

# The Counterintelligence Officer's Annotated Bibliography on Terrorism

Compiled by FL Rusty Capps (Copyright July 2022)

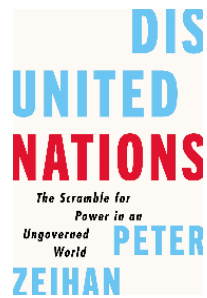
My first point in preparing this bibliography is that anyone wishing to understand more about counterterror operations should also avail themselves of my colleague, Dan Mulvenna's, excellent *Intelligence Officer's Bookshelf: An Annotated Bibliography*, which is also available on this website. The basis for all successful counterterror operation is a comprehensive understanding of intelligence and counterintelligence operations and tradecraft. The books reviewed in Dan's bibliography will significantly expedite that process.

Second, if you only have time to read one book on terrorism it should be Bruce Hoffman's text, *Inside Terrorism* (reviewed later in this bibliography).

If you are willing to read a second, third, fourth and fifth book I'd suggest: *United States of Jihad: Investigating America's Homegrown Terrorists* by Peter Bergen; *Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (9/11 Report)* by The 9/11 Commission; *Enhanced Interrogation: Inside the Minds and Motives of the Islamic Terrorists Trying To Destroy America* by Dr. James E. Mitchell and *Osama Bin Laden* by Michael Scheuer. After those titles I have added a listing of the texts that I have read and use for references for my classes and writings on terrorism.

I also highly recommend *The Great Courses Series* and *The Modern Scholar Series* available on [www.audible.com](http://www.audible.com). I have listen to many of them as I drive back and forth to the Washington Metro Area from my home in Lexington, Virginia. I find them well worth my time and yours too, I trust. I will be reviewing four that I like a lot below: *Utopia and Terror in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* by Professor Gabriel Liulevicius (which is my particular favorite); *U.S. and the Middle East; 1914 to 9/11* by Professor Salim Yaqub; *Judaism, Christianity and Islam* by Professor F. W. Peters; and *The Rise and Fall of Soviet Communism* by Professor Gary Hamburg.

Lastly, there are two book I want to recommend to you that are not exactly a fit for a bibliography on terrorism books, but I think they have so much to say about the world we now find ourselves in I feel compelled to recommend them to you. First is:



**Disunited Nations: The Scramble for Power in an Ungoverned World;**

by Peter Zeihan; Publisher: Harper Business, NYC; March 3, 2020; Hardcover; 480 pages.

As a historian myself, I'm ashamed to admit I've never really considered the impact of geography on history. Peter Zeihan changed that for me and also directed me to the impact of demographic on our world. I can't recommend this book enough and must also direct your attention to his just released in June, 2022, book, which I have ordered but have not yet begun reading, The End of the World Is Just the Beginning: Mapping the Collapse of Globalization.

In *Disunited Nations* Zeihan, a geopolitical strategist who did analysis for years for the Texas based intelligence analytical company Stratfor, presents a series of counterintuitive arguments about the future of a world where trade is coming apart and international institutions are losing their power. Germany will decline as the most powerful country in Europe, with France taking its place. Every country should prepare for the collapse of China, not North Korea. We are already seeing, as Zeihan predicted, Russian military action in Europe beginning with the invasion of Ukraine.

The world has gotten so accustomed to the "normal" of an American-dominated order that we have all forgotten the historical norm: several smaller, competing powers and economic systems throughout Europe and Asia. America isn't the only nation stepping back from the international system. From Brazil to Great Britain to Russia, leaders are deciding that even if plenty of countries lose in the growing disunited chaos, their nations will benefit. The world isn't falling apart - it's being pushed apart. The countries and businesses prepared for this new every-country-for-itself ethic are those that will prevail; those shackled to the status quo will find themselves lost in the new world disorder.

Smart, interesting, and essential reading, *Disunited Nations* is a sure-to-be-controversial guidebook that analyzes the emerging shifts and resulting problems that will arise in the next two decades. We are entering a period of chaos, and no political or corporate leader can ignore Zeihan's insights or his message if they want to survive and thrive in this uncertain new time.

## **Reviews:**

“Zeihan integrates a wealth of information and data into lucid analyses written in accessible, boisterous prose... The result is a stimulating look into the geopolitical crystal ball.” – Publishers Weekly

“Peter Zeihan has written a smart, well-crafted page-turner that lays out the compelling reasons why America’s role in the world has changed--and why that’s good news for Americans and sobering for everyone else. His vivid account of the impact of America’s good fortune for the rest of the world makes this an original and invaluable read.” – Ian Bremmer, Eurasia Group, on *Disunited Nations*

“If President Trump has but one book to read as he assumes command, it should be this one.” – Honorable Dave McCurdy, former Member of U.S. House of Representatives; President and CEO of the American Gas Association, on *Disunited Nations*

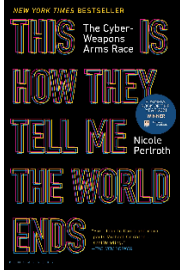
“*Disunited Nations* is a must-read to understand the forces that will shape geopolitics and potentially ignite decades of global disorder. By dissecting the technological and geographic realities of energy and demography, Zeihan forecasts the conflicts and economic realignments that will follow America’s withdrawal from active global leadership.” – Mitt Romney on *Disunited Nations*

“Many believe that the American economy has some inherent advantages over its major competitors—a more flexible structure, stronger entrepreneurial traditions and a more demographically vibrant society. Along comes a fascinating new book that says you ain’t seen nothing yet.” – Fareed Zakaria, CNN, on *Disunited Nations*

"Another masterful, often counterintuitive, relentlessly entertaining geopolitical thrill ride." – Kirkus Reviews

## **About the Author**

Peter Zeihan is a geopolitical strategist and the founder of the consulting firm Zeihan on Geopolitics. His clients include energy corporations, financial institutions, business associations, agricultural interests, universities, and the U.S. military. He is the author of *The Accidental Superpower*, *The Absent Superpower*, *Disunited Nations*, and *The End of the World Is Just the Beginning*. He lives in Colorado.



**This is How They Tell Me the World Ends**; By Nicole Perlroth; Publisher- Bloomsbury Publishing, London and NYC; 1st edition, February 9, 2021; Hardcover- 528 pages.

This is the second book that I been recommending to all my students in my intelligence and counterterrorism classes. It is a incisive, detailed and often scary look at the evolution of the international cyber arms race, from its earliest years to the modern era. Interestingly, Perlroth is a reporter, not an IT specialist, and she explains the details of cyber warfare in terms even a Luddite like me can understand. The book is filled with “zero days,” hackers, operatives of foreign intelligence services, cyber arms dealers, NSA codebreakers who form their own cyber security companies, and Israeli cyber security firms.

A zero day is a software bug that allows a hacker to break into your devices and move around undetected. One of the most coveted tools in a cyber spy's arsenal, a zero day has the power to silently spy on your iPhone, dismantle the safety controls at a chemical plant, alter an election, and shut down the electric grid (just ask Ukraine).

For decades, under cover of classification levels and non-disclosure agreements, the USG became the world’s dominant hoarder of zero days. U.S. government agents paid top dollar—first thousands, and later millions of dollars— to hackers willing to sell their lock-picking code and their silence.

Then the United States lost control of its hoard and the market!

Now those zero days are in the hands of hostile nations and mercenary/hackers who do not care if your vote goes missing, your clean water is contaminated, or our nuclear plants melt down.

Perlroth lifts the curtain on this market in the shadows, revealing the urgent threat faced by us all if we cannot bring the global cyber arms race to heel.

### **Reviews:**

"An intricately detailed, deeply sourced and reported history of the origins and growth of the [cyberweapons] market and the global cyberweapons arms race it has sparked . . .

