**Book Proposal for the Routledge Research Series**

**Fighting Terrorism: Legitimacy and Effectiveness**

**Four Case Studies:**

**The United States vs. the Taliban and Al-Qaeda;**

**Israel vs. Hezbollah**

**Sri Lanka vs. Tamil Tigers**

**The following is a proposal for a book based on my PhD dissertation, which I am currently revising into book form before translating it from Hebrew into English.**

1. **Statement of Aims**

The book examines and analyzes the tensions experienced by democracies which have a duty to uphold civil rights, the rule of law and fundamental freedoms when they are confronted by terror or guerilla threats from which they must protect their citizens. The moral and legal bases for democratic rule are often incompatible with the measures needed for fighting terrorism. As a result, the actions taken by democracies facing such threats are often subject to intense criticism, and this book also focuses on the critical role international approval and support play in the eventual success of any military confrontation with terrorism. In light of these dilemmas, this book not only addresses the problems faced by democratic states during low-intensity conflicts, but it also proposes a unique ethical doctrine that can provide democracies with the ethical and operational tools to successfully fight terror or guerilla threats without undermining their basic principles while also garnering international support.

1. **Book Abstract**

Democratic states fighting unconventional warfare against terror and/or guerilla organizations face a dilemma. While meeting their responsibilities for defending the safety of their citizens by fighting enemies that, in the case of terrorists or guerillas, have no respect for international norms and laws, democracies must also safeguard their own values, norms, principles, and ideals, the moral and legal underpinnings of which are not compatible with low-intensity wars.

The book will compare four case studies of democracies fighting wars against terror and guerilla organizations: the United States’ battle against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in the first stage of Operation Enduring Freedom (2001); Israel's combat operation against Hezbollah in the second Lebanon War (2006); Israel’s fight against Hamas in Operation Cast Lead (2009); and Sri Lanka's fight against the Tamil Tigers in the fourth Tamil-Eelam War (2009).

In each case study, the characteristics of the organization the state is fighting will be studied to determine whether it is a terror organization, a guerilla organization, or one using both terror and guerilla tactics (terroguerilla). The roots of the conflict in each case will be studied as well as the major steps taken by the state during the war or confrontation, with particular attention to any ethical objections raised by the international community against the state’s actions.

In addition to identifying the challenges democratic states face during low-intensity wars, this book also presents an original ethical doctrine that can serve as an operative instrument for democratic states fighting terror or guerilla organizations. This proposed doctrine can assist democratic states fighting unconventional wars by identifying the state's obligations and offering realistic guidelines that can enable the state to maintain its military effectiveness while also garnering support for the legitimacy of its actions in the international community.

In contrast to the numerous books devoted to low-intensity wars, terror and guerilla organizations, humanitarian law or related philosophical issues, this book will be interdisciplinary, exploring the intersection of national security, international relations, philosophy and international law. By analyzing the moral and legal dilemmas democracies face in unconventional warfare as well as suggesting an original approach for ameliorating these problems, this book will make an important and constructive contribution to the field. This new approach involves a comprehensive moral-ethical doctrine the author has developed to enable democracies to protect their citizens in a variety of low intensity confrontations with terror and/or guerilla organizations without compromising their most cherished values, norms, principles, and ideals. This new approach has been developed by comparing the as well as events in other democraciess, including and

This doctrine defines realistic ways by which the state can maintain its military effectiveness while increasing the legitimacy of its actions in the eyes of the international community, such as greater adherence to the proportionality principle and increased public emphasis on the operation's value. The new doctrine discussed in this book addresses many troublesome ethical and operational issues, such as how to distinguish between professional and conscript military organizations when facing the question of whether soldiers’ lives or civilian lives of the enemy should be more carefully protected. Ultimately, this doctrine should assist democracies to meet terrorist or guerilla threats more effectively.

1. **A Detailed Synopsis, Including Chapter Summaries**
* **Proposed Table of Contents**
1. **Introduction**
2. **art:of Acting in the Contextfare**
3. La
4. Military Doctrine
5. **Part II: GO: Case Studies**
6. The United States vs. Taliban and Al-Qaeda: Operation Enduring Freedom
7. Israel vs. Hamas: Operation Cast Lead
8. Israel vs. Hezbollah: The Second Lebanon War
9. Sri Lanka vs. the Tamil Tigers: The Fourth Tamil-Eelam War
10. **Part III: How to Engage in Terror and Guerilla Warfare Successfully while Gaining Greater International Legitimacy**
11. Different Fighting Methods in Different States
12. Universal Ethical Doctrine for Fighting Terror
13. Universal Ethical Doctrine for Fighting Guerilla Warfare
* **Chapter Summaries, Structure and Features**

**Introduction**

The Introduction will include the book's structure with an overview of the subjects and issues raised in the book. These include the author’s definition of terror and of guerilla warfare, the importance of democratic states’ receiving international legitimacy for their actions during combat, and the difficulty democratic states face in balancing the need to fight effectively to protect their citizens with the commitment to maintain their democratic natures.

**Part I** examines parameters of the Just War theory and of international law, such as distinction and proportionality, the challenges they pose and their implications in the context of low intensity war. These include respecting the distinctions between combatants and non-combatants and between the democratic country's soldiers and the opposition’s civilians in order to determine whose lives warrant protection. The discussion of these issues will incorporate legal, philosophical and humanitarian perspectives. In this context, Part I will also review military doctrine, particularly the Ethical Doctrine for fighting terror that was developed by Professor Asa Kasher and General Amos Yadlin for the National Defense College of the Israel Defense Forces in light of Israeli-Palestinian relations.

