JIHADISM, INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, AND INTERSTATE COOPERATION

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Why do states meet some terrorist threats through a collective effort, whereas at other times they respond separately, selecting from a variety of strategies? This dissertation advances an English School explanation arguing that the nature of the threat -- systemic or non-systemic -- posed by the terrorist entity accounts for the manner states respond: when a terrorist entity poses a threat only to the sovereignty and interests of specific states, countries will choose their policies from a range of available strategies. Interstate cooperation will be only one such option and, if taken, it is expected to be limited. However, when the terrorist challenge represents a threat to the existence of the state system, the members of the international society, under the leadership of its strongest powers, are expected to engage in a collective response at a level atypical of "normal politics." I test this theory using case studies, the prominent of which concerns the response to the al Qaeda-led jihadi movement.

The jihadis' ideology, their attitude toward the fundamental principles and institutions of the international society, and approach to the use of weapons of mass destruction, render the global jihadi movement a threat to the international society. The nature of this threat became evident subsequent to 9/11 and led the international society, under the leadership of the American hegemony, to collectively rise to defend the state-based system. This collective action confirms and seeks to strengthen the primacy of the state in world politics. It relies on the principles of state sovereignty, states' mutual
obligations, building state capacity and interstate cooperation, to fend off the jihadi threat while reinvigorating the international society. The operation of these four principles can be observed in the anti-terrorism financing regime, and the regime to deny non-state actors access to weapons of mass destruction. Together they are contributing to the creation of a worldwide infrastructure to combat the terrorist threat. This study also raises questions about state and religious logics as competing organizing principles for international relations, the role of hegemony in providing collective goods and U.S. foreign policies.
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Barak Mendelsohn was born in Netanya, Israel, in 1971. He attended the Hebrew University in Jerusalem where he obtained an BA in Middle East Studies. Upon his graduation Barak joined the Israeli Defense Forces and served for over four years before leaving the forces with the rank of a captain. Parallel to his military service, Barak continued his studies at Tel Aviv University where he obtained an MA degree from the Security Studies program. His MA thesis, "The Israeli Deterrence in the Gulf War" earned him the 2000 Chechik Prize from the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies.

In the fall of 2000 Barak arrived in Ithaca, NY, and started the PhD program in the Department of Government at Cornell University. The 9/11 attack motivated Barak to deepen his knowledge about Islamic movements and, in particular, the global jihadi movement. This interest then led Barak to focus his doctoral research on the jihadi movement and states' counterterrorism policies. In the summer of 2004 Barak left Ithaca and moved to Washington, DC where he joined the Cornell in Washington program. Barak dedicated the following two years to tutoring Cornell students in the public policy program and to extensive work on this dissertation.
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Throughout each stage of my life I was fortunate to encounter numerous people that inspired me, encouraged my curiosity, instilled values of hard work, and believed in me and my ability to always do better. I am indebted to all of them and promise not to stop pushing forward.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ABM – Anti-Ballistic Missiles
APG - The Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering
ASEAN - The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASG - Abu Sayyaf Group
BSO – Black September Organization
BWC – Biological Weapons Convention
CD – Conference on Disarmament
CFATF - The Caribbean Financial Action Task Force
CSI - Container Security Initiative
CTAG - Counter-Terrorism Action Group
CTBT – Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CTC - Counter Terrorism Committee
CTED - Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate
CWC - Chemical Weapons Convention
DI – Darul Islam
DNFBP - Designated Non-Financial Businesses and Professionals
EAG - The Eurasian Group
ESAAMLG - The Eastern and Southern African Anti-Money-Laundering Group
FATF - Financial Action Task Force
FIS - Islamic Salvation Front
FIU - Financial Intelligence Unit
FMCT - Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty
FSRB - FATF style regional bodies
GABAC - Action Group against Money Laundering in Africa
GAFISUD - South American Financial Action Task Force
GIA - Armed Islamic Group
GIABA - The Intergovernmental Group of Action against Money Laundering in West Africa
IAEA - International Atomic Energy Agency
ICG – International Crisis Group
ISM CT-TC - Intersessional Meeting on Counterterrorism and Transnational Crime
JI - Jemaah Islamiyah
KMM - Kampulan Mujahidin Malaysia
MAK - The Services’ Office
MENAFATF - Middle East and North Africa Financial Action Task Force
MILF - Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MMI - Mujahidin Council of Indonesia
NPT - Non-Proliferation Treaty
PFLP - Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLO - Organization for the Liberation of Palestine
PNC – Palestinian National Council
PSI – Proliferation Security Initiative
SAFTI - Secure and Facilitated International Travel Initiative
SEA-CAT - Southeast Asia Cooperation Against Terrorism
SP – Shining Path
UAE - United Arab Emirates
WMD - Weapons of Mass Destruction