Resources

Counterterrorism Bookshelf: 18 Books on Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism-Related Subjects

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

This column consists of two parts: an account of this reviewer's attendance at the books exhibit of the 132nd Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, DC, which was held in early January 2018, and 18 capsule reviews of books from various publishers.

American Historical Association's 132nd Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 4-7, 2018.

The American Historical Association (www.historians.org) is the world's largest association of historians, with more than 12,000 members at universities, museums, libraries and archives, government agencies and historical organizations. The conference's speaker and paper presenter panels were of interest, but I chose to attend its books exhibition to find out about publishers and new books on terrorism- and counterterrorism-related subjects I may not have been aware of, including forthcoming books. Some 80 publishers, including academic journals and digital-based archival libraries, exhibited at the conference, which featured a wealth of books on display and catalogues to browse through, including meeting the publishers' manuscript acquisition editors and marketing staff. Especially interesting was the historical overview covered in the books – which also distinguish this conference from others that focus on current events from an academic perspective – which is crucial in understanding many of the issues that play out in current conflicts that have their origins in their predecessor historical periods.

Numerous well-known publishers were present, such as Harvard University Press, which featured an interesting book by Upinder Singh on *Political Violence in Ancient India* that examines the period from 600 BCE to 600 CE. Of special interest were publishers that I was not previously aware of their extensive listing of books that are relevant for providing an historical background for terrorism and counterterrorism studies. These include the University of Toronto Press (with books about the Canadian intelligence services' historical surveillance of subversives – a forerunner to their current counter-terrorism activities); McGill-Queen's University Press (which I found out had published a book by Brian Jenkins in 2008 on *The Fenian Problem: Insurgency and Terrorism in a Liberal State, 1858-1874*); Edinburgh University Press (which publishes numerous books on Islamic-related subjects such as a series edited by Robert Gleave and István Kristó-Nagy on *Legitimate and Illegitimate Violence in Islamic Thought* and Carool Kersten's *A History of Islam in Indonesia: Unity in Diversity*); Ohio University Press (which has an extensive publishing program on Africa-related topics such as Keren Weitzberg's *We Do Not Have Borders: Greater Somalia and the Predicaments of Belonging in Kenya* and *Dedan Kimathi on Trial: Colonial Justice and Popular Memory in Kenya's Mau Mau Rebellion*, edited by Julie MacArthur); the University Press of Kansas (which has an extensive publication program on military books, with titles such as Mervyn Edwin Roberts III's *The Psychological War for Vietnam, 1960-1968*, Ali Ahmad Jalali's *A Military History of Afghanistan: From the Great Game to the Global War on Terror* and Andrew M. Roe's *Waging War in Waziristan: The British Struggle in the Land of Bin Laden, 1849-1947*); and the University of Nebraska Press, whose backlist of books on terrorism and counterterrorism is enhanced by its absorption of the previously Washington, DC-based Potomac Books, which specializes in military and national security topics.

I was also interested in finding more out about books that discuss methods to conduct historical research. At its booth, Hackett Publishing Company, of Indianapolis, IN, featured a useful book by Stanley Chodorow on *Writing a Successful Research Paper: A Simple Approach*, which presents a strategy for conceptualizing and writing a research paper in the humanities and social sciences, including formulating a research question, developing

a thesis, and selecting materials from a range of disciplines.

Also of interest to researchers are archival research libraries that exhibited at the conference, such as "The Center for Research Libraries" (www.crl.edu), which enables researchers to conduct reviews of publications and analyses from thousands of sources; JSTOR (https://about.jstor.org/), which provides access to more than 10 million academic journal articles, books, and primary sources in some 75 disciplines, and "Top Hat" (www.tophat.com), which provides a software tool that enables instructors to create customized, interactive text-books and a framework for engaging students in a course, which would be useful for courses on terrorism- and counterterrorism- related subjects.

Books on Terrorism and Counterterrorism

Jeffrey M. Bale, *The Darkest Sides of Politics, I: Postwar Fascism, Covert Operations, and Terrorism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 516 pp., US $ 130.00 [Hardcover], US $ 44.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1387-8561-8.

In this collection, most of the chapters were previously published and represent the author's prodigious writings on these issues over the years. The collection's aim is to examine anti-democratic aspects of international politics, which the author terms the "dark sides" of politics. The volume's nine chapters present an overview of extremist ideologies and their relation to terrorism (with political ideologies claiming to provide the answers to the three interrelated questions of "what is wrong with the world," "who is responsible for those wrongs?," and "what needs to be done to correct those wrongs?") (p. 26); the phenomenon of political paranoia and its differentiation from political realism; post-World War II neo-fascist movements in Europe, such as the Nazi escape networks, the Mouvement Social Europeenne, Europäische Neu-Ordnung, Jeune Europe, Aginter Presse and the "strategy of tension" in Italy; the December 1970 "Borghese coup" in Rome; the May 1973 terrorist attack at Milan police's headquarters; an assessment of the terrorist "strategy of tension" in Italy; the ultranationalist right-wing in Turkey and the attempted assassination by Mehmet ali Agca of Pope John Paul II on May 13, 1981; and France's Nouvelle Resistance as an example of 'national revolutionary' groupuscules and the resurgence of 'left-wing fascism." The chapters are extensively footnoted. This collection is highly recommended for scholars who work on these issues. The author is Professor in the Nonproliferation and Terrorism Studies Program at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, CA.

