

## Bibliography: Terrorism by Country – Iran

Compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes

[Bibliographic Series of Perspectives on Terrorism – BSPT-JT-2020-2]

### Abstract

This bibliography contains journal articles, book chapters, books, edited volumes, theses, grey literature, bibliographies and other resources on terrorism affecting Iran. It covers both terrorist activity within the country's borders (regardless of the perpetrators' nationality) and terrorist activity by Iranian nationals abroad, and also includes relevant publications dealing with the broader political and religious context of Iran. It focuses on recent publications (up to January 2020) and should not be considered as exhaustive. The literature has been retrieved by manually browsing more than 200 core and periphery sources in the field of Terrorism Studies. Additionally, full-text and reference retrieval systems have been employed to broaden the search.

**Keywords:** bibliography, resources, literature, terrorism, Iran, Shia militias, Hezbollah, proxy war

NB: All websites were last visited on 11.02.2020. – See also Note for the Reader at the end of this literature list.

### Bibliographies and other Resources

Chatham House (2006-): *Iran*. Retrieved from <https://www.chathamhouse.org/research/regions/middle-east-and-north-africa/iran>

Hart, Jo-Anne (1980): A Bibliographical Survey of the Iranian Revolution. *Iranian Studies*, 13(1-4), 369-390. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4310347>

Hart, Jo-Anne (1983, Winter-Spring): Bibliography: A Bibliographical Survey of the Iranian Revolution, II. *Iranian Studies*, 16(1-2), 99-121. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4310410>

Hussain, Asaf (1983): *Islamic Movements in Egypt, Pakistan and Iran: An Annotated Bibliography*. London: Mansell.

MidEastWeb (2004): *Bibliography – Iran*. URL: <http://www.mideastweb.org/iranbib.htm>

RAND Corporation (1979-): *Iran*. URL: <https://www.rand.org/topics/iran.html>

Richard, Yann (2019): Bibliography. In: *Iran: A Social and Political History since the Qajars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 326-342. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108569071>

### Books and Edited Volumes

Alexander, Yonah; Hoenig, Milton M. (2008): *The New Iranian Leadership: Ahmadinejad, Terrorism, Nuclear Ambition, and the Middle East*. Westport: Praeger Security International.

Ali, Mohanad Hage (2018): *Nationalism, Transnationalism, and Political Islam: Hizbullah's Institutional Identity*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60426-8>

Axworthy, Michael (2017): *Iran: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bassiri Tabrizi Aniseh; Pantucci, Raffaello (Eds.) (2016, August): *Understanding Iran's Role in the Syri-*

- an Conflict*. (RUSI Occasional Paper). URL: <https://rusi.org/publication/occasional-papers/understanding-irans-role-syrian-conflict>
- Bergman, Ronen (2008): *The Secret War with Iran: The 30-Year Covert Struggle for Control of a "Rogue State"*. (Ronnie Hope, Trans.). London: Oneworld.
- Berman, Ilan (2015): *Iran's Deadly Ambition: The Islamic Republic's Quest for Global Power*. New York: Encounter Books.
- Buchan, James (2012): *Days of God: The Revolution in Iran and its Consequences*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Byrne, Malcolm (2014): *Iran-Contra: Reagan's Scandal and the Unchecked Abuse of Presidential Power*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Canna, Sarah A. (Ed.) (2018, February): *Prioritized Iranian Interests in the Middle East*. (SMA Reach-back Report). URL: <http://nsiteam.com/prioritized-iranian-interests-in-the-middle-east>
- Chehabi, Houchang; Jafari, Peyman; Jefroudi, Maral (Eds.) (2015): *Iran in the Middle East: Transnational Encounters and Social History*. (International Library of Iranian Studies, Vol. 56). London: I.B. Tauris.
- Cohen, Ronen A. (2015): *Revolution under Attack: The Forqan Group of Iran*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137502506>
- Cook, Alethia H.; Roshandel, Jalil (2009): *The United States and Iran: Policy Challenges and Opportunities*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Coughlin, Con (2009): *Khomeini's Ghost: Iran since 1979*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Davis, Jacquelyn K.; Pfaltzgraff, Robert L., Jr. (2014): *Anticipating a Nuclear Iran: Challenges for U.S. Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Deeb, Marius (2013): *Syria, Iran, and Hezbollah: The Unholy Alliance and its War on Lebanon*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.
- Dilegge, Dave; Keshavarz, Alma; Bunker, Robert J. (Eds.) (2016): *Iranian and Hezbollah: Hybrid Warfare Activities*. (A Small Wars Journal Anthology). Bloomington: iUniverse.
- Dorronsoro, Gilles; Grojean, Olivier (Eds.) (2018): *Identity, Conflict and Politics in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan*. (Comparative Politics and International Studies Series). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Farber, David (2005): *Taken Hostage: The Iran Hostage Crisis and America's First Encounter with Radical Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Frantzman, Seth J. (2019): *After ISIS: America, Iran and the Struggle for the Middle East*. Jerusalem: Gefen.
- Goldberg, Ori (2018): *Faith and Politics in Iran, Israel, and the Islamic State: Theologies of the Real*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316336120>
- Golkar, Saeid (2015): *Captive Society: The Basij Militia and Social Control in Iran*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Hobbs, Christopher; Moran, Matthew (2014): *Exploring Regional Responses to a Nuclear Iran: Nuclear Dominoes?* London: Palgrave Pivot / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137369819>
- Ismail, Raihan (2016): *Saudi Clerics and Shi'a Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jafarzadeh, Alireza (2007): *The Iran Threat: President Ahmadinejad and the Coming Nuclear Crisis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Katz, Yaakov; Hendel, Yoaz (2012): *Israel vs. Iran: The Shadow War*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books.
- Khalifé, Nabil (2017): *The Attempt to Uproot Sunni-Arab Influence: A Geo-Strategic Analysis of the Western, Israeli and Iranian Quest for Domination*. (Joseph A. Kéchichian, Trans.). Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press.
- Knight, Nauzanin A. (2014): *State Terrorism in Iran: Understanding the Case of the Iranian Bahá'í Community*. Boca Raton: Dissertation.com.
- Mahallati, Mohammed Jafar Amir (2016): *Ethics of War and Peace in Iran and Shi'i Islam*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Maloney, Suzanne (Ed.) (2020): *The Iranian Revolution at Forty*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Maloney, Suzanne (2021): *Iran Reconsidered: The Nuclear Deal and the Quest for a New Moderation*. [in press]. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- McEachern, Patrick; O'Brien McEachern, Jaclyn (2018): *North Korea, Iran, and the Challenge to International Order: A Comparative Perspective*. (Routledge Global Security Studies). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Mousavian, Seyed Hossein; with Shahir Shahid Saless (2014): *Iran and the United States: An Insider's View on the Failed Past and the Road to Peace*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- O'Hern, Steven (2012): *Iran's Revolutionary Guard: The Threat that Grows while America Sleeps*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books.
- Ostovar, Afshon (2016): *Vanguard of the Imam: Religion, Politics, and Iran's Revolutionary Guards*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ottolenghi, Emanuele (2011): *The Pasdaran: Inside Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps*. Washington, DC: FDD Press.
- Parsi, Trita (2017): *Losing an Enemy: Obama, Iran, and the Triumph of Diplomacy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Phillips, David L. (2017): *The Kurdish Spring: A New Map of the Middle East*. Abingdon: Routledge. (Original work published 2015)
- Povey, Tara (2015): *Social Movements in Egypt and Iran*. (Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137379009>
- Ramazani, R. K. (2013): *Independence without Freedom: Iran's Foreign Policy*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Reisinezhad, Arash (2019): *The Shah of Iran, the Iraqi Kurds, and the Lebanese Shia*. (Middle East Today). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-89947-3>
- Rezaei, Farhad (2019): *Iran's Foreign Policy after the Nuclear Agreement: Politics of Normalizers and Traditionalists*. (Middle East Today). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76789-5>
- Richard, Yann (2019): *Iran: A Social and Political History since the Qajars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108569071>
- Saikal, Amin (2014): *Zone of Crisis: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Saikal, Amin (2019): *Iran Rising: The Survival and Future of the Islamic Republic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sekulow, Jay (2016): *Unholy Alliance: The Agenda Iran, Russia, and Jihadists Share for Conquering the World*.

New York: Howard Books.

Seliktar, Ofira; Rezaei, Farhad (2020): *Iran, Revolution, and Proxy Wars*. (Middle East Today). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-29418-2>

Shay, Shaul (2017): *The Axis of Evil: Iran, Hizballah, and the Palestinian Terror*. Abingdon: Routledge. (Original work published in 2005)

Sinkaya, Bayram (2016): *Revolutionary Guards in Iranian Politics: Elites and Shifting Relations*. (Iranian Studies, Vol. 25). Abingdon: Routledge.

Sofaer, Abraham D. (2013): *Taking on Iran: Strength, Diplomacy, and the Iranian Threat*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.

Tabaar, Mohammad Ayatollahi (2018): *Religious Statecraft: The Politics of Islam in Iran*. (Columbia Studies in Middle East Politics). New York: Columbia University Press.

Uskowi, Nader (2019): *Temperature Rising: Iran's Revolutionary Guards and Wars in the Middle East*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Vestenskov, David; Syed, Mahroona Hussain (2018): *Carving Out a Vision for a Brighter Tomorrow: Cultivating the Ground for Security Cooperation between Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan*. (Conference Proceedings, No. 7 [b] 2018). [e-Book]. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Defence College. URL: <http://www.fak.dk/biblioteket/publikationer/Pages/CARVING%20OUT%20A%20VISION%20FOR%20A%20BRIGHTER%20TOMORROW.aspx>

Wehrey, Frederic M. (Ed.) (2017): *Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East*. London: Hurst.

