
Resources

Counterterrorism Bookshelf: 8 Books on Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism-Related Subjects

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

So many books are published on terrorism- and counterterrorism-related subjects that it is difficult to catch up on a large backlog of monographs and volumes received for review. In order to deal with this backlog, this column consists of capsule reviews and tables of contents of eight recently published books.

Terrorism – Anarchism

Jeffrey D. Simon, *America's Forgotten Terrorists: The Rise and Fall of the Galleanists* (Lincoln, NE: Potomac Books/An Imprint of the University of Nebraska Press, 2022), 320 pp., US \$ 34.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-6401-2404-2.

With Anarchism considered to characterize the first historical wave of modern terrorism, beginning around the 1880s, and with Anarchism continuing to motivate some of the violent extremists who operate in the current era, it is important to understand the origins of this category of violent extremism in order to effectively address the threats anarchists present to our societies. Jeffrey Simon's *America's Forgotten Terrorists: The Rise and Fall of the Galleanists* is an excellently analyzed and researched case study of the Galleanists, a violent extremist group of Italian anarchists who were active during the early 1900s in the United States.

As the author explains, Luigi Galleani, the group's leader, "was a charismatic Italian immigrant who arrived in America in 1901 at the age of forty after living a life of anarchist agitation in Italy, France, and Switzerland" (pp. 3-4). He was eventually deported along with several of his aides to Italy by the time the U.S. Government had launched the Palmer Raids against them in 1919. Interestingly, while the Galleanists were no longer a significant threat, one of their remaining members, Mario Buda, was reportedly the perpetrator of a major bombing in Wall Street on September 16, 1920. In the chapter on "The Legacy of the Galleanists," the author concludes that their importance lay in their introduction of innovative terrorist strategies and tactics that are still prevalent today, such as sending weaponized package bombs and deploying vehicle bombs. For counterterrorism campaign planners, the author concludes, groups such as the Galleanists need to be understood because of their innovations in terrorist warfare "to find new and more devastating ways to perpetrate their violence" (p. 180). Otherwise, Mr. Simon cautions, "There is a tendency to think about terrorism from the perspective of what happened in the past rather than thinking 'outside the box' as to what may occur in the future" (p. 180).

The author is President of Political Risk Assessment Company, Inc., a security and terrorism research consulting company in Santa Monica, CA.

Table of Contents: List of Illustrations; Introduction; The Soul of the Movement; Green Mountain Boys – Anarchist Style; Targeting the Galleanists; You Have Shown No Pity to Us!; Roundup; Final Blow; The Legacy of the Galleanists; Back Home Again.

Terrorism – The Islamic State

Ido Levy, *Soldiers of End-Times: Assessing the Military Effectiveness of the Islamic State* [Policy Focus 171] (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December 2021), 285 pp., ISBN: 979-8-9854-4740-8 [Paper copies available free of charge to universities, research centers, libraries, and

other institutions. Contact: mdene@washingtoninstitute.org. PDF can be downloaded from website]

This is an excellently analyzed assessment of the military effectiveness of the Islamic State's (IS) warfare in countries such as Syria, Iraq, Libya, the Philippines, and Nigeria. Four case studies of the IS's military campaigns in Ramadi (January 2014-May 2015), Kobane (September 2014-March 2015), Mosul (October 2016-July 2017), and Baghuz (February-March 2019) are highlighted to generate many of the volume's findings. Four factors, the author explains, accounted for the IS's military effectiveness: "organizational innovation, shaping operations, will to fight, and seizing the initiative" (p. 226). The Islamic State, the author adds, also has major vulnerabilities that can be exploited by its government adversaries, such as an absence of "real air defense capability against fixed-wing aircraft, resulting in a high vulnerability to airpower"; it "performed relatively poorly when it massed its forces"; and it "generally could not achieve victory in protracted engagements" (pp. 233-234). While much of the author's analysis is sound, as an account that is intended to be read by military analysts, the text would have benefited from visualized diagrams and checklists that could summarize and highlight the study's findings. The author is an Associate Fellow, specializing in military and counterterrorism operations, at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, in Washington, DC.

Table of Contents: List of Illustrations; Introduction; Sunni Jihadist Armies Before 2014; Origins and Elements of Islamic State Military Effectiveness; IS Performance in Conventional Operations; Sources of IS Military Effectiveness; IS Military Operations Outside Iraq and Syria; Assessing the Islamic State's Way of War; Lessons Learned and Policy Implications.

Jason Warner with Ryan O'Farrell, Héni Nsaibia, and Ryan Cummings, *The Islamic State in Africa: The Emergence, Evolution, and Future of the Next Jihadist Battlefield* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021), 288 pp., US \$ 45.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-1976-3932-0.