Jeffrey M. Bale, *The Darkest Sides of Politics, II: State Terrorism, "Weapons of Mass Destruction," Religious Extremism, and Organized Crime* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 404 pp., US $ 130.00 [Hardcover], US $ 44.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1387-8563-2.

As in Volume I, most of this volume's chapters were previously published. Unlike the first volume, however, these chapters cover wider issues such as proposing a methodology to study the extent of terrorist groups' use by states as "proxies" through a seven-level degree of involvement (e.g., ranging from state-directed terrorism to state-sanctioned terrorism); a discussion of South Africa's previous involvement in the development of chemical and biological weapons; the previous covert involvement of the Unification Church in front organizations that promoted anti-Communist and other causes; identifying the pre-incident indicators that might throw light on the likelihood of apocalyptic groups resorting to conducting biological terrorist-type warfare (e.g., rhetorical indicators, expressions of interest, financial indicators, demographic indicators, such as the recruitment of specialists with scientific, military and intelligence capabilities; and behavioral indicators, such as the stockpiling of weapons); the strategy and possible employment by jihadist groups of weapons of mass destruction, which would be based on a combination of "fantasy ideology" and operational capability); an assessment of the relationship between Islamism and totalitarianism, based on the writings of leading Islamist ideologues; a critique of the denial by some academics of the link between Islamist ideology and jihadist terrorism, including denial of the role of Islam in justifying the atrocities committed by the Islamic State; an overview of Ahmad Hassan's involvement in the December 1999 plot to bomb the Los Angeles International Airport; and the author's critique of the notion of a "nexus" between terrorists and criminals. While most of the

volume's chapters are excellently analyzed and sourced, and can be considered as "best in breed," this reviewer found the last chapter to be the volume's weakest. First, while it is true, as the author claims, that, at least in theory, the motivational drivers of terrorists and criminals differ, in reality there are numerous examples of criminals who shared the extremist ideology of the terrorist groups they became involved with, as well as terrorist leaders, such as in the Lebanese Hizballah or Palestinian Hamas, who not only directed criminal enterprises, but personally "benefited from the spoils" to enrich themselves. In another criticism, the author is unfair, in this reviewer's opinion, when he criticizes the U.S. and its allies for "creating and maintaining distorted, overly simplistic images of sometimes phantom menaces" regarding the nexus between terrorism and criminality. (p. 365).

Richard J. Chasdi, *Corporate Security Crossroads: Responding to Terrorism, Cyberthreats, and Other Hazards in the Global Business Environment* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/An Imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2018), 242 pp., US $ 48.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4408-3285-7.

With business corporations, especially those with multinational operations, threatened by physical terrorism and cyberattacks, this conceptually innovative book examines how their leaders can mitigate their risks by developing an infrastructure that is able to detect and thwart such risks before they occur. To accomplish these preventative measures, the author provides a political and historical context for understanding the terrorism and cyber threat, the nature of terrorist actors, whether as groups or lone wolves, and the environments in which terrorists operate worldwide, which also represent the regions where corporations operate. To examine these issues, the book is organized into seven chapters. The first three chapters provide a conceptual framework for understanding the evolution of terrorism throughout history and the risk it poses to corporations, which represent high order targets for terrorist attacks. The third chapter, in particular, presents an interesting methodology, which is based on conceptualizing a "terrorist system" as "composed of terrorist attacks, stressors (i.e., political events), political institutional responses to stressors and associated processes, stakeholders and their reactions, and other by-product political and economic effects associated with those interactive processes" (p. 55). This is followed by a risk management formula to enable a corporate security planners to assess the threat level of the environments in which they operate and how upgrading their security posture would lessen their overall vulnerability to attack. The impact of these security enhancements can be operationalized in what the author terms a "Total Security Measure" (TSM) index, which is capable of scoring "the total number of security points" on a scale of 10 to 150 points. (p. 58). In the fourth and fifth chapters, this "complexity systems analysis" is then applied to the cases of the mid-January 2013 attack against the Tigantourine gas plant attack in Amenas, Algeria, and the late November 2002 assaults in Mombasa, Kenya. The sixth chapter examines the spectrum of radicalization, which is accompanied by a valuable diagram on the continuum of radicalization types that range from what the author terms "apolitical radicalization" (i.e., common criminal activity) on the left, "political industrial espionage" in the middle, and "terrorism/cyberterrorism" on the right. (p. 119). This is followed by an examination of 15 hypotheses on the likelihood of different types of terrorist actors (including lone wolves and Islamist actors) to conduct attacks in various locations, their targeting types, and the extent to which some lone wolves had been previously known to law authorities, for example, through their prior involvement in criminal activities. In the concluding chapter, the author makes the useful recommendation that "business executives should compile a portfolio of past attacks in various environments where firms operate and organize and cross reference portfolio cases based on terrorist type, geographical/topography characteristics, resource endowments, and time interval to provide appraisals of terrorist group activities in international enterprise locales. Once such a portfolio of cases is produced, it should be possible to determine areas of multinational security vulnerability based on regular and discernible patterns that appear." (p. 154). The book's appendices include a quantitative analysis of business targets in terrorist attacks in Algeria, Mauritania, and Niger, and data on lone wolf terrorists in terms of their ideology and age. The author is professor of management and associate director of the Center for Complex and Strategic Decisions at Walsh College, in North Canton, Ohio.

Cynthia C. Combs, *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* [Eighth Edition] (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 430 pp., US $ 175.00 [Hardcover], US $ 79.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1386-7139-3.

