Understanding continuity and change in US counterterrorism policy through policymaker profiles
Gallo, A.M.

Citation
Gallo, A. M. (2024, February 27). *Understanding continuity and change in US counterterrorism policy through policymaker profiles*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3729823

13 BIBLIOGRAPHY

"About the Fed," *Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System*.

Abbott, J. (2005). Understanding and Managing the Unknown. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 24*(3), 237-251.

Abrahms, M. (2011). Does terrorism really work? Evolution in the conventional wisdom since 9/11. *Defence and Peace Economics*, *22*(6), 583-594.

Abrahms, M. (2008). What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy. *International Security, 32*(4), 78-105.

Abrahms, M. (2007) "Why Democracies Make Superior Counterterrorists," *Security Studies*, 16(2): 223–53.

Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31(2): 42–78.

Abrams, Dominic, Vasiljevic, Milica, and Wardrop, Hazel M. (2012). Prejudice reduction, collective action, and then what? *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 35*(6), 425-426.

Ackerman, Spencer. "Obama Announces Plan to Keep 9,800 US Troops in Afghanistan after 2014," *The Guardian*, May 27, 2014.

Ackerman, Spencer. "Obama Uses Bin Laden Death to (Kind of) End Afghan War," *Wired*, May 1, 2012.

Ackerman, Spencer "Trump appoints HR McMaster as National Security Advisor," *The Guardian*, February 20, 2017.

Ackerman, D. M., Grimmett, R. F., American Law Division, & Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division. (2003, January). Declarations of War and Authorizations for the Use of Military Force: Historical Background and Legal Implications. *Congressional Research Service*, the Library of Congress.

Ackerman, Pilkington, Jacobs, Borger, Juilian. "Syria missile strikes: US launches first direct military action against Assad," *The Guardian*, April 17, 2017.

Ackerman, Spencer and Roberts, Dan. "Obama Orders Pentagon to Prepare for Full Troop Withdrawal from Afghanistan," The Guardian, February 25, 2014.

"Agreement for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan between the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan which is not recognized by the United States as a state and is known as the Taliban and the United States of America," *US Department of State*, February 29, 2020.

"Afghan conflict: US and Taliban sign deal to end 18-year war," *BBC*, February 29, 2020.

"Afghanistan: Who originally supported Trump's deal with the Taliban?" *BBC*, August 19, 2021.

Aghion, P., Fehr, E., Holden, R., & Wilkening, T. (2018). The role of bounded rationality and imperfect information in subgame perfect implementation—an empirical investigation. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, *16*(1), 232-274.

Ahrari, M. E. (1987). A Paradigm of 'Crisis' Decision Making: The Case of Synfuels Policy. *British Journal of Political Science, 17*(1), 71-91.

Ajduković, D., Kimhi, S., & Lahad, M. (2015). *Resiliency: Enhancing coping with crisis and terrorism*(NATO science for peace and security series. E, Human and societal dynamics; Volume 119).

Akhgar, B., Yates, B., & Yates, Simeon. (2013). *Strategic intelligence management national security imperatives and information and communications technologies* (1st ed.). Boston: Elsevier.

Alba-Juez, Laura. (2021). Fast and slow thinking as secret agents behind speakers' (un)conscious pragmatic decisions and judgements. *Journal of Pragmatics, 179*, 70-76.

Allport, D. A. (1980). Patterns and actions: Cognitive mechanisms are content specific. In G. Claxton (Ed.), Cognitive psychology: New directions (pp. 26–64). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Altheide, David L. (2006). Terrorism and the Politics of Fear. *Cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies*, *6*(4), 415-439.

Alesina, Alberto. "Credibility and Policy Convergence in a Two-Party System with Rational Voters." The American Economic Review 78, no. 4 (1988): 796-805.

Allen, Mike. "Obama calls for Wall Street crackdown," *Politico*, September 16, 2008.

Allison, G. T. (1969). Conceptual models and the Cuban missile crisis. *The American Political Science Review*, *63*(3), 689-718.

Allison, Graham and Zelikow, Philip. (1999). *Essence of decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (2nd ed.). New York [etc.]: Longman.

"American Deaths in Terrorist Attacks," *START at University of Maryland*, October 2015.

"Ambush in Mogadishu," *PBS Frontline*.

Anderson, B. (2011). Facing the Future Enemy. *Theory, Culture & Society, 28*(7-8), 216-240.

Anderson, J. (2002). *Public Policymaking: An introduction* (5th ed.). Boston [etc.]: Houghton Mifflin.

Anderton, Charles H. and Carter, John R. (2005). On rational choice theory and the study of terrorism. *Defence and Peace Economics*, *16*(4), 275-282.

Ansell, Christopher, & Bartenberger, Martin. (2020). Pragmatism and political crisis management—Principle and practical rationality during the financial crisis. *European Policy Analysis, 6*(1), 119.

Ansell, Chris, & Boin, Arjen. (2017). Taming Deep Uncertainty: The Potential of Pragmatist Principles for Understanding and Improving Strategic Crisis Management. *Administration & Society, 51*(7), 1079-1112.

Anyebe, A. A. (2018). An overview of approaches to the study of public policy. *International Journal of Political Science*, *4*(1), 8-17.

Arregu͘ın-Toft, Ivan. 2001. "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict." *International Security* 26(1): 93–128.

Art, R. J. (1973). Bureaucratic politics and American foreign policy: A critique. *Policy Sciences*, 467-490.

Aversano, Natalia, Vela, José Manuel, Citro, Francesca, Calkins, Martin, Pressley, Cindy L, Koven, Steven G (2018). Counterterrorism and Community Resilience. In *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance* (pp. 1213-1217). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Auerhahn, K. (1999). Selective incapacitation and the problem of prediction. Criminology, 37(4), 703-734.

Baccini, L., Brodeur, A., & Weymouth, S. (2021). The COVID-19 pandemic and the 2020 US presidential election. *Journal of Population Economics*, *34*(2), 739-767.

Badey, T. J. (2006). US counterterrorism: Change in approach, continuity in policy. *Contemporary Security Policy, 27*(2), 308-324.

Badke-Schaub, P. and Eris, O. 2014 A theoretical approach to intuition in design: Does design methodology need to account for unconscious processes? In *An Anthology of Theories and Models of Design* (ed. Chakrabarti, A. & Blessing, L. T. M.), pp. 353–370. Springer.

Baker, David. "Obama's War Over Terror," *New York Times*, January 4, 2010.

Baker III, J. A., Hamilton, L. H., & Iraq Study Group. (2006). *The Iraq study group report*. Vintage.

Baker, P., Mashal, M., & Crowley, M. (2019). How Trump's Plan to Secretly Meet with the Taliban Came Together, and Fell Apart. *The New York Times*, *8*(09).

Ball, Gregory. "1991 - Operation Provide Comfort and Northern Watch," Air Force Historical Support Division, September 18, 2012.

"Barack Obama announces total withdrawal of US troops from Iraq," *The Guardian*, October 21, 2011.

Barry, John. "Obama Admin Leak of McChrystal Report," *Newsweek*, September 21, 2009.

Bartenberger, M. (2017). *Political pragmatism and principles in times of crisis*.

Barnes, Julian E. and Lubold, Gordon. "McMaster Gives Glimpse of New U.S. National Security Strategy," *Wall Street Journal*, December 3, 2017.

Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat. (1748) *De l'Esprit des Loix.*

Bartholomees, J. (2012). U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues. Volume 2. National Security Policy and Strategy. *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues. Volume 2. National Security Policy and Strategy*.

Bartlett, Henry C., G. Paul Holman, and Timothy E. Somes. "The Art of Strategy and Force Planning." *Naval War College Review* 48, no. 2 (1995): 114-26.

Bartali, R. (2007). Red Brigades (1969–1974): An Italian phenomenon and a product of the Cold War. *Modern Italy*, *12*(3), 349-369.

Baumgartner, Frank R. and Jones, Bryan D. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

Beach, D. (2017). Process tracing methods in the social sciences. In *Oxford research encyclopedia of politics*.

Beauchamp, Zack. "Donald Trump said he'd kill terrorists' families at a rally. His crowd went wild." *Vox*, January 25, 2016.

Beck, U., & Ritter, M. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity* (Theory, culture & society 065778391). London [etc.]: Sage.

"Beirut Marine Barracks Bombing Fast Facts," *CNN*, October 18, 2017.

"Benghazi Attack Timeline," *CNN*, October 21, 2015.

Benjamin, Daniel. "Is Trump Fighting Terrorism?" *Politico*, June 4, 2017.

Bennett, C. J. (1988). Different processes, one result: The convergence of data protection policy in Europe and the United States. *Governance*, *1*(4), 415-441.

Bennett, C.J. (1991). "Review Article: What Is Policy Convergence and What Causes It?" British Journal of Political Science, 21: 215–33.

Bennett, James. "U.S. Cruise Missiles Strike Sudan and Afghan Targets Tied to Terrorist Network," New York Times, August 21, 1998.

Benson, Pam. "New president faces increased risk of conflict, intel chief says," *CNN*, November 5, 2008.

Beckwith, Ryan Teague. "Read Donald Trump's 'America First' Foreign Policy Speech," *Time,* April 27, 2016.

Berger, J. (2015). The Metronome of Apocalyptic Time. *Perspectives on Terrorism (Lowell), 9*(4), 61-71.

Bethards, M. L. (2014). Applying Social Learning Theory to the Observer Role in Simulation. *Clinical Simulation in Nursing, 10*(2), E65-E69.

"Biden: Bin Laden is Dead, GM Alive," *CNBC*, April 26, 2012.

Biegon, R. and Watts, T. F. (2020). When ends Trump means: continuity versus change in US counterterrorism policy. *Global Affairs*, *6*(1), 37-53.

Birkland, Thomas A. (2004). "The World Changed Today: Agenda-Setting and Policy Change in the Wake of the September 11 Attacks." Review of Policy and Research 21.2, 179-200.

Birkland, T.A. (2005). An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making. London: M.E. Sharpe.

Birkland, T.A. (2006). Lessons of Disaster: Policy Change after Catastrophic Events. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Bisone, F. (2000). Killing a Fly with a Cannon: The American Response to the Embassy Attacks. *NYL Sch. J. Int'l & Comp. L.*, *20*, 93.

Bjørgo, T. (2005). *Root Causes of Terrorism*. London: Routledge.

Black, Ian. "Barack Obama, the Arab Spring, and a Series of Unforseen Events," *The Guardian*, October 21, 2012.

Blair, G., Christine Fair, C., Malhotra, N., & Shapiro, J. N. (2013). Poverty and support for militant politics: Evidence from Pakistan. *American Journal of Political Science*, *57*(1), 30-48.

Blanchard, Christopher and Humud, Carla. "The Islamic State and US Policy," *Congressional Research Service*, September 25, 2018.

Bohan, Caren. "McCain and Obama clash over strategy in Iraq, *Reuters*, July 14, 2008.

Bohn, M. (2016). *Presidents in crisis: Tough decisions inside the White House from Truman to Obama*. Skyhorse Publishing, Inc.

Boin, Arjen, & 't Hart, Paul. (2003). Public Leadership in Times of Crisis: Mission Impossible? *Public Administration Review, 63*(5), 544-553.

Boin, Arjen, 't Hart, Paul, Stern, Eric, & Sundelius, Bengt. (2005). *The Politics of Crisis Management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boin, A., and Lagadec, P. (2000). Preparing for the future: Critical challenges in crisis management. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, *8*, 185-191.

Bogner, A., Littig, B. and Menz, W. (2009). *Interviewing experts*. Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bose, M. (2019). Appraising the foreign policy legacy of the Obama presidency. In *Looking Back on President Barack Obama's Legacy* (pp. 93-113). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Bosso, Christopher J. (1994). Agendas and Instability in American Politics. By Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. 289p. *The American Political Science Review, 88*(3), 752-753.

Boudon, Raymond. (2003). Beyond Rational Choice Theory. *Annual Review of Sociology, 29*(1), 1-21.

Boudon, R. (1998). Limitations of Rational Choice Theory. American Journal of Sociology, 104(3), 817–828.

Bowler, P. J. (1975). The Changing Meaning of "Evolution." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 36(1), 95-114.

Bowman, Tom. "As the Iraq War Ends, Reassessing The U.S. Surge," *National Public Radio*, December 16, 2011.

Boyle, M. J. (2010). Do counterterrorism and counterinsurgency go together? *International Affairs (London), 86*(2), 333-353.

Braithwaite, A. (2013). The Logic of Public Fear in Terrorism and Counterterrorism. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology, 28*(2), 95-101.

Brand, Matthew. "General McChrystal's Strategic Assessment," *Air University and Air Research Institute*, July 2011.

Braniff, William. (2015) Testimony to the House Armed Services Committee: "What is the State of Islamic Extremism: Key Trends, Challenges and Implications for U.S. Policy."

Braniff, William. "Recasting and Repositioning CVE as a Grand Strategic Response to Terrorism," START, November 14, 2017.

Brennan, David. "Donald Trump Blames Obama, Bush, Clinton for China Deficit: 'They Created a Monster,'" *Newsweek*, May 20, 2019.

Breslow, Jason M. "Nada Bakos: How Zarqawi went from 'thug' to ISIS founder," *Frontline*, May 17, 2016.

Brim, O., Glass, D., Lavin, D., and Goodman, N. (1962). *Personality and Decision Processes: Studies in the Social Psychology of Thinking*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.

Brockhoff, Krieger, and Meierrieks, Daniel. (2015). Great Expectations and Hard Times: The (Nontrivial) Impact of Education on Domestic Terrorism. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 59*(7), 1186-1215.