## Theses

Alghunaim, Ghadah Ghunaim Rashid (2014): *Conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran: An Examination of Critical Factors Inhibiting their Positive Roles in the Middle East*. (Doctoral Thesis, Nova Southeastern University, Fort Lauderdale, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/3687984.html>

Ashooh, Jessica P. (2011): *Beltway Battles: Ideology and Infighting in US Foreign Policy toward the Middle East 2001-2006*. (Doctoral Thesis, St. Antony's College, Oxford, United Kingdom). URL: <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:2d7b6074-1ac5-43ee-8095-6debb5e71896>

Banihashemi, Mozafar (2012, December): *Shi'ite Reformism versus Shi'ite Fundamentalism: A Comparative Study of Shi'ite Discursive Practices in 20th Century Iran: The Cases of Khomeini and Hakamizadeh*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/3553804.html>

Baumann, Michael R. (2011, April): „Do Svidanya“ to Arms: Russian Commitments to Limit Conventional Arms Sales to Iran. (Master's Thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/1491397.html>

Daigle, Claudia Campos (2004, August): *State-Sponsored Terrorism: A Historical Comparative Analysis*. (Master's Thesis, San José State University, San José, United States). URL: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.rkwx-5vvx>

El Habeck, Mohamad (2018, June): *Foreign-Backed Clients and Legitimacy: The Political Development of Iraq's Shiite Militias (2005–2018)*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/59651>

Fagernes, Therese (2011, Spring): *Persia Lost: How the Foreign Policy Hawks of the George W. Bush Adminis-*

- tration Blocked Rapprochement with Iran.* (Master's Thesis, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway). URL: <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-29031>
- Feizi, Hiva (2018, March): *Discourse, Affinity and Attraction: A Case Study of Iran's Soft Power Strategy in Afghanistan.* (Doctoral Thesis, University of South Florida, Tampa, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/10787971.html>
- Field, Jeffrey (2007, December): *Adversaries and Statecraft: Explaining U.S. Foreign Policy toward Rogue States.* (Doctoral Thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, United States). URL: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15799coll127/id/490523/rec/557>
- Hager, Anna (2012): *Die MeK (die iranischen Volksmudschahedin - MKO) und die EU (2002-2009) – Konfrontation, Interaktion. Synergien?* (Master's Thesis, Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25365/thesis.18784>
- Haghirian, Mehran (2017): *Effectuating a Cooperative Future between Iran and the Arab States of the Persian Gulf.* (Master's Thesis, American University, Washington, DC, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/10257078.html>
- Hammond, Joseph (2010, January): *The Unrelenting Rivals: Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, 1979–1997.* (Master's Thesis, California State University, Long Beach, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/1486644.html>
- Kamal, Melissa (2010, Spring): *A Content Analysis of Elite U.S. Newspapers' Coverage of Iran, 1979 and 2005.* (Master's Thesis, Nicholson School of Communication, Orlando, United States). URL: <http://purl.fcla.edu/fcla/etd/CFE0003077>
- Klein, Robyn W. (2011, Spring): *States and Terrorist Groups that Collaborate: Strong Bonds, Sensitive Transfers and the Issue of Control.* (Doctoral Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, United States). URL: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5fn3z0jp>
- Maiwandi, Nadia (2013, May): *Framing Iran: The Islamic Revolution and the Green Movement as Told through Time Magazine.* (Master's Thesis, San José State University, San José, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/1541535.html>
- Malone, Chad A. (2008, August): *A Socio-Historical Analysis of U.S. State Terrorism from 1948 to 2008.* (Master's Thesis, University of Toledo, Toledo, United States). URL: <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?accnum=toledo1216592463>
- Manghebati, Gelareh (2015): *Almost Iranians: The Forgotten People of Iranian Balochistan: Exploring Armed Ethnic Conflict and Terrorism in Iranian Balochistan after the 1979 Islamic Revolution.* (Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1993/30755>
- Martin, Matthew Allen (2015, December): *Conflict Politics Surrounding the Advent of ISIS: An Iranian Media Perspective.* (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2152/34150>
- Nasrazadani, Ariana Mehnaz (2014): *Iranian State Strength and Domestic Terrorism: How Iran Came to be the Cool Spot in a Hotbed of Terrorism.* (Master's Thesis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1808/25821>
- Nel, Coligny (2010, March): *United States Foreign Policy and Nuclear Non-Proliferation: A Preliminary Comparison of the Bush and Obama Administrations' Approaches.* (Master's Thesis, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10019.1/4129>
- Paris, Taylor (2017, August): *The Rise and Geo-Political Significance of the Hezbollah.* (Master's Thesis, American University of Paris, Paris, France). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/27605884.html>

- Prince, William F. (2018, May): *A Theoretical Analysis of the Capability of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and its Surrogates to Conduct Covert or Terrorist Operations in the Western Hemisphere*. (Master's Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, United States). URL: <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:42004011>
- Ranstorp, Magnus (1995): *Radical Shi'ism in Lebanon: Western Government Crisis Management Techniques in Dealing with Hostage Incidents, 1982-1992*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of St Andrews, St Andrews, United Kingdom). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10023/15168>
- Rix, Derya (2013): *United States Foreign Policy Towards Iran in the 21st Century*. (Doctoral Thesis, Durham University, Durham, United Kingdom). URL: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/8483>
- Royston, Lisbet B. Ejlersen (2011, December): *A Qualitative Pattern Analysis of Suicide Terrorism: From Past to Future Trends*. (Master's Thesis, Texas State University, San Marcos, United States). URL: <https://digital.library.txstate.edu/handle/10877/4473>
- Spataro, Jason G. (2019, May): *Iranian Cyber Espionage*. (Master's Thesis, Utica College, New York, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/13877649.html>
- Tabatabaei, Behzad (2010, August): *The Political Economy of Oil, Terrorism and Institutional Development in Iran and its Impact on the Middle East*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, United States). URL: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll127/id/396749>
- Taylor, Ryan Preston (2019, May): *Utilizing Strategic Culture as a Tool to Tailor U.S. Deterrence Policy towards Iran*. (Master's Thesis, Missouri State University, Springfield, United States). URL: <https://bearworks.missouristate.edu/theses/3397>
- Tello, Roberto Ramiro (2008, Fall): *Rapprochement: The Necessary Engagement with the Islamic Republic of Iran*. (Master's Thesis, University of Central Florida, Orlando, United States). URL: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd/3743>
- Thomas, Zachary Ross (2017): *Putting the "Islam" in Islamism: Religious Language and the Model Muslim as Tools of Propaganda*. (Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10150/625699>
- Thompson, Matthew K. (2016, September): *National Security and Institutional Pathologies: A Path Dependent Analysis of U.S. Interventions in Iran, Guatemala, Cuba, and Iraq*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/50495>
- Veselý, Josef (2018, May): *The Development of Russian-Iranian Relations in the Context of the Syrian Civil War*. (Master's Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/62860>
- West, Graham F. (2016, May): *The Case for Engagement: Building a Framework and Policy to Move U.S.-Iranian Relations Forward*. (Master's Thesis, George Washington University, Washington, DC, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/10159048.html>
- Williams, Ann (2012): *Representations of an Islamic Republic: Iran and the British Press since 1989*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Manchester, Manchester, United Kingdom). URL: [https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/representations-of-an-islamic-republic-iran-and-the-british-press-since-1989\(89f8ab74-29ca-4cee-8c10-a798f08ebc1e\).html](https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/representations-of-an-islamic-republic-iran-and-the-british-press-since-1989(89f8ab74-29ca-4cee-8c10-a798f08ebc1e).html)

### ***Journal Articles and Book Chapters***

- Abouaoun, Elie; Hamasaeed, Sarhang (2020, January): After the Soleimani Strike, What's Next for Iraq and the Region? *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2020. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/index.php/jrnl/art/after-solei->

[mani-strike-whats-next-iraq-and-region](#)