Based on primary sources, this is a highly comprehensive, well-researched and analyzed account of the Islamic State's (IS) warfare operations in Africa (including Egypt's Sinai Peninsula). To examine these issues, the volume's authors answer two core questions: "how did the Islamic State's official provinces and non-province affiliate groups emerge and evolve, and why have these affiliates continued to show loyalty and strength – by re-pledging allegiance, continuing to conduct and publicize attacks in the Islamic State's name, and developing new branches – even as the IS Central itself was in seeming decline following its *annus horribilis* of 2019?" (p. 4). To effectively counter the IS's warfare operations in Africa, the authors recommend adopting a "rule of law approach" with no "one size fits all" campaigns (p. 302), since all counter-measures need to address the conflicts associated with the localized regions where the IS operates. Jason Warner is Assistant Professor of Social Sciences at the U.S. Military Academy (West Point) and directs Africa research at the Combating Terrorism Center. Ryan Cummings is a director of Signal Risk, a Cape Town-based political risk consultancy. Héni Nsaibia is a Senior Researcher at ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project). Ryan O'Farrell is a Senior Analyst at the Bridgeway Foundation.

Table of Contents: Introduction; The Islamic State in Libya; The Islamic State in Algeria; The Islamic State in Sinai; The Islamic State in Tunisia; The Islamic State's West Africa Province; The Islamic State's West Africa Province - Greater Sahara; The Islamic State in Somalia; The Islamic State's Central Africa Province - DRC; The Islamic State's Central Africa Province - Mozambique; Conclusion.

Counterterrorism – International Law

Mark Coen (Ed.), *The Offences Against the State Act of 1939 at 80: A Model of Counter-Terrorism Act?* (New York, NY: Hart Publishing/Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2021), 304 pp., US \$ 85.50 [Hardcover], US \$ 43.15 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5099-3199-6.

The contributors to this authoritative, comprehensive and highly detailed volume utilize a multidisciplinary

approach to examine Ireland's counter-terrorism-based "Offences Against the State Act" on the 80th anniversary of its enactment. In his introductory overview, the volume's editor observes that after 80 years it is likely that the Act's statutes are likely to undergo some changes, as he writes: "The prosecution of Irish citizens for terrorist offences committed abroad will be an emerging issue to monitor. The improving political fortunes of Sinn Fein and the likelihood that that party will form a significant part of a future government, could herald dramatic changes" (p. 4). The volume's editor is a Lecturer in Law at the Sutherland School of Law, University College Dublin.

Table of Contents: Foreword; Table of Cases; Table of Legislation; Introduction; The Prehistory of the Offences Against the State Act; Precursors to the Offences Against the State Act – Emergency Law in the Irish Free State; A Certain Ambivalence: Independent Ireland and Trial by Jury; The Special Criminal Court: A Conveyor Belt of Exceptionality; Terrorism Trials and the Offences Against the State Acts in Comparative Perspective; Threats to Security and Risks to Rights: 'Belief Evidence' under the Offences Against the State Act; Disclosure and Privilege: The Dual Role of the Special Criminal Court in Relation to Belief Evidence; The Offences Against the State Acts and Non-Subversive Offences; The Proscription of Organisations in the Republic of Ireland; New Media, Free Expression, and the Offences Against the State Acts; The Offences Against the State Acts and International Human Rights; The Offences Against the State Acts: Reflections from Practice and the Legislature; A Less Exceptional State of Exception: The Offences Against the State Act as an Emergency Response; 'Contagion' between the Special and the Normal in Criminal Justice: A Comparative Perspective.

Maureen Duffy, *Detention of Terrorism Suspects: Political Discourse and Fragmented Practices* (New York, NY: Hart Publishing/Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2020), 320 pp., US \$ 99.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 44.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5099-3954-1.

This is an authoritative legal examination of the dilemmas posed by the 'extraordinary' detention of terrorism suspects, especially during periods of national security emergencies in democratic states. The subject of targeted assassinations of terrorist leaders is also discussed. The author is Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Calgary.

Table of Contents: Preface; Introduction; Part I. Political Discourse; Language Manufactures Truth: The Power of Labels; Breaking Down and Reconstructing Discourse Can Reveal New Realities; Layers of Argumentation Tools and a Fractured Post-9/11 Narrative; Part II: Fragmented Practices; Hasty Inductive Generalisation: The Problem with the Claim that the 9/11 Attacks Exposed a Need for New Detention Paradigms; False Premise: Non-citizens as the Terrorist 'Other': False Dichotomies in the Narrative: The 'Either/or' Dilemma; Conclusion: Turning the Kaleidoscope; Appendix.