Broder David S. and Balz, Dan. "How Common Ground of 9/11 Gave Way to Partisan Split," *The Washington Post*, July 16, 2006.

Bromley, D. W. (1990). The ideology of efficiency: searching for a theory of policy analysis. Journal of environmental economics and management, 19(1), 86-107.

Brooks, Rosa. "U.S. Counterterrorism Strategy Is the Definition of Insanity, *Foreign Policy*, June 24, 2015.

Brown, V. and Rassler, D. (2013). *Fountainhead of Jihad: The Haqqani Nexus, 1973-2012*. Oxford University Press.

Browne, Ryan. "Top US general pushes back at national security adviser's troop withdrawal announcement," *CNN*, October 12, 2020.

Broz, J. L. (2018). *The international origins of the Federal Reserve System*. Cornell University Press.

Bures, O. (2006). EU Counterterrorism Policy: A Paper Tiger? *Terrorism and Political Violence, 18*(1), 57-78.

Burkhauser, R. V., & Lillard, D. R. (2005). The contribution and potential of data harmonization for cross-national comparative research. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, *7*(4), 313-330.

Busch, Per-olof, and Jörgens, Helge. (2005). The international sources of policy convergence: Explaining the spread of environmental policy innovations. *Journal of European Public Policy, 12*(5), 860-884.

"Bush chooses, again, to go it alone in Iraq," *Denver Post*, January 10, 2007.

"Bush picks new commanders for Iraq," *Reuters*, January 21, 2007.

"Bush: Stay the Course on Terror War," *CNN*, May 6, 2004.

Bush versus Kerry At a Glance," *MSNBC*, March 4, 2004.

Byman, D. (2015). *Al Qaeda, the Islamic state, and the Global Jihadist Movement: What everyone needs to know*. What Everyone Needs to Know, 2015.

Byman, D. (2017). US counterterrorism intelligence cooperation with the developing world and its limits. *Intelligence and National Security, 32*(2), 145-160.

Byman, Daniel, 'Counterterrorism Strategies', in Erica Chenoweth and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, Oxford Handbooks (2019; online edn, Oxford Academic, 4 Apr. 2019).

Byman, Daniel, & McCants, Will. (2017). Fight or Flight: How to Avoid a Forever War against Jihadists. *The Washington Quarterly, 40*(2), 67-77.

Byman, D. L., & Pollack, K. M. (2008). *Things fall apart: Containing the spillover from an Iraqi civil war*. Brookings Institution Press.

Cadsby, T. (2014). *Closing the mind gap: Making smarter decisions in a hypercomplex world*. BPS Books.

Cameron, Charles M. and Rosendorff, Peter B. (1991) "Signaling Theory of Congressional Oversight." *Games and Economic Behavior*, 5: 44-70.

Canby, S. (1985). American strategy-The ends-means mismatch: A performance gap? *The RUSI Journal, 130*(3), 19-21.

Caplan, Bryan (2006). Terrorism: The relevance of the rational choice model. *Public Choice*, *128*(1-2), 91-107.

Carley, M. (2013). Rational techniques in policy analysis: Policy studies institute. Elsevier.

Caroll, Joseph. "Economy, Terrorism Top Issues in 2004 Election Vote," *Gallop*, September 25, 2003.

Carothers, T. (2003). Promoting democracy and fighting terror. *Foreign Affairs*, *82*, 84.

Carr, Caleb. 2002. *Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare against Civilians*. New York: Random House.

Carstensen, M. B. (2017). Institutional bricolage in times of crisis. *European Political Science Review, 9*(1), 139-160.

Cassell, C., and Bishop, V. (2019). Qualitative data analysis: Exploring themes, metaphors and stories. *European Management Review*, *16*(1), 195-207.

Castles, F.G. and C. Pierson (1996). "A New Convergence? Recent Policy Developments in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand." *Policy & Politics*, 24: 233–45.

Chandrasekaran, Rajiv. "Civilian analysts gained Petraeus's ear while he was commander in Afghanistan," *The Washington Post*, December 18, 2012.

Cherney, Adrian, & Murphy, Kristina. (2017). Support for Terrorism: The Role of Beliefs in Jihad and Institutional Responses to Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 31*(5), 1049-1069.

Chesney, Robert M. "Beyond the Battlefield, Beyond Al Qaeda: The Destabilizing Legal Architecture of Counterterrorism," *Michigan Law Review* 112(2) (2013), p.171.

Child, D. (2006). *The essentials of factor analysis* (3rd ed.). London [etc.]: Continuum.

Chimahusky, R. (2008). Developing effective counterterrorism strategy: Coercion vs. conciliation.

Chollet, D. (2016). *The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined Americas Role in the World*. Public Affairs.

Chowdhury, Arjun, & Fitzsimmons, Scott. (2013). Effective but inefficient: Understanding the costs of counterterrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism, 6*(3), 447-456.

Chowdhury, Arjun, and Krebs, Ronald R. (2009). Making and Mobilizing Moderates: Rhetorical Strategy, Political Networks, and Counterterrorism. *Security Studies, 18*(3), 371-399.

Chulov, Martin. "ISIS Insurgents Seize Control of Iraqi City of Mosul," *Guardian*, June 10, 2014.

"Civic Online Reasoning: Teaching Lateral Reading," *Stanford*.

Clarke, L. (1999). *Mission improbable: Using fantasy documents to tame disaster*.
Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Cline, Seth. "The 1993 World Trade Center Bombing: A New Threat Emerges," US News and World Report, February 26, 2013.

Cobiella, Kelly, Jaber, Ziad, and Ing, Nancy. "Historic Bataclan terror attack trial begins in Paris," *NBC News*, September 8, 2021.

Cohen, Tom. "Romney, Republicans increase attacks on Obama," *CNN*, September 14, 2012.

Cohen, Zachery. "Inside the dramatic US military raid that killed ISIS leader Baghdadi," *CNN*, October 28, 2019.

Coleman, William D. and Grant, Wyn P. (1998). "Policy Convergence and Policy Feedback: Agricultural Finance Policies in a Globalizing Era." *European Journal of Political Research*, 34: 225 – 247.

Coll, Steve. "US-Taliban Talks," *New Yorker*, February 17, 2011.

Comrey, A., & Lee, H. (1992). *A first course in factor analysis* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, N.J. [etc.]: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Congress.Gov, (2017). *Constitution Annotated*.

Congress.Gov, (2017). *Federalist Papers.*

Constable, Pamela. "The Taliban has successfully built a parallel state in many parts of Afghanistan, report says," *Washington Post*, June 21, 2018

Cordero R (2014) Crisis and critique in Ju̇rgen Habermas's social theory. European Journal of Social Theory 17(4): 497–515

Cordero, Rodrigo, Mascareño, Aldo, & Chernilo, Daniel. (2017). On the reflexivity of crises. *European Journal of Social Theory, 20*(4), 511-530.

Cordesman, A.H. "The Afghan War at the end of 2009 – Why the war is at a crisis stage," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, January 4, 2010.

Cordesman, A. H. (2004). The Developing Iraqi Insurgency: Status at End-2004. *Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies Publishers*, *22*.

Corera, Gordon. "Bin Laden's Tora Bora Escape, Just Months after 9/11," BBC, July 21, 2011.

Corum, J. S. (2007). Rethinking US Army Counter-insurgency Doctrine. *Contemporary Security Policy, 28*(1), 127-142.

Costello, T. W. (1970). Psychological Aspects: The Soft Side of Policy Formation. *Policy Sciences, 1*(2), 161-168.

Crawford, N. C. (2003). Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War. *Perspectives on Politics, 1*(1), 5-25.

Crenshaw, Martha. (2001). Counterterrorism Policy and the Political Process. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 24*(5), 329-337.

Crenshaw, Martha. (1991) How terrorism declines, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3:1, 69-87.

Crenshaw, Martha (1981). The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics,13*(4), 379-399.

Crenshaw M. (2008) The Debate over "New" vs. "Old" Terrorism. In: Karawan I.A., McCormack W., Reynolds S.E. (eds) Values and Violence. Studies in Global Justice, vol 4. Springer, Dordrecht.

Crenshaw Martha (2000). The psychology of terrorism: An agenda for the 21st century. *Political psychology*, *21*(2), 405-420.

Crenshaw, Martha. (2007). The logic of terrorism. *Terrorism in perspective*, *24*, 24-33.

Crenshaw, M. (2001). Why America? The globalization of civil war. *CURRENT HISTORY-NEW YORK THEN PHILADELPHIA-*, *100*, 425-432.

Cress, Ulrike, & Kimmerle, Joachim. (2008). A systemic and cognitive view on collaborative knowledge building with wikis. *International Journal of Computer-supported Collaborative Learning, 3*(2), 105-122.

Cronin, A. K. (2006). How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups. *International Security, 31*(1), 7-48.

Cronin, A. K. (2012). U.S. Grand Strategy and Counterterrorism. *Orbis (Philadelphia), 56*(2), 192-214.

Crowley, Michael. "How the Fate of One Holy Site Could Plunge Iraq Back into Civil War," *Time*, June 6, 2014.

Cukier, K., Mayer-Schönberger, V., & de Véricourt, F. (2022). *Framers: Human advantage in an age of technology and turmoil*. Penguin.

Cummings, Mike. "Polarization in U.S. politics starts with weak political parties," *Yale News*, November 17, 2020.

Cupp, S.E.. "Under Donald Trump, Drone Strikes Far Exceed Obama Numbers," *Chicago Sun Times,* May 8, 2019.

Daadler and Lindsay, James. "Bush's Foreign Policy Revolution: A Radical Change," *Brookings Institution*, September 26, 2004

Dalacoura, K. (2005). US democracy promotion in the Arab Middle East since 11 September 2001: a critique. *International affairs*, *81*(5), 963-979.

Darley, J. (1998). Trust in Organizations: Frontiers of Theory and Research. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 8*(2), 319-335.

Davis, Susan. "Trump attacks Obama as 'the founder of ISIS,'" *National Public Radio*, August 11, 2016.

Davis, Paul K., Cragin, Kim, Noricks, Darcy, Helmus, Todd C, Paul, Christopher, & Berrebi, Claude. (2009). *Social Science for Counterterrorism*. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

Davis, Paul K. and Jenkins, Brian Michael. "Deterrence and Influence in Counterterrorism: A component in the War on al-Qaeda (Santa Manica, CA: RAND, 2002).

Davison, John and Said, Rodi, "Islamic State defeated in its Syrian capital Raqqa," *Reuters*, October 17, 2017.

Dechesne, M. (2015). Radicalization and Mass Violence from a Beckerian Perspective: Conceptual and Empirical Considerations. *Journal for Deradicalization*, (3), 149-177.

Dechesne, M., and Kruglanski, A. W. (2004). Terror's Epistemic Consequences: Existential Threat and the Quest for Certainty and Closure.

Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. (2002). *Deterrence and Influence in Counterterrorism* (1st ed.). Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

"Defense Strategic Guidance," *US Department of Defense*, 2012.

De Groot, A. D. (2014). Thought and choice in chess. In *Thought and Choice in Chess*. De Gruyter Mouton.

Della Porta, Donatella. (2013). *Clandestine political violence*. Cambridge University Press.

Delman, Edward. "Obama Promised to End America's Wars—Has He?" *The Atlantic*, March 30, 2016.

De Mesquita, E. B. (2005). Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence. *International Organization, 59*(1), 145-176.

DePetris, Daniel. "The War on Terror's Total Cost: $5,900,000,000,000," January 12, 2019.

"Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations," *United States Department of State*.

Dewey, J. (1896). The reflex arc concept in psychology. *Psychological Review*, *3*, 357-370.

Diamond, Jeremy. "Trump administration unveils new counterterrorism strategy," *CNN*, October 4, 2018.

Dickerson, John. "What Trump Should Have Learned From His Predecessors," *The Atlantic*, July/August 2020.

DiMaggio, P.J. (1982). "The Structure of Organizational Fields: An Analytical Approach and Policy Implications." SUNY-Albany Conference on Organizational Henry and Public Policy.

DiMaggio, P.J. and W.W. Powell (1983). "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," American Sociological Review, 48: 147 - 160.

Dixon, John, Durrheim, Kevin, Tredoux, Colin, Tropp, Linda, Clack, Beverley, & Eaton, Liberty. (2010). A Paradox of Integration? Interracial Contact, Prejudice Reduction, and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination. *Journal of Social Issues, 66*(2), 401-416.

Dixon, P. (2009). 'Hearts and minds'? British counterinsurgency from Malaya to Iraq. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *32*(3), 353-381.

Dobbins, J. (2009). *Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan* (No. RAND-CT-318). Rand Corp Santa Monica, CA.

Dodwell, Brian and Ness, Marielle. "A View From the CT Foxhole: An Interview With Captain Robert A. Newson, Military Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, *CTC Sentinel*, February 2015, Volume 8, Issue 2.

Doorn, M. van, Scheepers, P.L.H, & Dagevos, J.M. (2013). Explaining the integration paradox among small immigrant groups in the Netherlands. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 14*(2), 381-400.

Downs, A. (1972). "Up and Down with Ecology: The Issue Attention Cycle." The Public Interest, 28, 38–50.

Dreistadt, R. (1968). An analysis of the use of analogies and metaphors in science. *The Journal of Psychology*, *68*(1), 97-116.

Drezner, D. W. (2001). Globalization and Policy Convergence. *International Studies Review, 3*(1), 53-78.

Drezner, D. W. (2005). Globalization, harmonization, and competition: The different pathways to policy convergence. *Journal of European Public Policy, 12*(5), 841-859.

"Drone Strikes, Pakistan," *New America Foundation*.