- Adelkhah, Nima (2015, May): Iran's Changing Regional Strategy and its Implications for the Region. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(10), 8-10. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/TerrorismMonitor-Vol13Issue10\\_03.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/TerrorismMonitor-Vol13Issue10_03.pdf)
- Adelkah, Nima (2015, June): Iranian Perspectives on Yemen's Houthis. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(13), 4-5. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue13\\_01.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue13_01.pdf)
- Adelkhah, Nima (2016, May): Iran and its Cyber-Terrorism Strategies. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(10), 6-7. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Terrorism\\_Monitor\\_Volume\\_XIV\\_Issue\\_02.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Terrorism_Monitor_Volume_XIV_Issue_02.pdf)
- Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin (2013): What Is Radicalism? Power and Resistance in Iran. In: George Joffé (Ed.): *Islamist Radicalisation in Europe and the Middle East: Reassessing the Causes of Terrorism*. (Library of International Relations, Vol. 51). London: I.B. Tauris, 269-299.
- Aghababaei, Hussein; Rezaei, Hassan (2010): Iran – Borders of an Islamic Republic in the Middle East. In: John A. Winterdyk; Kelly W. Sundberg (Eds.): *Border Security in the Al-Qaeda Era*. Boca Raton: CRC Press, 307-348.
- Ahmadian, Hassan; Mohseni, Payam (2019, March): Iran's Syria Strategy: The Evolution of Deterrence. *International Affairs*, 95(2), 341-364. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iyy271>
- Ahrari, Ehsan (2016, March): Could Iran and the US Overcome their Mutual Animosity to Eradicate Daesh? *Small Wars Journal*, 3/2016. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/index.php/jrnl/art/could-iran-and-the-us-overcome-their-mutual-animosity-to-eradicate-daesh>
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram (2015, Fall): Iran and Daesh: The Case of a Reluctant Shia Power. *Middle East Policy*, 22(3), 44-54. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12142>
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram (2017, Fall): Iran's Uncertain Standing in the Middle East. *The Washington Quarterly*, 40(3), 109-127. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2017.1370336>
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram; Barry, James (2017): Iran and Turkey: Not Quite Enemies but Less than Friends. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(4), 980-995. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1241139>
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram et al. (2019): The Kurds in Iran: Balancing National and Ethnic Identity in a Securitised Environment. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(6), 1145-1162. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1592671>
- Al-Marashi, Ibrahim (2018): Iraq's Shia Islamists after the Uprisings: The Impact of Intra-Sectarian Tensions and Relations with Iran. In: Hendrik Kraetzschmar; Paola Rivetti (Eds.): *Islamists and the Politics of the Arab Uprisings: Governance, Pluralisation and Contention*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 274-290.
- Anderson, Sean K. (2005): US Counter-Insurgency vs. Iranian Sponsored Terrorism. In: Robert Bunker (Ed.): *Networks, Terrorism and Global Insurgency*. Abingdon: Routledge, 84-100.
- Ansari, Ali M. (2019): Iran: The State and Terrorism in Iran. In Michael J. Boyle (Ed.): *Non-Western Responses to Terrorism*. (New Directions in Terrorism Studies). Manchester: Manchester University Press, 364-384.
- Arterbury, John (2016, June): A Sacred Defense: Iranian Defense Policy in the Syrian Civil War. *Georgetown Security Studies Review*, 4(2), 4-12. URL: <https://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/GSSR-Vol.-4-Iss.-2.pdf>
- Asisian, Njdeh (2016, May): Shia Iran and Effects of Globalization on State and Religion: The Beginning of Post-Islamism Era. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2016. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/shia-iran-and-effects-of-globalization-on-state-and-religion-the-beginning-of-post-islamism>

- Azamy, Hekmatullah; Siddique, Abubakar (2015, June): Taliban Reach Out to Iran. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(12), 5-7. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue12\\_02.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue12_02.pdf)
- Bahgat, Gawdat (2020): Iran and its Neighbors Face Risks and Opportunities in Cyber Security. *Orbis*, 64(1), 78-97. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2019.12.006>
- Bajoghli, Narges; Keshavarzian, Arang (2018): Iran and the Arab Uprisings. In: Mark L. Haas; David W. Lesch (Eds.): *The Arab Spring: The Hope and Reality of the Uprisings*. New York: Routledge, 174-193.
- Basit, Saira (2018): Explaining the Impact of Militancy on Iran–Pakistan Relations. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(5-6), 1040-1064. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1546362>
- Bayani, Farhad (2019): The Jurisprudence Trace Behind the DAESH Trench: Theoretical Basis of Islamic Fundamentalism Focusing on Kurdistan Province of Iran. *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, 13(3), 370-386. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/25765949.2019.1630577>
- Becker, Michael (2017): Why Violence Abates: Imposed and Elective Declines in Terrorist Attacks. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(2), 215-235. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1011799>
- Brandon, James (2018, January): Party for Free Life in Kurdistan: The PKK's Iranian Wing Bides its Time. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(1), 3-6. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Terrorism-Monitor-January-15-2018.pdf>
- Brennan, John (2008, July): The Conundrum of Iran: Strengthening Moderates without Acquiescing to Belligerence. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 618(1), 168-179. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716208316732>
- Byman, Daniel (2018): Confronting Iran. *Survival*, 60(1), 107-128. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2018.1427368>
- Chandler, Michael; Gunaratna, Rohan (2007): Iran – The Open Flank. In: *Countering Terrorism: Can We Meet the Threat of Global Violence?* London: Reaktion Books, 74-84.
- Clarke, Colin; Smyth, Phillip (2017, November): The Implications of Iran's Expanding Shi'a Foreign Fighter Network. *CTC Sentinel*, 10(10), 14-18. URL: [https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/11/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol10Iss10-18.pdf](https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/11/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss10-18.pdf)
- Defort, Magdalena; McLaughlin, William Preston (2020, January): Iran's Strategic Penetration of Latin America: Consequences for U.S. Foreign Policy and National Security. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2020. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/index.php/jrnl/art/irans-strategic-penetration-latin-america-consequences-us-foreign-policy-and-national>
- Erlich, Reese (2014): Why Iran Backs Syria. In: *Inside Syria: The Backstory of their Civil War and What the World Can Expect*. New York: Prometheus Books, 145-166.
- Esfandiary, Dina; Tabatabai, Ariane (2015): Iran's ISIS Policy. *International Affairs*, 91(1), 1-15. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12183>
- Esfandiary, Dina; Tabatabai, Ariane (2016): Yemen: An Opportunity for Iran–Saudi Dialogue? *The Washington Quarterly*, 39(2), 155-174. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2016.1204415>
- Esfandiary, Dina; Tabatabai, Ariane M. (2017): A Comparative Study of U.S. and Iranian Counter-ISIS Strategies. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 40(6), 455-469. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1221265>
- Feste, Karen A. (2016): The U.S.-Iran Hostage Crisis, 1979-1981. In: *Terminate Terrorism: Framing, Gaming, and Negotiating Conflicts*. (International Studies Intensives). Abingdon: Routledge, 99-138. (Original work published 2010)



- Figelj, Nezka (2019): Iran and Religious Sectarianism in the Middle East: The Role of the European Union. *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società*, 9, 43-55. URL: [http://www.sicurezzaerrorismosocieta.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/SicTerSoc\\_9\\_Figelj-Iran-and-religious-sectarianism-in-the-Middle.pdf](http://www.sicurezzaerrorismosocieta.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/SicTerSoc_9_Figelj-Iran-and-religious-sectarianism-in-the-Middle.pdf)
- Findlater, Euan (2020, January): Islamic Republic of Iran's Strategic Culture and National Security Analysis. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2020. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/index.php/jrnl/art/islamic-republic-irans-strategic-culture-and-national-security-analysis>
- Foroutan, Sayid Abbas; Tu, Anthony (2018): An Example of Chemical War: The Iran-Iraq War. In: Anthony Tu: *Chemical and Biological Weapons and Terrorism*. Boca Raton: CRC Press, 49-64.
- Forozan, Hesam; Shahi, Afshin (2017, Winter): The Military and the State in Iran: The Economic Rise of the Revolutionary Guards. *The Middle East Journal*, 71(1), 67-86. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/71.1.14>
- Forteau, Mathias; Xiu, Alison See Ying (2018): The US Hostage Rescue Operation in Iran—1980. In: Tom Ruys; Olivier Corten; Alexandra Hofer (Eds.): *The Use of Force in International Law: A Case-Based Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 306-314. DOI [Book]: <https://doi.org/10.1093/law/9780198784357.001.0001>
- Frantzman, Seth J. (2017, Fall-Winter): “By, With, And Through”: How the U.S.-Led Coalition Defeated the Islamic State in Iraq Using Tactics without Coherent Strategy for Confronting Iranian Influence. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 21(3), 1-13.
- Friedman, Brandon (2018): Iran's Hezbollah Model in Iraq and Syria: Fait Accompli? *Orbis*, 62(3), 438-453. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.005>
- Ghaddar, Hanin (2017, February): Perceiving the Shia Dimension of Terrorism. *Georgetown Security Studies Review*, Special Issue: What the New Administration Needs to Know about Terrorism and Counterterrorism, 15-19. URL: <https://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/GSSR-What-the-New-Administration-Needs-to-Know-About-Terrorism-and-Counterterrorism.pdf>
- Ghosh, Arin Kumar (2020, January): The Ayatollah's Gathering Aerial Storm. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2020. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/ayatollahs-gathering-aerial-storm>
- Giles, Gregory F. (2009): “Like Glitter of the Sun”: Iran and Terrorism. In: Michael T. Kindt; Jerrold M. Post; Barry R. Schneider (Eds.): *The World's Most Threatening Terrorist Networks and Criminal Gangs*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 71-92.
- Gledhill, John (2018, January): Review of “Existential Threats and Regulating Life: Securitization in the Contemporary Middle East”, by Simon Mabon. *Global Discourse*, 8(1), 59-61. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/2326995.2018.1408269>
- Goodarzi, Jubin (2019): Iran and the Syrian Civil War. In: Raymond Hinnebusch; Adham Saouli (Eds.): *The War for Syria: Regional and International Dimensions of the Syrian Uprising*. (Routledge/ St. Andrews Syrian Studies Series). Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 9.
- Gray, Simon; Adeakin, Ibikunle (2019): Nigeria's Shi'a Islamic Movement and Evolving Islamist Threat Landscape: Old, New and Future Generators of Radicalization. *African Security*, 12(2), 174-199. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2019.1639281>
- Grinberg, Alex (2015, Summer): Iran and Russia: Similarities and Implications for Decisionmaking. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 19(2), 26-33. URL: [https://www.academia.edu/34527324/IRAN\\_AND\\_RUSSIA\\_SIMILARITIES\\_AND\\_IMPLICATIONS\\_FOR\\_DECISIONMAKING](https://www.academia.edu/34527324/IRAN_AND_RUSSIA_SIMILARITIES_AND_IMPLICATIONS_FOR_DECISIONMAKING)
- Gross, Max L. (2013): Shi'a Muslims and Security: The Centrality of Iran. In: Chris Seiple; Dennis R. Hoover; Pauletta Otis (Eds.): *The Routledge Handbook of Religion and Security*. (Routledge Handbooks). Abingdon: Routledge, 57-68.
- Guillou, Nat (2017, July): The Future of Sunni Jihadist Violence in Iran. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(15), 3-5. URL:

<https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Terrorism-Monitor-July-28-2017.pdf>