This textbook provides an authoritative and comprehensive overview of terrorism and counter-terrorism. Building on the volume's previous editions, with the first edition published in 1997 and the last edition appearing in 2012, this edition provides new case studies and updated information on significant developments. The volume is divided into five thematic parts: Part I: "Terrorism in Perspective" (defining terrorism and the objectives of terrorist groups; types of terrorists, such as organized groups and lone wolves; the distinction between terrorism and guerrilla warfare; and the ideology of terrorist groups); Part II: "Who Are the Terrorists?" (profiling terrorists; radicalization into violent extremism; and state terrorism); Part III: "How Do they Operate?" (recruitment into terrorism; terrorism as "big business"; terrorism and criminality; training activities; tactics and weaponry, including weapons of mass destruction; phases of a terrorist attack; terrorism and media of communications; and types of terrorist groups that operate in the United States); Part IV: "Responses to Terrorism" (legal responses; the use of military force; protecting a country's critical infrastructure; and conducting risk assessment in estimating the terrorist threat); and Part V: "Current Trends and Future Prospects" (new trends such as the likelihood of the resort to weapons of mass destruction and cyber-weapons, and what the author terms "The Counterterrorism Learning Curve" in applying new technologies to deter and defeat the latest manifestations of terrorism). As a textbook, the chapters are pedagogically structured with an overview, conclusion, key terms, discussion, "analysis challenge," and suggested readings and resources. This volume is recommended as a highly useful primary textbook in courses on terrorism and counter-terrorism. The author is a Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte.

Fergal F. Davis and Fiona de Londras (Eds.), *Critical Debates on Counter-Terrorism Judicial Review* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 388 pp., US $ 129.00 [Hardcover], US $ 35.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1076-6296-4.

The contributors to this edited volume examine the important question whether a country's judicial review is an effective and appropriate way to regulate governmental counter-terrorism measures, especially during a period of emergency when a country is facing a terrorist threat. This question needs to be resolved because some believe that the judiciary lacks the expertise to examine such measures, while others believe that counter-terrorism measures need to be subjected to judicial review to maintain the principles of constitutionalism in a democracy. To examine these issues, following the editors' introductory overview, the book is divided into four parts: Part 1: "Judging Counter-Terrorism Judicial Review" (e.g., the role of regulatory constitutionalism in counter-terrorism judicial review, judicial review by a traditionally weak judiciary, the unintended consequences of right-friendly judgments, and the United States experience in counter-terrorism judicial review); Part 2: "Beyond Counter-Terrorism Judicial Review" (e.g., emergency law as administrative law, creating effective parliamentary scrutiny, the roles of independent reviewers in Australia and the United States, and public inquiries to fill accountability gaps that might be left by judicial and legislative review); Part 3: "Counter-terrorism Judicial Review in the Political Constitution" (e.g., balancing constitutional juridification and national security in the United Kingdom, and deference in counter-terrorism judicial review); and Part IV: "Internationalised Counter-terrorism Judicial Review" (e.g., the challenge for the Court of Justice of the European Union, post-9/11 UK counter-terrorism cases in the European Court of Human Rights, and challenges for accountability for counter-terrorism in the courts). Fergal F. Davis is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Law at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, and Fiona De Londras is a Professor of Law at Durham University, where she is also Co-Director of the Durham Human Rights Centre.

Dave Dilegge and Robert J. Bunker (Eds.), *Jihadi Terrorism, Insurgency, and the Islamic State: A Small Wars Journal Anthology* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2017), 706 pages, US $ 23.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5245-7772-8.

This is the third volume in the *Small Wars Journal's* anthologies of articles that examine extremist Sunni Islamist terrorist and guerrilla insurgent groups. The volume, which is comprehensive in scope, consists of 49 chapters, a Foreword by Gary Anderson, a retired Marine Corps colonel and an expert on insurgency, an introductory overview by the two editors on "Jihadi Terrorism, Insurgency, and the Islamic State," and this reviewer's Postscript on "Ten Endgames of an Effective Counter-Insurgency Against IS." The chapters, which are written by leading military and civilian experts, cover topics such as the attempted democratization of Iraq by the United States from 2003 to 2014; "Confusing a 'Revolution' with 'Terrorism'"; the nature of the ISIL threat; the Islamists' political front in Afghanistan; the resilience of the insurgency by Boko Haram in Nigeria; Al Shabaab's resurgence in Somalia; the challenges presented by irregular war to the United States; the need to wage an ideological battle against ISIS; Turkey's battle with Kurdish militants instead of fighting ISIS; the resurgence of ISIS in the Sinai Peninsula; ISIS's military strategy for success; confronting ISIS in Libya; utilizing a "rational war strategy" and information campaign to defeat ISIS; and defeating ISIS by identifying its center-of-gravity (COG). Dave Dilegge is Editor-in-Chief of *Small Wars Journal* and Robert Bunker is an Adjunct Research Professor, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA.

Edward Dunbar, Amalio Blanco, and Desiree A. Crevecoeur-MacPhail, Eds., *The Psychology of Hate Crimes as Domestic Terrorism – U.S. and Global Issues. Three Volumes – Volume 1: Theoretical, Legal, and Cultural Factors; Volume 2: Assessment Issues with Victims and Offenders; Volume 3: Interventions, Treatment, and Management*] (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/An Imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2017), 1080 pp., US $ 194.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4408-3906-1 (set).

