Jacob Shapiro, The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations." *Perspective on Politics* 12:4 (2014), 991-993.
- "ISIS' Gruesome Gamble: Why the Group Wants a Confrontation with the United States." *Foreign Affairs*, August 14, 2014. Reprinted in Gideon Rose, ed., *The ISIS Crisis* (NY: Council of Foreign Relations, 2015).
- "The Near Enemy: Why the Real Threat to Israel Isn't in Gaza." *Foreign Affairs*, July 14, 2014. Reprinted in Gideon Rose, ed., *Clueless in Gaza* (NY: Council of Foreign Relations, 2014).
- "ISIL's Bold Caliphate Roll-Out: Objectives and Risks." *War on the Rocks*, July 8, 2014.
- "Obama's Sensible Iraq Plan Is Likely Doomed." *CNN.com*, June 18, 2014.

- "Collateral Damage in Iraq: The Rise of ISIS and the Fall of al Qaeda." *Foreign Affairs*, June 15, 2014. Reprinted in Gideon Rose, ed., *Endgame in Iraq* (NY: Council of Foreign Relations, 2014); Also Reprinted in Gideon Rose, ed., *The ISIS Crisis* (NY: Council of Foreign Relations, 2015).
- "Review of Michael W.S. Ryan, Decoding Al-Qaeda's Strategy: The Deep Battle Against America." *The Middle East Journal* 68:2 (Spring 2014), 334-335.
- "After Disowning ISIS, al Qaeda is Back On Top: Here's Why That Isn't Necessarily Bad News." *Foreign Affairs*, February 14, 2014.
- "Al Qaeda's Syria Problem," *Foreign Policy's Middle East Channel*, January 23, 2014 (with Ariel Ahram).
- "Review of Wellman, James K. and Lombardi, Clark Benner, eds., Religion and Human Security: A Global Perspective." H-Diplo, H-Net Reviews, January, 2013.
www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=37128
- "The Cost of Riding the Tiger: Hamas's Road from Miscalculation to Escalation," *Geopolitics: The FPRI Blog*, November 19, 2012.
- "Hamas' Miscalculation: Why The Group Thought It Could Get Away With Striking Israel," *Foreign Affairs*, November 18, 2012. Reprinted in Gideon Rose, ed., *Clueless in Gaza* (NY: Council of Foreign Relations, 2014).
- "Same Song, Second Verse." In a symposium on ten years since 9/11, *The Journal of International Security Affairs* (Fall/Winter 2011), 31-33.
- "Review of Richard Immerman's Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz," *Political Science Quarterly* 126:3 (Fall 2011), 504-505.
- "After bin Laden." E-Notes, Philadelphia: Foreign Policy Research Institute, May 2011.
- "Teaching About Jihadism and the War on Terrorism." Footnotes 15:7, Philadelphia: Foreign Policy Research Institute, October 2010.
- "The Question of International Cooperation in the War on Terrorism." *E-Notes*, Philadelphia: Foreign Policy Research Institute, June 2010.
- "Hamas and Its Discontents: The Battle Over Islamic Rule in Gaza." *Foreign Affairs*, September 9, 2009.
- "Stretching Military Analysis to Include Asymmetric Conflict." *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 1:2 (2008), 192-194.

Under Review

- “General Guidelines for Jihad: Explaining al-Qaeda’s Code of Conduct”
- “The Future of the Jihadi Movement”

Work in Progress

- “General Guidelines for Jihad: Explaining al-Qaeda’s Code of Conduct”
- “Beyond Actor Type: Studying States Relations with Armed Nonstate Actors”
- “Double Agents: Branch Leaders and the Onset of Conflict between Al Qaeda and the Islamic State” (with Evan Perkoski)
- *Riding the Back of the Tiger* (book manuscript)
- “Terrorism Revisited”

Editorial Boards

- International Studies Quarterly
- Terrorism and Political Violence
- Studies in Conflict & Terrorism

Dissertation

- “Jihadism, International Society, and Interstate Cooperation.” Dissertation committee: Peter Katzenstein (chair), Jonathan Kirshner, Allen Carlson, and Shawkat Toorawa.