Hanau Santini, Ruth (2017): A New Regional Cold War in the Middle East and North Africa: Regional Security Complex Theory Revisited. *The International Spectator*, 52(4), 93-111. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2017.1371487>

Hargreaves-Heald, Nicholas (2018, May): Proving Ground: Iran's Operational Strategy in Syria. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/proving-ground-irans-operational-strategy-syria>

Heras, Nicholas A. (2015, April): The Struggle for Syria's al-Hasakah Governorate: Kurds, the Islamic State and the IRGC. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(7), 8-11. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue7\\_03.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue7_03.pdf)

Hoffman, Jon (2018, July): A Brewing Proto-Insurgency: Is Bahrain the Next Target of Iran's Regional Ambitions? *Small Wars Journal*, 7/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/brewing-proto-insurgency-bahrain-next-target-irans-regional-ambitions>

Jaboori, Rafid (2018, October): Ahvaz Attack: Iran Blames U.S., Arab Rivals and Consolidates Control. *Terrorism Monitor*, 26(20), 6-7. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/TM-Oct.-19-Issue-1.pdf>

Jaboori, Rafid (2019, August): Iraqi Prime Minister's Decree will not Undermine Power of Iran-Backed Militias. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(16), 5-7. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/TM-August-9-2019-1.pdf>

Jaboori, Rafid (2019, November): Protests in Iraq Represent a Significant Challenge to Shia Militias. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(21), 6-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/TM-Nov.-6-2019-Issue.pdf>

Jayamaha, Buddhika (2019, Fall): The Great Saudi-Iranian Proxy Game. *Middle East Quarterly*, 26(4). URL: <https://www.meforum.org/59294/the-great-saudi-iranian-proxy-game>

Jensehaugen, Jørgen (2019, September): A Palestinian Window of Opportunity? The PLO, the US and the Iranian Hostage Crisis. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2019.1661646>

Jiang, Zhen (2017): Confrontations on the Issue of Terrorism between Iran and the U.S. after 1979. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(2), 236-253. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1254626>

Juneau, Thomas (2016, May): Iran's Policy towards the Houthis in Yemen: A Limited Return on a Modest Investment. *International Affairs*, 92(3), 647-663. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12599>

Karimi, Yusef; Cimbura, Alexandra; Loza, Wagdy (2019): Assessing the Prevalence of Middle Eastern Extreme Ideologies among some Iranians. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 12(3), 157-169. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.12.3.1719>

Keshavarz, Alma (2015, November): Iran and Hezbollah in the Tri-Border Areas of Latin America: A Look at the "Old TBA" and the "New TBA". *Small Wars Journal*, 11/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/iran-and-hezbollah-in-the-tri-border-areas-of-latin-america-a-look-at-the-%e2%80%9cold-tba%e2%80%9d-and-the>

Keshavarz, Alma (2015, December): A Review of Iran's Revolutionary Guards and Qods Force: Growing Global Presence, Links to Cartels, and Mounting Sophistication. *Small Wars Journal*, 12/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/a-review-of-iran%e2%80%99s-revolutionary-guards-and-qods-force-growing-global-presence-links-to-car>

Keshavarz, Alma (2016, March): Iran: al-Qaeda's "Main Artery for Funds, Personnel and Communication." The Recently Released Osama bin Laden Letters. *Small Wars Journal*, 3/2016. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com>

[com/jrnl/art/iran-al-qaeda%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%9Cmain-artery-for-funds-personnel-and-communication%E2%80%9D-the-recently-released-o](#)

Knights, Michael (2018, September): The Houthi War Machine: From Guerrilla War to State Capture. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(8), 15-23. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/09/CTC-SENTINEL-092018.pdf>

Knights, Michael (2019, August): Iran's Expanding Militia Army in Iraq: The New Special Groups. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(7), 1-12. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/08/CTC-SENTINEL-072019.pdf>

Knights, Michael; Levitt, Matthew (2018, January): The Evolution of Shi'a Insurgency in Bahrain. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(1), 18-25. URL: [https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/01/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol11Iss1-1.pdf](https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/01/CTC-Sentinel_Vol11Iss1-1.pdf)

Koudelka, Meaghan; Sandby-Thomas, Peter (2018, July): Morocco Flexes its Muscles over Western Sahara: An Analysis of Rabat's Standoff with Tehran. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(15), 8-13. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Terrorism-Monitor-July-28-2018.pdf>

Kousary, Halimullah (2015): Iran's Strategic Designs for Afghanistan. In: Rohan Gunaratna; Douglas Woodall (Eds.): *Afghanistan after the Western Drawdown*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 77-84.

Legrenzi, Matteo; Lawson, Fred H. (2016, Summer): Saudi Arabia Calls Out Hezbollah: Why Now? *Middle East Policy*, 23(2), 31-43. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12193>

Levitt, Matthew (2016, April): Iranian and Hezbollah Operations in South America: Then and Now. *PRISM*, 5(4), 119-134. URL: [https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism\\_5-4/Iranian%20and%20Hezbollah.pdf](https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_5-4/Iranian%20and%20Hezbollah.pdf)

Levitt, Matthew (2018, August): Iran's Deadly Diplomats. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(7), 10-15. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/01/CTC-SENTINEL-082018-final.pdf>

Levitt, Matthew (2019, March): Hezbollah's Procurement Channels: Leveraging Criminal Networks and Partnering with Iran. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(3), 1-9. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/03/CTC-SENTINEL-032019.pdf>

Livermore, Douglas A. (2017, November): Dismantling Iran's Illicit Networks. *Small Wars Journal*, 11/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/dismantling-irans-illicit-networks>

Lob, Eric (2018): Construction Jihad: State-Building and Development in Iran and Lebanon's Shi'i Territories. *Third World Quarterly*, 39(11), 2103-2125. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1460197>

Lob, Eric; Habibi, Nader (2019, Summer): The Politics of Development and Security in Iran's Border Provinces. *The Middle East Journal*, 73(2), 263-284. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/73.2.15>

Loidolt, Bryce (2019, January): Iranian Resources and Shi'a Militant Cohesion: Insights from the Khazali Papers. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(1), 21-24. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/01/CTC-SENTINEL-012019.pdf>

Mabon, Simon (2018): Existential Threats and Regulating Life: Securitization in the Contemporary Middle East. *Global Discourse*, 8(1), 42-58. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23269995.2017.1410001>

Mabon, Simon (2018): The Apocalyptic and the Sectarian: Identity, "Bare Life" and the Rise of Da'ish. In: Timothy Clack; Robert Johnson (Eds.): *Before Military Intervention: Upstream Stabilisation in Theory and Practice*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 165-190. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-98437-7\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-98437-7_8)

Malmvig, Helle (2017): Wars within Wars: Regional Actors' Involvement in the Battle for Syria. In: Rasmus Alenius Boserup et al. (Eds.): *New Conflict Dynamics: Between Regional Autonomy and Intervention in the Middle East and North Africa*. (Defence and Security Studies). [e-Book]. Copenhagen / Beirut: Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) / American University of Beirut (AUB), 67-78. URL: <https://pure.diis.dk/>

[ws/files/841797/2017\\_DIIS\\_New\\_Conflict\\_Dynamics\\_in\\_the\\_Middle\\_East\\_and\\_North\\_Africa\\_web.pdf](#)

Mansour, Imad (2016): Statecraft in Iran. In: *Statecraft in the Middle East: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics and Security*. (Library of International Relations, Vol. 80). London: I.B. Tauris, Chapter 7.

Marashi, Reza (Interviewee); Borer, Doug (Interviewer) (2018, Spring): The CTAP Interview: Reza Marashi, National Iranian American Council. *CTX*, 8(1), 57-65. URL: <http://liferayce3.globalecco.org/documents/20126/54589/CTX81-CTAPinterviewRezaMarashi.pdf>

Marten, Kimberly (2015): Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 62(2), 71-87. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2015.1010896>

Martin, Vanessa (2017): Islamist Radicalism in the Provinces of Iran 1906–9: A Stage in the Development of Islamism. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 53(5), 687-699. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2017.1288619>

Mather, Yassamine (2014): The Arab Spring and its Unexpected Consequences. *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory*, 42(1), 73-86. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03017605.2014.909977>

Mekhennet, Souad (2017): Threats: Bahrain, Iran, and Germany, 2011-2013. In: *I Was Told to Come Alone: My Journey Behind the Lines of Jihad*. New York: Henry Holt, 208-229.

Milburn, Franc (2017, May): Iranian Kurdish Militias: Terrorist-Insurgents, Ethno Freedom Fighters, or Knights on the Regional Chessboard? *CTC Sentinel*, 10(5), 29-35. URL: [https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol10Iss512.pdf](https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss512.pdf)

Moaddel, Mansoor (2017): Monolithic Religious Markets, Fragmented State Structures, and Islamic Fundamentalism among Iranians and across the Middle East and North Africa. *Revue internationale des études du développement*, 2017/1 (N° 229), 33-62. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3917/ried.229.0033>

Moghadam, Assaf (2017): Low-End Cooperation: Al Qaeda, Iran, and Hizballah. In: *Nexus of Global Jihad: Understanding Cooperation among Terrorist Actors*. (Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare). New York: Columbia University Press, 195-221.

Moghadam, Assaf (2017, April): Marriage of Convenience: The Evolution of Iran and al-Qa`ida's Tactical Cooperation. *CTC Sentinel*, 10(4), 12-18. URL: [https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol10Iss41.pdf](https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/05/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss41.pdf)

Moghaddam, Fathali M. (2018): Iran-United States. In: *Mutual Radicalization: How Groups and Nations Drive Each Other to Extremes*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association (APA), 59-74.