The contributors to this important three-volume handbook examine the theoretical, legal, and cultural factors associated with the psychology of hate crimes. Of particular interest to studies on terrorism are chapters such as, in the first volume, by Megan Sullaway on "Hate Crime, Violent Extremism, Domestic Terrorism – Distinctions without Difference," which discusses how psychoanalytic, cognitive behavioral, and other psychological theories have been applied to understand the role of hate crimes in terrorist warfare. In the second volume, the chapter by Edward Dunbar, Harry Krop, and Megan Sullaway on "Behavioral, Psychometric, and Diagnostic Characteristics of Bias-Motivated Homicide Offenders," provides a valuable coverage of diagnostic tools that can be used to assess the characteristics of bias-motivated offenders, such as MMPI-2 (Minnesota Multiphase Personality Inventory), PCL-R (Robert Hare's Psychopathy Checklist – Revised), HCR-20 (the 20-item Historical, Clinical, and Risk Scale), and BMP-SF (the Bias-Motivation Profile Screening Form). An interesting finding by this chapter's authors is that, as applied to many terrorists, "Victims were selected because they were members of a social group toward whom the offender held a discernible animus." (p. 212). The third volume's coverage of terrorism and hate crimes includes chapters such as by Edward Dunbar and Anneli Svensson on "Psychotherapeutic Treatment with Victims of Bias Aggression and Hate Violence: Identity, Coping, and 'Dealing with the Nonsense," which includes a valuable checklist-based survey to assess an individual's proclivity to engage in hate crimes; the chapter by Luis de la Corte Ibanez on "The Jihadi Path to hate and Terrorism: Questions and Answers for Risk Management," which also discusses factors that immunize a susceptible individual from becoming radicalized; the chapter by Michael Fingerle and Caroline Bonnes on "What Victims and Support Groups Say about Coping Successfully with Hate Crime on an Individual and a Social Level: Results of a Survey in Germany," which includes a useful diagram that outlines the "waves of harm" generated by hate crimes that extend from the initial victim to other targeted communities and societal norms and values (p. 228); and the chapter by Anthony J. Marsella on "The Paradoxical Consequences of U.S. Counterterrorism Programs: Jihadist Terrorist-Perceived Motives and Successes," which includes a valuable listing of jihadist terrorist perceptions of their successes, such as in "instilling high levels of fear and anxiety," compelling governments and businesses to expend resources on protective measures, reducing trust by populations against their governments, "fostering new meaning and pride for Islamic causes," and "encouraging global communities based on religion" (pp. 356-357). The insights by these and the other contributors to this three-volume set make it a valuable contribution to the literature on the role of the psychology of hate crimes in modern-day terrorism and the methods required to counter this phenomenon.

Christopher C. Harmon and Randall G. Bowdish, *The Terrorist Argument: Modern Advocacy and Propaganda* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2018), 352 pp., US $ 35.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-8157-3218-1.

This is a comprehensive account of how terrorists and other types of insurgents utilize a variety of communications techniques in their propaganda to spread their messages, radicalize and motivate their adherents, and demonize their adversaries. The communications technologies include old and new media such as radio and television broadcasts, newspapers, songs, books, e-magazines, the Internet and social media websites. Also discussed is how their messages are crafted in the digital age, often using the latest communications techniques to appeal to their adherents. To examine these issues, following the authors' introductory overview, a series of case studies are presented that are organized chronologically, based on the evolution of communications technologies utilized by terrorist groups over the years. The authors point out that such evolution is not linear, with even contemporary groups such as ISIS, who use Twitter, still "also run a radio station, as did Algeria's National Liberation Front in the late 1950s." (p. 3). In examining the evolution of the communications technologies employed over the years, the authors employ a valuable methodology with each case study, highlighting a specific technology terrorist groups had utilized during the period of its activity. Thus, the communications technology of radio is exemplified by Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN); voice and lyrics by the Philippines-based New People's Army (NPA); newspapers by Irish Republican Army (IRA) type insurgents in Northern Ireland; television by the Lebanese Hizballah; the Internet by eco-terrorism groups such as the Earth Liberation Front (ELF); books by jihadi ideologues - such as Abu Musab al-Suri's volume, *The Call to Global Islamic Resistance*. There is also advertising by the Iranian opposition group, The People's Mujahideen e Khalq (MEK); e-magazines by al Qaida's *Inspire* online publication; and social media by the Islamic State's multimedia websites. In the concluding chapter, the authors offer important insights such as "how much ideas matter. As do the ways they are communicated and the purposes they serve." (p. 249). As a result, they conclude, "We must study and analyze the modes and construction of terrorist communications, so as most effectively to counter terrorists' arguments." (p. 249). Christopher Harmon, a veteran academic expert on terrorism, had held the Horner Chair at the Marine Corps University Foundation, in Quantico, Virginia, and Randall Bowdish, a retired Navy captain, currently teaches at the U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Beatrice Heuser and Eitan Shamir (Eds.), *Insurgencies and Counterinsurgencies: National Styles and Strategic Cultures* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 396 pp., US $ 99.99 [Hardcover], US $ 34.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-3165-0100-9.

