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Monterey Terrorism Research and Education Program  
Graduate School of International Policy Studies  
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EDUCATION:

Ph.D. History (Late Modern European), University of California, Berkeley, 1994

M.A. Sociology (Social Movements), University of California, Berkeley, 1987

B.A. History (Middle Eastern, Islamic, and Central Asian), University of Michigan, 1977

RELEVANT EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE:

Director, Monterey Terrorism Research and Education Program, and Associate Professor, Graduate School of International Policy Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 2007-present

- conduct research on diverse terrorist and extremist groups, especially militant Islamists, apocalyptic cults, and neo-fascists
- teach the following courses:  
Introduction to Terrorism  
Seminar: Advanced Studies in Terrorism

• manage personnel, funds, and other assorted bureaucratic tasks for the terrorism program  
Adjunct Professor, Department of Defense Analysis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2009-present  
teach the following course:

- Introduction to Terrorism

Adjunct Professor, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, 2007-present

- teach the following courses:  
Seminar: Islamic Fundamentalism  
International Terrorism

Senior Researcher, Monterey Terrorism Research and Education Program, and Assistant Professor, Graduate School of International Policy Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 2004-2007

- conducted research on diverse terrorist and extremist groups, especially militant Islamists, apocalyptic cults, and neo-fascists
- taught the following courses:  
Introduction to Terrorism  
Militant Islamic Organizations in the Middle East  
Seminar: Terrorism Involving “Weapons of Mass Destruction” [CBRN Weapons]  
Seminar: International Terrorism  
Seminar: Advanced Studies in Terrorism

Special Advisor and Consultant, Counterterrorism and Intelligence Studies Programs, Henley-Putnam University, 2004-present

- developed (together with Gary Ackerman) course curricula for both Counterterrorism and Intelligence Studies programs
- prepared syllabi for courses on terrorism and Islamic extremism

Senior Research Associate, WMD Terrorism Research Program, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 2002-2005

- conducted research on terrorism, WMD terrorism, Islamic extremism, and WMD proliferation

- prepared reports on terrorist motivations for using CBRN weapons, their motivations for attacking Critical Infrastructure, the covert South African CBW program, Islamism, the Islamization of the Chechen resistance movement, the Abu Sayyaf Group, and other extremist organizations
- Visiting Lecturer on Global Crime, Political Science Department, UC Irvine, 1999-2000
- conducted research on terrorism and Islamic extremism
  - taught the following courses:
    - Terrorism in Contemporary America
    - Seminar on Global Crime and Terrorism
    - Secret Intelligence and World Politics
    - Organized Crime and Global Security
    - The Radical Right since 1945
    - International Terrorism
- Research Fellow, Center for German and European Studies, UC Berkeley, 1998-1999
- conducted research on terrorism and paramilitary “stay/behind” networks in Cold War Europe
- Documentary Researcher, Channel 4 (UK) and A&E (US) television networks, Summer 1998
- conducted archival research at the California Historical Society for TV documentaries on Jim Jones and the “Jonestown Massacre”
- Foreign Area Research Fellow, Office of Scholarly Programs, Library of Congress, 1997-1998
- conducted research on terrorism and paramilitary “stay/behind” networks in Cold War Europe
- Visiting Assistant Professor, History Department, Lewis & Clark College, 1996-1997
- conducted research on terrorism and neo-fascism
  - taught the following courses:
    - The Radical Right since 1945
    - Europe in the Age of the French Revolution
    - Europe from the Carolingians to the Present
    - Fascism in Comparative Perspective
- Mellon Fellow/Instructor, History Department, Columbia University, 1994-1996
- conducted research on terrorism, neo-fascism, and religious cults
  - taught the following courses:
    - The Radical Right since 1945
    - Contemporary Civilization [focus: the political ideologies of diverse revolutionary movements]
- Teaching Assistant, Mass Communications Program, UC Berkeley, 1993
- helped teach the following courses:
    - Introduction to Mass Communications
    - The Communications Media in Public Policy
- Research Assistant, Center for German and European Studies, UC Berkeley, Summer 1992
- conducted research on British and French Views of European Unity, 1953-1962
- Teaching Assistant, History Department, UC Berkeley, Fall 1988
- helped teach the following course:
    - European Civilization from the Renaissance to the Present
- Instructor, Peace and Conflict Studies Program, UC Berkeley, Spring 1988
- taught the following course:
    - International Terrorism
- Reader, Sociology Department, UC Berkeley, 1986-1987
- helped teach the following courses:
    - Social Change in the Twentieth Century
    - Social Control in Extraordinary Organizations [Religious Cults]
- Teaching Assistant, Sociology Department, UC Berkeley, Fall 1986
- helped teach the following course:
    - Introduction to Sociology

