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The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers

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but it is all the more useful for this. Record presents a clearly defined thesis that is to be rejected or accepted, and that makes the reader focus on the major strategic issues of the war.

The last two chapters deal with the “peace” that followed Saddam’s fall and its broader implications for the future exercise of American power. Anyone interested in the transformation of the U.S. military, future grand strategy, and dealings with conflict termination should read these chapters. One way or another, the United States is going to have to deal with such issues again and again, as long as it is the world’s preeminent military power. Even if the United States can eventually meet some definition of “success” in Iraq, it will still have to deal with the lingering impact of political and strategic mistakes that Record describes so well at the end of *Dark Victory*.

In short, this is a remarkably insightful book, one that raises precisely the issues that need to be resolved when assessing the Iraq war and shaping an American strategic posture for the future.

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Ganor, Boaz. *The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 2005. 334pp. \$39.95

Among a cacophony of authors on terrorism writing since September 2001 is a small but refreshing group who offer specific, pragmatic, and tested solutions. Boaz Ganor joins this select few with a book aptly subtitled *A Guide for Decision Makers*. Ganor splendidly

captures inescapable fundamental truths. First, defining terrorism is fraught with politics, emotion, and legal quandaries; however, the world must reach a consensus in order to move toward solutions. Second, democracies are uniquely vulnerable to terrorism, and they are struggling with the question of whether to treat terrorism as a crime or as a method of war. Third, efforts to counter terrorism must be multigenerational. Finally, decision makers can and must take steps to inoculate society against the effects of terrorism, through a comprehensive education campaign.

This book is based on Ganor’s doctoral dissertation, *Israel’s Counter-Terrorism Strategy*, written for the Hebrew University. Israel is the only liberal democracy in the Middle East. Using the Israeli model, Ganor observes that democracies are uniquely vulnerable to terrorism where government must defend itself yet maintain principles of transparency, rule of law, and representative governance while remaining mindful of world opinion. Ganor explores ten explicit dilemmas that face democratic nations: defining the threat; defining counterterrorism; employing intelligence; deterrence policy; choosing offensive and defensive actions; public opinion and ethics; legislative and punitive policies; media coverage; damage to societal morale; and finally, dilemmas concerning international cooperation.

Ganor warns that if terrorism remains a subjective concept influenced by one’s point of view, solutions will be similarly amorphous. Without consensus on the definition of what constitutes terrorism, global efforts to defeat it will fail. Ganor begins with a well considered definition of terrorism, including a rigorous analysis of why

definitions matter. "Terrorism," he writes, "is a form of violent struggle in which violence is deliberately used against civilians in order to achieve political goals (nationalistic, socio-economic, ideological, religious)." Ganor offers three elements upon which his definition relies. *Violence* is a key factor; it eliminates nonviolent protests, strikes, and tax revolts from discourse on terrorism. The goal is always *political* (e.g., to change the form of governance, to revise economic or social policies). Finally, if an act is to be called terrorism, its targets must be *civilians*. Terrorism does not include random injury inflicted on civilians who happen to find themselves in areas of conflict; it is, rather, violence intentionally and specifically directed at civilians.

One of the many unique strengths of this book is its personal interviews with pivotal Israeli authorities. These include Prime Minister Ariel Sharon; former prime ministers Yitzhak Shamir, Shimon Peres, and Benjamin Netanyahu; a former adviser, Rafi Etan; former members of Mossad Meir Degan and Shabtai Shavit; a former member of Shin Bet, Yaakov Perry; and former defense minister Moshe Arens. These sources and others of equal prestige give Ganor unprecedented insights into the heart of Israeli decision making. This book is an authoritative accounting of Israel's struggle against terrorism. However, Ganor's exclusive analysis of the Israeli experience is also a weakness.

Without question, the Israeli government and citizens have endured a level of deadly terror unprecedented in modern times. Israelis are sought worldwide as experts on airline security, physical security, and intelligence. Yet often there is global criticism of Israeli methods

for dealing with terrorism. Israel swirls dizzily in a historical, emotional, and political whirlpool that shapes the opinion of those who live outside its borders. Putting politics aside, the discerning reader is offered a practical analysis of how a liberal democracy is seeking a win-win-win scenario against terrorism by maintaining a domestic moral conscience based on rule of law, response to a critical international audience, and insistence on keeping terrorism from "affecting the public's day-to-day affairs and the essence of life in Israel."

Another fascinating discussion concerns the power of education as a tool of counterterrorism. According to Ganor, Netanyahu advocated strengthening public resistance to the corrosive effects of terrorism through education designed to inoculate the population against the impulse to give in to protracted terrorist pressure. In 1997 the Herzilya-based International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism started an aggressive program of lectures and educational activities aimed at strengthening the Israeli public's ability to cope with terrorism. Ganor asserts that public education contributes to solutions by reducing the fear and paralysis that terrorism can cause. Furthermore, public information, particularly in a liberal democracy, reinforces trust and disarms terrorists, who seek to undermine society's stability.

Perhaps the most stunning revelation in the book comes in the final chapter, as Ganor says, as did most Israeli policy makers whom he interviewed, "Israel does not have—nor did it ever have—a written, structured and unambiguous counter terrorism policy." What then, were the underlying principles by which decisions were made across numerous

political administrations? Why does the Israeli experience offer solutions for a way ahead? *The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle* provides the answers.

To paraphrase the author, the book is intended to serve as a guide to the perplexed, a tool for decision makers at all levels of government, industry, military, police, academics, and the public at large. Ganor succeeds in this intention. The book is highly recommended for all readers in his intended audience.

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Sheehan, Michael. *International Security: An Analytical Survey*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2005. 199pp. \$49.95

National security students and practitioners commonly dive into esoteric debates on the merits of various grand strategies and foreign policies, having spent little or no time pondering the contemporary meaning of the term that drives the discussion—"security." Michael Sheehan, professor of international relations at Swansea University in the United Kingdom, and author of a number of authoritative texts on related subjects, was driven to write this book by a felt need to shed more light on this "contested concept." *International Security* does an admirable job of illustrating the myriad ways in which scholars have used the term since the advent of the discipline. More significantly, Sheehan offers thoughtful commentary on how contemporary scholars should take into account new forces in international relations that demand broader thinking on "security."

The book's main challenge is to develop some consensus as to what constitutes a security issue. If considered broadly, anything that affects the well-being of humans might be included, but so inclusive a discourse might be meaningless. Sheehan sides with those who propose to limit the debate to the human-inspired dangers of a life-threatening nature to collectives. Thus all traditional military threats are counted, along with global warming (but not earthquakes) and the Kosovo genocide of 1999 (but not the disappearance of the Gaelic tongue). This system works.

After a clear and understandable discussion of security as initially set forth by the realist school of international relations, Sheehan devotes a chapter to each of the elements of what he calls today's "broader agenda" of security: security communities, economic, societal, environmental, gender, postmodern, and critical security. In each case, he draws on the seminal articles and arguments for each element and then offers his personal critique of what each adds to the debate.

Sheehan makes it clear that all of these schools are reactions to realism and that each new element of the "broader agenda" offers its antidote to the traditional perspective of viewing states, rather than individuals, as the consumers of the benefits of security. However, he insightfully shows that each element itself has an element of realist thinking. That is, ameliorating the tensions caused by intrasocietal (tribal) rivalries not only reduces danger to the people but also advances the relative power of the state by showcasing its stability. The case is equally well made for economic and environmental policies. Sheehan is at his best, however, when he illustrates in each chapter how these new topics go