**Book Proposal for the Routledge Research Monographs**

**Bridging the Gap -**

**Succeeding in Both Legitimacy and Effectiveness in Counter-Terrorism**

The following is a proposal for a book based on a PhD dissertation that the author submitted this year.

1. **Statement of Aims**

* **Main Themes and Objectives**

This book focuses on the ethical and legal tensions experienced by democracies when faced by threats from terror or guerilla groups. While democracies have a duty to protect their citizens from such threats, they also have a responsibility to preserve their countries’ civil rights, rule of law and fundamental freedoms. As the book argues, democracies’ moral and legal foundations may not be compatible with the means needed to fight such threats. This book also emphasizes the importance of international legitimation for the success of democratic states in such military conflicts. The book proposes an original, two-part moral-ethical doctrine for democracies fighting terror and guerilla threats which will enable them to do so more effectively while minimizing international criticism.

* **Summary**

In order to examine the tensions and dilemmas democracies face when engaged in low-intensity wars with guerilla or terrorist organizations, the book will discuss principles of international law and Just War theory relevant to how wars are fought. In addition, the book will examine the ethical doctrine for fighting terrorism developed by Professor Asa Kasher, an expert in the field of military ethics, and General Amos Yadlin, a former head of the IDF [Military Intelligence Directorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_Intelligence_Directorate_(Israel)) for the Israel Defense Forces, as the basis for the book’s own original doctrine. It also includes a comparative analysis of four model case studies of democracies fighting wars against terrorism and guerilla organizations. These 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 conflict with the Tamil Tigers in the fourth Tamil-Eelam War (2009). Each case study examines the characteristics of the guerilla organization, explores the roots of the conflicts, analyzes the main steps taken by the states during the conflicts, **Analysis the Ethical Issues Raised during the War** and analyze the case study according to Kasher’s and Yadlin’s doctrine**.**

Based on a comparative study of the above four cases as well as reference to similar events in other democratic states, and deriving from the ethical doctrine proposed by Kasher and Yadlin, the book develops a unique comprehensive, two-part ethical doctrine addressing the ethical dilemmas faced by democracies fighting such conflicts. This doctrine can serve as an operational instrument for democracies fighting terror and guerilla threats. The doctrine sets forth the state's obligations and defines realistic measures to enable the state to maintain its military effectiveness while increasing the legitimacy of its actions in the eyes of the international community.

* **This Book’s Innovative and Unique Qualities**

Numerous books have been written about low-intensity wars, terror and guerilla organizations, humanitarian law or the philosophical issues arising from such conflicts. In contrasts to these works, which focus on one distinct aspect of these issues, this book is interdisciplinary, drawing on the fields of national security, international relations, philosophy and international law in order to make a unique and constructive contribution to the field.

Not only does this book examine the moral and legal dilemmas that democracies face when fighting terror and guerilla organizations from a multi-disciplinary perspective, it also presents the author’s original and comprehensive moral-ethical doctrine, which would be published for the first time in this book. This doctrine helps democracies protect their citizens in a variety of low intensity confrontations with terror and/or guerilla organizations without compromising their most meaningful values, norms and ideals. This doctrine’s principles define realistic considerations and requirements to help the state maintain its military effectiveness while increasing the legitimacy of its actions in the eyes of the international community. These measures include strengthening the proportionality principle and placing a greater emphasis on the operation's value as well as distinguishing between professional and conscript military forces when facing the dilemma of **The lives of compatriot soldiers versus the lives of civilians on the opposite side**

* **Book Abstract**

Democratic states fighting terror and/or guerilla organizations face ethical tensions and dilemmas arising from democracies’ responsibility to defend their citizens from such threats while also meeting their obligation to safeguard the most fundamental democratic values, norms, principles, and ideals. These democratic standards may not be compatible with the means necessary for conducting low-intensity wars. Nonetheless, democracies often must fight enemies that have no respect for international norms and laws.

The book offers the author's working definition for terror and guerilla organizations, as a way to better analyze various organizations’ characteristics. It also compares four case studies of low-intensity confrontations with terror and/or guerilla organizations, including full descriptions and analyses of their operational, legal, moral, and ethical issues and events. These cases differ in several key respects, including the strength of the respective democratic systems, the different natures of the terror and/or guerilla groups, and the level of international interest in the conflict.

Building on these case studies and the ethical doctrine proposed by Kasher and Yadlin for the IDF, this book proposes a two-part, original, comprehensive moral-ethical doctrine. one part addressing fighting terror organizations and the second addressing fighting guerilla organizations. The doctrines aim to provide democratic states facing such threats with an effective operational instrument for fighting them while garnering international support.