#### Ph.D. DISSERTATION:

“The ‘Black’ Terrorist International: Neo-Fascist Paramilitary Networks and the ‘Strategy of Tension’ in Italy, 1968-1974” (1994), 619 pages

Committee: Richard A. Webster (chair); Gerald D. Feldman; Peter Scott

#### EDUCATIONAL AWARDS AND POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS:

Nominee for Leslie Eliason Excellence in Teaching Award, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 2007

Research Fellowship, Center for German and European Studies, UC Berkeley, 1998-99

Foreign Area Research Fellowship, Office of Scholarly Programs, Library of Congress, 1997-98

Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship, Society of Fellows in the Humanities, Columbia University, 1994-96

Award for Best Annual Student Research Paper, Turkish Studies Association, 1988

Award for Best Honors Thesis in History, University of Michigan, 1977

Graduated Highest Honors in History, University of Michigan, 1977

#### GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS:

Humanities Graduate Research Grant, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 1992

Dissertation Write-Up Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 1991-92

Dissertation Fellowship, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, 1989-91

University Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 1985-86

University Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 1979-80

FLAS Graduate Fellowship, University of Michigan, 1978-79

#### SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS AND REVIEWS:

Co-Editor of *Cold War Guerrillas: Covert Paramilitary Operations in Europe, 1944-1990*, book in preparation.

Co-Editor of “*New Religious Movements*” and *Extremist Politics*, book in preparation.

“The Literature on ‘Gladio’,” review essay in preparation for *Intelligence and National Security*.

“Jean Thiriart’s Jeune Europe: A Neo-Fascist International between East and West,” in preparation for *Journal of Contemporary History*.

*Will the Extremes Touch? The Potential for Collaboration between Islamist Networks and Western Left- and Right-Wing Extremists*, book in preparation.

*The “Enemy Within”: Islamist Networks in Western Europe*, book in preparation.

*Imagined Terrorist Plots: Conspiracy Theories about Major Acts of Terrorism in the West, from the 1993 World Trade Center Attack to the 2005 London Bombings*, book in preparation for Routledge.

“The Abu Sayyaf Group in the Philippines, the al-Qā‘ida Connection, and the Threat of CBRN Terrorism,” forthcoming in *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

*“Black” Terrorist Networks in Cold War Europe: The Neo-Fascist “Strategy of Tension” in Italy and Beyond*, book in preparation for Hurst.

*The Neo-Fascist Underground in Postwar Europe*, book in final preparation for Hurst.

“Islamism and Totalitarianism,” in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 10:2 (June-September 2009), forthcoming.

Editor of “Political Islam, Islamism, and the Religionisation of Politics: The Islamist-Fundamentalist Quest to Remake the World,” special issue of *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 10:2 (June-September 2009), forthcoming.

“Terrorists as State ‘Surrogates’ or ‘Proxies’: Separating Fact from Fiction,” in *Making Sense of Proxy Wars: The Politics of Armed Surrogacy*, ed. by Michael A. Innes (Washington, DC: Potomac, 2009), forthcoming.

(with Gary A. Ackerman), “Profiling the WMD Terrorist Threat,” in *WMD Terrorism: Science and Policy Choices*, ed. by Stephen M. Maurer (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T., 2009), pp. 11-45.

Review of Lorenzo Vidino, *Al Qaeda in Europe: The New Battleground of International Jihad*, in preparation for *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*.

“Jihadist Ideology and Strategy and the Possible Employment of ‘Weapons of Mass Destruction,’” in *Jihadists and Weapons of Mass Destruction*, ed. by Gary Ackerman and Jeremy Tamsett (New York: CRC/Taylor & Francis, 2009), pp. 3-59.

Review of George Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right*, forthcoming in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* (2009).

“Hiding in Plain Sight in ‘Londonistan,’” in *Denial of Sanctuary: Understanding Terrorist Safe Havens*, ed. by Michael A. Innes (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 139-51, 192-8.

“Political Paranoia versus Political Realism: On Distinguishing between Bogus Conspiracy Theories and Genuine Conspiratorial Politics,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 41:1 (February 2007), pp. 45-60.

“Review Essay: Deciphering Islamism and Terrorism,” *The Middle East Journal* 60:4 (Autumn 2006), pp. 777-88.

Review of Michael Barkun, *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America*, in *Patterns of Prejudice* 40:1 (February 2006), pp. 85-7.