Dror, Y. (1968). *Public policymaking reexamined* (Chandler publications in political science 842408657). San Francisco, CA: Chandler.

"Dr. Robert M. Gates, Former Secretary of Defense," *Department of Defense*.

Dugas, M., Bélanger, J. J., Moyano, M., Schumpe, B. M., Kruglanski, A. W., Gelfand, M. J., ... & Nociti, N. (2016). The quest for significance motivates self-sacrifice. *Motivation Science*, *2*(1), 15.

Dugas, M. and Kruglanski, A. W. (2014). The quest for significance model of radicalization: Implications for the management of terrorist detainees. *Behavioral sciences & the law*, *32*(3), 423-439.

Dunmire, P. L. (2009). 9/11 changed everything': an intertextual analysis of the Bush Doctrine. *Discourse & Society*, *20*(2), 195-222.

Dunn, W. (2008). *Public policy analysis: An introduction* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson/Prentice Hall.

Duyvesteyn, I. (2004). How new is the new terrorism?. *Studies in conflict & terrorism*, *27*(5), 439-454.

Duyvesteyn, Isabelle, & Schuurman, Bart. (2011). The Paradoxes of Negotiating with Terrorist and Insurgent Organizations. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 39*(4), 677-692.

Dye, Thomas R. (1972) *Understanding Public Policy* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall).

Eatedali, A. (2011). *Counterterrorism Strategies*. Herndon: University of Nebraska Press.

Edlin, Arron, Gelman, Andrew and Kaplan, Noah (2007). Voting as a rational choice: Why and how people vote to improve the well-being of others. *Rationality and society*, *19*(3), 293-314.

Eikenberry, K. W. (2013). The Limits of Counterinsurgency Doctrine in Afghanistan: The Other Side of the COIN. *Foreign Affairs (New York, N.Y.), 92*(5), 59-74.

Eisenmann, Thomas R. and Ries, Eric and Dillard, Sarah, Hypothesis-Driven Entrepreneurship: The Lean Startup (March 9, 2012). *Harvard Business School Entrepreneurial Management Case* No. 812-095.

"Election 2012," *New York Times*.

Ellis, Fantz, Karimi, and McLaughlin, Eliott C. "Orlando Shooting: 49 Killed, Shooter Pledged ISIS Allegiance," *CNN*, June 13, 2016.

El-Shibiny, M. (2010). The Ignition of Civil War in Iraq. In *Iraq* (pp. 123-134). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

"Embassy Bombings and Air Strikes against Afghanistan and Sudan," *Clinton Digital Library, National Archives*; available from https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/items/show/36094.

Engel and Loanes, Ellen. "What Happened on 9/11, 19 Years Ago," *Business Insider*, September 10, 2020.

Egnell, R. (2010). Winning 'hearts and minds'? A critical analysis of counter-insurgency operations in Afghanistan. *Civil Wars*, *12*(3), 282-303.

Enemark, C. (2011). Drones over Pakistan: Secrecy, Ethics, and Counterinsurgency. *Asian Security (Philadelphia, Pa.), 7*(3), 218-237.

Epstein, S. B., & Rosen, L. W. (2018). US Security Assistance and Security Cooperation Programs: Overview of Funding Trends. *Congressional Research Service*.

Entous, Adam and Devlin Barrett. "Emails in Clinton Probe Dealt with Planned Drone Strikes," *Wall Street Journal*, June 9, 2016.

Erickson, Loertscher, Lane, Erickson, Paul. "Twenty Years after the USS Cole Attack: The Search for Justice," October 2002, Volume 13, Issue 10.

Evans, A. T., and Potter, A. B. (2019). When Do Leaders Change Course? Theories of Success and the American Withdrawal from Beirut, 1983–1984 (February 2019). *Texas National Security Review*.

Evans, J. St. B. T. & Stanovich, K. E. 2013 Dual-process theories of higher cognition: advancing the debate. *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 8 (3), 223–241.

"Evolution," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, August 25, 2017.

"FACT SHEET: Advancing the Rebalance to Asia and the Pacific," The White House, November 16, 2015.

Falkenrath, Richard A. (2001). Problems of Preparedness: U.S. Readiness for a Domestic Terrorist Attack. *International Security, 25*(4), 147-186.

Fawcett, G. S. (2009). Cultural Understanding in Counterinsurgency: Analysis of the Human Terrain System. Cultural Understanding in Counterinsurgency: Analysis of the Human Terrain System.

Feaver, P. D. (2011). The right to be right: Civil-military relations and the Iraq surge decision. International Security, 35(4), 87-125.

"Federal Reserve Act Signed into Law," *Federal Reserve History*.

Field, A. (2017). The Dynamics of Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the Domestic Security Dilemma. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 40*(6), 470-483.

Finnegan, Conor. "In historic call, Trump speaks to Taliban leader amid concerns about deal with US," ABC News, March 3, 2020.

Fischer, F. (2007). Policy analysis in critical perspective: The epistemics of discursive practices. Critical policy analysis, 1(1), 97-109.

Fischer, H. (2010, October). Iraq Casualties: US military forces and Iraqi civilians, police, and security forces. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS WASHINGTON DC CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE.

Fischer, F. and Miller, G. J. (Eds.). (2017). Handbook of public policy analysis: theory, politics, and methods. Routledge.

Fishman, B. (2016). *The master plan: ISIS, Al Qaeda, and the Jihadi strategy for final victory*. Yale University Press.

Fitzgerald, D., & Ryan, D. (2014). Afghanistan, Escalation and the 'Good War'. In *Obama, US Foreign Policy and the Dilemmas of Intervention* (pp. 52-72). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Feddersen, Timothy J. (2004). Rational choice theory and the paradox of not voting. *Journal of Economic perspectives*, *18*(1), 99-112.

Ferejohn, John A. and Fiorina, Morris P. (1974). The paradox of not voting: A decision theoretic analysis. *The American political science review*, *68*(2), 525-536.

Forgey, Quint. "Biden: I would have sought Afghanistan withdrawal even without Trump's Taliban deal," Politico, August 19, 2021.

Frankish, K. (2010). Dual-process and dual-system theories of reasoning. *Philosophy Compass*, *5*(10), 914-926.

Freedman, Lawrence. 2013. *Strategy: A History*. Oxford University Press.

Freedman L. (1994) The Theory of Limited War. In: Danchev A., Keohane D. (eds) International Perspectives on the Gulf Conflict, 1990–91. St Antony's. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Fuller, Christopher. "The Origins of the Drone Program," *Lawfare*, February 18, 2018.

Friedman, Uri. "Learning to live with terrorism," *The Atlantic*, April 15, 2016.

Friedman, T. L. (2006). *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century.* Macmillan.

Fox, Emily Jane. "Obama's re-election secures health care reform," *CNN*, November 7, 2012.

"Full text: Donald Trump's speech on fighting terrorism," *Politico*, August 15, 2016.

"Full Text of Trump's Executive Order on 7-Nation Ban, Refugee Suspension," *CNN*, January 28, 2017.

Furedi, F. (2006). Culture of fear revisited. A&C Black.

Galinsky, Adam D, Ku, Gillian, & Wang, Cynthia S. (2005). Perspective-Taking and Self-Other Overlap: Fostering Social Bonds and Facilitating Social Coordination. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 8*(2), 109-124.

Galvin, C. (2008). 'But all the wrong people are here...': The emerging policymaking mode and its challenge for academic policy research: A commentary. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 38*(1), 121-130.

Ganor, Boaz. 2005. *The counter-terrorism puzzle: a guide for decision makers*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

Ganor, B. (2014). Identifying the enemy in counterterrorism operations: A comparison of the Bush and Obama Administrations. *International Law Studies*, *90*(1), 10.

Gans Jr., John A. "'This is 50-50:' Behind Obama's Decision to Kill Bin Laden," The Atlantic, October 10, 2012.

Garland, D. (2012). The culture of control: Crime and social order in contemporary society. University of Chicago Press.

Garrison, A. H. (2004). Defining terrorism: Philosophy of the bomb, propaganda by deed and change through fear and violence. *Criminal Justice Studies*, *17*(3), 259-279.

Gass, Henry. "'A too-powerful presidency': Will US ever rein in executive branch?" *Christian Science Monitor*, January 25, 2021.

Gelfand, M.J., & McCusker, C. (2002). Metaphor and the cultural construction of negotiation: A paradigm for theory and research. In M. Gannon & K.L. Newman (Eds.), Handbook of cross-cultural management (pp. 292–314). New York, NY: Blackwell.

General Martin E. Dempsey, "Gen. Dempsey Remarks at the Aspen Security Forum 2014" (Joint Chiefs of Staff, n.d.).

Gentry, C. E. (2009). Targeting Terrorists: A License to Kill. *Journal of Military Ethics: James Turner Johnson and the Recovery of the Just War Tradition, 8*(3), 260-262.

George, Alexander L. (1969). The "Operational Code": A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making. *International Studies Quarterly,13*(2), 190-222.

"George W. Bush: Foreign Affairs," *Miller Center, University of Virginia*.

Gero, J. S. 1999 Recent design science research: constructive memory in design thinking. *Architectural Science Review* 42 (2), 97–99.

Gero, J.S. & Kannengiesser, U. 2012 Representational affordances in design, with examples from analogy making and optimization. *Research in Engineering Design* 23 (3), 235–249.

Gero, J. S. & Peng, W. 2009 Understanding behaviors of a constructive memory agent: a Markov chain analysis. *Knowledge-Based Systems* 22 (8), 610–621.

Ghattas, Kin. "Obama's struggle to realise anti-war rhetoric," BBC, December 21, 2015.

Gilboa, Itzhak and Schmeidler, David (1989). Maxmin expected utility with non-unique prior. *Journal of mathematical economics*, *18*(2), 141-153.

Gilmore, Gerry. "Petraeus: Afghan 'surge' will target terrorist leaders," *American Forces Press Service*, December 4, 2009.

Gini, Al. "The president as 'Decider in Chief,'" National Public Radio, October 18, 2012.

Glass, Andrew. "Barack Obama defeats John McCain, Nov. 4, 2008, *Politico*, November 2015.

Glass, Andrew. "Bush makes case for war with Iraq, Sept. 4, 2002," Politico, September 4, 2018.

"Going it alone," *The Economist*, October 7, 2004.

Goldsmith, Jack. "Obama's Breathtaking Expansion of a President's Power to Make War," *Time*, September 11, 2014.

Gonzalez, Roberto. "Towards Mercenary Anthropology," Anthropology Today, Vol. 23 (3), June 2007.

Gordon, Michael. "Trump Plans Shift to U.S. Security Strategy," *Wall Street Journal*, December 18, 2017.

Gorman, Michele. "Full Transcript: Donald Trump's 2016 Republican National Convention Speech," *Newsweek*, July 22, 2016.

Gostin, L. O., Hodge, J. G., & Wiley, L. F. (2020). Presidential powers and response to COVID-19. *Jama*, *323*(16), 1547-154.

Graham, Bradley and White, Josh. "Abizaid Credited With Popularizing the Term 'Long War,'" *The Washington Post*, February 3, 2006.

Green D. and Fox J. "Chapter 15: Rational Choice Theory," from <u>The SAGE Handbook to Social Science Methodology</u>, New York: SAGE Publications, 2001.

Green, D. and Shapiro, I. (1994). *Pathologies of rational choice theory: A critique of applications in political science*. Yale University Press.

Gruber, D. A., Smerek, R. E., Thomas-Hunt, M. C., & James, E. H. (2015). The real-time power of Twitter: Crisis management and leadership in an age of social media. *Business Horizons*, *58*(2), 163-172.

Gul, Ayaz. "Majority of Americans Support Trump's Deal with Taliban to End Afghan War," *Voice of America*, September 14, 2020.

Gunaratna, R., & Nielsen, A. (2008). Al Qaeda in the Tribal Areas of Pakistan and beyond. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *31*(9), 775-807.

Haas, E. (1964). *Beyond the nation-state: Functionalism and international organization*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Haass, R. N. (2005). Regime Change and Its Limits. *Foreign Affairs (New York, N.Y.), 84*(4), 66-78.

Hack, K. (2009). The Malayan Emergency as counter-insurgency paradigm. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *32*(3), 383-414.

Hahn Tharoor, "The New Islamic Caliphate and its War Against History, *The Washington Post*, June 30, 2014.

Hallsworth, M. (2011). Policymaking in the Real World. *Political Insight (Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom), 2*(1), 10-12.

Halperin, M. H., & Clapp, P. (2007). *Bureaucratic politics and foreign policy*. Brookings Institution Press.

Hamasaeed, Sarah NG and Nada, Garrett. "Iraq Timeline; Since the 2003 War," *United States Institute of Peace*," May 29, 2020.

Hamby, J. E. (2002). *Civil-military operations: joint doctrine and the Malayan Emergency*. JRTC (JOINT READINESS TRAINING CENTER) FORT POLK LA.

Hamid, Shadi. "Obama's good intensions in the Middle East meant nothing," Brookings Institution, January 23, 2017.

Hamid, Shadi. "What America never understood about ISIS," Brookings Institution, November 1, 2019.

Harrison, Todd. "What Has the Budget Control Act of 2011 Meant for Defense?" *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, August 1, 2016.

Hart, G. (2013). The McChrystal way of war.

Hart, P. &. (1993). Symbols, Rituals and Power: The Lost Dimensions of Crisis Management. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management, 1*(1), 36-50.

Hartig, Hannah and Doherty, Carroll. "Two Decades Later, the Enduring Legacy of 9/11," Pew Research, September 2, 2021.

Hashim, A. (2013). *When Counterinsurgency Wins: Sri Lanka's Defeat of the Tamil Tigers* (1st ed.).