As described by this volume's editors, its objective is to examine whether, in the case of insurgencies and counterinsurgencies, "national mentalities, martial preferences or strictures born of climate and geography compel a level of persistence in national style despite acknowledgment of lessons learned from others' experience in countering insurgents?" (p. 1). The volume's contributors examine how this thesis applies to their respective cases of insurgency and counterinsurgency. The volume is divided into three parts. Following an introductory overview by Beatrice Heuser and Jeannie Johnson on national styles and strategic culture, the first part, "COIN Strategies," covers topics such as the British counterinsurgency tradition, French counterinsurgency in the Algerian wars of 1830-1962, the nature of Russian counterinsurgency, insurgency and counterinsurgency in modern China, the United States experience in counterinsurgency (COIN) over 250 years of irregular war, German counterinsurgency in the Second World War, and Israel's counterinsurgency experiences from 1920 to 2013. The second part, "Insurgency Strategies," examines the national 'styles' of the Algerian National Liberation Army (ALN), the Irish Republican insurgency and terrorism from 1969 to 2007, the evolution of Palestinian resistance from the late 1950s to 2014, and the Taliban, particularly from 2001 to 2013. The final part, "Interaction," examines the cases of guerrilla and counter-guerrilla campaigns in Greece during the period of 1946 to 1949, insurrection and suppression in Syria between 2011 and 2016, and the nature of counterinsurgency during the Cold War. The concluding chapter by Beatrice Heuser and Eitan Shamir, "Universal Toolbox, National Styles or Divergence of Civilizations," synthesizes the contributors' findings into what they term a "toolbox" of "tools that are common to COIN and to insurgent movements." (p. 332). These tools consist of a

"brutal use of force – not only against the other side, collaborators with the other side, their dependents, but at times against neutral populations to frighten them into co-operation;" "burning villages and 'scorched earth' tactics; "rounding up and executing leaders: targeted assassinations"; "mutilations and rape"; "hostage taking and hostage execution"; "forced population transfers ('ethnic cleansing')"; "quadrillage versus external sanctuaries and external support"; "destruction of symbolic buildings or sites"; "bands', and 'counter-bands' and 'bandit-hunters.'" (pp. 332-356). To these largely historical tools, the authors highlight new tools by insurgents and counterinsurgents in the form of "air strikes (including by drones) and ground-to-air missiles, mobile phones, the use of the Internet (cyber) and other new technology." (p. 363). The authors conclude their chapter with the insightful caution that, in terms of national mentalities and styles, "how capable even advanced civilizations are of turning their backs on reason and progress, and towards more credulous, emotion-, dogma- and super-stitious-driven world views. The resilience of habits and rules, excused by reference to religious, and their immunity to arguments of practicality, health, not to mention human rights, should serve as a warning: different approaches to violence and the value of the individual human being, and his or her essential rights, persist." (p. 370). This book's focus on how such national mentalities and styles have played out over the years in insurgencies and counterinsurgency campaigns around the world make it essential reading for understanding the wider context in which insurgents and their government adversaries battle each other. Beatrice Heuser occupies a Chair in International Relations at the University of Reading, Berkshire, UK. Eitan Shamir is a Senior Research Fellow at the Begin Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (BESA) at Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel.

Sara Yael Hirschhorn, *City on a Hilltop: American Jews and the Israeli Settler Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 368 pp., US $ 39.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-6749-7505-7.

In this revealing account, the author utilizes the interdisciplinary literature on Jewish-American immigration to Israel and her extensive field research in Israel, to examine how the "process of social and ideological acculturation, and the translation of concepts of frontiers across borders" applies to the origins and evolution of the largely right-wing ultra-nationalist Israeli settler enterprise in Israel's contentious West Bank since the June 1967 Six-Day War. The book's central theme is "the clash between Jewish-American settlers' liberal personas and their illiberal project." (p. 20). This theme is examined by answering questions such as who are they (largely previously secular Jews who became increasingly religious and believers in right-wing orthodox religious Zionism), how many live in the occupied territories (approximately 60,000, constituting 15 percent of the 400,000 Israeli citizens in the West Bank); where did they come from and settle (an estimated 66.2 percent came from America's East Coast, and primarily from the New York City region, 12.8 percent from the Midwest, and 11.3 percent from California and the West); and what roles have they played within the Israeli settler movement over the past five decades and what motivated their activity (some were settler 'entrepreneurs' who played important roles in establishing new settlements, such as Efrat and Tekoa, others became leading ideologues, while a small minority engaged in terrorist activity, such as Rabbi Meir Kahane, the founder of the *Kach* movement, Baruch Goldstein, the mass shooter of Muslim worshippers at Hebron, Yaakov "Jack" Teitel, who had bombed Muslim, Christian, and Jewish targets, and others). These issues are examined within the wider context of political developments since the 1967 War, including how these American Israelis regarded watershed events such as the Oslo Accords and the two Palestinian intifadas in the late 1980s and early 2000s. The author's conclusions include the following important finding: "while scholarship on U.S. ethnic lobbies has emphasized their role as net exporters of liberal ideology and as stabilizing influences both at home and abroad, American-Israeli immigrants within the settlement movement have contributed to making Israel less democratic while increasing conflict in the United States." (p. 228). This book is an important contribution to the scholarship on the radicalization of such individuals into extremism, with some of them being radicalized into terrorism. The author is University Research Lecturer and a Fellow in Israel Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies and Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.

Michael B. Kraft and Edward Marks, *U.S. Counterterrorism: From Nixon to Trump – Key Challenges, Issues, and Responses* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2018), 216 pp., US $ 69.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4987-0615-5.