Monier, Elizabeth (2015, Summer): Egypt, Iran, and the Hizbullah Cell: Using Sectarianism to "De-Arabi-ze" and Regionalize Threats to National Interests. *The Middle East Journal*, 69(3), 341-357. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3751/69.3.11>

Naeini, Seyyed Moosa Kazemi; Alekajbaf, Hussein; Heydari, Bahareh (2017): Coping with Violence and Extremism at International Level and Position of Islamic Republic of Iran. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 10(4), 165-173. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5539/jpl.v10n4p165>

Ohlers, C. Alexander (2018, February): The Uncertain Future of Iraq's Popular Mobilization Units. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(3), 8-11. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/TM\\_February-8-2018.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/TM_February-8-2018.pdf)

Oktav, Özden Zeynep (2015): The Syrian Civil War and Turkey-Syria-Iran Relations. *Syria Studies*, 7(2), 1-19. URL: <https://ojs.st-andrews.ac.uk/index.php/syria/article/view/1116/867>

Oktav, Özden Zeynep (2018): Understanding Iran's Approach to Violent Non-State Actors: The ISIS and YPG Cases. In: Özden Zeynep Oktav; Emel Parlar Dal; Ali Murat Kurşun (Eds.): *Violent Non-State Actors and the Syrian Civil War: The ISIS and YPG Cases*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 193-210. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-67528-2\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-67528-2_10)

- Oktav, Özden Zeynep (2019): Turkish-Iranian Relations in Syria: Between Rivalry and Engagement. In: Raymond Hinnebusch; Adham Saouli (Eds.): *The War for Syria: Regional and International Dimensions of the Syrian Uprising*. (Routledge/ St. Andrews Syrian Studies Series). Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 11.
- Ostovar, Afshon (2018, November): Iran, its Clients, and the Future of the Middle East: The Limits of Religion. *International Affairs*, 94(6), 1237-1255. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiy185>
- Owen, John M., IV (2015): Watch Turkey and Iran. In: *Confronting Political Islam: Six Lessons from the West's Past*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 130-155.
- Patten, David A. (2015, Fall): Policy Brief: Defeating ISIS, Rolling Back Iran. *Middle East Quarterly*, 22(4). URL: <https://www.meforum.org/middle-east-quarterly/pdfs/5479.pdf>
- Paunic, Natalia (2016, Summer): The Rising Shi'a Crescent: Iranian Smart Power and Implications for the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Persian Gulf. *Carleton Review of International Affairs*, 3, 70-92. URL: <https://doi.org/10.22215/cria.v3i0.120>
- Perkins, Brian M. (2019, July): US-Iran Tensions Overshadow Houthi Agenda in War in Yemen. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(13), 7-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/TM-July-3-2019-1-1.pdf>
- Pyszczynski, Tom et al. (2006, April): Mortality Salience, Martyrdom, and Military Might: The Great Satan Versus the Axis of Evil. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(4), 525-537. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167205282157>
- Rabi, Uzi; Friedman, Brandon (2017, April): Weaponizing Sectarianism in Iraq and Syria. *Orbis*, 61(3), 423-438. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2017.04.003> URL: <https://kundoc.com/pdf-weaponizing-sectarianism-in-iraq-and-syria-.html>
- Ranstorp, Magnus (2016, January): Hezbollah's Calculus after the Iran Nuclear Deal. *CTC Sentinel*, 9(1), 10-13. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2016/01/CTC-SENTINEL-Vol9Iss15.pdf>
- Rastegar, Kamran (2011): Global Frames on Afghanistan: The Iranian Mediation of Afghanistan in International Art House Cinema after September 11, 2001. In: Zubeda Jalalzai; David Jefferess (Eds.): *Globalizing Afghanistan: Terrorism, War, and the Rhetoric of Nation Building*. Durham: Duke University Press, 145-164.
- Rezaei, Shahamak; Goli, Marco (2019): The Shia and the Sunni Islamic Radicalisation: Iran and Iraq. In: *Routledge Handbook of Islamic Radicalisation*. (Routledge Handbooks). Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 20.
- Saad, Amal (2019, November): Challenging the Sponsor-Proxy Model: The Iran-Hizbullah Relationship. *Global Discourse*, 9(4), 627-650. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1332/204378919X15718898344883>
- Sadeghi-Boroujerdi, Eskandar (2017): Strategic Depth, Counterinsurgency, and the Logic of Sectarianization: The Islamic Republic of Iran's Security Doctrine and its Regional Implications. In: Nader Hashemi; Danny Postel (Eds.): *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East*. New York: Oxford University Press, 159-184.
- Saouli, Adham (2019, November): Challenging the Sponsor-Proxy Model: The Iran-Hizbullah Relationship: A Reply to Saad. *Global Discourse*, 9(4), 651-653. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1332/204378919X15718898582320>
- Schmierer, Richard J. et al. (2016, Summer): The Saudi-Iranian Rivalry and the Obama Doctrine. *Middle East Policy*, 23(2), 5-30. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12192>
- Shay, Shaul (2014): Iran and Terror Abductions. In: *Global Jihad and the Tactic of Terror Abduction: A Comprehensive Review of Islamic Terrorist Organizations*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 33-57.
- Sheehan, Ivan Sascha (2013, Fall): Challenging a Terrorist Tag in the Media: Framing the Politics of Resistance and an Iranian Opposition Group. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 22(2), 229-261. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12033>

- Sheehan, Ivan Sascha (2015, Spring): Balancing Ends, Ways, and Means: The Case for Reviving Support for “Regime Change from Within” in Iran. *The Journal on Terrorism and Security Analysis*, 10, 27-36. URL: [https://satsa.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/JTSA\\_Spring\\_2015.pdf](https://satsa.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/JTSA_Spring_2015.pdf)
- Siddique, Abubakar (2018, July): Iran Ramps up Support to Taliban in Western Afghanistan. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(15), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Terrorism-Monitor-July-28-2018.pdf>
- Spahiu, Ebi (2018, October): MEK in Albania—Potential Implications and Security Concerns for Albania. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(19), 8-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/TM-Oct.-12-2018-Issue.pdf>
- Smith, Hayden J. (2018): Threats Won’t Work. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward Terrorism and Genocide*, 11(3), 149-159. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2018.1432868>
- Soufan, Ali (2018, November): Qassem Soleimani and Iran’s Unique Regional Strategy. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(10), 1-12. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/11/CTC-SENTINEL-112018.pdf>
- Soufan, Ali (2019, November): Next in Line to Lead al-Qa`ida: A Profile of Abu Muhammad al-Masri. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(10), 1-10. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/11/CTC-SENTINEL-102019.pdf>
- Tabaar, Mohammad Ayatollahi (2018): The Hostage Crisis: The Untold Account of the Communist Threat. In: *Religious Statecraft: The Politics of Islam in Iran*. (Columbia Studies in Middle East Politics). New York: Columbia University Press, 111-146.
- Tabatabai, Ariane (2017, September): Containment and Strike: Iran’s Drone Program. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(17), 8-10. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/TM\\_September-11-2017.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/TM_September-11-2017.pdf)
- Tabatabai, Ariane; Esfandiary, Dina (2017): Cooperating with Iran to Combat ISIS in Iraq. *The Washington Quarterly*, 40(3), 129-146. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2017.1370338>
- Taremi, Kamran (2015): At the Service of Hizbollah: The Iranian Ministry of Construction Jihad in Lebanon, 1988–2003. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 16(2-3), 248-262. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2015.1080164>
- Taylor, Paul W. (2017, September): Iranian Unconventional Warfare in Yemen. *Small Wars Journal*, 9/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/iranian-unconventional-warfare-in-yemen>
- Terris, Christopher G. (2017, Spring): Iran at the WTO: The Future of U.S. State Sponsor of Terrorism Sanctions. *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics*, 49(3), 891-919. URL: <https://nyujilp.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/NYI304.pdf>
- Trenta, Luca (2016): “We Are Sticking with the Shah”: The Carter Administration and Iran, 1977-1979. In: *Risk and Presidential Decision-Making: The Emergence of Foreign Policy Crises*. (Routledge Studies in US Foreign Policy). Abingdon: Routledge, 111-158.
- Tromblay, Darren E. (2017, April): The Washington Face of Islamic Extremism: Saudi Arabian and Iranian Use of U.S. Lobbyists and other Proxies to Disrupt Decisive U.S. Decision-Making. *Small Wars Journal*, 4/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-washington-face-of-islamic-extremism-saudi-arabian-and-iranian-use-of-us-lobbyists-and->
- Tsukerman, Irina (2019, December): What Fox News Hasn’t Told You about Qatar and Iran. *Small Wars Journal*, 12/2019. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/what-fox-news-hasnt-told-you-about-qatar-and-iran>
- Vakilpour, Zohreh; Rastegari, Behnam (2018, October): The Need for Rehabilitation of Terrorists in Iran. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(10), 17-19. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/CTTA-October-2018.pdf>

