

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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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