(with Gary Ackerman and Kevin S. Moran), “Assessing the [Terrorist] Threat to Critical Infrastructure,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets*, ed. by James J. F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), volume 3, pp. 33-60.

“South Africa’s Project Coast: ‘Death Squads,’ Covert State-Sponsored Poisonings, and the Dangers of CBW Proliferation,” *Democracy and Security* 2:1 (January-June 2006), pp. 27-59.

Multiple entries (including “Ba’thism,” “ODESSA,” “Michael Kühnen,” and “Skinhead Fascism”) in *World Fascism: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. by Cyprian Blamires (Santa Monica: ABC-CLIO, 2006).

Review of Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism*, in *The Middle East Journal* 60:1 (Winter 2006), pp. 181-3.

Review of Janja Lalich, *Bounded Choice: True Believers and Charismatic Cults*, in the European Consortium for Political Research’s *e-Extreme Newsletter* 6:3 (Fall 2005).

Multiple entries (including “Islamism,” “Christian Identity,” and “Abu Sayyaf Group”) in *Encyclopedia of Bioterrorism Defense*, ed. by Richard F. Pilch and Raymond A. Zilinskas (New York: Wiley & Sons, 2005).

“CBW: South Africa” entry in *Weapons of Mass Destruction: An Encyclopedia of Worldwide Policy, Technology, and History*, ed. by Jeffrey A. Larsen, James J. Wirtz, and Eric Croddy (Santa Monica: ABC-CLIO, 2005).

“[The Ideology of] Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines,” in *Voices of Terror: Manifestos, Writings and Manuals of Al Qaeda, Hamas, and other Terrorists from around the World and throughout the Ages*, ed. by Walter Laqueur (New York: Reed, 2004), pp. 513-18.

“The Islamization of the Chechen Resistance Movement and the Potential for Radiological Terrorism,” *Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) Issue Brief*, April 2004 (see [www.nti.org/e\\_research/e3\\_47a.html](http://www.nti.org/e_research/e3_47a.html)).

“Fascism and Neo-Fascism: Ideology and ‘Groupuscularity,’” and “Still More on Fascist and Neo-Fascist Ideology and ‘Groupuscularity,’” *Erwägen Wissen Ethik* 15:3 (October-November 2004), pp. 304-6, 380-3 (as well as in *Fascism Past and Present, West and East*, ed. by Roger Griffin, Werner Loh, and Andreas Umland [Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2006], pp. 74-82, 290-7).

(with Anjali Bhattacharjee, Eric Croddy, and Richard Pilch), “Ricin Reportedly Found in London: An al-Qā‘ida Connection?,” *Center for Nonproliferation Studies Report*, 23 January 2003 (see <http://cns.miis.edu/pubs/reports/ricin.htm>).

(with Gary A. Ackerman), “Al-Qā‘ida and Weapons of Mass Destruction,” *San Jose Mercury News*, 22 December 2002.

“‘National Revolutionary’ *Groupuscules* and the Resurgence of ‘Left-Wing’ Fascism: The Case of France’s Nouvelle Résistance,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 36:3 (July 2002), pp. 24-49.

Multiple entries (including “De Lorenzo Coup,” “Paix et Liberté,” “ASPIDA Affair,” and “Blas Piñar”) in *Europe since 1945: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Bernard A. Cook (New York: Garland, 2001).

Review of Martin A. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens: Fascism’s Resurgence from Hitler’s Spymasters to Today’s Neo-Nazi Groups and Right-Wing Extremists*, in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10:1 (Spring 1998), pp. 174-7.

Review of Sando Setta, *La destra nell’Italia del dopoguerra*, in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 3:2 (Summer 1998), pp. 205-8.

“The May 1973 Terrorist Attack at Milan Police Headquarters: Anarchist ‘Propaganda of the Deed’ or ‘False Flag’ Provocation?,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8:1 (Spring 1996), pp. 132-66.

“Cults and External Social Control: The Covert Political Operations of Sun-Myung Moon’s Unification Church,” *Lobster: A Journal of Parapolitics* 21 (May 1991), pp. 1-16.

“The Ultranationalist Right in Turkey and the Attempted Assassination of Pope John Paul II,” *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 15:1 (March 1991), pp. 1-63.

“Right-Wing Terrorism and the Extraparliamentary Left in Post-World War II Europe: Collusion or Manipulation,” *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 32 (1987), pp. 193-236.

#### FORMAL PRESENTATIONS:

\*“‘Death Squads’ in Postwar Europe: The Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación and the Spanish Government’s ‘Dirty War’ against ETA,” talk to be given at ISA Convention, 2010.