Conference Papers

- “General Guidelines for Jihad: Explaining al-Qaeda’s Code of Conduct,” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Los Angeles, August 30-September 2, 2023.
- “Intergroup Relations Across Borders” (with Evan Perkoski), Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Montreal, September 15-18, 2022.
- “Justice, Inequality and Order: The Curious Case of the Jihadi Divine Justice,” Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Nashville, March 30-April 2, 2022.
- “First Succession: The Unique Challenges of a Terrorist Group’s First Leadership Change,” Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Las Vegas, April 7-10, 2021.
- “Dancing with Jihadis: Syria’s Cooperation with al-Qaeda After 2003,” Annual meeting of the ISSS-IS. Denver: October 18-19, 2019.

- "Looking Beyond the Framework of State-Sponsored Terrorism: Understanding State Relation with Armed Nonstate Actors. Annual meeting of the ISSS-IS. Denver: October 18-19, 2019.
- "Dancing with Jihadis: Syria's Cooperation with al-Qaeda After 2003," Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Toronto, March 27-30, 2019.
- "Looking Beyond the Framework of State-Sponsored Terrorism: Understanding State Relation with Armed Nonstate Actors." Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington DC, August 28-31, 2019.
- "Dancing with Jihadis: Syria's Cooperation with al-Qaeda After 2003," Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Toronto, March 27-30, 2019.
- "Looking Beyond the Framework of State-Sponsored Terrorism: Understanding States' Relations with Armed Nonstate Actors," Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Toronto, March 27-30, 2019.
- "The Future of al-Qaeda: Lessons From the Muslim Brotherhood," Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. San Francisco, April 4-7, 2018.
- "Terrorism and Protean Power: How Terrorists Navigate Uncertainty," 11th Pan-European Conference on International Relations. Barcelona, September 13-16.
- "The Foreigner Dilemma: Explaining Variation in Foreign Fighters Recruitment in Syria and Iraq." Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Baltimore, February 22-25, 2017.
- "Terrorism and Protean Power: How Terrorists Navigate Uncertainty," Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016.
- "Terrorism and the Circulation of Power," Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Atlanta, March 16-19, 2016.
- "Why Do Armed Nonstate Groups Recruit Foreign Fighters?: The Case of the Islamic State," Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Atlanta, March 16-19, 2016.
- "The Battle for Algeria: Explaining Organizational Interaction Among Violent Non-State Actors," Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco, September 3-6, 2015.
- "Between Islamic State and Al-Qaeda Branch: The Ideational and Organizational Sources Behind Dissimilar Strategies Of Organizational Expansion." Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. New Orleans, February 18-21, 2015.
- "Al-Qaeda and the Syrian Civil War," Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.

- "Israel and Its Messianic Right: Path Dependency and State Authority in International Conflict," Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.
- "The Battle for Algeria: Explaining Organizational Interaction Among Violent Non-State Actors." Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Toronto, CA, March 26-29, 2014.
- "Dominant Violent Non-State Groups in a Competitive Environment: Insights from Israeli and Palestinian experience." Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Chicago, August 29 – September 1, 2013.
- "Israel and Its Messianic Right: Path Dependency and Intentional Domestic Sovereignty Malpractice." Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. San Francisco, April 3-6, 2013.
- "Dominant Violent Non-State Groups in a Competitive Environment: Insights from Jewish and Palestinian Cases." Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. San Francisco, April 3-6, 2013.
- "Corporate Decisions: Explaining Variation in Al Qaeda's Organizational Expansion." Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. San Diego, April 1-4, 2012.
- "Ideological Entrepreneurs and Challenged State Authority: The Israeli State and Violent Jewish Non-State Actors." Annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. Washington, D.C., December 1-4, 2011.
- "Al Qaeda and Global Governance." Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Montreal, CA, March 16-19, 2011.
- "Morphed Threat, Waning Cooperation: Institutional Adaptation and the Changing Nature of the al Qaeda Threat." Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Montreal, CA, March 16-19, 2011.
- "Riding the Back of the Tiger: Leadership Between Domestic Threats and International Pressures." Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington D.C., September 2-5, 2010.
- "Hegemony and International Society: Must There Be a Conflict?" Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. New Orleans, February 17-20, 2010.
- "Hegemony and International Society: Must There Be a Conflict?" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Toronto, CA, September 3-6, 2009.