Hastings, Michael. "The Runaway General," *Rolling Stone*, June 22, 2012.

Hazelton, J. L. (2017). The "Hearts and Minds" Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare. *International Security, 42*(1), 80-113.

"Here's Donald Trump's Presidential Announcement Speech," *Time*, June 16, 2015.

Herik, Schrijver, Herik, Larissa van den, & Schrijver, Nico. (2014). *Counterterrorism strategies in a fragmented international legal order: Meeting the challenges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hetherington, Marc J, & Nelson, Michael. (2003). Anatomy of a Rally Effect: George W. Bush and the War on Terrorism. *PS, Political Science & Politics, 36*(1), 37-42.

Hiel, Alain van, & Mervielde, Ivan. (2003). The Need for Closure and the Spontaneous Use of Complex and Simple Cognitive Structures. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 143*(5), 559-568.

Hirsh, M. (2002). Bush and the World. *Foreign affairs*, 18-43.

Dan Hirschhorn and Zeke Miller, "Republicans win the Senate in mid-term elections," NBC News, November 5, 2014.

H.J. Res 64 (107th), *GovTrack.us*.

Hoberg, G. (2001) "Globalization and policy convergence: symposium overview," *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 3: 127–32.

Hobfoll, S. E. (2018). *Tribalism: The evolutionary origins of fear politics*. Springer.

Hodgson, Jacqueline (2013). Legitimacy and state responses to terrorism: The UK and France.

Hogan, John, & Feeney, Sharon. (2012). Crisis and Policy Change: The Role of the Political Entrepreneur. *Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy, 3*(2), 1-24.

Hoffman, B. (2009). A Counterterrorism Strategy for the Obama Administration. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 21*(3), 359-377.

Hoffman, Bruce. "Al-Qaeda's Resurrection," *Council on Foreign Relations*, March 6, 2018.

Hoffman, B. (2017). *Inside terrorism* (Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare). Columbia University Press.

Hoffman, B. (2004). *Insurgency and counterinsurgency in Iraq*. Rand Corporation.

Hoffman, Bruce. (2002). Rethinking Terrorism and Counterterrorism Since 9/11. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 25*(5), 303-316.

Hoffman, Bruce. "Terrorism and Counterterrorism After September 11th," *The Information Warfare Site*, 2001.

Hoffman S. 2000. Le "Choix Rationnel," nouvel evangile. Interview. *Le Monde des Debats*, May 25.

Holsti, O. (1977) The "operational code" as an approach to the analysis of belief systems. *Final Report to the National Science Foundation*, Grant SOC 75-15368, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Holsti, O. (1970) The operational code approach to the study of political leaders: John Foster Dulles' philosophical and instrumental beliefs. *Canad. J. Polit. Sci.* 3: 123-157.

Holzinger, K. (2006). Methodological Pitfalls of Convergence Analysis. *European Union Politics, 7*(2), 271-287.

Holzman, Todd. "Obama Seeks 'New Beginning' With Muslim World," *National Public Radio*, June 4, 2009.

Honn, M., Meisel, F., Mowery, J., and Smolin, J. "A Legacy of Vietnam: Lessons from CORDS," Simons Center for the Study of Interagency Coordination.

Houghton, David C, & Grewal, Rajdeep. (2000). Please, let's get an answer—any answer: Need for consumer cognitive closure. *Psychology & Marketing, 17*(11), 911-934.

"How might Trump 'drain the swamp'?" BBC, October 18, 2016; available from https://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2016-37699073.

Howlett, Michael, and Ben Cashore. "Conceptualizing public policy." In *Comparative policy studies*, pp. 17-33. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2014.

Hsee (1993). Elastic justification: Affective influences on monetary decision-making. Dissertation Abstracts International, 54, 3388.

Huddy, Leonie and Feldman, Stanley. "Americans Respond Politically to 9/11: Understanding the Impact of the Terrorist Attacks and Their Aftermath," *The American Psychologist* 66(6) (2011), p. 464.

Hughes, Dana and Radia, Kirit. "'Underwear Bomber's Alarming Last Phone Call," *ABC News*, December 31, 2009.

Hughes, M. (1990). Terror and negotiation. *Terrorism and political violence*, *2*(1), 72-825.

Hughes, Trevor. "Trump Calls to 'Drain the Swamp' of Washington," *USA Today*, October 18, 2016.

Hunt, D. (2010). Dirty wars: Counterinsurgency in Vietnam and today. *Politics & Society*, *38*(1).

Hussein, Murtaza. "America to Recon with the Staggering Death Toll of the Post-9/11 Wars," *The Intercept*, November 19, 2018

Huq, A. Z. (2017). Community-Led Counterterrorism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 40*(12), 1038-1053.

International Crisis Group. (2016). Exploiting Disorder: al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. *International Crisis Group*.

"International Security and Assistance Force," *Institute for the Study of War*.

Interview with author of *Fountainhead of Jihad* on the Haqqani Network, Mr. Don Rassler, March 3, 2020.

Interview with Chairman and Ranking Member of the House Armed Services Committee, Rep. Mac Thornberry, March 24, 2020.

Interview with Colonel (Retired) John Petkosek, January 21, 2020.

Interview with Colonel (Retired) Tom Nelson, February 13, 2020.

"Interview with Dana Bash," *CNN*, July 29, 2015.

Interview with Director of START, University of Maryland, Mr. William Braniff, February 7, 2020.

Interview with former Assistant Secretary of Defense Michael Lumpkin, March 30, 2020.

Interview with former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Dr. Joe Felter, March 18, 2020.

Interview with former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and military commander in Iraq and Afghanistan, General David Petraeus, May 5-6, 2020.

Interview with former Director of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, Dr. Bryan Price, February 11, 2020.

Interview with former military strategists for the Global War on Terrorism, General (Retired) Vincent Brooks, March 27, 2020.

Interview with former Senior Director for Counterterrorism, Luke Hartig, National Security Council, March 31, 2020.

Interview with former Special Operations Officer and Professional Staff Member with the House Armed Services Committee, Peter Villano, January 20, 2020.

Interview with former Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, Michele Flournoy, March 25, 2020.

"Iran Releases American Hostages as Reagan Takes Office," *New York Times*, January 20, 2012.

Iraq at a Crossroads: Options for U.S. Policy: Statement for the Record: Deputy Assistant Secretary Brett McGurk.

"Iraqi Civilian Deaths Down in 2010," *Reuters*, January 1, 2011.

"IS 'Caliphate' Defeated But Jihadist Group Remains a Threat," *BBC*, March 23, 2019.

Isikoff, Michael. "U.S. failure to retaliate for USS Cole attack rankled then — and now," NBC News, October 12, 2010.

Jackson, R. (2011). Culture, identity and hegemony: Continuity and (the lack of) change in US counterterrorism policy from Bush to Obama. *International Politics*, *48*(2-3), 390-411.

James Gordon Meek, "'Black Hawk Down' Anniversary: Al Qaeda's Hidden Hand," *ABC News*, October 3, 2013.

Janis, I. (1989). *Crucial decisions: Leadership in policymaking and crisis management*. New York, N.Y.: London: Free Press; Collier MacMillan.

Jann, W. and Wegrich, K. (2017). Theories of the policy cycle. In Handbook of public policy analysis (pp. 69-88). Routledge.

Jasanoff, S. (1993). Bridging the two cultures of risk analysis. *Risk Analysis*, *13*, 123-129.

Jasko, K., LaFree, G., and Kruglanski, A. (2017). Quest for significance and violent extremism: The case of domestic radicalization. *Political Psychology*, *38*(5), 815-831.

Jeffrey, James F. "Behind the US Withdrawal from Iraq," *The Washington Institute*, November 2, 2014.

Jenkins, Brian Michael (2011). Al Qaeda After Bin Laden: Implications for American Strategy. *Al Qaeda After Bin Laden: Implications for American Strategy*.

Jenkins, Brian Michael. (2017). Bush, Obama, and Trump: The Evolution of U.S. Counterterrorist Policy Since 9/11. [online] Herzliya: International Institute for Counterterrorism.

Jenkins, Brian Michael. "International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict" in David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (eds.), International Terrorism and World Security (London: Croom Helm, 1975), p. 15.

Jenkins-Smith, H. C., Nohrstedt, D., Weible, C. M., & Sabatier, P. A. (2014). The advocacy coalition framework: Foundations, evolution, and ongoing research. Theories of the policy process, 3, 183-224.

Jervis, R. (1978). Cooperation under the security dilemma. *World politics*, *30*(2), 167-214.

Jervis, R. (2017). *How Statesmen Think*. Princeton University Press.

Jervis, R. (2017). *Perception and misperception in international politics*. Princeton University Press.

Jervis, R. (2003). Understanding the Bush doctrine. *Political Science Quarterly*, *118*(3), 365-388.

Joas, H. (1996). *The creativity of action*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

"John Brennan Fast Facts," *CNN*, September 13, 2020.

Johnson, D. A., Mora, A., & Schmidt, A. (2016). The Strategic Costs of Torture: How" Enhanced Interrogation" Hurt America. *Foreign Affairs*, *95*(5), 121-132.

Johnson, Robert H. (1997). Improbable Dangers: U.S. Conceptions of Threat in the Cold War and After. New York: St. Martin's), Chapter 2, "American Politics, Psychology, and the Exaggeration of Threat," pp. 31–48.

Johnston, David. "9/11 Congressional Report Faults F.B.I.-C.I.A. Lapses," *New York Times*, July 24, 2003.

Johnston, P. B. (2012). Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns. *International Security, 36*(4), 47-79.

"Joint Strategic Plan," *US Department of State*, 2018.

"Joint Terrorism Task Forces," *Federal Bureau of Investigation*.

Jones, C. R. (2014). Are prisons really schools for terrorism? Challenging the rhetoric on prison radicalization. *Punishment & Society, 16*(1), 74-103.

Jones, Jeffrey M. "Latest Poll Shows High Point in Opposition to Iraq War," *Gallup.com*, July 11, 2007.

Jones, S. G. (2008). *Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan* (Vol. 595). Rand Corporation.

Jones, S. G., Doxsee, C., and Harrington, N. (2020). The escalating terrorism problem in the United States.(2020).

Jones, Trevor, and Newburn, Tim. (2002). Learning from Uncle Sam? Exploring U.S. Influences on British Crime Control Policy. *Governance (Oxford), 15*(1), 97-119.

Jones, T. and Newburn, T. (2002). The transformation of policing? Understanding current trends in policing systems. British journal of criminology, 42(1), 129-146.

Jordan, J. (2014). Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark. *International Security, 38*(4), 7-38.

Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking, fast and slow*. Macmillan.

Kahneman, D. & Frederick, S. (2002). Representativeness revisited: attribute substitution in intuitive judgement. In *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgement* (ed. Gilovich, T., Griffin, D. & Kahneman, D.), pp. 49–81. Cambridge University Press.

Kannengiesser, U. & Gero, J. S. (2012). A process framework of affordances in design. *Design Issues* 28 (1), 50–62.

Kannengiesser, U., & Gero, J. S. (2019). Design thinking, fast and slow: A framework for Kahneman's dual-system theory in design. *Design Science*, *5*.

Kaplan, F. (2013). *The insurgents: David Petraeus and the plot to change the American way of war*. Simon and Schuster.

Katharina Holzinger & Christoph Knill (2005) Causes and conditions of cross-national policy convergence, Journal of European Public Policy, 12:5, 775-796.

Karadsheh, Joanna, Sciutto, Jim, and Smith-Spark, Laura. "How Foreign Fighters are Swelling ISIS Ranks in Startling Numbers," *CNN*, September 14, 2014.

Kay, A., & Baker, P. (2015). What can causal process tracing offer to policy studies? A review of the literature. *Policy Studies Journal*, *43*(1), 1-21.

Kean, T. and Hamilton, L. (2004). *The 9/11 commission report: Final report of the national commission on terrorist attacks upon the United States* (Vol. 3). Government Printing Office.

Kelley, Michael B. "Last Year President Obama Reportedly Told His Aides That He's 'Really Good at Killing People,'" *Business Insider*, November 2, 2013.

Kenneth T. Walsh, "George W. Bush's 'Bullhorn' Moment," *US News and World Report*, April 25, 2013.

"Kerry discusses $87 billion comment," *CNN*, September 30, 2004.

Kerry, J. (2019). *Every day is extra*. Simon & Schuster.

Kevin Liptak, "ISIS rise surprised Obama, US intelligence," *CNN*, December 7, 2016.

"Key dates since the start of the 2001 war in Afghanistan and efforts to broker peace," *Reuters*, August 9, 2020.

Khalilzad, Z. (2010). Afghanistan & Iraq: Lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq. *Journal of Democracy, 21*(3), 41-49.

Kilcullen, D. J. (2007). Countering global insurgency. *Journal of Strategic Studies, 28*(4), 597-617.

Kilcullen, D. (2006). Counter-insurgency redux. *Survival*, *48*(4), 111-130.

Kilcullen, D. (2011). *The accidental guerrilla: Fighting small wars in the midst of a big one*. Oxford University Press.

Kilwein, J. C., and Brisbin Jr, R. A. (1997). Policy convergence in a federal judicial system: The application of intensified scrutiny doctrines by state supreme courts. *American Journal of Political Science*, 122-148.

Kiras, J.D. (2009). Irregular Warfare: Terrorism and Insurgency.

Kingdon, John W. (2011) *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policy.* 2nd Edition. New York:
Longman Classics in Political Science*.*

Kocher, Matthew Adam, Pepinsky, Thomas B, & Kalyvas, Stathis N. (2011). Aerial Bombing and
Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War. *American Journal of Political Science,55*(2), 201-218.