This is no bloodless, just-the-facts chronicle. Written in the hot, propulsive prose of a spy thriller, Perlroth's book sets out from the start to scare us out of our complacency." - Jonathan Tepperman, The New York Times

"The best kind of reportage . . . a rollicking fun trip, front to back, and an urgent call for action before our wired world spins out of our control. I've covered cybersecurity for a decade and yet paragraph after paragraph I kept wondering: 'How did she manage to figure \*that\* out? How is she so good?' "- Garrett M. Graff, Wired, author of New York Times bestseller THE ONLY PLANE IN THE SKY

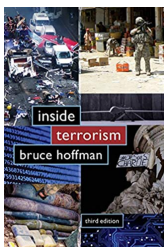
"A vivid and provocative chronicle of Perlroth's travels through the netherworld of the global cyberweapons arms trade." - The New York Review of Books

"A whirlwind global tour that introduces us to the crazy characters and bizarre stories behind the struggle to control the internet. It would be unbelievable if it wasn't all so very true." - Alex Stamos, Director of the Stanford Internet Observatory and former head of security for Facebook and Yahoo

"A powerful case for strong cybersecurity policy that reduces vulnerabilities while respecting civil rights." - Kirkus Reviews

"[Perlroth] has delivered a five-alarm page turner that weighs the possibility of cyber-cataclysm." - The Boston Globe

### My Top Five Books on Terrorism:



**Inside Terrorism, Third Edition (Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare)**; by Bruce Hoffman; Columbia University Press, Paperback - September 5, 2017; 528 pages.

Still the best text I've read on the complex subject of terrorism, Hoffman's book is comprehensive, extremely well-written and provides insight into the evolution of terror, its definitions, the groups, their targets and their tactics.

"Inside Terrorism" opens with a discussion about the debate that surrounds the issue of defining terrorism - an issue which argued by everyone from academics to government

bureaucrats to the UN. At the beginning of his book, Hoffman includes an excellent, perhaps the best, concise history of terrorism from ancient time to the the history of post-colonial ethnic or nationalist terror groups, the impact of religion on terrorism, suicide terror, terror and the Media, terrorist methods and motivations and finally the potential future of terrorism.

Hoffman is clearly a smart guy and lets his reader know it by his frequent use of overly complex words. The book, however, is a excellent primer and in an area where most academics have been putting out shallow, mindless drivel since 9/11, Hoffman has written a book with real world substance and is of value and use to professionals with counterterror operational missions at all levels.

### **Reviews:**

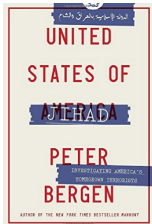
A vitally important book. Bruce Hoffman has for decades been one of the world's greatest scholars of terrorism, and this new edition of his classic study is impressively wide-ranging and authoritative. Covering key issues such as definition, historical evolution, and internationalization, it also addresses thematic subjects such as religious terrorism and suicide attacks. -- Richard English, author of *Does Terrorism Work?: A History*

Bruce Hoffman has produced a most welcome new and updated edition of his classic work, a book that provides an essential foundation for understanding the rapidly changing contours of terrorism. The third edition of *Inside Terrorism* is as timely, relevant, and analytically probing as ever. -- Martha Crenshaw, Stanford University, coauthor of *Countering Terrorism: No Simple Solutions*

The classic work from the dean of terrorism studies. No one who cares about the struggle of our time should miss this book. -- Lawrence Wright, author of *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* and *The Terror Years: From Al-Qaeda to the Islamic State*.

### About the Author

Bruce Hoffman is a professor at Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service and director of the Center for Security Studies and the Security Studies Program. He is also a senior fellow at the U.S. Military Academy's Combating Terrorism Center and a visiting professor of terrorism studies at St. Andrews University. Hoffman is the editor of the Columbia University Press series *Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare*, coeditor of *The Evolution of the Global Terrorist Threat: From 9/11 to Osama bin Laden's Death* (Columbia, 2014), and author of *Anonymous Soldiers: The Struggle for Israel, 1917-1947* (2015).



*United States of Jihad: Investigating America's Homegrown Terrorists* by Peter Bergen; The Crown Publishing Group; Hardcover - February 2, 2016; 400 pages.

This is perhaps the best book I've recently read on home-grown, lone wolf terrorism, the terrorist radicalization process and law enforcement and government programs to counter these threats. I just wish the author would update it with a second addition. To his credit he has continued collection data on terrorist and publishes it online *Terrorism in America After 9/11, A detailed look at jihadist terrorist activity in the United States and by Americans overseas since 9/11*, Last updated on September 10th, 2021 at <https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/reports/terrorism-in-america/>.

*United States of Jihad* It is a must read for intelligence, CI, CT and law enforcement professionals involved in counterterror investigations and operations. It will also be of value to members of the general public who are looking for a better understanding of these issues. I used it as a textbook in terrorism courses I will taught at Radford University 2017 and 2018.

Peter Bergen has written numerous books on terrorism (Manhunt: The Ten-Year Search for Bin Laden from 9/11 to Abbottabad; The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between America and Al-Qaeda; The Osama bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of al Qaeda's Leader; Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden; Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy; Talibanistan: Negotiating the Borders Between Terror, Politics, and Religion) and its practioners and this may be his best. It examines more than 300 terror plots, attacks, lone wolf terrorists and government programs, agencies and operations in America since 9/11.

Of these 500+ American terrorists since 9/11, some have left to fight abroad and one was a planner of the attacks in Mumbai. More than eighty have been charged with ISIS-related crimes. Others carried out attacks at Fort Hood, the Boston Marathon, and in San Bernardino. Bergen looks at their motivations, their trained, and the law enforcement operations that identified, tracked, disrupted or eliminated them.

Among the terrorists Bergen covers are Anwar al-Awlaki, the New Mexico-born radical cleric who became the first American citizen killed by a CIA drone. Al-Awlaki mentored the Charlie Hebdo shooters, the Underwear Bomber, Major, Nidel Hasan;

Samir Khan, editor of Inspire Webzine, the Tsarnaev brothers; and Omar Hammami, an Alabama native who left America to join al Shabaab's in Somalia.

Bergen uses his extensive network of intelligence contacts, from the National Counterterrorism Center, the FBI to the NYPD, offering an inside look at the controversial tactics of law enforcement agencies tracking terrorist and potential terrorists. He also addresses the role of social media in revolutionized terrorism.

Peter Bergen is the author of four previous books about terrorism, three of which were New York Times bestsellers. He is CNN's national security analyst, vice president at New America, and a professor at Arizona State University. Bergen has held teaching positions at Harvard and at Johns Hopkins University and is a graduate of Oxford.

## Reviews

"Mr. Bergen writes with authority and range... His profiles of jihadists... leave the reader with a harrowing appreciation of the banality of evil and an unnerving sense of missteps made by the authorities... Mr. Bergen's detailed accounts of terror plots (both executed, foiled or failed) make for chilling reading." — Michiko Kakutani, *New York Times*

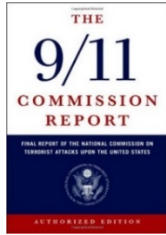
"Excellent... Bergen's book is the best one-volume treatment available on the current state of jihad in America." — Janet Napolitano, *New York Times Book Review*

"Peter Bergen is a skilled and sensitive reporter with unparalleled access to the law-enforcement and intelligence communities... He has written what in effect are two books about terrorism. Both are valuable. One is a riveting, thoroughly researched account of the evolving state of the threat as a growing number of American citizens join the ranks of foreign terrorist movements — and of how U.S. intelligence and law-enforcement agencies are addressing the constantly shifting threat. The other is a skilled defense of... the Obama administration's anti-terror effort: one that attempts to steer between the perceived extremes of panicky overreaction and a failure to acknowledge how politically and socially devastating terror attacks can be."