- Venger, Olesya (2016, April): The Strategic Use of News Coverage of the 2009 “Green Movement” in the US and Iranian Newspapers as Social Drama. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 9(1), 61-79. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.9.1.61\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.9.1.61_1)
- Wastnidge, Edward (2017, Summer): Iran and Syria: An Enduring Axis. *Middle East Policy*, 24(2), 148-159. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12275>
- Wastnidge, Edward (2019, November): Transnational Identity Claims, Roles and Strategic Foreign Policy Narratives in the Middle East. *Global Discourse*, 9(4), 605-625. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1332/204378919X15718897799871>
- Wege, Carl Anthony (2015, September): Urban and Rural Militia Organizations in Syria’s Less Governed Spaces. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 6(3), 35-61. URL: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.1123>
- Weiss, Michael; Hassan, Hassan (2015): Agents of Chaos: Iran and Al Qaeda. In: *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*. New York: Regan Arts, 48-67.
- Wigginton, Michael et al. (2015): Al-Qods Force: Iran’s Weapon of Choice to Export Terrorism. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 10(2), 153-165. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2015.1090053>
- Wilner, Alex (2018): The Dark Side of Extended Deterrence: Thinking through the State Sponsorship of Terrorism. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 41(3), 410-437. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2017.1284064>
- Windecker, Gidon; Sendrowicz, Peter (2016, December): Cold War in the Gulf: The Rivalry of Saudi and Iranian Narratives for Hegemony in the Middle East. *KAS Auslandsinformationen*, 4/2016, 80-95. URL: <https://www.kas.de/de/web/auslandsinformationen/artikel/detail/-/content/kalter-krieg-am-golf>
- Winer, Jonathan M. (2008, July): Countering Terrorist Finance: A Work, Mostly in Progress. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 618(1), 112-132. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716208317696>
- Youngs, Richard (2014): Syria, Iran, and Regional Upheavals. In: *Europe in the New Middle East: Opportunity or Exclusion?* (Oxford Studies in Democratization). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 147-170.
- Zahed, Mosa (2017): The Evolution and Ascension of Iran’s Terror Apparatus. In: Paulo Casaca; Siegfried O. Wolf (Eds.): *Terrorism Revisited: Islamism, Political Violence and State-Sponsorship*. (Contemporary South Asian Studies). Cham: Springer International, 57-82. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55690-1\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55690-1_3)
- Zahid, Farhan (2017, July): Jaish al-Adl’s Reemergence Threatens Iran-Pakistan Relations. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(14), 6-7. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Terrorism-Monitor-July-14-2017.pdf>
- Zambelis, Chris (2015, April): Iran Confronts Intensifying Insurgent Offensive in Sistan-Balochistan Province. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(8), 6-8. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue8\\_02.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue8_02.pdf)
- Zambelis, Chris (2015, August): Nuclear Agreement Overshadows Arab Unrest in Iranian Khuzestan. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(16), 3-5. URL: [https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue16\\_01.pdf](https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue16_01.pdf)
- Zambelis, Chris (2017, June-July): Terror in Tehran: The Islamic State Goes to War with the Islamic Republic. *CTC Sentinel*, 10(6), 16-21. URL: [https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/07/CTC-Sentinel\\_Vol10Iss6.pdf](https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/07/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss6.pdf)
- Zenn, Jacob (2019, July): A Shia “Boko Haram” Insurgency or Iranian Proxy in Nigeria? Not so Fast. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(15), 7-9. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/TM-July-26-2019.pdf>

### Grey Literature

Alemzadeh, Maryam (2019, August): *The Informal Roots of the IRGC and the Implications for Iranian Politics Today*. (Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Middle East Brief No. 130). URL: <https://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/middle-east-briefs/pdfs/101-200/meb130.pdf>

al-Qarawee, Harith Hasan (2017, January): *Sistani, Iran, and the Future of Shii Clerical Authority in Iraq*. (Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Middle East Brief No. 105). URL: <https://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/middle-east-briefs/pdfs/101-200/meb105.pdf>

al-Smadi, Fatima (2015, September): *Analysis: Hamas, Islamic Jihad Redefining Relations with Iran*. [AMEC, Trans.]. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2015/09/201592084340199169.html>

al-Smadi, Fatima (2017, March): *Iran and the Arab Revolutions: Narratives Establishing Iran's Monopolism*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2017/03/iran-arab-revolutions-narratives-establishing-irans-monopolism-170318050125225.html>

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), Policy Analysis Unit (2016, January): *Saudi-Iranian Tension: Roots and Implications of the Crisis*. (Assessment Report). URL: [https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Saudi-Iranian\\_Tension\\_Roots\\_and\\_Implications\\_of\\_the\\_Crisis.aspx](https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Saudi-Iranian_Tension_Roots_and_Implications_of_the_Crisis.aspx)

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), Policy Analysis Unit (2018, February): *Israel and Iran Battle out over Syrian Skies*. (Situation Assessment). URL: <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/The-Israeli-Aggression-on-Syrian-Territory-and-the-Prospects-of-the-Israeli-Iranian-confrontation.aspx>

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), Policy Analysis Unit (2018, April): *Israeli-Iranian Escalation: A Direct Confrontation on the Horizon?* (Situation Assessment). URL: <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Israeli-Iranian-escalation-In-Syria-and-the-potential-for-confrontation.aspx>

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), Policy Analysis Unit (2018, May): *Iranian-Israeli Escalation in Syria*. (Situation Assessment). URL: <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Israeli-Iranian-Escalation.aspx>

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), Unit for Political Studies (2019, September): *Iraq's Dilemma: The Uncertain Future of the Popular Mobilization Forces*. (Situation Assessment). URL: <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Future-of-the-Popular-Mobilization-Forces-on-Iraq.aspx>

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), Unit for Political Studies (2020, January): *US Iran Tensions at Boiling Point: How will Iran Respond to the Assassination of Qassem Soleimani?* (Situation Assessment). URL: <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/US-Iran-Crisis-How-will-Iran-Respond-to-the-Assassination-of-Qassem-Soleimani.aspx>

Bauer, Katherine (2018, September): *Survey of Terrorist Groups and their Means of Financing*. (Testimony submitted to the House Financial Services Subcommittee on Terrorism and Illicit Finance, September 7, 2018). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/survey-of-terrorist-groups-and-their-means-of-financing>

Bodansky, Yossef (2016, January): *More Heretical Musings on the Coming End-of-Time Battle*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 398). URL: [http://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/398\\_Bodansky.pdf](http://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/398_Bodansky.pdf)

Bodansky, Yossef (2016, January): *The Evolution of Russian, Syrian, and Iranian Actions against the Jihadist Movements and Turkish-U.S. Responses*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 394). URL: [http://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/394\\_Bodansky.pdf](http://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/394_Bodansky.pdf)



- Bucala, Paul (2017, February): *Iran's New Way of War in Syria*. (ISW / CT Report). URL: <http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/irans-new-way-war-syria>
- Cafarella, Jennifer; with Omer Kassim (2017, November): *Iran's Role in the Kirkuk Operation in Iraq*. (ISW Study). URL: <http://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/iran%E2%80%99s-role-kirkuk-operation-iraq>
- Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) (2016, January): *Regional Implications of the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry*. In: *The Foreign Fighters Phenomenon and Related Security Trends in the Middle East: Highlights from the Workshop*. (World Watch: Expert Notes Series Publication No. 2016-01-01), 109-114. URL: <https://www.canada.ca/en/security-intelligence-service/corporate/publications/the-foreign-fighters-phenomenon-and-related-security-trends-in-the-middle-east.html>
- Casaca, Paulo; Wolf, Siegfried O. (2017, June): *Waging Jihad by Other Means: Iran's Drug Business and its Role within the International Crime-Terror Nexus*. (SADF Working Paper, Issue n° 5). URL: <https://www.sadf.eu/sadf-working-paper-5-waging-jihad-means-irans-drug-business-role-within-international-crime-terror-nexus-paulo-casaca-siegfried-o-wolf>
- Christensen, Janne Bjerre (2016, December): *Guests or Trash: Iran's Precarious Policies towards the Afghan Refugees in the Wake of Sanctions and Regional Wars*. (DIIS Report). URL: <https://www.diis.dk/en/research/afghans-as-a-bargaining-chip>
- Clawson, Patrick; Ghaddar, Hanin; Uskowi, Nader (2018, January): *Middle East FAQs Volume 1: What is the Shia Crescent?* [Video]. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Analysis: Interviews and Presentations). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/middle-east-faqs-volume-1-what-is-the-shia-crescent>
- Cordesman, Anthony H. (2020, January): *The Gulf and Iran's Capability for Asymmetric Warfare*. (CSIS Working Paper). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/gulf-and-irans-capabilities-asymmetric-warfare>
- Cordesman, Anthony H.; Toukan, Abdullah; with the Assistance of Max Molot (2019, December): *The Gulf Military Balance in 2019: A Graphic Analysis*. (CSIS Working Paper). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/gulf-military-balance-and-us-commitments-gulf>
- Cordesman, Anthony H.; with the assistance of Nicholas Harrington (2018, December): *The Arab Gulf States and Iran: Military Spending, Modernization, and the Shifting Military Balance*. (CSIS Report). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/arab-gulf-states-and-iran-military-spending-modernization-and-shifting-military-balance>
- Dabashi, Hamid (2015, July): *Iran, the US and the Arab World: The Dynamics of Counterrevolutionary Forces*. (ACRPS Policy Analysis). URL: [https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Iran the US and the Arab World The Dynamics of Counterrevolutionary Forces.aspx](https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/Iran%20the%20US%20and%20the%20Arab%20World%20The%20Dynamics%20of%20Counterrevolutionary%20Forces.aspx)
- Daly, Galip (2017, December): *Evolution of Turkey – Iraqi Kurdistan's Relations*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2017/12/evolution-turkey-iraqi-kurdistans-relations-171220092851950.html>
- Dekel, Udi; Valensi, Carmit (2017, August): *The Iranian Threat in Syria: As Bad as it Seems?* (INSS Insight No. 967). URL: <http://www.inss.org.il/publication/iranian-threat-syria-bad-seems>
- Dury-Agri, Jessa Rose; Kassim, Omer; Martin, Patrick (2017, December): *Iraqi Security Forces and Popular Mobilization Forces: Orders of Battle*. (ISW Report). URL: <http://www.understandingwar.org/report/iraqi-security-forces-and-popular-mobilization-forces-orders-battle-0>
- Eisenstadt, Michael (2015, November): *The Strategic Culture of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Religion, Expediency, and Soft Power in an Era of Disruptive Change*. (MES Monographs, No. 7; expanded & rev. 2nd ed.). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-strategic-culture-of-the-islamic-republic-of-iran-religion-expediency-a>