Klein, Cynthia T. F, & Webster, Donna M. (2000). Individual Differences in Argument Scrutiny as
Motivated by Need for Cognitive Closure. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 22*(2), 119-129.

Kline, P. (1994). *An easy guide to factor analysis*. London [etc.]: Routledge.

Klugman, J. (1985). Hawks and Doves. *Political Psychology, 6*(4), 573-589.

Knickerbocker, Brad. "Gates' Warning: Avoid Land War in Asia, Middle East, and Africa,"
Christian Science Monitor, February 26, 2011.

Knickerbocker, Brad. "How 9/11 made Barack Obama a war president," Christian Science
Monitor, September 11, 2011.

Knill, C. (2005). Introduction: Cross-national policy convergence: Concepts, approaches and
explanatory factors. *Journal of European Public Policy, 12*(5), 764-774.

Knowlton Jr, W. A. (2010). *The Surge: General Petraeus and the Turnaround in Iraq*. National
Defense University Fort McNair DC Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

Kosnik, M. E. (2000). The military response to terrorism. *Naval War College Review*.

Krueger, Alan B, & Maleckova, Jitka. (2003). Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal
Connection? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 17*(4), 119-144.

Kurtzleben, Danielle. "How the U.S. Troop Levels In Afghanistan Have Changed Under Obama,"
National Public Radio, July 16, 2016.

Krueger, Alan, B., and Jitka Malečková. 2003. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a
Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17 (4): 119-144.

Krueger, A. B. (2017). *What Makes a Terrorist*. Princeton university press.

Kruglanski, A.W. (1996). Goals as knowledge structures. In P.M. Gollwitzer & J.A. Bargh (Eds.), The psychology of action: Linking cognition and motivation to behavior (pp. 599–618). New York: Guilford Press.

Kruglanski, A. W., Bélanger, J. J., Gelfand, M., Gunaratna, R., Hettiarachchi, M., Reinares, F., ... & Sharvit, K. (2013). Terrorism—A (self) love story: Redirecting the significance quest can end violence. *American Psychologist*, *68*(7), 559.

Kruglanski, A. W., Chen, X., Dechesne, M., Fishman, S., & Orehek, E. (2009). Fully committed: Suicide bombers' motivation and the quest for personal significance. *Political psychology*, *30*(3), 331-357.

Kruglanski, A. W., Gelfand, M., and Gunaratna, R. (2012). Terrorism as means to an end: How political violence bestows significance.

Kruglanski, A. W. and Orehek, E. (2011). *The role of the quest for personal significance in motivating terrorism* (pp. 153-166).

Kruglanski, Arie W, Pierro, Antonio, Mannetti, Lucia, & Grada, Eraldo De. (2006). Groups as Epistemic Providers. *Psychological Review, 113*(1), 84-100.

Kruglanski, Crenshaw, Post, Victoroff, Jeff. "What Should This Fight Be Called?: Metaphors of Counterterrorism and their Implications," *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*," December 1, 2007.

Kruglanski, Arie W, Shah, James Y, Pierro, Antonio, and Mannetti, Lucia. (2002). When Similarity Breeds Content. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*(3), 648-662.

Kruglanski and Webster, Donna "Motivated Closing of the Mind: 'Seizing' and 'Freezing,'" *Psychology Review*, 1996, Vol. 103, No. 2, 263-283.

Kunda, Z. (1990). The case for motivated reasoning. Psychological Bulletin, 108, 480–498.

Kurtzleben, Danielle. "How the US Troop Levels in Afghanistan Have Changed Under Obama," *National Public Radio*, July 6, 2016.

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Kydd, Andrew H. and Walter, Barbara F. (2006). The strategies of terrorism. *International security*, *31*(1), 49-80.

LaFree, G. (2009). Criminology's third war. *Criminology & Public Policy, 8*(3), 431-444.

LaFree, Gary, & Ackerman, Gary. (2009). The Empirical Study of Terrorism: Social and Legal Research. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 5*(1), 347-374.

LaFree, Gary, & Dugan, Laura. (2009). Research on Terrorism and Countering Terrorism. *Crime and Justice (Chicago, Ill.), 38*(1), 413-477.

LaFree, G. and Dugan, L. (2017). Trends in global terrorism, 1970-2008. In *Peace and Conflict 2012* (pp. 39-52). Routledge.

LaFree, G. and Hendrickson, J. (2007). Build a criminal justice policy for terrorism. *Criminology & Pub. Policy*, *6*, 781.

Lakoff G. (1990). Metaphor and war.

Lakoff, G. (2012). Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf. *Cognitive Semiotics, 4*(2), 5-19.

Lakoff G. and Johnson M., (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lagadec, P. (1997). Learning Processes for Crisis Management in Complex Organizations. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management, 5*(1), 24-31.

Lagadec, Patrick. 1988 "*Major Technological Risk: An Assessment of Industrial Disasters.*" New York: Pergamon Press.

Landau, M. J., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Cohen, F., Pyszczynski, T., Arndt, J., Miller, C., Ogilvie, D, and Cook, A. (2004). Deliver us from evil: The effects of mortality salience and reminders of 9/11 on support for President George W. Bush. *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, *30*(9), 1136-1150.

Landler, Mark. "The Afghan War and the Evolution of Obama," New York Times, January 1, 2017.

Langdon, Serapu, and Wells. "Targeting the Leadership of Terrorist and Insurgent Movements."

Larson, Eric V. and Savych, Bogdan. "American Public Support for U.S. Military Operations from Mogadishu to Baghdad," RAND, 2005.

Lebow R.N. (2020) Cognitive Closure and Crisis Politics. In: Between Peace and War. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Lehrke J.P., Schomaker R. (2014) The Sources of Security Regulation Convergence. In: Bohne E., Graham J.D., Raadschelders J.C.N., Lehrke J.P. (eds) Public Administration and the Modern State. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Lehrke, Jesse Paul, and Schomaker, Rahel. (2016). Kill, Capture, or Defend? The Effectiveness of Specific and General Counterterrorism Tactics Against the Global Threats of the Post-9/11 Era. *Security Studies, 25*(4), 729-762.

Leichter, Howard M. "Comparative Public Policy: Problems and Prospects," Policy Studies Journal, 5 (1977), pgs 583-96.

Lerner, Michele. "10 years later: How the housing market has changed since the crash," Washington Post, October 4, 2018.

Lev, Michael A. "Taliban maintains refusal to turn over bin laden," Chicago Tribune, October 3, 2001.

Levin, Jonathan and Milgrom, Paul (2004). "Introduction to choice theory."

Levine, D. K., & Palfrey, T. R. (2007). The paradox of voter participation? A laboratory study. *American PoliticalSscience Review*, 143-158.

Lewis, A. R. (2014). *The American culture of war: A history of US military force from World War II to Operation Enduring Freedom*. Routledge.

Li, Q. (2005). Does democracy promote or reduce transnational terrorist incidents? *Journal of Conflict resolution*, *49*(2), 278-297.

Lindblom, C. E. (1979). Still muddling, not yet through. Public administration review, 39(6), 517-526.

Loeb, Vern. "FBI Agents Resume Cole Probe In Yemen," The Washington Post, September 4, 2001.

Long, Jerry Mark and Wilner, Alex S. (2014). Delegitimizing al-Qaida: Defeating an "Army Whose Men Love Death". *International Security, 39*(1), 126-164.

Lowi, T. J., Ginsberg, B., & Shepsle, K. A. (2008). American government: Power and purpose. WW Norton and Company Incorporated.

Lucas, Ryan. "The World Has Changed Since 9/11, And So Has America's Fight Against Terrorism," National Public Radio, September 10, 2021.

Lum, Cynthia, Kennedy, Leslie W, and Sherley, Alison. (2006). Are counter-terrorism strategies effective? The results of the Campbell systematic review on counter-terrorism evaluation research. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 2*(4), 489-516.

Lykke, Arthur F. Jr., "Defining Military Strategy = E + W + M," Military Review 69, no. 5 (1989).

Lynn, L. E. (1986). The Behavioral Foundations of Public Policymaking. *The Journal of Business (Chicago, Ill.),59*(4), S379-S384.

MacInnis, Cara C, and Page-Gould, Elizabeth. (2015). How Can Intergroup Interaction Be Bad If Intergroup Contact Is Good? Exploring and Reconciling an Apparent Paradox in the Science of Intergroup Relations. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 10*(3), 307-327.

Mahnken, T. G. (2006). United States Strategic Culture. *United States Strategic Culture*.

Mann, Michael and Hall, John A. (2011). *Power in the 21st century: Conversations with John Hall*. Polity.

Mansoor, P. R. (2013). *Surge: my journey with general David Petraeus and the remaking of the Iraq War*. Yale University Press.

Marks, Thomas A. 'Ideology of Insurgency: New Ethnic Focus or Old Cold war Distortions?', in Small Wars and Insurgencies 15/1 (Spring 2004) p.107.

Marsh, K. (2014). Obama's surge: a bureaucratic politics analysis of the decision to order a troop surge in the Afghanistan war. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *10*(3), 265-288.

Martin, G. (2016). *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues* (5th ed.).

Mascareño A, Goles E and Ruz G (2016) Crisis in complex social systems: a social theory view illustrated with the Chilean case. Complexity. DOI: 10.1002/cplx.21778.

Mathew C. Weed, "A New Authorization for Use of Military Force Against the Islamic State: Issues and Current Proposals," R43760, *Congressional Research Service*, February 21, 2017.

Maher, M. L. & Gero, J. S. 2002 Agent models of 3D virtual worlds. In *ACADIA 2002*, pp. 127–138. California State Polytechnic University.

Malinowski, B. (1949). *Sex and repression in savage society* (3rd impr.] ed., International library of psychology, philosophy and scientific method). London: Routledge and Kegan.

Malley and Finer, Jon. "The Long Shadow of 9/11: How Counterterrorism Warps US Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2018.

Malvesti, M. (2001). Explaining the united states' decision to strike back at terrorists. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *13*(2), 85-106.

Mann, J., & Mann, J. (2004). *Rise of the Vulcans: The history of Bush's war cabinet*. Penguin.

Marsh, K. P. (2014). Obama's surge: a bureaucratic politics analysis of the decision to order a troop surge in the Afghanistan war. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *10*(3), 265-288.

Marsh, K. P. (2012). The intersection of war and politics: the Iraq war troop surge and bureaucratic politics. *Armed Forces & Society*, *38*(3), 413-437.

Marston, D., and Malkasian, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Counterinsurgency in modern warfare*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Matusitz, J. (2013). *Terrorism and communication*. Sage.

Mauss, M. (2004). *Seasonal variations of the eskimo: A study in social morphology* (Routledge library editions. Anthropology and ethnography, Social and cultural anthropology; 10).

McCants, Will. "Who is Islamic State Leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi," *BBC*, March 8, 2016.

McCaskill, Nolan. "Trump's new line: Hillary Clinton is 'incompetent,'" *Politico*, March 23, 2016.

McCollum, J. K. (1983). The CORDS Pacification Organization in Vietnam: A Civilian-Military Effort. *Armed Forces & Society*, *10*(1), 105-122.

McCormick, Gordon H. (2003). Terrorist decision making. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *6*(1), 473-507.

McCormick, Gordon H., Owen G. 2000. Security and coordination in a clandestine organization. *Math. Computer. Model.* 31:175–92

McCormick, J. M. (2011). The Obama Presidency: A Foreign Policy of Change? Iowa State University. *Political Science Publication*.

McCoy, Terrence. "How the Islamic States Evolved in an American Prison," *The Washington Post*, November 4, 2014.

McFadden, Arkin, and Uehlinger, Tim. "How the Trump Team's First Military Raid in Yemen Went Wrong," *NBC News*, October 2, 2017.

McGregor, I., Zanna, M. P., Holmes, J. G., & Spencer, S. J. (2001). Compensatory conviction in the face of personal uncertainty: going to extremes and being oneself. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *80*(3), 472.

McHugh, K. (2015). A tale of two surges: Comparing the politics of the 2007 Iraq surge and the 2009 Afghanistan surge. *Sage Open*, *5*(4).

Mearsheimer, John J. "The Inevitable Rivalry," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2021.

Meierrieks, D. (2012). Rooted in Urban Poverty? Failed Modernization and Terrorism. *Peace Economics, Peace Science, and Public Policy, 18*(3), Peace economics, peace science, and public policy, 2012-12-13, Vol.18 (3).

Mercier, Hugo and Sperber, Dan (2011). Why do humans reason? Arguments for an argumentative theory. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *34*(2), 57-74.

Memmott, Mark. "Al-Awlaki, U.S.-Born Cleric Linked To Al-Qaida, Is Dead, U.S. And Yemen Say," *National Public Radio*, September 30, 2011.

Meseguer, Yebra, C. (2003) "Learning and economic policy choices: a Bayesian approach," *EUI Working Paper RSC No. 2003/5*, San Domenico: European University Institute.

Meyers, Lisa. "Zarqawi posts Abu Ghraib attack video on web," *NBC News*, April 7, 2005.

Meyers and Thee, Megan. "Military Holds Most Trust in Iraq Debate, New Poll Finds," New York Times, September 10, 2005.

Miles, Snow, Meyer, Coleman, Snow, Charles C., Meyer, Alan D, & Coleman, Henry J. (2003). *Organizational strategy, structure, and process* (New ed., with a new introd.] ed., Stanford business classics 287954552). Stanford, CA: Stanford Business Books.

Milla, Mirra Noor, Putra, Idhamsyah Eka, & Umam, Ahmad Naufalul. (2019). Stories From Jihadists: Significance, Identity, and Radicalization Through the Call for Jihad. *Peace and Conflict, 25*(2), 111-121.