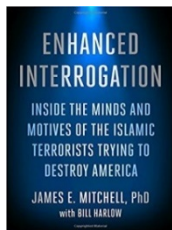
Selected for the Washington Post's Notable Nonfiction List, 2016

A New York Times Editors' Choice





**The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States**; W.W. Walton and Company, New York; July 22, 2004 by National Commission on Terrorist Attacks. In November 2002 the United States Congress and President George W. Bush established by law the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, also known as the 9/11 Commission. This independent, bipartisan panel was directed to examine the facts and circumstances surrounding the September 11 attacks, identify lessons learned, and provide recommendations to safeguard against future acts of terrorism. This volume is the authorized edition of the Commission's final report. This text is the *Gold Standard* in terms of understanding the terrorist, the terror groups, their tactics and attacks that lead up to the attacks of September 11, 2001. It is thorough, detailed, well researched, annotated and well indexed (if you purchase the hardbound addition. The paperback has no index). It is not an easy read but is one of the necessary building blocks to understand the current terror threat.



**Enhanced Interrogation: Inside the Minds and Motives of the Islamic Terrorists Trying To Destroy America**; by James E. Mitchell Ph.D. and Bill Harlow; Published by Crown Forum on November 29, 2016; Hardcover, 320 pages.

This is an exceptional book which provides a detailed, first hand explanation of the CIA's Detention, Rendition and Interrogation Program by a CIA contractor who was intimately involved in the program. Much has been written and frequently misrepresented on Enhanced Interrogation Techniques (EITs) in the Media, by liberal members of Congress and particularly Senator Diane Feinstein's Committee Report (Senate Intelligence Committee Study on CIA Detention and Interrogation Program). Dr. Mitchell does us all a service by explaining the program's specifics including: each of the enhanced interrogation techniques that were used by CIA interrogators with approval of the U.S. Department of Justice; identifying the players who participated, particularly the terrorist who were interrogated; and describing the intelligence in great

detail that was obtained from al Qaeda members after using EITs. The point that has always resonated with me after the countless references by critics of EITs who describe them as torture is that all of those EITs had been refined and used for years in the training given to our elite military operators and units to prepare them to resist interrogation if they were captured. They are without doubt harsh, but all were vetted and deemed medically safe. So, to call them torture requires a definition that is different from mine or Merriam-Webster: "...the infliction of intense pain (as from burning, crushing, or wounding) to punish, coerce, or afford sadistic pleasure..."

It all began in the dark days immediately after 9/11, the CIA turned to Dr. James Mitchell to help craft an interrogation program designed to elicit intelligence from just-captured top al-Qa'ida leaders and terror suspects. A civilian contractor who had spent years training U.S. military members to resist interrogation should they be captured, Mitchell, aware of the urgent need to prevent impending catastrophic attacks, worked with the CIA to implement "enhanced interrogation techniques"--which included waterboarding.

In *Enhanced Interrogation*, Mitchell now offers a first-person account of the EIT program, providing a contribution to our historical understanding of one of the most controversial elements of America's ongoing war on terror. Readers will follow him inside the secretive "black sites" and cells of terrorists and terror suspects where he personally applied enhanced interrogation techniques. Mitchell personally questioned thirteen of the most senior high-value detainees in U.S. custody, including Abu Zubaydah; Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, the amir or "commander" of the USS Cole bombing; and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the mastermind behind the September 11, 2001, terror attacks--obtaining information that he maintains remains essential to winning the war against al-Qa'ida and informing our strategy to defeat ISIS and all of radical Islam.

From the interrogation program's earliest moments to its darkest hours, Mitchell also lifts the curtain on its immediate effects, the controversy surrounding its methods, and its downfall. He shares his view that EIT, when applied correctly, were useful in drawing detainees to cooperate, and that, when applied incorrectly, they were counter-productive. He also chronicles what it is like to undertake a several-years-long critical mission at the request of the government only to be hounded for nearly a decade afterward by congressional investigations and Justice Department prosecutors.

Gripping in its detail and deeply illuminating, *Enhanced Interrogation* argues that it is necessary for America to take strong measures to defend itself from its enemies and that the country is less safe now without them than it was before 9/11.

## **About the Authors:**

DR. JAMES E. MITCHELL has a PhD in clinical psychology from the University of South Florida. He served twenty-two years in the U.S. Air Force and retired as a lieutenant colonel. From August 2002 through January 2009, Dr. Mitchell was involved in the development of the CIA's enhanced interrogation program and served as one of their interrogators from its inception until it was shut down by executive order on January 22, 2009.

BILL HARLOW is a writer, consultant, and public relations specialist with more than thirty years of experience. He spent seven years as the top spokesman for the CIA and four years at the White House handling national security media matters for two presidents. He has coauthored three New York Times bestsellers on intelligence.

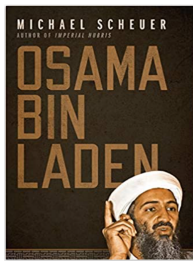
## **Editorial Reviews:**

If you want to know the details of what happened and make your own decision pick up *Enhanced Interrogation*. You cannot make a decision on enhanced interrogation until you read this book. – Brian Kilmeade

“No one has heard from Khalid Sheikh Mohammed since the 9/11 attacks, but James Mitchell has spent countless hours with the terror mastermind at the CIA’s black sites. In this gripping book, Mitchell reveals for the first time, in chilling detail, what KSM and other senior terrorist commanders told him. If you want to understand what drives the Islamic radicals seeking to destroy America – and what they say we must do if we want to stop them – you simply must read this book.” – Marc Thiessen, Washington Post Columnist and Bestselling Author of *Courting Disaster*

“Finally, we learn the true story about what ‘enhanced interrogation’ is, how it works, and how it protected America after the devastating attack of 9/11. The country owes a profound debt of gratitude to James Mitchell, who spent thousands of hours at CIA ‘black sites’ learning the secrets of men like Abu Zubaydah, Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, as he and his dedicated colleagues scrambled to stop more deadly attacks on our nation.” – Debra Burlingame, Cofounder of 9/11 Families for a Safe & Strong America and Keep America Safe

“Emotions are high and accusations are being thrown about, but facts matter. Before anyone rushes to judgment, they should read this book and take in what happened through the eyes of a key player in the CIA’s interrogation program.” – General Michael Hayden, Usaf, Ret., Former Cia Director



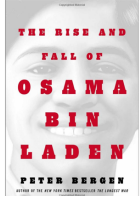
*Osama Bin Laden*: By Michael Scheuer; Published by Oxford University Press; March 2012; 296 pages.

Scheuer has written 3 other books on bin Laden, al Qaeda and America's response to terror by Islamic fundamentalists (*Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror*, Nov 1, 2007; *Through Our Enemies' Eyes*, Nov 1, 2007; and *Marching Toward Hell: America and Islam After Iraq*, Feb 10, 2009).

In this biography on bin Laden the central point is clear the West chronically underestimated bin Laden's "piety, generosity, personal bravery, strategic ability, charisma and patience." In creating a cartoonish enemy, the U.S. "mindlessly" played into bin Laden's plans to provoke a war on Muslim soil to catalyze a jihad to "obliterate America from within, by making it economically weak, until its markets collapse." The depiction of bin Laden's evolution from devout student to militant leader is deeply detailed and Scheuer's book is lucid and important. Bin Laden "anticipated a war of attrition that might last decades" and has planned ahead. He cultivated a multigenerational cadre of between 5,000 and 7,000 loyal warriors, many from the educated upper classes. The conflict with al-Qaeda will, by bin Laden's design, likely be multigenerational, and Scheuer takes a crucial step in revealing how the West keeps itself vulnerable by persisting in demonizing rather than understanding its formidable opponent. It is important to note here that while bin Laden is dead, al Qaeda has morphed in ISIS and gained victories, territory and adherents that were goals he set while still living. Scheuer tracks bin Laden's life from his Saudi childhood as the son of a remote but revered and very wealthy contractor all the way to his place as one of the pivotal political figures of our time. In his previous books (*supra*) Scheuer argues that bin Laden's success owes as much to America's ineptness in the Mideast as it does to bin Laden himself, a sentiment that should warn policymakers and citizens alike. If you are only going to read one of Scheuer's books this is the one. He has read all of the 750+ speeches and comments of bin Laden and his assessment of the man and his insurgent threat to the West is both lucid and well expressed.