**2. A Detailed Synopsis, Including Chapter Summaries**

**Proposed Table of Contents**

1. **Introduction**
2. **Part I: Democracies’ Dilemmas When Conducting Low-Intensity Warfare**
3. Just War Theory (Can be part of the introduction if needed)
4. The Principles of *Jus in Bello* in Low-Intensity Warfare
5. Military Doctrine
6. **Part II: Democracies vs. Terror and Guerilla Organizations: Case Studies**
7. The United States vs. Taliban and Al-Qaeda: Operation Enduring Freedom
8. Israel vs. Hezbollah: The Second Lebanon War
9. Israel vs. Hamas: Operation Cast Lead
10. Sri Lanka vs. the Tamil Tigers: The Fourth Tamil-Eelam War
11. **Part III: How to Engage in Terror and Guerilla Warfare Successfully While Gaining Greater International Legitimacy**
12. Different Fighting Methods in Different States
13. Universal Ethical Doctrine for Fighting Terror
14. Universal Ethical Doctrine for Fighting Guerilla Warfare

**E. Conclusion**

**Abstracts**

**Abstract: Introduction**

In the introduction, I provide the basis for the book’s ensuing discussions about the proper way to wage low-intensity warfare against guerilla and/or terror organizations. Ideally low-intensity wars should be conducted while balancing preservation of human dignity with the effective defense of the state and its inhabitants. Such wars also require the development of normative-universal rules for conducting warfare. In other words, an equilibrium should be sought between military effectiveness and adhering to ethical considerations and maintaining international legitimacy for actions undertaken by democratic states against terror and/or guerilla organizations.

The context of this discussion is the steady decline of traditional, classic wars between sovereign states ever since the end of World War II. This trend has seen a corresponding rise in low-intensity wars, conflicts in which a sovereign state battles a guerilla or terror organization. While such organizations radically differ from democratic states in terms of their values and priorities, they have developed paramilitary organizations which in some ways resemble the regular armies deployed by states. However, while regular armies are expected to respect the principles of international laws, these organizations do not adhere to them. The rising frequency of these types of wars without a concomitant development of suitable moral justifications and rules for declaring or conducting them, has left democratic states with a significant problem.

For the purposes of this book, I have developed two working definitions, distinguishing between terror organizations and guerrilla organizations, using these to classify the specific organizations discussed. I present these definitions in the introduction. Likewise, I present the characteristics of low-intensity warfare, explaining the ways it differs from classic warfare.

I explain how the book is organized: the first section is theoretical; it presents Just War Theory and the principles of *jus in bello*, applying these to low-intensity warfare. Specifically, it explores the doctrine developed by Kasher and Yadlin. The second section includes case studies. The third section presents a horizontal comparison of the different fighting methods adopted by the states that were analyzed in the case studies and present the two new doctrines which I have developed: one for the war against terror organizations the other for war against guerilla organizations.

In my description of the book’s second part, I explain the rationale behind the specific cases studies chosen: all cases pertain to states with a democratic profile (as defined by the 2010 Democratic Index, as I explain). Moreover, each case represents a different type of organization operating in a different territory and environment. In addition, the states discussed in these case studies lack effective control over the territory in which the war takes place.

Finally, I explain this book’s contribution to the scholarship on the subject, especially the new doctrine it offers.

**Part I: Democracies’ Dilemmas When Conducting Low-Intensity Warfare**

**Abstract Chapter 1: Just War Theory**

This chapter explores Just War Theory, constituting the theoretical basis of the book. Just War Theory is an important ethical framework, intended to curb and regulate the exercise of power by sovereign states.

The chapter includes a short discussion about the evolution of Just War Theory and a review of its three components: *jus ad bellum*, *jus in bello*, and *post-bellum*. As the present book only pertains to *jus in bello*, it is the focus of the chapter.

I present the two schools of thought in the scholarship of Just War Theory. The first is the traditional school, called the symmetry thesis. One of its prominent proponents is Michael Walzer. This school of thought also exists in international and humanitarian law and is based on a clear distinction between *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*. In other words, according to this approach the morality of tactics and tools used by soldiers during a war, is unrelated to whether the war itself is “just.” The second school ascribes to the so-called the asymmetry/dependence thesis and is advocated by scholars such as David Rodin and Jeff MacMahan. According to this school, *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* are directly connected. As this book adopts the symmetry thesis, it neither examines the motivations for declaring war nor the question of what makes a declaration of war just. It focuses solely on actions of soldiers and decision-makers during warfare.