Miller, Andrea, & Goidel, Robert. (2009). News Organizations and Information Gathering During a Natural Disaster: Lessons from Hurricane Katrina. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management, 17*(4), 266-273.

Miller, David and Mills, Tom. (2010). Counterinsurgency and terror expertise: The integration of social scientists into the war effort. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 23*(2), 203-221.

Miller, Gertrude, Natalie, Don Van Jr. "A Nation Challenged, The Response; Planning for Terror but Failing to Act," New York Times, December 30, 2001.

Miller, Zeke. "White House: Iraq War Vote Obama Opposed Could Be Used for ISIS Strikes," *Time*, September 13, 2014.

Milstein, B. (2015). Thinking politically about crisis: A pragmatist perspective. *European Journal of Political Theory, 14*(2), 141-160.

Mintz A. Integrating Cognitive and Rational Theories of Foreign Policy Decisionmaking, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Moghadam, A., Berger, R., and Beliakova, P. (2014). Say terrorist, think insurgent: Labeling and analyzing contemporary terrorist actors. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *8*(5), 2-17.

Monroe, Kristen Renwick and Maher, Kristen Hill (1995). Psychology and rational actor theory. *Political psychology*, *16*(1), 1-21.

Montanaro D., Bowman T., and Kurtzleben, Danielle, "Fact Check: Trump's Yemen Raid – 'Winning Mission' or 'Failure?' It's Not So Simple," *National Public Radio*, February 10, 2017.

Monten, J. (2005). The roots of the Bush doctrine: Power, nationalism, and democracy promotion in US strategy. *International Security*, *29*(4), 112-156.

Moore, Jack. "Trump's War on ISIS 'Dramatically Accelerated' Coalition Gains in Syria and Iraq," *Newsweek*, August 5, 2017.

Moore, M. M. (2011). Sparks on Kindling: Terrorism's Role in Civil War Onset, Recurrence, and Escalation.

Morgan, Wesley. "Our secret Taliban air force," *The Washington Post*, October 22, 2020.

"More Americans Now View Afghanistan War as a Mistake," *Gallu*p, February 19, 2014.

Moynihan, D. P. (2008). Learning under Uncertainty: Networks in Crisis Management. *Public Administration Review, 68*(2), 350-365.

Mullan, J. (2015). The Decider: George W Bush and His Use of Presidential Power.

Mueller, John and Stewart, Mark G. (2014). Evaluating Counterterrorism Spending. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 28*(3), 237-247.

Mueller, John and Stewart, Mark G. (2014). Responsible counterterrorism policy. *Cato Institute Policy Analysis*, (755).

Mylroie, L. (1995). The World Trade Center Bomb: Who Is Ramzi Yousef? And Why It Matters. *The National Interest*, (42), 3-15.

Naftali, T. (2005). US counterterrorism before bin Laden. *International Journal*, *60*(1), 25-34.

Nagl, L. C. J. A. (2008). Counterinsurgency in Vietnam. *MODERN WARFARE*, 131.

Nagl, John A. (1999). Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARMY COUNTERINSURGENCY LEARNING DURING THE MALAYAN EMERGENCY AND THE VIETNAM WAR. *World Affairs (Washington), 161*(4), 193-199.

Nagl, J. A., Amos, J. F., Sewall, S., and Petraeus, D. H. (2008). *The US Army/Marine corps counterinsurgency field manual*. University of Chicago Press.

Narayanan, V.K, Zane, Lee J, & Kemmerer, Benedict. (2010). The Cognitive Perspective in Strategy: An Integrative Review. *Journal of Management, 37*(1), 305-351.

National Archives, (2017). America's Founding Documents.

"National Defense Authorization Act," *United States Congress*.

"National Defense Strategy," *US Department of Defense*, 2008.

"National Defense Strategy," *US Department of Defense*, 2018.

"National Military Strategy for the Global War on Terrorism," *US Department of Defense*, 2006.

"National Military Strategy," *US Department of Defense*, 2011.

"National Military Strategy," *US Department of Defense*, 2015.

"National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," *The White House*, 2003.

"National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," *The White House*, 2006.

"National Strategy for Counterterrorism," *The White House*, 2011.

"National Strategy for Counterterrorism," *The White House*, 2018.

"National Security Strategy of the United States," *The White Ho*use, 1999.

"National Security Strategy of the United States," *The White Ho*use, 2000.

"National Security Strategy of the United States," *The White House*, 2002.

"National Security Strategy of the United States," *The White House*, 2006.

"National Security Strategy of the United States," *The White House*, 2010.

"National Security Strategy of the United States," *The White House*, 2015.

"National Security Strategy of the United States," *The White House*, 2017.

Nelson, Louis. "Trump: Clinton, Obama Protecting Terrorists to be 'Politically Correct,'" *Politico*, June 13, 2016.

Nessenbaum, Dion. and Abi-Hibab, Maria. "Trump Gives Generals Free Rein on ISIS Fight," *Wall Street Journal*, April 14, 2017.

Peter Neumann, "Donald Trump's failed war on terror," *Politico*, October 27, 2019.

Neumann, P. (2009). *Old and new terrorism* (Vol. 4). Polity.

Neumann, Brian and Williams, Colin. "The U.S. Army in Afghanistan Operation Enduring Freedom May 2005–January 2009," *Center of Military History, US Army*, CMH Pub 70-131-1.

Neumayer, Eric, Plümper, Thomas, and Epifanio, Mariaelisa (2014) "The Peer Effect in Counterterrorist Policies. International Organization, 68 (01). pp. 211-234.

Newman, E. (2006). Exploring the "Root Causes" of Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 29*(8), 749-772.

Nguyen, V. T. (2016). *Nothing Ever Dies*. Harvard University Press.

Nohrstedt, Daniel and Hansen, Dan (2009). "Convergence under Pressure? Counterterrorism Policy Developments in the European Union Member States." Public Administration, 88: 190-210.

Nohrstedt, Daniel, & Weible, Christopher M. (2010). The Logic of Policy Change after Crisis: Proximity and Subsystem Interaction. *Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy, 1*(2), 1-32.

Noon, D. H. (2004). Operation enduring analogy: World War II, the war on terror, and the uses of historical memory. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, *7*(3), 339-364.

"Obama discusses Taliban peace talks with Afghan president: White House," *Reuters*, March 4, 2016.

O'Brien, W. V. (1990). Reprisals, deterrence and self-defense in counterterror operations. *Virginia Journal of International Law, 30*(2), 421.

Odinga, S. (2017). 'We recommend compliance': Bargaining and leverage in Ethiopian–US intelligence cooperation. *Review of African Political Economy, 44*(153), 432-448.

O'Hanlon, M. E. (2004). Iraq without a Plan. *Policy review*, (128), 33.

Olson, Andrew P.J. MD; Graber, Mark L. MD Improving Diagnosis Through Education, Academic Medicine: August 2020 - Volume 95 - Issue 8 - p 1162-1165.

Olson, S. P. (2002). *The Attack on US Marines in Lebanon on October 23, 1983*. The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc.

Omelicheva, Mariya Y. (2009) Convergence of Counterterrorism Policies: A Case Study of Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 32:10, 893-908.

"Operation Enduring Freedom Fast Facts," CNN.com, October 4, 2020.

Orehek, Edward, Fishman, Shira, Dechesne, Mark, Doosje, Bertjan, Kruglanski, Arie W, Cole, Angela P, . . . Jackson, Tarra. (2010). Need for Closure and the Social Response to Terrorism. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 32*(4), 279-290.

Orehek, E., Sasota, J. A., Kruglanski, A. W., Dechesne, M., and Ridgeway, L. (2014). Interdependent self-construals mitigate the fear of death and augment the willingness to become a martyr. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *107*(2), 265.

O'Reilly, Charles A, & Tushman, Michael L. (2008). Ambidexterity as a dynamic capability: Resolving the innovator's dilemma. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 28*, 185-206.

Orsini, A. (2011). Anatomy of the Red Brigades. In *Anatomy of the Red Brigades*. Cornell University Press.

"Osama Bin Laden's Confession" *ABC News*.

"Osama Bin Laden over the years," *CNN*, May 2, 2011.

Ostlund, W. B. (2012). Irregular Warfare: Counterterrorism Forces in Support of Counterinsurgency Operations. *Irregular Warfare: Counterterrorism Forces in Support of Counterinsurgency Operations*.

Ostrom, E. (2011). Background on the institutional analysis and development framework. Policy studies journal, 39(1), 7-27.

Ostrom, E. (2019). Institutional rational choice: An assessment of the institutional analysis and development framework. In Theories of the policy process, second edition (pp. 21-64). Routledge.

O'Toole Molly and De Luce, Dan. "The 2016 Election Turned the Politics of Foreign Policy on Its Head," Foreign Policy, November 2, 2016.

Ottaway, D. (2009). The King and Us: U.S.-Saudi Relations in the Wake of 9/11. *Foreign Affairs (New York, N.Y.), 88*(3), 121-131.

Overgaard, P. B. (1994). The Scale of Terrorist Attacks as a Signal of Resources. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution,38*(3), 452-478.

Owens, M. T. (2007). Strategy and the Strategic Way of Thinking. *Naval War College Review, 60*(4), 111-124.

Packer, G. (2006). Knowing the enemy. *The New Yorker*, *18*, 34-49.

Pape, Robert A. 1996. *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Pape, Robert A. "Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism (New York: Random House, 2005).

Parsons, Christi and Hennigan, W.J. "President Obama, who hoped to sow peace, instead led the nation in war," *LA Times*, January 13, 2017.

Parsons, T. (1977). *Social systems and the evolution of action theory*. New York, NY [etc.] : London: The Free Press; Collier Macmillan.

Paul, Christopher, Colin P. Clarke, Beth Grill, Stephanie Young, Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Joe Hogler, and Christine Leah, What Works Best When Building Partner Capacity and Under What Circumstances?. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2013.

"Pentagon: Violence down in Iraq since 'surge'," CNN.com.

Perl, R., O'Rourke, R., and Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division. (2001, January). Terrorist attack on USS Cole: Background and issues for Congress. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

Perliger, Arie. "How Democracies Respond to Terrorism: Regime Characteristics, Symbolic Power and Counterterrorism," *Security Studies* 21(3) (2012), p. 528.

Perri. (2014). Explaining unintended and unexpected consequences of policy decisions: Comparing three British governments, 1959-74. *Public Administration*, *92*, 673-691.

Perrow, C. (1984). *Normal accidents: Living with high-risk technologies*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Peterson, Erin. "Presidential Power Surges," *Harvard Law Bulletin*, July 17, 2019.

Pettigrew, Andrew M. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, Summer 1977, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 78-87.

Petraeus, David. "How We Won in Iraq," *Foreign Policy*, October 2013.

Petraeus, D. H. (2006). *Learning counterinsurgency: Observations from soldiering in Iraq*. ARMY COMBINED ARMS CENTER FORT LEAVENWORTH KS.

Phillips, Amber. "Trump's Deal with the Taliban, explained," *Washington Post*, August 26, 2021.

Pierro, Antonio, Cicero, Lavinia, Bonaiuto, Marino, Van Knippenberg, Daan, & Kruglanski, Arie W. (2005). Leader group prototypicality and leadership effectiveness: The moderating role of need for cognitive closure. *The Leadership Quarterly, 16*(4), 503-516.

Pillar, P. R. (2004). *Terrorism and US foreign policy*. Brookings Institution Press.

Pluchinsky, Dennis A. "Anti-American Terrorism: From Eisenhower to Trump - A Chronicle of the Threat and Response," *Imperial College Press Insurgency and Terrorism*, May 2020.

Plümper, Thomas, & Schneider, Christina J. (2009). The analysis of policy convergence, or: How to chase a black cat in a dark room. *Journal of European Public Policy,16*(7), 990-1011.

Poister, T. H. (2010). The Future of Strategic Planning in the Public Sector: Linking Strategic Management and Performance. *Public Administration Review, 70*, S246-S254.

"Pompeo Urges Saudi Arabia to Consider Normalizing Relations with Israel," *Reuters*, October 14, 2020.

Powell, R. (2007). Defending against Terrorist Attacks with Limited Resources. *The American Political Science Review, 101*(3), 527-541.

"Presidential Address on War with Iraq," CSPAN.org, March 19, 2003.

"President's Address to the Nation," *The White House*, January 10, 2007.

"President Bush's address to a joint session of Congress and the nation," *Washington Post*, September 20, 2001.

"President Obama's Cairo Speech," *The White House*, June 4, 2009.

"President Obama's Farewell Address," *The White House*, January 10, 2017.

Price, B. C. (2012). Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism. *International Security, 36*(4), 9-46.

Price, B. C. (2019). Terrorism as Cancer: How to Combat an Incurable Disease. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 31*(5), 1096-1120.

Pruitt, D. (2006). Negotiation with terrorists. *International Negotiation*, *11*(2), 371-394.

Public Law 107-40, *Congress.gov*, September 18, 2001.

Public Law 107-243, *Congress.gov*, October 16, 2002.

Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., & Greenberg, J. (2003). *In the wake of 9/11: The psychology of terror*. American Psychological Association.

"Quadrennial Defense Review," *US Department of Defense*, 2014.

"Quadrennial Diplomacy Development Review," *US Department of State*, 2015.

Ramakrishna, K. (2005). Delegitimizing Global Jihadi Ideology in Southeast Asia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia, 27*(3), 343-369.

Re, Gregg. "Mattis slams Obama, Biden for 'ignoring reality' in Iraq, leading to rise of ISIS," *Foxnews*, September 3, 2019.