**Part II** draws on four case studies to develop its analysis of the operational and ethical dilemmas democracies face when confronting terror or guerilla organizations. These four case studies are: the United States’ battle against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in the first stage of Operation Enduring Freedom (2001); Israel's combat against Hezbollah in the second Lebanon War (2006); Israel’s fight against Hamas in Operation Cast Lead (2009); and Sri Lanka's fight against the Tamil Tigers in the fourth Tamil-Eelam War (2009). Each case study will examine the roots of the conflict in question and the major military steps taken during the conflict. In addition, each case study will analyze the characteristics of each organization involved to determine whether it is a terror organization, a guerilla organization or an organization with characteristics of both (terroguerilla). Finally, each case study will examine the major steps taken during the conflict and will review the ethical arguments of the international community in response to the states’ actions during the conflicts.

In **Part III** on how to fight terror and guerilla threats successfully while gaining international legitimacy, the book will compare the different methods used in such conflicts by different nations. This section will continue by presenting the author’s original ethical and operational doctrine for fighting both terror and guerilla threats based upon the case studies and a comparative analysis.

1. **A Description of the Target Market**
* The book is relevant to and suitable for a number of audiences, including professionals, researchers, and students in the fields of security, law, philosophy, political science, and international relations. This book can also be used as a resource in military academies.
* **Some of the journals to which this book would be of interest include:** the *Journal of Military Ethics*, the *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, the *Journal of Military History*, the *Armed Forces Journal*, the *Journal of Military Operation*, the *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, the *Journal of National Security Law and Policy*, the *Journal of Armed Forces & Society*, the *Journal of Foreign Affairs*, the *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, the *Journal of International Security*, the *Journal of Moral Philosophy, Terrorism and Political Violence*, and the *Yale Journal of International Affairs*. In addition, this book should prove important to policy making bodies and organizations, military and strategic bodies and organizations, and to academic institutions. The book can be expected to attract international attention, as the challenge posed by terrorism is being experienced by countries throughout the world. All these countries, especially the democracies, are seeking means to protect their citizens in a variety of low-intensity confrontations with terror and/or guerilla organizations while maintaining their democratic values. The doctrine developed in this book, with its dual focus on terror and guerilla conflicts provides important ethical and operational guidelines for these countries.
* The issues and events covered in this book are studied in colleges, universities and academic institutions throughout the world, and this book would prove relevant for courses and studies in political science, philosophy, military strategy and history, international relations, history and more.

**A Review of the Main Competing Titles**

This book differs significantly from other books in the field, as it approaches the problems of democratic countries facing terror and guerilla organization from a very wide and comprehensive perspective, unlike other books which examine the subject of the terror and guerilla threat from a much narrower perspective. The proposed book also presents a unique doctrine for fighting terror which has never before been raised or considered.

Books related to the field and dealing with issues similar to those raised in this proposed book, albeit from a narrower perspective include:

* "*Just and Unjust Warriors*, edited by David Rodin & Henry Shue, published by Oxford University Press. This book raises a debate regarding the moral and legal status of combatants and challenges the idea that there is a distinction between the rules governing the justice of going to war and the rules governing what combatants can do during the war.
* *Protecting Civilians During Violent Conflict*, by Igor Primoratz, published by Routledge. This book addresses ethical and legal questions involving the complications of civilian collateral damage arising from new styles of conflict where enemy and civilian populations merge.
* *Moral Dilemmas of Modern War*, by Michael L. Gross, published by Cambridge University Press. This book seeks to answer moral and legal questions regarding the different tactics, weapons and practices employed during asymmetric conflicts, such as human shields, the status of civilians who shelter and aid guerilla, etc.

**5. Format and Timeline**

* The final translated manuscript should be ready for submission in January of 2019.
* The book will consist of approximately 107,000 words, not including references and footnotes.
* Each case study will be accompanied by a map showing areas controlled by the terror organization and by a diagram of each organization’s structure.
* A variety of third party material will be used, particularly references to books dealing with low intensity wars, terror, guerilla, international law, Just War theory, the roots of each conflict, the terror and guerilla organizations discussed in the proposed book, ethical reactions of the international community toward the fighting state, etc. These materials will be reflected in the footnotes.

Additional Information Related to a Dissertation Submission

The dissertation abstract is being submitted separately from this book proposal. Unlike the dissertation, this book will focus on the tensions and dilemmas democracies face when trying to balance their responsibility for defending the safety of their citizens with their need to safeguard their own values, norms, principles, and ideals. The moral and legal bases for these democratic values are often incompatible with the measures needed for fighting terrorism in low-intensity wars against enemies that have no respect for international norms and laws.

The dissertation reviewed numerous existing definitions of terror and guerilla fighting and then proposed its own working definition. The book will not review these existing definitions, but will offer its own definitions and explanations of them.

The comparative section of the book will include all the material covered in the abstract with the exception of the comparative analysis of the states’ actions in the context of the Kasher-Yadlin parameters. This issue will be treated in the book in a more general fashion in the book’s comparative analysis. However, the doctrine proposed in the book, while original to the author, does have some basis in the Kasher-Yadlin guidelines, which will be explained in the book. After examining other books published by Routledge, I am confident that this proposed book will be written at an equally high and well-organized level and should prove fascinating to a large audience.