\*“Islamist and Jihadist Networks in Europe,” talk to be given at Stanford University, Fall 2009.

\*“The 3/11 Madrid Bombings and Jihadist Networks in Europe,” talk to be given at ISAC/ISSS Convention, October 2009.

\*“Ideological Extremism, Terrorism, and Islamism,” talk presented at Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) meeting, Seaside Community Center, 29 October 2008.

\*“Some Preliminary Observations on Jihadist Operations in Europe,” talk presented at “Disrupting IED Terrorist Campaigns: Finding the Weak Links” Workshop, National Academies’ Beckman Center, 14 February 2008.

\*“Terrorist Group Motivations and al-Qā‘ida’s So-Called ‘Strategic’ Thinking,” talk presented at Department of Defense Analysis, Naval Postgraduate School, 10 October 2007.

\*“The ‘New’ Religious Terrorism,” talk presented at Buckeye Retreat (organized annually by Congressman Sam Farr), 6 October 2007.

\*“Alternatives to States” panel chair/discussant, “Ungoverned Spaces” Conference, Naval Postgraduate School, 2 August 2007.

\*“Ideological Extremism and the Purported ‘Rationality’ of Terrorists, with Special Reference to Islamism and Apocalyptic Millenarianism,” talk presented at Pacific Training Center, 11 June 2007.

\*“The Religious Dimensions of Islamist Terrorism,” talk presented at World Affairs Council conference panel, 5 May 2007.

\*“Terrorist Group Motivations and al-Qā‘ida’s So-Called ‘Strategic’ Thinking,” talk presented at Department of Defense Analysis, Naval Postgraduate School, 9 April 2007.

\*“The Iraq War and the Future of the Middle East,” talk presented at Commonwealth Club panel, 21 March 2007.

\*“The Realities and Mythologies of Terrorism: Five Years after 9/11,” talk presented at Commonwealth Club, 11 September 2006.

\*“Terrorist Groups and WMD,” talk presented at Summer Nonproliferation Institute, Middlebury College, 24 June 2006.

\*“Where the Extremes (Might) Touch: The Potential for Collaboration between Islamist Terrorists and Western Right- or Left-Wing Extremists,” talk presented at ISA Convention, 24 March 2006.

\*“Terrorism in Today’s World,” talk presented at 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Alumni Reunion Weekend, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 5 November 2005.

\*“The Supersession of ‘Cold War’ Terrorism,” talk presented at “Emerging Terrorist Threats” Conference sponsored by Los Alamos National Laboratory and CNS’ Terrorism Research Program, 30 August 2005.

\*“Nationalist and Islamist Guerrillas in Chechnya and the Potential Threat of Radiological Terrorism,” talk presented at “Radioactive Materials and Radiation Weapons” Workshop, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 3 December 2004.

\*“Terrorist Motivations for Attacking Critical Infrastructure,” talk presented at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, 22 September 2004.

\*“WMD Terrorism,” talk presented at “Stopping the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction” Conference, United Nations Association of the USA, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 21 September 2004.

\*“Transnational Terrorist Threats: The Case of Kashmir,” talk presented (to Indian and Pakistani journalists) at Monterey Institute of International Studies, 20 August 2004.

\*“International Terrorism,” talk presented at “Contemporary Conflicts in Light of the Cold War” Conference, Center for Cold War Studies, University of California at Santa Barbara, 4 August 2004.

\*“Islam, Islamism, and Mass Casualty Terrorism,” talk presented at Naval Postgraduate School, 15 June 2004.

\*“CBRN Terrorism Post 9/11,” talk presented at conference organized by government subcontractor, Arlington, Virginia, 12-13 April 2004.

\*“The Impact of a War with Iraq on the War against Islamist Terrorism,” talk presented at “Should the U.S. Attack Iraq?” Panel, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 24 September 2002.

\*“Did 11 September 2001 Really ‘Change Everything’?: Reflections on Some Ongoing Problems with Terrorism Analysis and Threat Assessment,” talk presented at Monterey Institute of International Studies, 28 April 2002.

\*“Anti-Communist Resistance Fighters in Postwar Germany: The Bund Deutscher Jugend and the Kampfgruppe gegen Unmenschlichkeit,” talk presented at Center for German and European Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 7 April 1999.

\*“Operation ‘Gladio’: Anti-Soviet Resistance Networks and the Covert Manipulation of Postwar European Politics,” talk presented at Library of Congress, 23 March 1998.