**Chapter 2:** **The Principles of *Jus in Bello* in Low-Intensity Warfare**

Please see the chapter sample.

**Abstract Chapter 3: Military Doctrine**

After providing a brief description of military doctrines in general, this chapter delves into a detailed description of the specific doctrine formulated by Kasher and Yadlin. A military doctrine is an important component of a country’s national defense policy. By articulating a doctrine, the political and military leadership of a state create a normative system of comprehensive conceptions which dictate the state’s use of force. A good doctrine should show how threats posed to a state can be prevented without sacrificing vital interests and values and should explain how a threat can be successfully and morally neutralized through the exercise of military power.

1. In collaboration with IDF officers and academic advisors, General Amos Yadlin and Professor Asa Kasher developed in 2005 a new doctrine pertaining to the war on terror. It incorporates moral, legal, and ethical considerations which are meant to guide a democratic state in its efforts to defend its citizens from acts of terror. Their doctrine is solely based on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It expands the scope of classic Just War Theory and is comprised of three parts: Part I: before undertaking a military action (comprised of two parameters) Part II: during military actions (comprised six parameters) and Part III: political activity at home and abroad in the international arena (comprised of three parameters). As this book deals with parts II and III, only these parts of Kasher and Yadlin’s doctrine have been explained. Each principle is comprised of a number of articles such as “the principle of military necessity”; “the principle of distinction” (that is, distinguishing between different types of obligations a state has towards people that are not its citizens or residents, as well as distinguishing between direct and indirect involvement in terror); “the principle of proportionality,” (which expands the discussion of how to decide if an actions stands up to the criteria of proportionality); “the principle of low probabilities” (which helps decision making in cases of uncertain intelligence); the principle of operational deterrence (which determines when deterrence is allowed) and more. In the chapter I can focus in raising the doctrine itself or I can also raise the main criticism directed against it.

**Part II: Democracies vs. Terror and Guerilla Organizations: Case Studies**

**Abstract Chapter 4: The United States of America vs. the Taliban and Al-Qaeda: Operation Enduring Freedom**

This case study reviews the first stage of the United States’ war against two organizations: the Taliban – a guerilla organization active in Afghanistan –and Al-Qaeda, a global terror organization, the first of its kind in the 21st century and comprised of a wide network of active terror cells in more than 60 countries worldwide. These two organizations are analyzed together as the US declaration of war was addressed to both – against Al-Qaeda and against the Taliban which had given them protection. Moreover, during the war, no distinction was drawn between objectives associated with the Taliban and those associated with Al-Qaeda. Only the first part of the war has been examined in this chapter, as it was only then that the United States lacked effective control over Afghanistan. Later, when Hamid Karzai assumed the premiership, America’s actions were characterized as a counter-insurgency, with a greater obligation to the wellbeing of Afghanistan’s civilians.

At the beginning of the chapter, I explore Afghanistan’s features and fabric of life as well as the historical antecedents which led to the rise of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda involvement. I also describe the organizations themselves – their characteristics, the tools at their disposal, and their organizational structures. I show how each should be defined, demonstrating that while the Taliban is only a guerilla organization, Al-Qaeda is only a terror organization.

In the second part of the chapter, I describe the reasons for the war’s outbreak and preparations – including the formation of a broad international coalition to support the US in its war effort. I also follow the course of the war, describing major actions as well as noting specific events which led to collateral damage. For example, I discuss the aerial bombardment of the Taliban government complex which resulted in the deaths not just of the targets but also their family members (including women and children). Another example is the US aerial bombardment of the village of Karam during evening prayers which led to the death of more than 100 civilians.

I also review the precautions taken by the United States to minimize civilian losses – such as dropping flyers or broadcasting radio messages calling on civilians to evacuate before an impending strike – as well as its attempts to provide for the humanitarian needs of civilians, for example, air-dropping food items for civilians – in the first 48 hours of the war, the air force dropped 210,000 food items.