Regan, R. (2013). *Just War, Second Edition* (2nd ed.).

Reese, Stephen D. and Lewis, Seth C. (2009). Framing the War on Terror. *Journalism (London, England), 10*(6), 777-797.

"Remarks at the welcoming ceremony for the freed American hostages," *The American Presidency Project,* January 27, 1981.

"Remarks by the President After Two Planes Crash Into World Trade Center," Emma Booker Elementary School, Sarasota, Florida, September 11, 2001.

"Remarks by the President on the Middle East and North Africa, *The White House*, May 19, 2011.

"Remarks by the President Upon Arrival at Barksdale Air Force Base," *WhiteHouse.Gov*, September 11, 2001.

"Remarks on the Attack on the U.S.S. Cole and the Situation in the Middle East," *The American Presidency Project*, October 12, 2000.

Remnick, David. "Going the distance: On and off the road with Barack Obama," *The New Yorker*, January 27, 2014.

Rees, Wyn and Aldrich, Richard J. (2005). Contending Cultures of Counterterrorism: Transatlantic Divergence or Convergence? *International Affairs (London), 81*(5), 905-923.

"Remarks by the President on the Situation in Iraq," *The White House Office of the Press Secretary*, June 19, 2014.

"Remarks by the President on the Way Forward in Afghanistan," *The White House*, June 22, 2011.

"Report on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict in Iraq: 6 July – 10 September 2014."

"Resolute Support;" available from https://rs.nato.int/rsm.

Benjamin Rhodes, *The World as It Is: A Memoir of the Obama White House*, First edition (New York: Random House, 2018).

Richardson, L. (2007). What's in a Name? *Psychological Science in the Public Interest, 8*(3), I-Ii.

Ricks, Thomas. "The COINdinistas," *Foreign Policy*, November 30, 2009.

Ricks, T. E. (2009). *The gamble: General David Petraeus and the American military adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008*. Penguin.

Rineheart, J. (2010). Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency. *Perspectives on Terrorism (Lowell),4*(5), 31-47.

Robinson, Kali. "The Arab Spring at ten years: What's the legacy of the uprisings," *Council on Foreign Relations*, December 3, 2020.

Robinson, Linda. Tell Me How This Ends: General David Petraeus and the Search for a Way Out of Iraq (New York: Public Affairs, 2008).

Robinson, K., Malone, I., & Crenshaw, M. (2023). Countering Far-Right Anti-Government Extremism in the United States. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *17*(1), 73-87.

Rockmore, T. (2004). On the So-Called War on Terrorism. *Metaphilosophy, 35*(3), 386-401.

Rogers, P. F. (2005). *Iraq and the War on Terror: Twelve Months of Insurgency*.

Rogin, Josh. "How the Obama Administration Bungled the Iraq Withdrawal Negotiations," *Foreign Policy*, October 21, 2011.

Rohde, David. "Obama's counterterrorism doctrine: Let locals lead the fight," Reuters, June 4, 2014.

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum, *Inaugural Address*, January 20, 1981.

Rosenau, James N. "Toward the Study of National-International Linkages," in James N. Rosenau, ed., Linkage Politics (New York: Free Press, 1969), p. 46.

Rosenthal, U., Charles, M. T., & 't Hart, P. (Eds.). (1989). *Coping with crises*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.

Rosenthal, U., & Kouzmin, A. (1997). Crises and crisis management: Toward comprehensive government decision making. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *7*(2), 277-304.

Rosenthal, Uriel, & Pijnenburg, Bert. (1990). Simulation-oriented scenarios. *Contemporary Crises, 14*(4), 277-283.

Rosentiel, Tom. "Public Attitudes Toward the War in Iraq: 2003-2008," *Pew Research*, March 19, 2008.

Ross Colvin, "U.S. toll in Iraq hits 4,000 as four soldiers killed," *Reuters*, March 2008.

Rozen, Laura. "Winning hearts and minds: all of McChrystal's advisors," *Foreign Policy*, July 31, 2009.

Rubenstein, R. E. (1989). Inside Terrorist Organizations. Edited by David C. Rapoport. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Rummel, R. J. (1967). Understanding Factor Analysis. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 11*(4), 444-480.

Ruby, Charles L. (2002). The definition of terrorism. *Analyses of social issues and public policy*, *2*(1), 9-14.

Sabatier, P. A. (1991). Toward better theories of the policy process. PS: Political Science & Politics, 24(2), 147-156.

"Saddam Hussein's Development of Weapons of Mass Destruction," *The White House*.

Sageman, Marc. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

Sandler, T. (2014). Terrorism and counterterrorism: An overview. *Oxford Economic Papers, 67*(1), 1-20.

Sanger, David. "Bush Adds Troops in Bid to Secure Iraq," New York Times, January 11, 2007.

Sayegh, Lisa, Anthony, William P, and Perrewé, Pamela L. (2004). Managerial decision-making under crisis: The role of emotion in an intuitive decision process. *Human Resource Management Review, 14*(2), 179-199.

Schmid, Alex P. (ed.) Handbook of Terrorism Prevention and Preparedness (The Hague, NL: ICCT Press) 2020.

Schmid, A. (2005). Terrorism as psychological warfare. *Democracy and Security*, *1*(2), 137-146.

Schmid, Jongman, Stohl, Jongman, Albert J., Stohl, Michael, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts Sciences. Social Science Information-Documentation Centre, & Centrum voor Onderzoek van Maatschappelijke Tegenstellingen. (1988). *Political terrorism: A new guide to actors, authors, concepts, data bases, theories and literature* (2nd rev., expanded and updated ed., Uitgave; no.

12. 811914380). Amsterdam [etc.]: New Brunswick, NJ: North-Holland Publ. Co; Transaction Books.

Schneeberger, T. A. (2020). Counterterrorism Strategies Used by Local Law Enforcement Agencies and Emergency Management Departments.

Schuessler A A. 2000. Expressive Voting. Ration. Soc. 12(1): 87-119.

Schumacher, M. J., & Schraeder, P. J. (2021). Does domestic political instability foster terrorism? Global evidence from the Arab Spring Era (2011–14). *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *44*(3), 198-222.

Schwartz, S. (n.d.). Toward Refining the Theory of Basic Human Values. In *Methods, Theories, and Empirical Applications in the Social Sciences* (pp. 39-46).

Scott, J. (2000). Rational choice theory. *Understanding contemporary society: Theories of the present*, *129*, 671-85.

Sederberg, P. C. (2016). Conciliation as Counter-Terrorist Strategy. *Journal of Peace Research, 32*(3), 295-312.

"September 11th Attacks," *History.com*, August 24, 2021.

Serafino, N. M. (2010). *Security assistance reform: Section 1206 Background and issues for congress*.

Sewall, S. (2006). Modernizing U.S. counterinsurgency practice: Rethinking risk and developing a national strategy. *Military Review, 86*(5), 103.

Shafer, D. M. (1988). The unlearned lessons of counterinsurgency. *Political Science Quarterly*, *103*(1), 57-80.

Shane, Scott. "The Enduring Influence of Anwar al-Awlaki in the Age of the Islamic State," *CTC Sentinel*, July 2016.

Shanteau, J. (1992). How much information does an expert use? Is it relevant? *Acta Psychologica*, *81*(1), 75–86.

Shapiro, Jacob N. (2012). Terrorist decision-making: insights from economics and political science. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *6*(4/5), 5-20.

Shapiro, Jacob N. (2013). *The terrorist's dilemma: Managing violent covert organizations*. Princeton University Press.

Sharp, J. M., & Blanchard, C. M. (2019). CONGRESS AND THE WAR IN YEMEN: OVERSIGHT AND LEGISLATION 2015-2019. *Current Politics and Economics of the Middle East*, *10*(4), 447-485.

Shaw, Duncan, Hall, Matthew, Edwards, John, and Baker, Brad. (2007). Responding to crisis through strategic knowledge management. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 20*(4), 559-578.

Shenon, P. (1999). U.S. and Iraqi Jets Tangle in the Southern 'No Flight' Zone. *The New York times*, *New York Times*, January 6, 1999.

Shepard, Alicia. "Editorial pages turn on war," *Politico*, July 31, 2007.

Shon, D.A. (1993). Generative metaphor: A perspective on problem setting in social policy. In A. Ortony (Ed.), Metaphor and thought (2nd ed., pp. 137–163). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Shughart, William F. (2011). Terrorism in rational choice perspective. *The handbook on the political economy of war*, 126-153.

Siegel Richard L. and Weinberg, Leonard B. Comparing Public Policies: United States, Soviet Union, and Europe (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1977), p. 67.

Silliman, S. L. (2001). The Iraqi Quagmire: Enforcing the No-Fly Zones. *New Eng. L. Rev.*, *36*, 767.

Simon, Herbert (1982). Models of Bounded Rationality. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Simon, J. (2020). Governing through crime. In Crime, Inequality and the State (pp. 589-595). Routledge.

Simmons, B.A. and Elkins, Z. (2004) "The globalization of liberalization: policy diffusion in the international political economy," *American Political Science Review* 98: 171 – 89.

Singh, D. (2014). Corruption and clientelism in the lower levels of the Afghan police. *Conflict, Security & Development, 14*(5), 621-650.

Siqueira, Kevin and Sandler, Todd. (2010). Terrorist Networks, Support, and Delegation. *Public Choice,142*(1/2), 237-253.

S.J. Res 23 (107th), *GovTrack.us*.

Sklenka, S. D. (2007). Strategy, National Interests, and Means to an End. *Strategy, National Interests, and Means to an End*.

Sky, Emma "American After 9/11," *PBS Frontline*, September 2021.

Sky, E. (2011). Iraq, from surge to sovereignty: Winding down the war in Iraq. *Foreign Affairs*, 117-127.

Sloman, S. A. 1996 The empirical case for two systems of reasoning. *Psychological Bulletin* 119 (1), 3–22.

Smith, Alexander. "Why America Dropped 'Mother of All Bombs' on ISIS in Afghanistan," NBC News, April 14, 2017.

Smith, Ben. "A D.C. Whodunit: Who Leaked and Why?" *Politico*, September 22, 2009.

Smith, Haviland. "Defining Terrorism: It Shouldn't Be Confused With Insurgency." *American Diplomacy*, 2008.

Smith-Spark, Laura and Dewan, Angela. "Yemen Raid: The Plan, the Operation, and the Aftermath," *CNN*, February 9, 2017.

Snow, Shawn. "Surge in Afghanistan is underway; 14,000 US troops now in country," *Military Times*, November 16, 2017.

"Spain train bombings fast facts," *CNN,* March 1, 2021.

Spalek, B. (2014). Community Engagement for Counterterrorism in Britain: An Exploration of the Role of "Connectors" in Countering Takfiri Jihadist Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 37*(10), 825-841.

Spencer, A. (2006). Questioning the concept of 'new terrorism'. *Peace, Conflict and Development*, 1-33.

Somers, S. (2009). Measuring Resilience Potential: An Adaptive Strategy for Organizational Crisis Planning. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management, 17*(1), 12-23.

Spencer, A. (2006). "Counterterrorism in New Europe: What have the New EU Members Done to Combat Terrorism after September 11?" International Public Policy Review, 2:92 – 112.

Spencer, A. (2012). The social construction of terrorism: Media, metaphors and policy implications. *Journal of International Relations and Development, 15*(3), 393-419.

Spiegel, Weisman, and Dreazen, Yochi J. "Obama Bets Big on Troop Surge," *Wall Street Journal*, December 2, 2009

Stanovich, K. E. and West, R. F. 2000 Individual differences in reasoning: implications for the rationality debate? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 23 (5), 645–665.

Starr, Barbara and Diamond, Jeremy. "Syria: Obama authorizes boots on ground to fight ISIS," *CNN*, October 30, 2015.

Starr-Deelen, Donna G. The Administration of Bill Clinton. In *Presidential Policies on Terrorism* (pp. 83-101). New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

Starr, Browne, and Cohen, Zachary. "US announces further drawdown of troops in Afghanistan and Iraq before Biden takes office," *CNN*, November 17, 2020.

START, University of Maryland, "Terrorism in 2016 Background Report."

"Statement by the President on ISIL," August 7, 2014 - September 10, 2014.

"Statement by President on ISIL," *The White House*, September 10, 2014.

"State of the Union Address," *United States Capitol*, January 29, 2002.

"State of the Union Address," *United States Capitol*, January 20, 2004.

Stephan Heichel, Jessica Pape, and Thomas Sommerer (2005) Is there convergence in convergence research? an overview of empirical studies on policy convergence, Journal of European Public Policy, 12:5, 817-840.

Stephens, B. (2015). What Obama Gets Wrong. *Foreign Affairs*, *94*, 13.

Stern, Jessica. "How American created a terrorist safe haven," *New York Times*, August 20, 2003.

Stern, J. (2015). Obama and terrorism. *Foreign Affairs*, *94*, 62.

Stern, Jessica and McBride, Meghan. "Terrorism After the 2003 Invasion of Iraq."

Stevenson, J. (2004). *Counterterrorism: Containment and beyond* (Adelphi papers; 367. 822386682). Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press.

Stolee, Galen and Caton, Steve (2018). Twitter, Trump, and the base: A shift to a new form of presidential talk? *Signs and Society*, *6*(1), 147-165.

Stromseth, J. E. (1993). Rethinking war powers: Congress, the President, and the United Nations. *The Georgetown Law Journal, 81*(3), 597.

Stone, D. (2001). Think Tanks, Global Lesson-Drawing and Networking Social Policy Ideas. *Global Social Policy,1*(3), 338-360.

Sturges, D. L. (1994). Communicating through Crisis. *Management Communication Quarterly, 7*(3), 297-316.