\*“The ‘Nazification’ of the Skinhead Counterculture and Xenophobic Violence,” talk presented at “Xenophobic Movements in Europe” Conference, New York University, 26 April 1996.

\*“Patriotic’ Paramilitary Militias in Contemporary America: Home-Grown ‘Fascists’ or Defenders of the Constitution,” talk presented at Northeastern Political Science Association Meeting, 10 November 1995.  
\*“Cults and Violence,” talk presented at Society of Fellows, Columbia University, 2 March 1995.  
\*“In the Shadow of Mussolini and Hitler? New Approaches to the History of Neo-Fascism in Europe,” talk presented at Society of Fellows, Columbia University, 2 February 1995.  
\*“Gangs and ‘Pseudo-Gangs’: Unconventional Warfare Techniques and Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe,” talk presented at History Department, Yale University, 28 March 1994.  
\*“Neo-Fascist Terrorism in Europe and the Nature of Contemporary Clandestine Politics,” talk presented at Center for Western European Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 21 April 1992.  
\*“Cults and External Social Control: The Covert Political Operations of Sun-Myung Moon’s Unification Church,” talk presented at Sociology Dept Conference, University of California, Berkeley, 26 April 1986.

#### TRAVEL AND SITES OF ARCHIVAL RESEARCH:

U.S. National Archives, Washington/College Park  
Library of Congress, Washington  
National Security Archive, Washington  
Hoover Institution, Stanford  
Anne Frank Stichting, Amsterdam  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris  
Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich  
Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati, Rome  
Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome  
Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome  
Istituto di Studi e Ricerche “Carlo Cattaneo,” Bologna

#### LANGUAGE RESEARCH SKILLS:

Reading knowledge of French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish; currently in the process of resuscitating reading knowledge of Arabic, Farsi, and Turkish, all of which I previously studied

#### REFERENCES:

Research:

Walter Laqueur, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC: [walter@laqueur.net](mailto:walter@laqueur.net)  
Dr. Alex P. Schmid, Director, Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, St. Andrews University: [aps10@st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:aps10@st-andrews.ac.uk)  
Eric S. Croddy, Research Analyst, US Department of Defense: [eric\\_ace\\_croddy@yahoo.com](mailto:eric_ace_croddy@yahoo.com)  
Gary A. Ackerman, Research Associate, National Center for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, University of Maryland: (301) 405-6600  
Dr. Raymond A. Zilinskas, Director, CBWNP, Center for Nonproliferation Studies: [raymond.zilinskas@miis.edu](mailto:raymond.zilinskas@miis.edu)  
W. Seth Carus, Deputy Director, Center for Counterproliferation Research, National Defense University: [caruss@ndu.edu](mailto:caruss@ndu.edu)  
Professor Leonard Weinberg, Department of Political Science, University of Nevada at Reno: [weinbrl@unr.nevada.edu](mailto:weinbrl@unr.nevada.edu)  
Professor David C. Rapoport (emeritus), Department of Political Science, UCLA: [rapoport@polisci.ucla.edu](mailto:rapoport@polisci.ucla.edu)  
Professor Martha Crenshaw, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University: [crenshaw@stanford.edu](mailto:crenshaw@stanford.edu)  
Dr. Daniel Pinkston, Senior Analyst, International Crisis Group: [dpinkston@crisisgroup.org](mailto:dpinkston@crisisgroup.org)  
Professor Roger Griffin, Department of History, Oxford Brookes University: [rdgriffin@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:rdgriffin@brookes.ac.uk)  
Dr. Joshua Sinai, Program Manager for Counterterrorism Studies, The Analysis Corporation: [jsinai@the-analysis-corp.com](mailto:jsinai@the-analysis-corp.com)  
Professor Stanley G. Payne, Department of History, University of Wisconsin: (608) 263-1860

Professor Charles Kurzman, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina: (919) 962-1007  
Professor Carl Ipsen, Department of History, Indiana University: (812) 855-8976  
Professor John Masson Smith (emeritus), Department of History, UC Berkeley: (510) 548-6392  
Professor Rudi P. Lindner, Department of History, University of Michigan: (313) 764-6305

Teaching/Interdisciplinary/General:

Dr. James Clay Moltz, Professor, Naval Postgraduate School: (831) 656-1039  
Ms. Marsha Manns, Director, Society of Fellows, Columbia University: (212) 854-4632  
Dr. Eileen Gillooly, Director, Core Curriculum Program, Columbia University: (212) 854-2451  
Professor Karl Kroeber, Department of English, Columbia University: (212) 854-5210