In the third part of the chapter, I describe the ethical **issues raised during the war**

For example, I discuss breaches of the principle of distinction and their context. One of the reasons for this breach, according to Afghan authorities, was that the US and NATO lacked the necessary cultural insight to properly distinguish between the Taliban and civilians. Local men considered carrying weapons part of their culture, as widespread as wearing jewelry for women in the West. Unaware of this, Western powers failed to distinguish weapon-carrying civilians from Taliban troops. I also cite the American responses to these accusations. For example, General Tom Franks, Commander of the U.S. Central Command and NATO in Afghanistan, recounted that President George Bush constantly reminded him that the objective was the Taliban and Al-Qaeda not Afghan citizens, and that precautions should be taken to avoid bringing civilians to harm. According to President Bush, even if Bin Laden himself were to be found in a sensitive facility such as a mosque, the army should forgo the opportunity to strike and wait for him to exit.

In the fourth part of the chapter I analyze, in light of Kasher and Yadlin doctrine , major actions that USA has carried out and which have been controversial. These actions also raise dilemmas that it needed to face with.

Such as an air attack on the town of Karam during evening prayers that lead to up than 100 dead citizens. Or air attack on the Taliban government compound. As a result of the attack, their family members also died (including women and children).

Examine these actions in light of the doctrine will appraise which parameters were met, which were not, and which were only partially met.

The chapter addresses one of the lessons learned after the initial stage of the war by American commanders on the ground: the importance of winning the hearts and minds of Afghan civilians. This insight drove commanders to take even greater precautions to minimize the extent of collateral damage to civilians. This required a major shift in the prevailing conception in the American army regarding the importance of protecting civilians. This change in approach, and the document drafted by General McChrystal to this end, are discussed.

**Abstract Chapter 5: Israel vs. Hezbollah: The Second Lebanon War**

This case study describes Israel’s war against the guerilla-terror ("terroguerilla") organization Hezbollah active in the territory of a sovereign state – Lebanon. Unable to maintain sufficient military effectiveness, Lebanon lost its monopoly on violence to Hezbollah. Using the territories of South Lebanon as its base, where it enjoys effective sovereignty, Hezbollah launches attacks against Israel. The dilemma faced by Israel, sparking dispute in its military and political echelons, was: should operations target only Hezbollah or the infrastructure of Lebanon as well? Supporting the latter approach was the fact that Hezbollah operated uninhibited in Lebanese territory and had even woven itself into the fabric of Lebanese political life.

In this chapter, I describe the history of relations between the State of Israel and Lebanon and the antecedents of Israel’s conflict with Hezbollah, including the military and political measures undertaken by both Israel and Lebanon to curb Hezbollah’s power. I then move on to a description of Hezbollah itself, addressing its objectives, the history of its formation, and the nature of its ties with Iran, how it gained effective control over South Lebanon, and how it integrated itself into Lebanon’s domestic politics. I also describe the organization’s hierarchical structure and its various divisions: a military arm, a political arm, and a social arm. I show how its military arm incorporates elements classically associated with armies while also displaying elements characteristic of guerrilla organizations: on the one hand, it is comprised of tens of thousands of troops, has an organized command structure, conducts military training, and has an extensive arsenal at its disposal. On the other hand, its operates covertly; camoflauges its troops; and takes advantage of civilian surroundings for self-defense. From a social standpoint, I explain how the organization provides the population in South Lebanon social, religious, and educational services.

Based on this characterization, I discuss whether Hezbollah should be defined as a terror organization or a guerilla organization. I conclude that it has characteristics of both. It is, in other words, a terro-guerilla organization.

The second part of the chapter briefly describes the antecedents of the war and reviews Israel and Hezbollah’s respective preparations. It then describes the three stages of the war and provides an account of the war’s major actions. For example, I discuss the Israeli aerial strike of Kafr Kanna which contained logistics facilities, equipment, and rockets. The bombing resulted in the collapse of a three-story building killing at least 54 people. I also describe Israel’s aerial strike of a UN post near the village of al-Hiyam which resulted in the deaths of 54 UN officers. Statements made by leaders on both sides of the war are also discussed. The operation came to an end at the height of the IDF’s ground operation, in compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 1701. While the onset of the ceasefire left neither side decisively victorious, both showcased their achievements, as I discuss.

In the third part of the chapter, I review the ethical **issues raised during the war**

. For example, it was claimed that Israel had violated the principles of distinction and proportionality and that the collateral damage incurred in Israeli operations was often too high relative to the projected military benefit. The IDF attacked people and buildings which critics claimed were completely unaffiliated with the military, political, or social arms of Hezbollah, and without considering whether they were legitimate military objectives according to international, humanitarian law. Likewise, it was claimed that Israel had failed to adopt the necessary precautionary measures to avoid civilian casualties.