- Engel, Eliot L. (Chairman) et al. (2020, January): *From Sanctions to the Soleimani Strike to Escalation: Evaluating the Administration's Iran Policy*. (Hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, January 14, 2020). URL: <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/2020/1/from-sanctions-to-the-soleimani-strike-to-escalation-evaluating-the-administration-s-iran-policy>
- Esfandiary, Dina (2019, November): *Trump-Iran: The Political Ironies of "Maximum Pressure" versus "Maximum Resistance"*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2019/11/trump-iran-political-ironies-maximum-pressure-maximum-resistance-191114110218958.html>
- Ezzeddine, Nancy; Sulz, Matthias; van Veen, Erwin (2019, July): *The Hashd Is Dead, Long Live the Hashd!* (CRU Report). URL: <https://www.clingendael.org/publication/hashd-dead-long-live-hashd>
- Faramarzi, Scheherezade (2018, April): *Iran's Sunnis Resist Extremism, but for How Long?* (Atlantic Council Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/iran-s-sunnis-resist-extremism-but-for-how-long>
- Felbab-Brown, Vanda (2019, June): *Pitfalls of the Paramilitary Paradigm: The Iraqi State, Geopolitics, and Al-Hashd Al-Shaabi*. (Policy Brief; Brookings Institution / United Nations University Centre for Policy Research). URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/pitfalls-of-the-paramilitary-paradigm-the-iraqi-state-geopolitics-and-al-hashd-al-shaabi>
- Fitzpatrick, Mike (Chairman) et al. (2016, July): *Iran Nuclear Deal and its Impact on Terrorism Financing*. (Hearing before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Financial Services, July 22, 2015). URL: <https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=791082>
- Fox, Emma (2019, May): *Islamic Human Rights Commission: Advocating for the Ayatollahs*. (CRT Report). URL: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/publications/islamic-human-rights-commission-advocating-for-the-ayatollahs>
- Ghaddar, Hanin (2018, September): *Iran and Hezbollah in Syria: U.S. Policy Options*. (Testimony submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Middle East and North Africa, September 27, 2018). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iran-and-hezbollah-in-syria-u.s.-policy-options>
- Ghaddar, Hanin (Ed.) (2018, February): *Iran's Foreign Legion: The Impact of Shia Militias on U.S. Foreign Policy*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes, PN46). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/irans-foreign-legion-the-impact-of-shia-militias-on-u.s.-foreign-policy>
- Ghaddar, Hanin; Smyth, Phillip (2018, February): *Rolling Back Iran's Foreign Legion*. [Video]. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, PolicyWatch 2926). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/rolling-back-irans-foreign-legion>
- Goldberg, Ori (2018, July): *Iran and Shi'ite Terrorism: The Decision-Making System in Iran and the Balance of Power between Centers of Power*. (ICT Articles). URL: [https://www.ict.org.il/Article/2233/Iran\\_and\\_Shi%E2%80%99ite\\_Terrorism](https://www.ict.org.il/Article/2233/Iran_and_Shi%E2%80%99ite_Terrorism)
- Goldberg, Ori et al. (2019, October): *Iran and the Houthi in Yemen*. (ICT Iran and Shi'ite Terrorism Desk Report). URL: [http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2458/Iran\\_and\\_the\\_Houthi\\_in\\_Yemen\\_\(2019\)](http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2458/Iran_and_the_Houthi_in_Yemen_(2019))
- Hatahet, Sinan (2019, March): *Russia and Iran: Economic Influence in Syria*. (Chatham House, Middle East and North Africa Programme Research Paper). URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/russia-and-iran-economic-influence-syria>
- Heras, Nicholas (2017, September): *Gray Zones in the Middle East*. (CNAS Report). URL: <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/gray-zones-in-the-middle-east>
- Herzog, Michael (2017, December): *The Growing Risk of an Israel-Iran Confrontation in Syria*. (The Wash-

ington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes, PN43). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-growing-risk-of-an-israel-iran-confrontation-in-syria>

Herzog, Michael (2019, July): *Iran across the Border: Israel's Pushback in Syria*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes, No. 66). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iran-across-the-border-israels-pushback-in-syria>

Ighani, Helia (2016, October): *Managing the Saudi-Iran Rivalry: Insights from a CFR Workshop*. (Report). URL: <https://www.cfr.org/report/managing-saudi-iran-rivalry>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, December): *Turkey and Iran: Bitter Friends, Bosom Rivals*. (Middle East Briefing N°51). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iran/b051-turkey-and-iran-bitter-friends-bosom-rivals>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, February): *Israel, Hizbollah and Iran: Preventing Another War in Syria*. (Middle East Report N°182). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/182-israel-hizbollah-and-iran-preventing-another-war-syria>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, April): *Iran's Priorities in a Turbulent Middle East*. (Middle East Report N°184). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iran/184-irans-priorities-turbulent-middle-east>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, May): *Saudi Arabia: Back to Baghdad*. (Middle East Report N°186). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/186-saudi-arabia-back-baghdad>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2020, January): *The Iran Nuclear Deal at Four: A Requiem?* (Middle East Report N°210). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iran/210-iran-nuclear-deal-four-requiem>

Jahanbani, Nakissa (2020, January): *Beyond Soleimani: Implications for Iran's Proxy Network in Iraq and Syria*. (CTC Perspectives). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/beyond-soleimani-implications-irans-proxy-network-iraq-syria>

Jamal, Ahmad Shuja (2019, March): *The Fatemiyoun Army: Reintegration into Afghan Society*. (USIP Special Report No. 443). URL: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2019/03/fatemiyoun-army-reintegration-afghan-society>

Jones, Seth G. (2020, January): *Containing Tehran: Understanding Iran's Power and Exploiting its Vulnerabilities*. (CSIS Transnational Threats Project Report). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/containing-tehran-understanding-irans-power-and-exploiting-its-vulnerabilities>

Kagan, Frederick W. et al. (2016, January): *Competing Visions for Syria and Iraq: The Myth of an Anti-ISIS Grand Coalition*. (ISW / CTP Report; U.S. Grand Strategy: Destroying ISIS and Al Qaeda, Report Two). URL: <http://www.understandingwar.org/report/competing-visions-syria-and-iraq-myth-anti-isis-grand-coalition>

Kagan, Frederick W. et al. (2020, January): *Iranian Escalation Timeline*. (ISW / CTP Analysis). URL: <http://www.understandingwar.org/background/iranian-escalation-timeline>

Karmon, Ely (2017, June): *ISIS and the Sunni Separatists Aim Fire at Iran*. (IEEE Opinion Document 62/2017). URL: <http://www.ieee.es/en/contenido/noticias/2017/06/DIEEEO62-2017.html>

Karmon, Ely (2018, May): *The Israeli-Iranian Confrontation in Syria*. (ICT Article). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2203/The-Israeli-Iranian-Confrontation-in-Syria>

Karmon, Ely (2018, November): *The Return of Iranian Terrorism to Europe*. (ICT Article; RED-Alert project). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2287/Return-of-Iranian-Terrorism-to-Europe>

- Katzman, Kenneth (2019, November): *Iran: Internal Politics and U.S. Policy and Options*. (CRS Report for Congress RL32048). URL: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL32048.pdf>
- Kendall, Elisabeth (2017, October): *Iran's Fingerprints in Yemen: Real or Imagined?* (Atlantic Council Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/iran-s-fingerprints-in-yemen-real-or-imagined>
- Khalaji, Mehdi (2016, October): *The Shiite Clergy Post-Khamenei: Balancing Authority and Autonomy*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Research Notes, No. 37). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-shiite-clergy-post-khamenei-balancing-authority-and-autonomy>
- Khalaji, Mehdi (2017, February): *The Future of Leadership in the Shiite Community*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus No. 152). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-future-of-leadership-in-the-shiite-community>
- King, Peter T. (Chairman) et al. (2016, February): *The Future of Iranian Terror and its Threat to the U.S. Homeland*. (Hearing before the House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, February 11, 2016; Serial No. 114–53). URL: <https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=797166>
- King, Peter T. (Chairman) et al. (2018, April): *State Sponsors of Terrorism: An Examination of Iran's Global Terrorism Network*. (Hearing before the House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, April 17, 2018; Serial No. 115–59). URL: <https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=816710>
- Knights, Michael (2017, October): *How to Contain and Roll Back Iranian-Backed Militias*. (Testimony submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, October 4, 2017). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/how-to-contain-and-roll-back-iranian-backed-militias>
- Kozak, Christopher (2017, March): *Iran's Assad Regime*. (ISW / CT Report). URL: <http://www.understanding-war.org/backgrounders/irans-assad-regime>
- Lahoud, Nelly (2019, February): *Al-Qa'ida's Contested Relationship with Iran: The View from Abbottabad*. (Research Paper; New America / ASU Center on the Future of War). URL: <https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/reports/al-qaidas-contested-relationship-iran>
- Levitt, Matthew (2015, September): *Major Beneficiaries of the Iran Deal: IRGC and Hezbollah*. (Testimony submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, September 17, 2015). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/major-beneficiaries-of-the-iran-deal-ircg-and-hezbollah>
- Levitt, Matthew; Knights, Michael (2017, January): *Iranian-Backed Terrorism in Bahrain: Finding a Sustainable Solution*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, PolicyWatch 2750). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iranian-backed-terrorism-in-bahrain-finding-a-sustainable-solution>
- Lin, Christina (2020, January): *China Might Take Iran's Side in a War with US*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 665). URL: [https://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/665\\_Lin.pdf](https://www.ispsw.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/665_Lin.pdf)
- Logan, Michael K.; Zimmerman, Lauren; Ligon, Gina S. (2019, August): *Influential Violent Extremist Organizational Partners of Iran*. (NSI Paper). URL: <https://nsiteam.com/influential-violent-extremist-organizational-partners-of-iran>
- Maloney, Suzanne (2015, September): *Major Beneficiaries of the Iran Deal: The IRGC and Hezbollah*. (Testimony submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, September 17, 2015). URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/major-beneficiaries-of-the-iran-deal-the-ircg-and-hezbollah>