Suedfeld, P., Cross, R. W., & Brcic, J. (2011). Two Years of Ups and Downs: Barack Obama's Patterns of Integrative Complexity, Motive Imagery, and Values. *Political Psychology*, *32*(6), 1007–1033.

Suskind, R. (2004). Faith, certainty and the presidency of George W. Bush. *The New York Times*.

Syria, signaling, and operation infinite reach," *War on the Rocks,* September 5, 2013.

"Syrian Civil War Fast Facts," *CNN*, April 9, 2020.

Tama, J. (2011). The Contemporary Presidency: The Power and Limitations of Commissions: The Iraq Study Group, Bush, Obama, and Congress. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *41*(1), 135-155.

Tankel, Stephen. "Trump's Shadow War," Politico, May 9, 2018.

Tankel, S. (2018). *With Us and Against Us* (Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare). New York: Columbia University Press.

Tani, Maxwell. "'This was a mission that was started before I got here': Trump suggests Obama is to blame for the raid that lost a Navy SEAL," *Business Insider*, February 28, 2017.

Tarrant, M. (2010). The organization: Risk, resilience and governance. *Australian Journal of Emergency Management, 25*(2), 13-17.

Taylor, Adam. "Terrorist attacks are quietly declining around the world," *Washington Post*, August 15, 2018.

Taura, T. and Nagai, Y. 2017 Creativity in innovation design: the roles of intuition, synthesis, and hypothesis. *International Journal of Design Creativity and Innovation* 5 (3–4), 131–148.

Taylor, P. (1983). *The limits of European integration*. London; Canberra: Croom Helm.

Taylor, J. Serge. 1975 "Organizational Complexity in the New Industrial State: The Role of Technology." In Todd R. La Porte, ed. *Organized • Social Complexity: Challenge to Politics and Policy.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

"Terrorism," *Gallup*.

"Terrorism Havens, Iraq," *Council on Foreign Relations*, December 1, 2005.

Tversky, A. and Kahneman, D. (1989). Rational choice and the framing of decisions. In *Multiple criteria decision making and risk analysis using microcomputers* (pp. 81-126). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.

"Text: Obama's Cairo Speech," New York Times, January 4, 2009.

"Text of Bush's Address," *CNN*, September 11, 2001.

Thapa, Devinder, Budhathoki, Nama, & Munkvold, Bjørn Erik. (2017). Analyzing Crisis Response through Actor-Network Theory: The Case of Kathmandu Living Labs. *Communications of the Association for Information Systems, 41*, 414-428.

"The Arab Spring: A Year of Revolution," *National Public Radio*, December 17, 2011.

"The Bush Record – Fact Sheet: Global War on Terror," *The White House.*

"The Death of Osama Bin Laden," *CNN*, April 19, 2020.

"The Iraqi Study Group," *United States Institute of Peace*.

"The Iraq War," *Council on Foreign Relations*.

"The Obama Presidency: A Year Before the 2012 Presidential Election," *CBS News*, December 9, 2011.

"The US cannot wait for a smoking gun," *The Guardian*, 2002.

"The US financial crisis," *Council on Foreign Relations*.

"The US War in Afghanistan, 1999-2001," *Council on Foreign Relations*.

"The 2000 Campaign; 2nd Presidential Debate Between Gov. Bush and Vice President Gore," *New York Times,* October 12, 2000.

"This Day in History," December 13, 2003, *HistoryChannel.com*.

Thomas, M. J. (2013). Exposing and exploiting weaknesses in the merger of Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab. *Small Wars & Insurgencies, 24*(3), 413-435.

Thomas-Johnson, Amandla. "Obama defends deadly drone campaign in new book," *Middle East Eye*, November 16, 2020.

"Timeline – Major attacks by al-Qaeda," *Reuters*.

"Timeline of the Muslim Ban," *ACLU*.

Timothy Naftali, <u>Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism</u>, New York: Basic Books, 2005.

Tomes, R. R. (2004). Relearning counterinsurgency warfare. *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters*, *34*(1).

"Top Voting Issues in the 2016 Election," *Pew Research*, July 2016.

Tonry, M. H. (1997). Sentencing matters. Oxford University Press.

Tourangeau, R., & Sternberg, R. J. (1982). Understanding and appreciating metaphors. *Cognition*, *11*(3), 203-244.

Tracey, R. S. (2012). Exporting Security: International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the U.S. Military. (65), 98.

Trager, Robert F. and Zagorcheva., Dessislava P. (2005). Deterring Terrorism: It Can Be Done. *International Security, 30*(3), 87-123.

"Transcript: Obama's speech against the Iraq War," *National Public Radio*, January 20, 2009.

"Transcript of Obama Speech on Afghanistan," The United States Military Academy at West Point, December 2, 2009.

"Transcript of the President's Address on Somalia," *New York Times*, 1992.

"Transcript of President Bush's address," CNN.com, September 21, 2001.

"Transcript of President Bush's Address to Nation on U.S. Policy in Iraq, New York Times, January 11, 2007.

Trei, Lisa. "Why Bush Won in 2004," Stanford News Service, November 17, 2004.

Trinquier, Roger. *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency*, trans. Daniel Lee, with an introduction by Bernard B. Fall (New York: Praeger, 1964).

"Trump Administration Wants All U.S. Troops Out Of Iraq And Afghanistan By Spring," National Public Radio, November 17, 2020.

"Trump Arrives in Saudi Arabia in First Foreign Trip," *Al-Jazeera*, May 20, 2017.

Trump, D. J., & Schwartz, T. (2009). *Trump: The art of the deal*. Ballantine Books.

"Trump's no 'stupid' wars doctrine faces biggest test," France 24, March 1, 2020.

"Turning Point," *Netflix*, September 2021.

Ucko, D. H. (2010). The Malayan Emergency: The legacy and relevance of a counter-insurgency success story. *Defence Studies*, *10*(1-2).

Ucko, D., and Egnell, R. (2013). *Counterinsurgency in crisis*. Columbia University Press.

U, C.K.W. de, Koole, S.L, and Oldersma, F.L. (1999). On the seizing and freezing of negotiator inferences: Need for cognitive closure moderates the use of heuristics in negotiation. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin,25*(3), 348-362.

"US Afghan commander Stanley McChrystal fired," *BBC*, June 24, 2010.

"US Army and Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Manual," FM 3-24 and MCWP 3-33.5, December 2006.

U.S. Congressional Research Service. U.S. Military Withdrawal and Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: Frequently Asked Questions (R48679; August, 27, 2021).

"U.S. embassies in East Africa bombed," *History.com*, February 9, 2010.

"U.S. missiles pound targets in Afghanistan, Sudan," *CNN*, August 20, 1998.

"US President Donald Trump sworn in," *BBC*, January 20, 2017.

"USS Cole attacked by terrorists," *History.com*, July 20, 2010.

"USS Cole Bombing Fast Facts," CNN, September 20, 2017.

Van den Bos, K. (2001). Uncertainty management: the influence of uncertainty salience on reactions to perceived procedural fairness. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *80*(6), 931.

Victoroff, J. (2006). *Tangled Roots*. Amsterdam: IOS Press, Incorporated.

Walker, S. G. (1990). The evolution of operational code analysis. *Political Psychology*, 403-418.

Wallison, Peter J. "What Can We Learn from the 2004 U.S. Election About the Future of Politics in the United States?" American Enterprise Institute, May 18, 2005.

Walsh, K. T. (2012). A tale of two storms: comparing Bush and Obama's Hurricane response. *US News*, *31*.

Walt, Stephen. "The Borden Promises of W. Bush, Clinton, and Obama," Foreign Policy, September 16, 2016

War, Antonia. "How Do You Define Terrorism," RAND Corporation, June 4, 2018; available from https://www.rand.org/blog/2018/06/how-do-you-define-terrorism.html.

"War Powers," Library of Congress. Available from: https://www.loc.gov/law/help/war-powers.php.

Wason, P. C. and Evans, J. St. B. T. 1975 Dual processes in reasoning? *Cognition* 3 (2), 141–154.

Weaver, Mary Anne. "The short, violent life of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi," The Atlantic, July / August 2006.

Weber, Max (1968). Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology. Three Volumes. New York: Bedminster.

Webster, Donna M, and Kruglanski, Arie W. (1997). Cognitive and Social Consequences of the Need for Cognitive Closure. *European Review of Social Psychology,8*(1), 133-173.

Weed, M. C. (2015). *The War Powers Resolution: Concepts and Practice*. Congressional Research Service.

Weed, M. C. (2017). *A new authorization for use of military force against the Islamic state: issues and current proposals* (No. CRS-R43760). Congressional Research Service Washington United States.

Weick, K. E. (1979). *The social psychology of organizing* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Weimer, D. L., & Vining, A. R. (2017). Policy analysis: Concepts and practice. Routledge.

Weiss, A., & Woodhouse, E. (1992). Reframing incrementalism: A constructive response to the critics. Policy Sciences, 25(3), 255-273.

Welch Jr, R. E. (2016). *Response to Imperialism: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902*. UNC Press Books.

Wells, G. M. (1991). *No more Vietnams: CORDS as a Model for Counterinsurgency Campaign Design*. ARMY COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COLL FORT LEAVENWORTH KS SCHOOL OF ADVANCED MILITARY STUDIES.

West, C. (1989). *The American Evasion of Philosophy*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

"What Drove the War's SnapBack in Iraq and Syria?" *New America Foundation*.

Whipple, Chris. "The Attacks Will Be Spectacular," *Politico*, November 12, 2015.

Whitesides, John. "Obama Says He Opposed the Iraq War From the Start," *Reuters*, February 11, 2007.

"Why Mosul's Great Mosque of al-Nuri Mattered," *BBC*, June 21, 2017.

Wildavsky, A. (1988), Searching for Safety, New Brunswick, CT: Transaction Books.

Wilgoren, Jodi and Bumiller, Elisabeth. "*In Harshest Critique Yet, Kerry Attacks Bush Over War in Iraq," New York Times,* September 21, 2004.

William, Austin. "'I can hear you! The rest of the world hears you:' George W. Bush's bullhorn speech still echoes," *Foxnews*, September 11, 2019.

Williams, J. (2015). Countering violent extremism: improving US strategy for the future. *Brookings Institution: Middle East Politics & Policy Department.*

Wills, D. C. (2003). *The first war on terrorism: counter-terrorism policy during the Reagan administration*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Wilson, I. (2001). The Problem with Foreign Military Sales Reinvention. *World Affairs (Washington), 164*(1), 26-47.

Wilson, James Q. (1974) *Political Organizations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wilson, J. R. and Rutherford, A. (1989). Mental models: Theory and application in human factors. *Human Factors*, *31*(6), 617-634.

Wineburg, S., & McGrew, S. (2019). Lateral Reading and the Nature of Expertise: Reading Less and Learning More When Evaluating Digital Information. *Teachers College Record (1970)*, *121*(11), 1–40.

Winner, Langdon. 1972 "On Criticizing Technology." *Public Policy* 20:35-59.

Wirtz, J. J. (1989). Counterinsurgency Paradigms.

Wittek, Rafael, Snijders, Tom A. B, & Nee, Victor. (2020). Introduction: Rational Choice Social Research. In *The Handbook of Rational Choice Social Research* (pp. 1-30). Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

"World Shock Over US Attacks," *CNN*, September 11, 2001.

"World Trade Center is bombed," *History.com*.

Yanow, D. (2007). Interpretation in policy analysis: On methods and practice. *Critical Policy Studies*, *1*(1), 110–122.

"Yemen mail bomb 'could have detonated over eastern US,'" *BBC*, November 10, 2010.

"'You are either with us or against us,'"*CNN*, November 6, 2001.

Yurdakul, Afsin. "He told Bush that 'American is under attack,'" *NBC News*, September 9, 2009.

Zahedzadeh, G. (2017). Containing Terrorism. *Journal of Strategic Security, 10*(2), 48-59.

Zak, Dan. "'Nothing ever ends:' Sorting through Rumsfeld's knowns and unknowns," *The Washington Post*, July 1, 2021.

"Zarqawi Letter," *US Department of State*, February 2004.

Zeleny, Jeff. "As Candidate, Obama Carves Anti-War Stance," New York Times, February 26, 2007.

Zelizer, Julian. "What Happened to the Spirit of 9/12?" *CNN*, September 12, 2011.

Zenko, Micah. "Hillary the Hawk: A History," *Foreign Policy*, July 27, 2016.

Zenko, Micah. "Obama's Embrace of Drone Strikes Will Be a Lasting Legacy, *New York Times*, January 12, 2016.

Zenko, Micah. "Obama's Final Drone Strike Data," Council on Foreign Relations, January 20, 2017.

Zenko, Micah. "What Clinton's Emails Reveal about Her Support for CIA Drone Strikes," *Council on Foreign Relations*, June 10, 2016.

Zenko, Micah "When Reagan cut and run," Foreign Policy, February 7, 2014; available from https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/02/07/when-reagan-cut-and-run/.

Zenko, Micah "100% Right 0% of the Time," *Foreign Policy*, October 16, 2012.

Zimmerman, Katherine. "Al Qaeda & ISIS 20 Years After 9/11," Wilson Center, September 8, 2021.

Zurcher, Anthony. "Donald Trump's top four 'deals' for foreign policy," *BBC,* April 27, 2016.

"1993 World Trade Center Bombing," CNN, February 28, 2018.

"1993 World Trade Center Bombing Investigation," *9/11 Memorial and Museum*.

"1998 US Embassies in Africa Bombings Fast Facts," CNN, August 9, 2017.

"2011 Libya War Fast Facts," *CNN.com*, April 3, 2020.