- “Islamists Infighting: Understanding al Qaeda’s Critique of Hamas.” Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. New York, February 15-18, 2009.
- “Border Security and The War on Terrorism: An English School Account.” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Boston, August 28-31, 2008.
- “Bolstering the State: A Different Perspective on the War on the Jihadi Movement.” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Boston, August 28-31, 2008.
- “God vs. Westphalia: The Longer World War.” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Chicago, August 30-September 2, 2007.
- “God vs. Westphalia: The Longer World War.” Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Chicago, February 28-March 3, 2007.
- “American Hegemony in the Age of Terror: An Institution in the Service of the War on Terrorism.” Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. San Diego, March 22-25, 2006.
- “The War on Terrorism and Systemic Failure: A Pathway to Systemic Change.” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005.
- “Bringing the English School to America: Testing the Preservation-Seeking Quality of the International Society.” Annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Honolulu, March 1-5, 2005.
- “Spreading Jihad: From Local Jihads to a Global Jihad.” The American Academy of Religion, Eastern International Region. Ithaca, April 30-May 1, 2004.
- “Sovereignty Under Attack: The State System Meets the al Qaeda Network.” Annual meeting of The Middle East Studies Association. Anchorage, November 6-9, 2003.
- “Sovereignty Under Attack: The State System Meets the al Qaeda Network.” The Middle East & Central Asia Politics, Economics, and Society Conference. Salt Lake City, October 16-18, 2003.
- “Israeli Self-Defeating Deterrence in the Gulf War.” Annual meeting of the North-Eastern Political Science Association. Philadelphia, November 2001.

Honors, Awards and Fellowships

2021: Regional Scholar, Middle East Center at the University of Pennsylvania.

2017: Smith Richardson Foundation Grant for the Project “After the Caliphate.”

2014: Research Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School of Government.

2010: Choice Magazine's Outstanding Academic Title Award for the book "Combating Jihadis: American Hegemony and Interstate Cooperation in the War on Terrorism"

2009: Center for Globalization and Global Citizenship, Haverford College, Faculty Research Award.

2008 -2020: Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Research Institute.

2006-07: Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University.

2000: Tzechick award for the best study on Israeli Security, awarded by the Jaffa Center for Strategic Studies (INSS), for the M.A. thesis "Israeli Deterrence in the Gulf War."

1997: Excellence scholarship, the Security Studies Program, Tel Aviv University.

Teaching Experience

- *Haverford College*. Courses taught: International Politics; International Security; Evolution of the Jihadi Movement; Armed Nonstate Actors; Politics in the State System; International Relations Theory: Conflict and the Middle East; Introduction to Terrorism Studies; War on Terrorism; Israeli Politics and Society; Technology and International Security; Short of War: Deterrence and Compellence in International Politics.

- *Visiting Associate Professor, IBEI (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)*. Course taught: Terrorism and Counterterrorism

- *Instructor, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem*. Course taught: Strategy in the Middle East.

Reviewer

- *Book manuscripts*: Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Cornell University Press, Palgrave Macmillan, I.B. Tauris.

- *Journals*: American Political Science Review, International Studies Quarterly; International Security; European Journal of International Relations; Security Studies; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Review of International Studies; International Studies Review; Terrorism and Political Violence; Journal of Human Rights Practice; International Relations; Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict; Ethnic and Racial Studies; Political Science Research and Methods; Journal of Global Security Studies; Politics, Religion & Ideology; Perspectives on Terrorism; European Journal of International Security; Journal of Peace Research; International Affairs.

- *Grant proposals*: Research Grant Council of Hong Kong; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Standard Research Grants program.

- *Book Prizes*: The Peter J. Katzenstein Book Award

Summer Institute Attendance

- Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy, July 2003.
- Summer Institute in Political Psychology, July-August 2002.

Military Service

- Five years of service in the Israeli Defense Forces (left with the rank of a captain).
- Served as an analyst of international affairs and strategy (last position, a head of a desk).
- Instructor in advanced courses for intelligence officer cadets (focusing on political analysis).