This is an excellent and authoritative overview of the evolution of the United States' Government's "war on terrorism," beginning with the Nixon administration and ending with the Obama administration, including a brief account of the Trump administration's first year. As described by the authors, "We begin with an overview of the issues, including the evolution in policy and programs as each administration faced the changing terrorist challenge, and a chronological review of the changing and evolving character of the terrorist challenges, U.S. policies, response, and programs during this period." (p. xvi). Significant themes in the evolution of the terrorist threat include the transformation of the nature of terrorism from groups that were "secular with relatively narrow goals, to those such as ISIS, which had broader religious cum nationalist goals, including restoring an Islamist caliphate,"(p. xvi). There is also attention paid to transformative technological innovations such as the Internet, which plays an important role in radicalization, recruitment, modus operandi, and the rise of lone-wolf adherents. These issues are discussed in the books six chapters, which cover topics such as an overview of the evolution of the terrorist threat over the years; how the U.S. Government defined and legislated its approach to countering terrorism, including imposing sanctions on terrorism sponsoring nations and individual entities; the reforms and reorganization of the U.S. government's approach by the Bush administration in the aftermath of 9/11's attacks; policy and program approaches by the Obama administration, such as its countering violent extremism (CVE) program; and policy challenges facing the Trump administration. Both authors are retired high-level U.S. State Department officials in counterterrorism, which is reflected in their practitioner-based insights throughout the book. This includes their recommendation that best practices in counterterrorism include "the need for continuing strengthening international cooperation, intelligence-gathering and sharing (both domestically and internationally) and continued use and refinement of the practical measures tool kit, such as the Antiterrorism Assistance Programs to help train foreign civilian law enforcement officials, and domestic training programs for U.S. law enforcement, CVE outreach to local communities, especially Muslim communities, without alienating them by harsh rhetoric…." (pp. 121-122). Especially valuable for researchers is the inclusion, in illustrating the evolution of U.S. counterterrorism policy over the years, of original texts, an extensive list of key documents, speeches, and testimony on counterterrorism issues. This reviewer is listed in the book's acknowledgments as helping the authors with their bibliography.

Ronit Marzan, *Yasser Arafat: Rhetoric of Alone Leader* (Tel Aviv, Israel: Resling Publishing, 2016), 350 pp., US $ 22.00 [Paperback], www.resling.co.il/http://www.resling.co.il/book.asp?series_id=&book_id=918&back=catalog.

This conceptually innovative and extensively researched account addresses the importance of the need to comprehend the language and culture of an adversary, in order for Israelis to understand the nature of the Palestinian leadership and society, as embodied by Yasir Arafat, the late Palestinian leader. In the case of the Palestinians, the author adds, such an approach will explain the Palestinian leadership's need to use religious symbols to legitimize its leadership and enable them to move from armed struggle to peace negotiations without losing their base of support. To examine this thesis, the book's chapters discuss the historical background of the Islamic reform movements that influenced Arafat's political-nationalist outlook, the relations between Arafat and his Muslim Arab environment, the relations between Arafat and the Western world, which he had sought to win over to support the Palestinian national movement, and the complex relations between Arafat and the Islamic and the secular nationalist factions that operated among the Palestinians in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Palestinian Diaspora. Also covered are the discussions on the role of religion in Palestinian society (including in schools and educational materials, books, and movies), the role of religion within Palestinian military factions, including Arafat's Fatah armed wing, and how this evolved until the first Palestinian intifada in the late 1980s, and, finally, the nature of the various rhetoric, semantics, and languages used by Arafat to express himself in presenting the case of the Palestinians for independence and nationhood to his various audiences, including Israelis. The concluding chapter synthesizes the author's findings, offering insights such as that despite Arafat's early indoctrination at his home in Cairo in the teachings of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood,

he was always ambivalent about jihadism as warfare, which enabled him to become the only Palestinian leader at the time to agree to far-reaching concessions as part of a political settlement with Israel. This was due, the author explains, because the "big jihad" (also termed the "peace of the brave") of establishing a Palestinian state was preferable to the "small jihad" of armed struggle. Despite these important accomplishments, the author concludes, Arafat's tragic failure was his over-use of religious symbolism, which caused him to fail in his transition from a leader of a national liberation movement, who can afford to use such symbolism, to the different requirements a leader of a state, who had "difficulty distinguishing between dream and reality, and remained a prisoner of symbols that excited the masses instead of agreeing to receive part of the Palestinian nation on which he had dreamed." (p. 220). Hopefully the academic and practitioner insights shaping Arafat's political biography (which also affect many of the Palestinians' current leaders) that are presented in this important book, which currently is only available in its Hebrew edition, will eventually be available in an English-language publication. The author, a retired analyst on Palestinian affairs in Israeli intelligence services, teaches at Haifa University and other educational institutions.

Hilary Matfess and Michael Miklaucic (Eds.), *Beyond Convergence: World Without Order* (Washington, DC: Center for Complex Operations/Institute for National Security Studies, National Defense University, 2016/U.S. Government Publishing Office), 397 pp., No price listed [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-1609-3613-5. Available as a pdf copy at: http://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/books/Beyond%20Convergence/BEYOND%20CONVERGENCE%20%20World%20Without%20Order%20.pdf?ver=2016-10-25-125406-170.

The contributors to this edited volume examine the impact of the convergence of the disparate threats of terrorism, criminality, corrupt economies, exploitation of cyberspace for illicit purposes, and other problem areas in producing a "global crisis of governance." To examine these issues, the book is divided into four sections: I. "Slouching Toward Dystopia" (e.g., the global crisis of governance, how "plutocrats and criminals" are challenging the Westphalian State, the nature of the revolution introduced by the Islamic State, the volatility of financial markets); II. "One Network" (e.g., the dynamics of cooperation between terrorists and criminal organizations, Hizballah's criminal networks, and how the Islamic State has created an organizational base for its survival); III. "Pandora" (e.g., the exploitation of social media in a "hyper-connected world," the intersection of protection economics, financial flows, and violence, illicit trade; and the evolution of cybercrime); and IV. "A Toolbox for the 21st Century" (e.g., frameworks to facilitate cooperation among countries, countering the convergence of illicit networks through public-private partnerships, adapting to the new battlefield against asymmetric actors "who do not play by the Clausewitzian rule book" (p. 354) and whose information operations need to be countered strategically, and the need by governments for a network-of-networks to counter their asymmetric adversaries' own networks). As this volume was produced by a defense university, it would have been useful for the editors to have added a concluding chapter to summarize the contributors' findings into a single tool kit to enable military campaign planners and action officers to see how the convergence of these disparate threats might play out in the foreign operational environments in which they operate.