Michael Scheuer is a twenty-year veteran of the CIA, where he served as an analyst and reports writer in the Intelligence Directorate. From 1996 to 1999, was the chief of Alec Station, the virtual bin Laden unit, in the Counterterrorism Center. He is currently an Adjunct Professor of Security Studies at Georgetown University and a Senior Fellow at the Jamestown Foundation, writing regularly for its online publication *Global Terrorism Analysis*. He lives in Virginia with his wife and two children.

## Additional Books on bin Laden:



*The Rise and Fall of Osama bin Laden*; by Peter L. Bergen; Publisher: Simon & Schuster, NYC: August 3, 2021; Hardcover; 416 pages.

This is one of several Bergen books on my reading list. In *The Rise and Fall of Osama bin Laden*, Bergen provides the first reevaluation of the man responsible for precipitating America's long wars with al-Qaeda and its descendants/franchises around the Islamic world, capturing bin Laden in all the dimensions of his life: as a family man, as a zealot, as a battlefield commander, as a terrorist leader, and as a fugitive.

The book sheds light on his many contradictions: he was the son of a billionaire, yet insisted his family live like paupers. He adored his wives and children, depending on two of his wives, both of whom had PhDs, to make important strategic decisions. He was fanatically religious, yet willing to kill thousands of civilians in the name of Islam. He inspired deep loyalty yet, in the end, his bodyguards turned against him. And while he inflicted the most lethal act of mass murder in United States history, he failed to achieve any of his strategic goals.

The lasting image we have of bin Laden in his final years is of an aging man with a graying beard watching old footage of himself, just another dad flipping through the channels with his remote. In the end, bin Laden died in a squalid suburban compound, far from the front lines of his holy war. And yet despite that unheroic end, his ideology lives on. Thanks to exclusive interviews with family members and associates, and documents unearthed only recently, Bergen's portrait of Osama will reveal for the first time who he really was and why he continues to inspire a new generation of jihadists.

### Reviews:

Named one of the Best Nonfiction Books of the Year by The Los Angeles Times.

"Meticulously documented, fluidly written and replete with riveting detail... Equally revealing about the Americans and their pursuit of him." — The New York Times Book Review (Editors' Choice)

"The Rise and Fall of Osama bin Laden does much more than reveal a human side to a mass murderer, offering the general reader an authoritative and convincing portrait of a

man whose misdeeds changed all our lives in many ways, none for the better." — The Guardian

"The author's encyclopedic familiarity with his subject and his interviews with almost every key player are complemented by a succinct, almost laconic, writing style... An excellent primer for the general reader... The author's mastery of the detail gives him an unmatched authority and he makes decisive pronouncements on some controversial issues." — The Cipher Brief

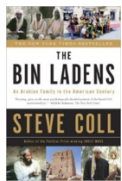
"Well-written and meticulously researched book draws heavily on the treasure trove of material that was captured by the US Navy Seal team that carried out the raid on bin Laden's Abbottabad lair that resulted in his death." — The National

"A compelling, nuanced portrait of America's erstwhile public enemy No. 1... Throughout, Bergen turns up revealing details and sharp arguments against received wisdom... Essential for anyone concerned with geopolitics, national security, and the containment of further terrorist actions." — Kirkus Reviews (starred review)

"Bergen adds intriguing new details to the story of Osama bin Laden in this solid, well-sourced biography....Surprising insights and fluid prose enrich this authoritative portrait of the terrorist leader and the movement he inspired. Foreign affairs buffs will be fascinated." — Publishers Weekly

#### About the Author

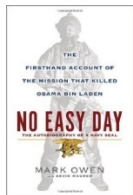
Peter Bergen is the author or editor of nine books, including three New York Times bestsellers and four Washington Post best nonfiction books of the year. A Vice President at New America, Bergen is a professor at Arizona State University and a national security analyst for CNN. He has testified before congressional committees eighteen times about national security issues and has held teaching positions at Harvard and Johns Hopkins University.



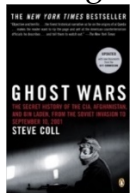
**The Bin Ladens: An Arabian Family in the American Century:** By Steve Coll; Published by Penguin Books; March 31, 2009; 704 pages.

In *The Bin Ladens*, Steve Coll focuses on one of the most elusive families of the twenty-first century. Rising from a famine-stricken desert into luxury, private compounds, and business deals with Hollywood celebrities, the Bin Ladens have benefited from the tensions and contradictions in a country founded on extreme religious purity, suddenly thrust into a world awash in oil, money, and the temptations of the West. Meticulously researched, *The Bin Ladens* is the story of a remarkably varied and often dangerous family that has used money, mobility, and technology to dramatically different ends and effects. The sprawling

and immensely wealthy Bin Laden family has a past and present far more complex and interesting than that of one middle-aged man who once holed up in the borderlands of Afghanistan and was killed in a million dollar compound in Pakistan. Coll, writes an impressive saga that spans three generations and four continents and intersects with some of the key events and people of the last century. Osama is part of this story, but he isn't necessarily the most interesting or even the most important family member. Coll begins with an examination of the life and career of the family patriarch, Mohamed, who was born in poverty in southern Yemen, where he toiled in menial jobs. As a teenager, he immigrated to the port city of Jeddah in Saudi Arabia. His cleverness and ambition meshed perfectly with the building boom fueled by the oil revenues of the Saudi royal family. Before his death in 1967, Mohamed had fathered more than 50 children by various wives, and Coll offers portraits of some of them. He effectively shows how the creation of the Bin Laden family fortune was, and continues to be, tightly bound to the fate of the Saudi royal family. This is a well-done, sweeping chronicle of a clan that continues to exert worldwide power and influence. This book provides an inside look into one of the most powerful families in the most conservative, fundamentalist, Muslim nation on the planet and is therefor an important read.



**No Easy Day: The Autobiography of a Navy SEAL: The Firsthand Account of the Mission That Killed Osama Bin Laden Hardcover:** by Mark Owen. Published by Dutton; September 2012; 316 pages. "Mark Owen" is a pseudonym for Matt Bassinette, a Navy SEAL who took part in the 2011 raid on the Abbottabad, Pakistan compound in Pakistan of Osama bin Laden, which resulted in the death of the al Qaeda leader. Bassinette chronicle was cowritten by Kevin Maurer, a journalist who has covered American special-ops forces for nearly a decade, including a stint as an embedded reporter in Iraq. Owen was a member of the U.S. Naval Special Warfare Development Group (SEAL Team Six), and the book follows him and the twenty-four-man team through various missions, culminating with a detailed account of the planning and execution of the assault on bin Laden's compound, beginning with the helicopter crash that could have ended the mission through to the radio call confirming Bin Laden's death: "Geronimo EKIA."

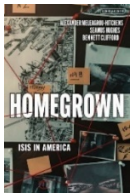


**Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001:** By Steve Coll; Published by Penguin Books; December 28, 2004; 736 pages.

Steve Coll, an expert on the rise of the Taliban, the emergence of al Qaeda, and the secret efforts by CIA officers and their agents to capture or kill Bin Laden in Afghanistan after 1998. The book chronicles the U.S. Government's relationship with Afghanistan and other regional players December 1979 (the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan) to September 2001. The book's focus is on the intelligence component (the CIA) rather than on law enforcement, and the reader is exposed to the political, legal and diplomatic obstacles the CIA faced in that region. Coll chronicles Afghanistan's tragic history from the Soviet invasion through the Soviets' expulsion and the fall of the Soviet Union; the civil strife that followed until the Taliban's rise to power; and Al Qaeda's parasitic attachment to the Taliban regime. Coll identifies that Saudi and Pakistani officials deceived the US about their relationships with the Taliban. He also describes how both Saudi Arabia and Pakistan were misled by the Taliban regarding its connections to Al Qaeda's activities.