- Maloney, Suzanne (2017, September): *The Roots and Evolution of Iran's Regional Strategy*. (Atlantic Council Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/the-roots-drivers-and-evolution-of-iran-s-regional-strategy>
- Middle East Institute (MEI); Etana Syria (2019, October): *Divide and Conquer: The Growing Hezbollah Threat to the Druze*. (MEI Policy Paper 2019-20). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/divide-and-conquer-growing-hezbollah-threat-druze>
- Murciano, Gil (2017, October): *Israel vis-à-vis Iran in Syria: The Perils of Active Containment*. (SWP Comment 2017/C 41). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/israel-and-irans-growing-influence-in-syria>
- Murciano, Gil (2018, July): *Preventing a Spillover of the Iran-Israel Conflict in Syria*. (SWP Comment 2018/C 27). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/preventing-a-spillover-of-the-iran-israel-conflict-in-syria>
- Mustafa, Mohammad Salih (2016, April): *Iran's Role in the Kurdistan Region*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/04/160420105055207.html>
- Nader, Alireza (2015): *Iran's Role in Iraq: Room for Cooperation?* (RAND Perspectives, PE-151-OSD). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7249/PE151>
- Newlee, Danika; Jones, Seth G.; Bermudez, Joseph S., Jr. (2020, January): *Signposts of Struggle: Iran's Enduring Protest Movement*. (CSIS Briefs). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/signposts-struggle-irans-enduring-protest-movement>
- Orton, Kyle (2016, June): *How the Iran Entente Caused the Syria Crisis*. (HJS Centre for the New Middle East, Policy Paper No. 10). URL: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/publications/how-the-iran-entente-caused-the-syria-crisis>
- Pagano, Sabrina (Ed.) (2018, March): *Competition Short of Armed Conflict with a Regional Power: Lessons from the Gray Zone (and Beyond) for US-Iran Relations*. (SMA Reach-back Report). URL: <http://nsiteam.com/competition-short-of-armed-conflict-with-a-regional-power>
- Pahlavi, Reza; Doran, Michael (2020, January): *The Future of Iran: A Conversation with Reza Pahlavi*. (Hudson Institute Discussion Transcript). URL: <https://www.hudson.org/research/15647-transcript-the-future-of-iran-a-conversation-with-reza-pahlavi>
- Pletka, Danielle (2017, October): *Tehran Stands atop the Syria-Iran Alliance*. (Atlantic Council Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/tehran-stands-atop-the-syria-iran-alliance>
- Pollack, Kenneth M. (2017, December): *Iran in Iraq*. (Atlantic Council Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/iran-in-iraq>
- Saab, Bilal Y. (2018, May): *Beyond the Proxy Powder Keg: The Specter of War between Saudi Arabia and Iran*. (Policy Paper 2-2018). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/beyond-proxy-powder-keg-specter-war-between-saudi-arabia-and-iran>
- Şaban, Navvar (2018, July): *Iranian Involvement in Syria's Southern Front*. (Omran Special Report). URL: <http://omranstudies.org/publications/reports/iranian-involvement-in-syria%E2%80%99s-southern-front.html>
- Salem, Paul (2018, January): *The Rise of Violent Transnational Movements in the Middle East: Historical Context, Dynamic Drivers and Policy Takeaways*. (Middle East Institute Policy Paper 2018-1). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/rise-violent-transnational-movements-middle-east>
- Schneider, Tobias (2018, October): *The Fatemiyoun Division: Afghan Fighters in the Syrian Civil War*. (MEI

- Policy Paper 2018-9). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/fatemiyoun-division-afghan-fighters-syrian-civil-war>
- Selvik, Kjetil (2015, October): *War in Yemen: The View from Iran*. (NOREF Expert Analysis). URL: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/194322/3aa838bcc38767deb0af8f2125e20f36.pdf>
- Shaikh, Shaan (2019, December): *Iranian Missiles in Iraq*. (CSIS Briefs). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/iranian-missiles-iraq>
- Shay, Shaul (2018, December): *Iran and the Terror in Sistan-Baluchistan Province*. (ICT Articles). URL: [http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2309/Iran and the terror in Sistan](http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2309/Iran%20and%20the%20terror%20in%20Sistan)
- Shay, Shaul (2019, April): *The Threat of Iranian Armed Drones*. (ICT Articles). URL: [http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2372/The threat of Iranian armed drones](http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2372/The%20threat%20of%20Iranian%20armed%20drones)
- Sial, Safdar (2015, April): *An Analysis of Emerging Pakistani-Iranian Ties*. (NOREF Report). URL: <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/190006/d7f90a473ca2847f0ccf74f31d02fb8e.pdf>
- Slavin, Barbara (2016, May): *Will Iran's Human Rights Record Improve?* (Atlantic Council, South Asia Center Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/will-iran-s-human-rights-record-improve>
- Smyth, Phillip; Michetti, Tim; Daniels, Owen (2017, September): *Revolution Unveiled: A Closer Look at Iran's Presence and Influence in the Middle East*. (Atlantic Council Report). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/revolution-unveiled-a-closer-look-at-iran-s-presence-and-influence-in-the-middle-east>
- Soufan Center, The (2019, May): *Iran's Playbook: Deconstructing Tehran's Regional Strategy*. (Report). URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/research/irans-playbook-deconstructing-tehrans-regional-strategy>
- Spadoni, Giacomo (2019, April): *IRGC Cyber-Warfare Capabilities*. (ICT Cyber Desk Article; RED-Alert project). URL: [http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2380/IRGC Cyber-Warfare Capabilities](http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2380/IRGC%20Cyber-Warfare%20Capabilities)
- Speckhard, Anne (2017, March): *Appointed or Elected Leaders as Part of the Answer for Addressing Violent Extremism in the Region: A View from Iran*. (ICSVE Brief Reports). URL: <https://www.icsve.org/appointed-or-elected-leaders-as-part-of-the-answer-for-addressing-violent-extremism-in-the-region-a-view-from-iran>
- Spyer, Jonathan (2015, October): *Tehran's Servants: Iraq's Shia Militias Emerge as the Key Armed Force Facing Islamic State in Iraq*. (HJS Centre for the New Middle East, Policy Paper No. 6). URL: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/publications/tehrans-servants-iraqs-shia-militias-emerge-as-the-key-armed-forces-facing-is-in-iraq>
- Steinberg, Guido (2017, July): *The Badr Organization: Iran's Most Important Instrument in Iraq*. (SWP Comment 2017/C 26). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/the-badr-organization-irans-instrument-in-iraq>
- Tanchum, Michaël (2019, May): *Drone Attacks on Saudi Oil Infrastructure Are a Calibrated Message from Iran*. (IAI Commentaries 19 | 35). URL: <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/drone-attacks-saudi-oil-infrastructure-are-calibrated-message-iran>
- Tarzi, Amin (2017, June): *Iran, Russia, and the Taliban: Reassessing the Future of the Afghan State*. (FPRI E-Notes). URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/06/iran-russia-taliban-reassessing-future-afghan-state>
- U.S. Government Accountability Office (U.S. GAO) (2014, September): *Strategy to Counter Iran in the Western Hemisphere has Gaps that State Department Should Address*. (Report to Congressional Requesters). URL: <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-14-834>
- Uskowi, Nader (2018, September): *The Evolving Iranian Strategy in Syria: A Looming Conflict with Israel*. (Atlantic Council, Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/>

[publications/issue-briefs/the-evolving-iranian-strategy-in-syria-a-looming-conflict-with-israel](#)

Uskowi, Nader; Alfonh, Ali; Vatanka, Alex (2018, December): *The IRGC and Regional Conflict: Temperature Rising*. [Video]. (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, PolicyWatch 3049). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-irgc-and-regional-conflict-temperature-rising>

Wyss, Michel D. (2016, April): *Iranian Proxy Warfare in Iraq and Yemen*. (ICT Paper; Submission to the Ragionis Scholarship 2015/2016). URL: <https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1749/iranian-proxy-warfare-in-iraq-and-yemen>

### Note

Whenever retrievable, URLs for freely available versions of subscription-based publications have been provided. Thanks to the Open Access movement, self-archiving of publications in institutional repositories, on professional networking sites, or author homepages for free public use (so-called Green Open Access) has become more common. Please note, that the content of Green Open Access documents is not necessarily identical to the officially published versions (e.g., in case of preprints); it might therefore not have passed through all editorial stages publishers employ to ensure quality control (peer review, copy and layout editing etc.). In some cases, articles may only be cited after obtaining permission by the author(s).

**About the Compiler: Judith Tinnes, Ph.D.**, is a Professional Information Specialist. Since 2011, she works for the Leibniz Institute for Psychology Information ([ZPID](#)). Additionally, she serves as Information Resources Editor to 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. In her editorial role, she regularly compiles bibliographies and other resources for *Terrorism Research* (for an inventory visit <https://archive.org/details/terrorism-research-bibliographies>). She wrote her *doctoral thesis* on Internet usage of Islamist terrorists and insurgents (focus: media-oriented hostage takings). E-mail: [j.tinnes@gmx.de](mailto:j.tinnes@gmx.de)