In the fourth part of the chapter I analyze, in light of Kasher and Yadlin doctrine , major actions that Israel has carried out and which have been controversial. These actions also raise dilemmas that Israel had to deal with It helps examine which parameters were met, which were not, and which were only partially met. Such as the IDF air attack on Kafar Kana that lead to the collapse of a 3 floor's building. Or air attack on The UN's Al-Khayyam post that lead to four dead UN officers. Examine these actions in light of the doctrine will appraise which parameters were met, which were not, and which were only partially met

**Abstract: Chapter 6: Israel vs. Hamas: Operation Cast Lead**

This case study explores a war fought between the State of Israel and Hamas. Ever since its military coup against Fatah in 2007, Hamas has been the de-facto ruler of the Gaza Strip, constituting a quasi-political entity. The organization sits in Israel’s “back yard,” constantly posing a threat to its citizens with rocket fire and other terror activities. Its ultimate objective is to supplant Israel with a Palestinian-Islamic state.

The first part of this chapter describes Israel’s takeover of the Gaza Strip, the Israeli disengagement of 2005, the transfer of sovereignty to Fatah, and finally the Hamas takeover.

It also describes the context of Hamas’ creation and provides a general characterization of the organization. Among other things, I discuss Hamas’ organizational structure: i.e., its five divisions: the political bureau, the Gaza-government, the Hamas leadership in Israeli jails, the military arm (Izz al-Din al-Qassam brigades) and the supervisory council (the Majlis al-Shura).

In each case study, I discuss whether Hamas’ actions place it in the category of a guerilla organization, a terror organization or both (terro-guerilla).

The second part of the chapter describes the Israeli military operation in Gaza which began on December 27, 2008 and drew to a close on January 19, 2009. I discuss the war’s antecedents and Israel’s objectives and preparations – including the discussion in the Israeli security cabinet over the decision to go to war. Likewise, I examine Hamas’ preparations and policies. Each stage of the operation is then discussed in turn – from the first Israeli air-strikes to Israel’s ground incursion.

The third part of the chapter discusses the eathical issues raised during the war. The UN council for Human Rights established a fact-finding team to evaluate the events of Operation Cast Lead (The Goldstone Report). The report accuses Israel of committing war crimes and crimes against humanity. Israel was specifically accused of breaching the principle of distinction – for example by bombing of mosque located in a refugee camp and near a hospital, resulting in the deaths of numerous prayer-goes. In my analysis, I explain the difficulty posed by Hamas’ incorporation of both military and civilian elements, a fact which forced the IDF to expand its definition of what constituted a military objective. This was considered problematic in the eyes of the international community.

Hamas was also condemned for firing rockets at Israeli civilian objectives, and for conducting military operations in civilian areas

In the fourth part of the chapter I analyze in light of Kasher and Yadlin doctrine major actions that Israel has carried out and which have been controversial. These actions also raise dilemmas that Israel had to deal with, in order to examine which parameters were met, which were not, and which were only partially met. Such as An aerial attack on the parade ground during a graduation ceremony for a Palestinian police course. It lead to up than 50 dead people. Or Bombing of a mosque in Jabalya refugee camp that lead to 15 dead people and up than 40 wounded.

Examine these actions in light of the doctrine will appraise which parameters were met, which were not, and which were only partially met

**Chapter 7: Sri Lanka versus the Tamil Tigers in the Fourth Tamil Eelam War**

Please see sample chapter

**Part III: How to Engage Successfully in Terror and Guerilla Warfare While Gaining International Legitimacy**

**Abstract Chapter 8 : Different Fighting Methods in Different States**

This chapter presents a horizontal comparison of the different fighting methods adopted by different states, viewing these through the prism of the principles formulated by Kasher and Yadlin in their military doctrine. Some principles were adhered to by only one of the states studied. Others were adhered to by all (even if, at first glance, this does not seem to be the case). For example, I discuss the principle of permanent notice. While Sri Lanka did not adhere to this principle, using its air force to bomb “safe zones” without providing any notice to civilians, the United States and Israel took pains to adhere to the principle, providing the civilian population notice in the form of leaflets and text-messages.

In terms of the principle of proportionality, the case studies reveal that all three states acted similarly – that is, they all tried to find a proper balance between the military benefit to be attained from a given action and the danger of inflicting collateral damage. In Sri Lanka’s case, while civilians were killed as the result of air force’s bombing raids, the exceptional brutality of the LTTE cannot be ignored; it had no qualms about inflict harm on the civilian population, and even used civilians as hostages, often putting their lives in jeopardy. Some other important principles discussed are the principle of military necessity, the principle of operational deterrence, the principle of professional understanding, and the principle of time span considerations.