**Steve Coll** is a writer for *The New Yorker* and author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*. He is president of the New America Foundation, a public policy institute in Washington, D.C. Previously he served, for more than twenty years, as a reporter, foreign correspondent, and ultimately as managing editor of *The Washington Post*. He is also the author of *On the Grand Trunk Road*, *The Deal of the Century*, and *The Taking of Getty Oil*. Coll received a 1990 Pulitzer Prize for explanatory journalism and the 2001 Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award for outstanding international print reporting and the 2000 Overseas Press Club Award for best magazine reporting from abroad. *Ghost Wars*, published in 2004, received the Pulitzer for general nonfiction and the Arthur Ross award for the best book on international affairs.

### Newer Offerings on Terrorism:



**Home Grown: ISIS in America:** By Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, Seamus Hughes, Bennett Clifford; Publisher: I.B. Tauris/ Bloomsbury Publishing, London and NYC, November 12, 2020; Hardcover; 248 pages.

Between 2014 and 2019, the United States witnessed an unprecedented scale of American involvement in jihadist activity, mostly due to the influence and efforts of ISIS to recruit Americans. While dozens of American ISIS supporters plotted attacks in the homeland, hundreds more traveled abroad to join the group's so-called caliphate. Meanwhile, ideologues past and present provided the ideological narrative to support the group's goals and methods, and online activists used new advances in online



communications and social media platforms to spread ISIS' message and incite violence. Homegrown addresses each of these dynamics and more.

How big is the threat posed by American ISIS supporters? How many Americans have joined ISIS and how many want to return to the United States? Compared to participation by Americans in other jihadist groups, the scale of American involvement in jihadist activity today is unprecedented. This book, from one of the leading counter-terror centres, draws on first-hand interviews with former American Islamic State members and law enforcement officials who tracked them, and includes detailed analysis of the court cases against them and their social media presence. Homegrown reveals how and why ISIS was able to radicalize and recruit a new generation of jihadist sympathizers in America.

### **Reviews:**

"Homegrown is the most detailed examination and analysis of that terrorist organization's radicalization and recruitment efforts in the U.S. It thus fills a conspicuous gap in the literature and sheds important light on terrorist exploitation of digital media to build local attack networks and encourage violence far from the geographical locus of their ongoing conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia." - Professor Bruce Hoffman, Georgetown University and author of Inside Terrorism

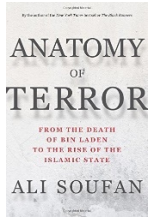
"[An] important and authoritative account of ISIS in America." - Perspectives on Terrorism

"Deeply researched, well-written, and absolutely fascinating." - Diplomatic Courier

"Probing the ISIS threat within the United States, the authors tap primary sources such as social media data, analysis of court cases, and personal interviews with "inspired" individuals. Theories abound as to what drives US-based terrorist attacks and how to counter them. This fine book offers original evidence. Highly recommended." —Professor Audrey Kurth Cronin, Director, Center for Security, Innovation, and New Technology, American University

"Homegrown offers an original, comprehensive, and compelling account of jihadism in America. Hughes, Meleagrou-Hitchens, and Clifford's deeply researched book offers the best assessment of the evolving terrorist threat and its many dimensions." —Daniel Byman, Professor, School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University

"Well-researched and written, Homegrown fills an important gap in our knowledge of the Islamic States' "online mobilization" in America." —Kim Cragin, senior research fellow at the National Defense University and author of Women as Terrorists



**Anatomy of Terror: From the Death of bin Laden to the Rise of the Islamic State:** By Ali Soufan; Publisher: W. W. Norton & Company, NYC; Reprint edition: May 8, 2018; Paperback: 384 pages.

Better than his first book, The Black Banners (Declassified): How Torture Derailed the War on Terror after 9/11, which was too much about Soufan's short but eventful career as a native Arabic speaking, FBI Special Agent and is written too much in the first person. Anatomy of Terror has more focus on events, particularly on the evolution of bin Laden, al Qaeda and how its franchise in Iraq grew from al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

Soufan owns a security company in New York City, the Soufan Group, which does a nice job of curating domestic and international events and intelligence and terrorism analysis into a free of charge, daily news report which I subscribe to and find of real value: (<https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief/>).

The book is available on Amazon in both paperback and hardcover, used and new for reasonable prices and is reviewed there in the following manner:

To eliminate the scourge of terrorism, we must first know who the enemy actually is, and what his motivations are. In Anatomy of Terror, former FBI special agent and New York Times best-selling author Ali Soufan dissects Osama bin Laden's brand of jihadi terrorism and its major offshoots, revealing how these organizations were formed, how they operate, their strengths, and—crucially—their weaknesses. This riveting account examines the new Islamic radicalism through the stories of its flag-bearers, including a U.S. Air Force colonel who once served Saddam Hussein, a provincial bookworm who declared himself caliph of all Muslims, and bin Laden's own beloved son Hamza, a prime candidate to lead the organization his late father founded.

Anatomy of Terror lays bare the psychology and inner workings of al-Qaeda, the Islamic State, and their spawn, and shows how the spread of terror can be stopped.

Winner of the Airey Neave Memorial Book Prize

## Reviews:

"Anyone who wants to understand the world we live in now should read this book."

—Lawrence Wright

"A concise, accessible, enormously readable account of the trajectory of al-Qaeda.... In a dizzying scenario of violence, Soufan provides clarity and balance."

— *Kirkus Reviews, starred review*

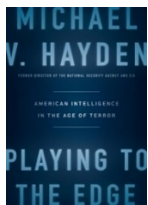
"Highly informative and compelling.... An important book for everyone who wants to understand the influence of bin Laden and al-Qaeda on today's terrorist groups."

— **Nader Entessar, *Library Journal***

"*Anatomy of Terror* tells the stories of the leaders of al-Qaeda and IS.... [F]or America, the main enemies are still the organized groups abroad."

— *Economist*

## Additional Terrorism Books that I can recommend:



**Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in the Age of Terror** by General Michael Hayden; Publisher: Penguin Press, NYC; February 23, 2016; pages 451

For General Michael Hayden, the only person ever to direct both the CIA and NSA, playing to the edge means playing so close to the line that you get chalk dust on your cleats. Otherwise, by playing back, you may protect yourself, but you will be less successful in protecting America.

"Play to the edge" is an overview of American intelligence respond to terrorism, a major war, and the most sweeping technological revolution in the last 500 years? What was the NSA before 9/11, and how did it change in its aftermath? Why did the NSA begin the controversial terrorist surveillance program that included the acquisition of domestic phone records? What else was set in motion during this period that formed the backdrop for the infamous Snowden revelations in 2013?

As director of the CIA in the last three years of the Bush administration, Hayden had to deal with the rendition, detention, and interrogation program as bequeathed to him by

his predecessors. He also had to ramp up the agency to support its role in the targeted killing program that began to dramatically increase in July 2008. This was a time of great crisis at the CIA, and leading the CIA he helped turn the American security establishment into the most effective killing machine in the history of armed conflict.

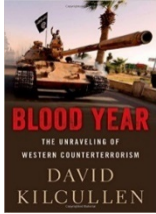
General Hayden writes: "There is a story here that deserves to be told, without varnish and without spin. My view is my view, and others will certainly have different perspectives, but this view deserves to be told to create as complete a history as possible of these turbulent times. I want this to be a straightforward and readable history for that segment of the American public who depend on and appreciate intelligence but who do not have the time to master its many obscure characteristics."