Gerry Nagtzaam, *From Environmental Action to Ecoterrorism? Towards a Process Theory of Environmental and Animal Rights Oriented Political Violence* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017), 368 pp., $ US 135.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-8498-0119-5.

This book attempts to use the case of eco-terrorists to examine the various trigger points for moving from one stage of radicalism to the next, how they select their targets for attack, and the likelihood for an escalation in their environmental political action if "ecological consciousness" becomes widespread among a larger public. The account primarily focuses on eco-militant organizations and groups in three countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. To examine these issues, the author discusses how to define terrorism; the categories of left-wing/right-wing and "special interest" terrorist groups; defining eco-terrorism; and examines whether "ecotage" violence in destroying property qualifies as a terrorist act. Also interesting is the discussion of leading theories to explain the process of radicalization, especially Ehud Sprinzak's delegitimization theory,

which consists of a crisis of confidence stage, a conflict of legitimacy stage, an upswing in political action (i.e. violence) stage, and the final stage, the crisis of legitimacy, in which the activists make a complete transformation into violence. This theory is then applied by the author to examine whether and how the eco-militant organizations and groups followed the Sprinzak trajectory into violence. To examine this thesis, following the introductory overview, the book discusses the nature and trajectories of groups such as the Animal Liberation Front, Earth First!, the Earth Liberation Front, and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. The author concludes that "While time will tell if Sprinzak's conception of political violence is correct and ecoterrorist groups will progress to the third 'crisis of legitimacy' stage, with the exception of the ALF there appears little evidence to date that the groups examined, except in isolated instances, have reached that threshold." (p. 308). He ends the book on a warning note that if these activists perceive an imminent "global environmental catastrophe or a perception that the problem of anthropomorphic climate change is not being suitably addressed, and despairing of mainstream political solutions, they may choose to adopt violence against fellow humans as a legitimate tactic." (p. 308). This book is an important contribution to the literature on eco-terrorism and the application of radicalization theories to explaining possible trajectories into violence. The author is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Law at Monash University, Australia.

Richard A. Nielsen, *Deadly Clerics: Blocked Ambition and the Paths to Jihad* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp., US $ 94.99 [Hardcover], US $ 29.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1084-0405-1.

This account explores the academic culture of jihadist clerics in general, and the factors that drive them to turn to such a religiously extremist theology at early points in their careers. To explain their pathway to becoming leading advocates of extremist violence, the author tests the hypothesis, which is adapted from Ted Robert Gurr's notion of "relative deprivation," that, for clerics turned jihadists, the mechanism of blocked academic ambition early on in their careers within established Muslim religious institutions plays a major role in their adopting militant jihadism. As the author writes in the book's blurb, which well summarizes his argument, "As long as clerics' academic ambitions remain attainable, they are unlikely to espouse violent jihad. Clerics who are forced out of academia are more likely to turn to jihad for two reasons: jihadist ideas are attractive to those who see the system as turning against them, and preaching a jihad ideology can help these outsider clerics attract supporters and funds." To test this hypothesis, the author utilizes evidence from sources such as large-scale statistical analysis of texts and network data obtained from the Internet, case studies of clerics' lives, and ethnographic participant observations at sites in Cairo, Egypt. Despite the book's excellent application of qualitative and quantitative methodologies to generate new findings, the author's thesis can be questioned, since it ignores the fact that some of the clerics under examination may have been blocked academically due to their own professional shortcomings and that their turn to jihadist militancy was due to their susceptibility to be drawn to extremism in the form of such imperialistic ideologies to begin with. The author's conclusion can also be questioned as utopian when he writes that a successful counter-radicalization program should be based on co-opting such extremist-inclined clerics as opposed to arresting and imprisoning them, since it would provide them "with access to better educational networks and, ultimately, the possibility for fulfilling and secure career prospects." (p. 177). The book's appendices include valuable syllabi of instructional materials on jihadi theology and the methodology used by the author to conduct his empirical research. The author is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Donald Rooum [Vernon Richards, editor], *What is Anarchism: An Introduction* [Second Edition] (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2016), 160 pp., US $ 14.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-6296-3146-2.

This is an important selection of writings by leading anarchist theorists over the past 150 years. As explained by the volume's original editor, anarchists believe "in a society in which all individuals can do whatever they choose, except interfere with the ability of other individuals to do what they choose. This ideal is called *anarchy*, from the Greek *anarchia*, meaning absence of government" (p. 2). Besides this meaning, anarchy "is also used to mean unsettled government, disorderly government, or government at its crudest in the form of intimida-

tion by marauding gangs ("military anarchy")" (p. 3). Anarchism is also associated with terrorism, with the tactic of terrorism used anarchists, with the editor pointing out that "Only a small minority of terrorists have ever been anarchists, and only a small minority of anarchists have ever been terrorists" (p. 5). In another important distinction, the editor points out that anarchists include pacifists, advocates of class violence, atheists, and mystics. The rest of the volume consists of selections by leading anarchists ideologues such as Peter Kropotkin, Errico Malatesta, Emma Goldman, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon as well as others.