Military Warfare - General

Greg Cashman and Leonard C. Robinson, *An Introduction to the Causes of War: Patterns of Interstate Conflict from World War I to Iraq* [Second Edition] (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 466 pp., US \$ 120 [Hardcover], US \$ 49.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5381-2779-7.

This is an outstanding comprehensive overview of the causes of armed interstate conflict, which the authors define as "sustained armed combat between two or more sovereign states that results in a minimum of 1,000 battle deaths" (p. 1). These issues are examined at the individual level, the substate level, the nation-state level, the dyadic level (peer interaction, such as the distribution of power between states), the international system, and at a multilevel of analysis (i.e., "a process that occurs over time") (pp. 4-37). These analytic approaches are applied to the volume's six major interstate wars. In the conclusion, the authors observe that "Many of the wars featured in our case studies appear to be inadvertent in the sense that they were not consciously sought by the initiators – at least not as part of a long-term strategic plan" (p. 402). For analysts of terrorism, another finding is that despite Israel's military victories in the Yom Kippur War of 1973 and the wars in Lebanon in 1982 and 2006, they did not "prevent the uprising by the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza (the *intifadas*) and the incessant terrorist attacks that have prevented any semblance of peace and security inside Israel in recent years" (p. 403). This volume is highly recommended as a textbook for university courses on military warfare. Greg Cashman is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Salisbury

University. Leonard C. Robinson is Professor of Political Science at Salisbury University.

Table of Contents: List of Illustrations; Introduction; World War I; World War II in the Pacific; The Six-Day War; The Indo-Pakistani War of 1971; The Iran-Iraq War; The Iraq War; Conclusion; Glossary.

Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and John A. Vasquez (Eds.), *What Do We Know About War?* [Third Edition] (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 466 pp., US \$ 118.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 59.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5381-4009-3.

The contributors to this volume apply a multidisciplinary approach to examine issues concerning the conduct of warfare in all its dimensions. These include the causes of interstate war, the roles of power and parity in the conduct of wars, the roles of alliances in deterring wars (as well as terrorism, such as by the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan), the role of nuclear weapons in conflict, and the outcomes of wars. Also examined are the factors that promote peace, as well as emerging trends in the study of war, such as cyber warfare. This volume is highly recommended as a supplementary textbook for courses on military warfare. Sara McLaughlin Mitchell is the F. Wendell Miller Professor of Political Science at the University of Iowa. John A. Vasquez is the Thomas B. Mackie Scholar in International Relations at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Table of Contents: Part I: Factors that Bring About War; Territory and Contentious Issues; Dyadic Power Distributions and War; Deterrence Theory and Alliance Politics; Arms Races; Rivalries and Crisis Bargaining; Nuclear Weapons; Outcomes and Consequences of War; Part II: Factors that Promote Peace; The Liberal Peace; The Territorial Peace: Current and Future Research; The Peace Puzzle: Understanding Transitions to Peace; Conflict Management of Territorial and Maritime Disputes; Part III: Emerging Trends in Interstate War Research; Cyber War; The Environment and Conflict: Water Wars; Leaders and War; War Financing and Foreign Debt; Trends in Interstate Conflict; Part IV: Conclusion; Some Brief Observations on the Contemporary Study of War; War and the Orient Express; What Do We Know about War?

Military Warfare – Israel

Ehud Eilam, *Israel's National Security, The Arab Position, and Its Complicated Relations with the United States* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2022), 216 pp., US \$ 100.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-66690-750-6.

As the book's author explains, it "presents an in-depth discussion, from the Israeli perspective" (p. viii) to examine major national security threats affecting Israel in the Middle East. These include Iran's nuclear program and its regional ambitions, the Lebanese Hizballah's military arsenal, Syria's chemical weapons, Egypt's internal problems (including threats from the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic State), and the conflict between Israel and Hamas in the Gaza Strip, which might lead to future wars. The author is an independent analyst on military affairs, who resides in the United States. He is a former contractor for the Israeli Ministry of Defence. [For transparency: this reviewer contributed a blurb to the book's back-cover.]

Table of Contents: Preface; Introduction; The Conflict between Israel and Iran; The IDF vs. Hamas and Hezbollah; The Civil War in Syria; Syria's Chemical Weapons; The Golan Heights; Egypt's Internal Affairs; Egypt and the United States; The Two Palestinian Entities; Egypt and Israel and the War in Libya; Conclusion; Appendix: Israel and Turkey and Their Relations with Arabs.

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