### **Reviews:**

"Hayden is at his best not when he is attacking or defending, but when he is simply explaining the challenge of an intelligence professional in the postmodern era ... This is a pessimistic book, but while policymakers tend to be optimists, intelligence agents trend toward the reverse. As former CIA director Robert M. Gates once said, when an intelligence analyst stops to smell the flowers, he quickly looks around for the hearse." – Robert D. Kaplan, *The Washington Post*

"...when it comes to matters that raise questions about the competence, reputation, and potential criminal liability of intelligence officials, 'the world as it was seen from Langley' may not always be the same as 'the world as it is'...truth to Hayden sometimes seems to be whatever serves the interests of his own faction: the permanent bureaucracy of intelligence and military professionals ... while I believe that major aspects of his book are flawed, I also think that other parts are excellent. Hayden spent his career grappling with some of the world's most complex problems and he has many interesting, if often bleak, things to say about them – especially when his account is less driven by his concern to defend the record of the intelligence agencies." - Charlie Savage, *The New York Review of Books*

"...a surprisingly vivid, albeit acronym-heavy, memoir that probably only a Beltway insider could truly love ... A proud product of blue-collar Pittsburgh, Hayden hints that he would have told far more stories about C.I.A. successes had agency censors let him." Jeff Stein, *The New York Times Book Review*



**Blood Year: The Unraveling of Western Counterterrorism**, by David Kilcullen; Publisher: Oxford University Press; 1 edition; March 8, 2016; 312 pages

This book gives an excellent overview of the background of the second US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the errors that were made in the planning and execution of that operation, the total lack of preparation for what to do once Saddam Hussein forces had been defeated and the multitude of tragic mistakes made since. Kilcullen is not shy about assessing blame and he has been in various positions in country and in government which make his views on the subject all the more believable.

David Kilcullen was one of the architects of America's strategy in the late phases of the second Gulf War, and also spent time in Afghanistan and other hotspots. In *Blood Year*, he provides a wide-angle view of the current situation in the Middle East and analyzes how America and the West ended up in such dire circumstances. In 2008 it appeared that the U.S. might pull a modest stalemate from the jaws of defeat in Iraq, however, six years later the situation had reversed. After America pulled out of Iraq completely in 2011, the Shi'ite president cut Sunnis out of the power structure and allowed Iranian influence to grow. And from the debris of Assad's Syria arose an extremist Sunni organization even more radical than al Qaeda. Unlike al Qaeda, ISIS was intent on establishing its own state, and within a remarkably short time they did. Interestingly, Kilcullen highlights how embittered former Iraqi Ba'athist military officers were key contributors to ISIS's military successes.

Kilcullen lays much of the blame on Bush's initial decision to invade Iraq (which had negative secondary effects in Afghanistan), but also takes Obama to task for simply withdrawing and adopting a "leading from behind" strategy. As events have proven, Kilcullen contends, withdrawal was a fundamentally misguided plan. The U.S. had uncorked the genie, and it had a responsibility to at least attempt to keep it under control. Kilcullen argues that the U.S. needs to re-engage in the region, whether it wants to or not, because it is largely responsible for the situation that is now unfolding. *Blood Year* is an essential read for anyone interested in understanding not only why the region that the U.S. invaded a dozen years ago has collapsed into utter chaos, but also what can be done to alleviate the grim situation.

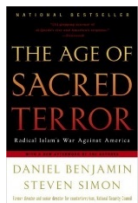
## **Editorial Reviews**

"Kilcullen's personal familiarity with the territory and many major players adds elements of vivid color to the well-informed discussions of history and policy, and the narrative is refreshingly nonpartisan. Direct, insightful, and frightening, this book will prepare readers to see through the misguided, simplistic solutions to the problems of Middle Eastern policy and Islamic terror so common in this election year." --Kirkus Reviews

**David Kilcullen** is the award-winning author of *Accidental Guerrilla* (2009) and *Counterinsurgency* (2010) and now *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla* (2013).

Kilcullen is the Chief Executive Officer of Caerus Associates a strategic research and design firm that specializes in innovative solutions to the world's hardest problems: economic development, violent conflict, humanitarian assistance, energy shortages and climate change. He is an advisor to NATO, and a consultant to the US and allied governments, international institutions, private sector companies and non-profit organizations seeking to make a difference in conflict and post-conflict environments and the developing world.

Before founding Caerus, Kilcullen served 24 years as a soldier, diplomat and policy advisor for the Australian and United States governments. He was Special Advisor to the Secretary of State from 2007-2009 and Senior Advisor to General David Petraeus in Iraq in 2007.



**Age of Sacred Terror:** By Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon. New York: Random House, 2002. 490 pages. The authors were National Security Council staffers in the Clinton Administration and have sound backgrounds in academia, government, and journalism. The book covers the history of militant Islam, contemporary terrorist group operations, and an insider's look into the focus applied by three Presidential administrations. The book is complex, thorough, thoughtful, and readable. It is a bit dated now, as the threat has evolved, but it, like the **9/11 Commission Report** still has relevance today for the important background material it considers.

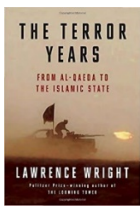
A significant portion of the book is focused on the history of militant Islam and begins with the teaching of the medieval preacher Taqi al-Din ibn Taymiyya, who spread a fundamentalist version of Islam with Martin Luther-like intensity.

Several centuries later, Taymiyya was followed by Muhammad ibn Abd Al-Wahhab, the founder of the Wahhabi branch of Sunni Islam, the particularly conservative, fundamentalist branch of Islam that the Saudi's have been exporting throughout the world. Al-Wahhab formed an early alliance of convenience with Muhammad ibn Saud, the first king of the current Saudi ruling family.

The book next turns to the 20th century and the writings of fundamentalists like Sayyid Qutb (hanged by Nasser in 1965). Qutb, an icon of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, wrote that only God's laws are legitimate, and human rule is apostate--more heretical even than unbelievers--and a legitimate target for jihad. From these earlier fundamentalist teaching comes "the blind sheikh" Omas Abdel Rahman, spiritual counselor in the assassination of the apostate Anwar Sadat and the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993, Sheikh Abdullah Azzam - mentor to bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri - founder of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and Osama bin Laden.

The authors opine that the US government in particular was not organized to deal with terrorism on a large scale. The multiple agencies in the Intelligence and the federal law enforcement communities, with their different cultures, their redundant intelligence collection and analysis units, and their parochialism was an anathema to the sharing of what little intelligence on terror groups that was being developed. This is a major point made by the 9/11 Commission.

This book is an excellent overview of the challenges to policymaking at the highest levels. The authors present their objective account of events in which they were present as NSC staff members and participants in the development of many of the decisions and policies.



**The Terror Years: From al-Qaeda to the Islamic State**; by Lawrence Wright; Publisher: Knopf, NYC, August 23, 2016; Hardcover 284 pages.

Wright was the author in 2007 of Pulitzer Prize winning The Looming Tower, which is listed later in this bibliography, and was one of the best, early books on 9/11 and al Qaeda. The Terror Years draws on several articles he wrote while researching The Looming Tower, as well as many that he's written since, following where and how al-Qaeda and its core cultlike beliefs have morphed and spread. They include a portrait of

the “man behind bin Laden,” Ayman al-Zawahiri, and the tumultuous Egypt he helped spawn; an indelible impression of Saudi Arabia, a kingdom of silence under the control of the religious police; the Syrian film industry, at the time compliant at the edges but already exuding a feeling of the barely masked fury that erupted into civil war; the 2006–11 Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Gaza, a study in the disparate value of human lives. Other chapters examine al-Qaeda as it forms a master plan for its future, experiences a rebellion from within the organization, and spins off a growing web of worldwide terror. The book ends with a devastating piece about the capture and slaying by ISIS of four American journalists and aid workers, and our government’s failed response.