By comparing different fighting methods through the prism of these principles, I am able to develop two new universal ethical doctrines – one for combatting terror the other for waging war against guerilla organizations. By learning from cases of the past and examining principles which may be difficult to uphold or may even be unfeasible, I am able to develop doctrines that are as universal and applicable as possible.

This chapter also provides explanations for the differences between the different case studies analyzed, forcing different democratic states to act differently. For example, Hamas, Hezbollah, and the LTTE, intentionally embedded themselves in the civilian population, and strategically used civilians to bring the war to an end or to elicit international condemnation of the democratic state. The Taliban by contrast adopted no such strategy.

**Chapter 9: Universal Ethical Doctrine for Fighting Terrorism**

Please see sample chapter

**Abstract Chapter 10: Universal Ethical Doctrine for Fighting Guerilla Warfare**

At first glance, it would seem that the accepted rules of warfare can serve a democratic state when the issue at hand is guerilla or terror attacks directed at military and security personnel. This, however, is incorrect. Unlike the regular rules of war, which assume that civilians have ethical precedence over soldiers, in a war against a terror/guerilla organization, soldiers are often given ethical precedence over the civilian population of the opposing party (as I explain in the doctrine). This is because such organizations adopt the tactics of modern terror organizations, operating from within the civilian population and against it. They intentionally seek to blur the lines between themselves and civilians, placing the responsibility for their wellbeing upon civilians themselves. This difference in ethical precedence, requires new rules that differ from those currently enshrined in international law.

The differences between the two doctrines I developed are not significant. Some changes pertain terminology or small adjustments to parts of principles, for example, the principle of prior notice. In a case where guerilla tactics are aimed at soldiers and not civilians, the present doctrine maintains, unlike the doctrine for fighting terror, that a state does not have the luxury of considering whether or not to give prior warning. To the contrary, it has an even greater obligation to give civilians notice in such a case.

The distinction between a conscripted army and a professional army is a critical point in this doctrine, as it will be explained

The working definition of a guerilla group used throughout this book, addresses both the military and security audience against whom such actions are aimed as well as guerilla strategies. This was how the case studies were analyzed and how the doctrine was formulated. Assuming the proposed doctrine is used by those adhering to other definitions, it should be clarified that if a guerilla organization plans to launch a terror/guerilla attack against civilians, such an action should be examined according to the universal-ethical doctrine for fighting terror.

**3. A Description of the Target Market**

* **Intended Audience**

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.

* **Applicable Journals, Publications, and/or Relevant Organizations**

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 be of importance to policy making bodies and organizations, military and strategic bodies and organizations, and to academic institutions.

* **International Appeal**

The book is 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.

* **Scope of Study of the Subject Matter**

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.

1. **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 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 terrorism 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 will be ready for submission in Saptember 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 materials will be used, particularly references to books dealing with low intensity wars, terror and guerilla organizations, international law, Just War theory, the roots of each conflict, the terror and guerilla organizations discussed in the book, ethical reactions of the international community toward the fighting state, biographies, etc. These materials will be reflected in the footnotes.

**Additional Information Related to a Dissertation Submission**

The dissertation upon which this book is based on the question of whether normative, operative and universal rules of engagement can be defined and integrated into a comprehensive moral-ethical doctrine that can enable democracies to manage low-intensity conflicts with terror and guerilla organizations in a variety of circumstances, and, if so, what those rules would be. The original research involved a review of numerous existing definitions of terrorism and guerilla fighting and then proposed its own working definition, as can be seen in the dissertation's submitted abstract. The book will not include the various definitions alluded to in the abstract, and will only use the author's own original definition of terrorism and guerilla fighting.

The book moves beyond the questions posed in the dissertation. It acknowledges the tensions and dilemmas democracies face when trying to balance their responsibility for defending their citizens with their need to safeguard their own values, norms, and ideals. The moral and legal bases for these democratic principles often conflict with the measures needed for fighting terrorism in low-intensity wars against enemies that have no respect for international norms and laws.

The dissertation was awarded as a unique research in the field of terrorism and as such offers practical solutions alongside theoretical explanations, on behalf of Inbar Fund and the Intelligence Heritage Canter, IDF.

After examining other books published by Routledge, I am confident that this book will be a valuable addition to the Routledge catalog, adding unique and ground-breaking insight on a topic that is of key importance to today's world and is applicable to a vast group of readers.