Deepak Tripathi, *Breeding Ground: Afghanistan and the Origins of Islamist Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, Inc., 2011), 256 pp., US $ 26.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-5979-7530-8.

This book's objective is to trace the origins of Islamist violence during the Afghan conflict and explore its impact on the phenomenon of such terrorism abroad. To examine these issues, the author first discusses three leading theoretical driving forces behind terrorism in terms of rational choice (e.g., the adoption of violence as a chosen strategy to achieve a group's goals), psychological factors (e.g., the choice of violence is rooted in an individual's psychological system), and structural factors (e.g., external causes in the environment, such as political, cultural, social, and economic factors are, crucial in driving individuals to embark on terrorist warfare). Following a discussion of Afghanistan under pro-Soviet rule and its overthrow by the United States-backed *mujahideen,* the account shifts into an analysis of the nature of the Taliban, the evolution of the Taliban – Pakistani ISI alliance, Taliban rule over Afghanistan, and the evolution of al Qaida in Afghanistan. The concluding chapter discusses how the three theoretical driving forces behind terrorism played out in Afghanistan, with an insightful observation that all three were not only present, but cumulatively produced a deteriorating society characterized by a violent culture "in which violence permeates all levels of society and becomes part of human thinking, behavior, and way of life." (p. 137). These driving forces need to be understood, the author points out that "Effective counterterrorism efforts require an understanding of the culture, society, and local conditions, together with an institutional arrangement that enjoys broad consent in society." (p. 141). In a prescient observation, the author concludes that "In the absence of a coordinated strategy, the thought of victory in the war against terror is a triumph of hope over reality." (p. 141). The book's appendices include a useful chronology of the Afghan conflicts from 1978 to 2001 and a bibliographical essay on leading books that cover the Afghan conflicts. The author is a former BBC journalist who was based in Afghanistan in the early 1990s, who has also reported from Pakistan, Syria, Sri Lanka, and India. He currently lives near London, England.

Charles Webel and Mark Tomass (Eds.), *Assessing the War on Terror: Western and Middle Eastern Perspectives* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 308 pp., US $ 155.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-1382-0456-0.

The contributors to this edited volume examine the effectiveness and ethical basis of the Western governments' strategies and tactics in the global war on terrorism (GWOT) since 9/11 within the framework of "official mainstream constructions of 'terrorists,'' 'terrorism,'' and "counterterrorism' as powerful rhetorical frames used to sell the GWOT and the justifications for initiating and continuing it." (p. 1). Within this context, some of the key questions examined by the volume's contributors include how terrorism is defined, how and why individuals in the West are radicalized, what are effective counterterrorism and antiterrorism strategies, what have been the "human and financial costs" of the GWOT, is it possible to negotiate with terrorist groups such as the Taliban, al Qaida, and ISIS, and how do terrorist groups end. To examine these issues, the volume is divided into four parts, with each part introduced by a short chapter by Mark Tomass, the co-editor. The four parts discuss topics such as Part I's "Framing and Assessing the War on Terror" (including a chapter by Noam Chomsky on "The Evil Scourge of Terrorism"); Part II's "Hearing From the Victims of Terror-Inflicted Regions" (including a chapter by Sher Mohammed Khan on "Winning the Hearts and Minds of the Pashtuns of Afghanistan and Northwest Pakistan with Altruism, Public Health and Development, Not by Terrorism and Counterterrorism"); Part III's "Calculating the Costs of the War on Terror" (including chapters on how ethical and effective is the GWOT and Laurie Calhoun's "Terror From Above and Within: The Hidden Cultural and Political Costs of Lethal Drones"); and Part IV's "Analyzing, Negotiating With, and Ending Terror Groups"

(with chapters by Scott Atran and Mark Tomass on "A Dialogue on Why Western Youth Are Attracted to ISIS," Johan Galtung on "Negotiating with the Taliban: Not War on Terrorism, But Dialogue for Solutions," Casey Douglas Carr on a Belgian approach to counter-terrorism measures, and Audrey Kurth Cronin's "The 'War on Terrorism': What Does it Mean to Win?"). This reviewer found Cronin's chapter especially noteworthy as it discussed, within the context of the United States' military campaign against al Qaida, four symptoms that are "common to all prolonged wars: means became ends, tactics became strategy, boundaries were blurred, and the search for a perfect peace replaced reality." (p. 256). In the concluding chapter, on "Ending the War of the World: Antiterrorism as a Viable Alternative to the GWOT," Charles Webel appears to misunderstand the definition of anti-terrorism when he writes that "Antiterrorism is an ethical and possibly effective alternative to the largely unethical and ineffective counterterrorism strategy of the GWOT." (p. 282). This is because in the military discipline of combating terrorism, counterterrorism consists of offensive measures, while antiterrorism consists of defensive measures – which can be similarly [and justifiably, in this reviewer's judgment] coercive in the sense that they involve law enforcement and intelligence components – but not, as Webel argues, in any way an "ethical" alternative to counterterrorism, although both types of measures can be executed with an appropriate degree of ethical underpinning. As illustrated by the chapters' topics, much of this volume can be considered highly polemical, with the exception of Cronin's insightful analysis. Charles Webel is Chair and Professor of Peace Studies at Chapman University, in Orange, CA. Mark Tomass is an economist and instructor at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

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