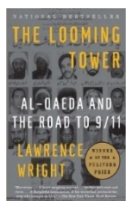
### Reviews:

"This is reportage pure and simple – and it is first-rate . . . [Mr. Wright] recounts his findings in crystalline prose [and] never loses his own moral compass." – Max Boot, *The Wall Street Journal*

"One of [our] most lucid writers . . . again helps us understand Islamic extremism and the West’s reaction to it . . . in his superb and gracefully written accounts of the past three decades. He maintains a studious balance in all his essays [and] describes more clearly than most writers on terrorism the attitudes, clothes, and habits of the characters he discusses." – Ahmed Rashid, *The New York Review of Books*

"Definitive: a narrative roadmap of how we got here, from the ashes of Lower Manhattan to the rise of the Islamic State . . . Few journalists understand [this] ever-evolving war better than Wright." – Michael Friscolanti, *Maclean’s*

“A new insightful, informative series of essays . . . Taken together, they provide a thoughtful analysis of the forces that have shaped a volatile part of the world and the policies that have made peace so elusive.” – Dale Singer, *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

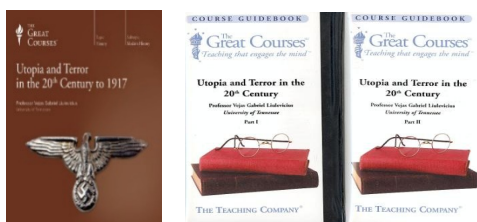


**The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11:** By Lawrence Wright; Published by Vintage; August 21, 2007; 540 pages. The author, a writer at *The New Yorker*, begins with the observation that, despite an impressive record of terror and assassination, post-WWII, Islamic militants had failed to establish theocracies in any Arab country. Many traveled to Afghanistan fight against the Russian invasion of 1979



and al-Qaeda was formed there in 1988. Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda would pursue a different agenda, blaming America and the West, “the Far Enemy”, for Islam's problems, he would use his personal wealth to train terrorist from around the world and support local terror groups which sought his assistance. After ten years he and al Qaeda were ready to begin their own campaign of terror and they bombed two U.S. embassies in Africa and the destroyer Cole in Yemen. Wright's detailed description of these attacks reveals that planning terror is a sloppy business, leaving a trail of clues that, in the case of 9/11, raised many suspicions among individuals in the FBI, CIA and NSA of what might be coming. Wright concludes and give his evidence that 9/11 could have been prevented if USG agencies had worked better together in sharing intelligence. Before completing the book, Lawrence Wright conducted more than 500 interviews, including: bin Laden's best friend in college; President Clintons advisor on terrorism, Richard A. Clarke; various members of the Saudi royal family; Afghan mujahedeen who fought with bin Laden; and front line reporters of Al Jazeera. Although the book is dated, it does present many of the pieces of intelligence that were available inside several of our intelligence agencies, which if brought together could have identified some of the 19 al Qaeda hijackers. It is a good addition to the *9/11 Commission Report*; *The Black Banners*; and the books on bin Laden which I have reviewed below.

## The Great Courses:



**Utopia and Terror in the 20th Century, Parts 1 and 2** (The Great Courses) By Professor Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius ;Audio Cassette Published by The Great Courses; Length: 12 hours and 33 minutes; July 8, 2013; Course Guide Books are Published by the Teaching Company, Chantilly, VA; 2003; 242 pages and 248 pages.

From the trenches of World War I to Nazi Germany to Saddam Hussein's Iraq, the 20th century was a time of unprecedented violence. According to best estimates, in that 100-

year span more than 200 million people were killed in world wars, government-sponsored persecutions, and genocides. Such monumental violence seems senseless. But it is not inexplicable. And if we can understand its origins, we may prevent even greater horrors in the century to come. Professor Liulevicius traces the violent history of that era, beginning with its early roots in the American and, especially, the French revolutions. With each passing lecture, you will see how the 20th century's violence was the result of specific historical developments that eventually combined, with explosive results. Major factors considered and explained by Professor Liulevicius:

- The French Revolution proved that ideological movements could mobilize the public and, when willing to use violence, could indeed transform society.
- The Industrial Revolution and subsequent technology created vastly more powerful weapons – including some that were entirely new, such as the airplane and rocket – that raised the potential for bloodshed to new heights.
- Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection was perverted into Social Darwinism and eugenics: racist pseudosciences that provided excuses to repress or eliminate entire groups of people.
- These events created a dangerous backdrop for the most sinister development of all. This was the notion that utopia was not just a perfect paradise to look forward to in the afterlife. Instead, utopia could be built right now, in this life.
- Such 20th-century ideologies as Marxism, Nazism, Communism, and Fascism embraced this idea willingly – even enthusiastically – and used terror to implement it. These ideologies functioned as political religions, demanding fanaticism, commitment, and sacrifice in return for an ultimate reward in this life rather than the next.

Professor Liulevicius offers an intellectual framework through which to understand the totalitarian governments of the last century or, for that matter, of today. Such governments, and the terror they spread, share key characteristics and strategies. For example, their leaders can be seen not as politicians but as mobsters, an organized conspiracy that uses criminal methods inspired by gangsters. They gain and maintain power by manipulating masses of people, often exploiting societies with many uprooted and alienated citizens, such as existed in Europe after World War I.

In addition, you will see that these regimes create fear and command allegiance through the use of "machines." These are not literally machines, but bureaucracies that carry out a set of deliberate, interrelated strategies. These include:

- The cult of the leader, or the cult of personality. These make the dictator seem larger than life, or superhuman. After Italy annexed Ethiopia in 1936, Mussolini's

followers declared him to be a new god in human form. In the Soviet Union, long ovations after Stalin's speeches were common, as no one wanted to be seen as the first to stop applauding.

- The Big Lie, or deliberate distortions of the truth. During the Hundred Flowers Campaign, Mao Zedong seemed to promote free speech, then killed some half million dissidents when they came out in the open.
- Secret police. An estimated 274,000 people worked with the East German secret police, the Stasi, from 1950 to 1989. When informers were added, this translated into one secret policeman for every 6.5 persons.
- The media. Radio, film, and television were used to rewrite history and manipulate the masses. The Bolsheviks produced documentary films that made their October Revolution seem much more dramatic and deadly than it was (a common joke was that more people were injured during filming than in the actual event).

The portrait Professor Liulevicius paints is that 20th-century violence, while horrific and massive, was not chaotic or random but deliberate and calculated. Very often, it was based on precedent. In using concentration camps, Hitler and Stalin essentially adopted a strategy that had first been employed by the Spanish in 1896 in Cuba and by the British against Dutch settlers during the Boer War (1899–1902). Hitler's plan to exterminate Germany's Jews was inspired by the 1915 genocide of Armenians by the Turkish Ottoman Empire, an atrocity barely noticed by the international community. The fact that "no one remembered the Armenians," as Hitler is said to have declared, convinced him that his Final Solution would work.

In the final lectures, Professor Liulevicius considers recent figures such as Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden and assesses terrorism in the contemporary world. What is the future of terror? What lessons have been learned by the hard experience of the past century? These questions hinge on several issues, including our attitudes toward human nature, our ability to remember and learn from past atrocities, and our use of technology. But an especially optimistic note is the notion of resistance. If the 20th century was plagued by repressive regimes, it was also blessed with those who resisted them. Unlike the story of totalitarianism, which is about the state, the story of resistance is one of individuals who ignored personal risk to oppose violence. These "witnesses to the century," as Professor Liulevicius calls them, include novelists George Orwell and Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, Polish labor leader Lech Walesa, Pope John Paul II, and political philosopher Hannah Arendt.

**Professor Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius** is a Professor in the History department at University of Tennessee - Knoxville, TN.

This is simply an excellent course which I have listened to multiple times, learning something new each time. The relationship of terror and the utopian goals of world leaders in the last century have not been explored by other authors and educators and gives excellent insight into motivations for some of man's worst treatment of his fellow man. I cannot recommend this course/books enough!



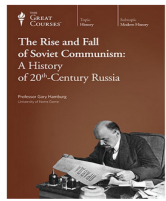
**The United States and the Middle East: 1914 to 9/11:** By Professor Salim Yaqub; Audible Audio Edition Published by The Great Courses, ©2003 The Teaching Company, LLC; July 8, 2013; Listening Length: 12 hours and 29 minutes.

At the dawn of World War I, the United States was only a rising power. Our reputation was relatively benign among Middle Easterners, who saw no imperial ambitions in our presence and were grateful for the educational and philanthropic services Americans provided. Yet by September 11, 2001, everything had changed. The United States had now become the target for its perceived offenses against Islam. How and why did this transformation come about? This series of 24 lectures is a narrative history of U.S. political involvement in the Middle East from World War I to the present day. Presented from a historian's balanced perspective, it will strengthen your ability to place today's headlines into historical context, evaluate what is most likely to happen next, and understand those oncoming events when they occur. Professor Yaqub's lectures explore:

- The growing American involvement in the Middle East.
- The quest for political independence and self-mastery by Middle Easterners.
- The difficulty the U.S. and other Western governments have experienced in comprehending the diverse peoples, unique geography, political objectives, economies, varied Muslim sects and conflicting objectives in the region, especially as the cold war against the Soviet Union intensified, then abruptly ended and is now seemingly ramping up again.
- The increasing antagonism between Americans and Middle Easterners that came to such a shocking culmination in the attacks of September 11, 2001.

**Professor Salim Yaqub** is an Associate Professor, University of California – Santa Barbara who received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1999. He specializes in the

history of U.S. foreign relations, with a particular focus on U.S. involvement in the Middle East in the post WWII era. His teaching and scholarship work to integrate the study of official diplomacy with a concern for broader societal dynamics. He is especially interested in the influence of popular culture on foreign policy, and vice versa. He also directs UCSB's Center for Cold War Studies and International History.



**Rise and Fall of Soviet Communism: A History of 20th-Century Russia;**  
Course No. 827; by Professor Gary Hamburg, Ph.D.; Claremont McKenna College.

From the Oval Office to the streets of Moscow, world leaders and ordinary citizens alike share concerns about Russia. Can democracy survive there? What does the future hold for the once expansive, still powerful, Russian nation? Is Soviet Communism truly dead? Top diplomats struggle daily with questions like these. With this course, you can begin investigating them for yourself.

Professor Hamburg of the University of Notre Dame leads you on a probing historical journey that sheds light on the recent history and near future of a key world power.

Whether your chief interest is Russian or world history, political theory, or international relations, you take away a wealth of knowledge and insight from these scholarly and comprehensive lectures as Professor Hamburg examines:

- The improbable origins of Communist rule in Russia
- The ascent of the Red Star to its zenith
- Its decline and apparent end in the wake of 1989's epoch-making events.

Beginning with the failures of the czarist regime and the horrors of the First World War, then moving through the bloody era of Josef Stalin's purges and beyond to Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika, Professor Hamburg familiarizes you with the story of 20th-century Russia.

His method is to draw a sharp focus on the major turning point of each of Soviet history's three key periods:

The first period centers on the breakdown of the czarist regime, the events culminating in the Menshevik and Bolshevik revolutions of 1917, the outbreak of Russian civil war, the triumph of the Bolsheviks, and the birth of the Communist party-state system.

Czarist Russia's disastrous involvement in World War I sets the stage for the fall of the czar and the rise of Lenin, who masterminded the Bolshevik coup that has gone down in history as the October Revolution.

Along with Lenin's role in the suppression of "bourgeois" democracy and the creation of the Soviet state, Professor Hamburg explores his decisive theoretical influence on the form that Marxism took in Russia.

The second period begins with Lenin's announcement of the New Economic Policy and continues with the debates, power struggles, and eventual consolidation of his power in the late 1920s, the social terror of agricultural collectivization and the political terror of the party purges in the 1930s, the bloody horrors of World War II and its aftermath, and the death of Stalin in 1953.

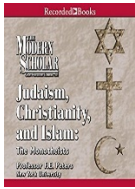
Next you examine the Nazi invasion and the "Great Patriotic War" of 1941–45, which nearly toppled Stalin and killed millions of Soviet soldiers and civilians.

The third and most recent period begins with Khrushchev's first efforts at de-Stalinization, continues with the Brezhnev reaction, and reaches its climax with Gorbachev's startling initiatives of perestroika and glasnost in the late 1980s. This leads to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the ascendancy of Boris Yeltsin, and the current era of post-Soviet disarray.

Professor Hamburg turns his lens on the policies of perestroika and glasnost to convey most fully the impact of these final years of the Soviet regime.

Dr. Gary Hamburg is Otto M. Behr Professor of European History at Claremont McKenna College. He earned his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees from Stanford University. Dr. Hamburg received Fulbright grants for advanced research at Leningrad State University (now St. Petersburg University) and at Moscow University. He is the author of *Politics of the Russian Nobility 1881-1905* and *Boris Chicherin and Early Russian Liberalism, 1828-1866*, and he edited and translated several books on modern Russian politics, including two volumes of P. N. Miliukov's history of the 1917 revolution. His articles have examined various issues in Russian social, political, and intellectual history.

**Education:** A.B., Stanford University, 1972; A.M., Stanford University, 1978; Ph.D., Stanford University, 1978. Study Abroad, St. Petersburg University and Moscow University.



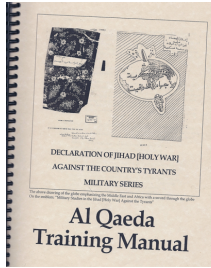
## The Modern Scholar: Judaism, Christianity and Islam

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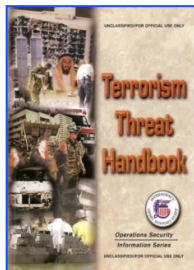
Professor Frank E. Peters, New York University

Invoking a concept as simple as it is brilliant, F. E. Peters has taken the basic texts of the three related--and competitive--religious systems we call Judaism, Christianity, and Islam and has juxtaposed them in a topical and parallel arrangement according to the issues that most concerned all these "children of Abraham." Through these extensive passages, and the author's skillful connective commentary, the three traditions are shown with their similarities sometimes startlingly underlined and their well-known differences now more profoundly exposed. What emerges from this unique and ambitious work is a panorama of belief, practice, and sensibility that will broaden our understanding of our religious and political roots in a past that is, by these communities' definition, still the present. The hardcover edition of the work is bound in one volume, and in the paperback version the identical material is broken down into three smaller but self-contained books. The first, "From Covenant to Community," includes texts and comments on the covenant and early history of the Chosen People and their post-Exilic reconstruction; the career and message of the Messiah Jesus and the Prophet Muhammad; the concept of holiness and of a "kingdom of priests"; and, finally, the notions of church and state and the state as a church. Throughout the work we hear an amazing variety of voices, some familiar, some not, all of them central to the primary and secondary canons of their own tradition: alongside the Scriptural voice of God are the words of theologians, priests, visionaries, lawyers, rulers and the ruled. The work ends, as does the same author's now classic *Children of Abraham*, in what Peters calls the "classical period," that is, before the great movements of modernism and reform that were to transform Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

**Francis Edward Peters** was born June 23, 1927, in New York City). He is Professor Emeritus of History, Religion and Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at New York University (NYU).



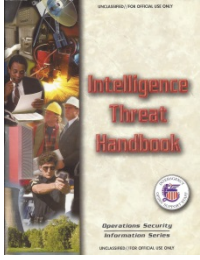
**The Al Qaeda Handbook** was found in 2000 by British police in the Manchester home of Anas al-Liby (al-Liby's true name was Nazih Abdul-Hamed Nabih al-Ruqai'i al-Liby. He was an al Qaeda computer specialist and a Libyan, born in Tripoli). The manual was found in a computer file described as "the military series" related to the "Declaration of Jihad." The manual was translated into English and was introduced as evidence in Federal District Court in New York in the 2001 trial of several al Qaeda members accused in bombing our embassies in Africa in 1998. The Department of Justice provided the court only selected text from the manual because it did not wish to aid in terrorists education or encourage acts of terror. Following the New York trial it became available on the Internet. The document is a manual on how to conduct terror operations. It may have been written by al Qaeda, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad or al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya.



**The Terrorism Threat Handbook**; produced by the Interagency Operational Security Support Staff (IOSS) in June 2001 and update in 2003; 136 pages.

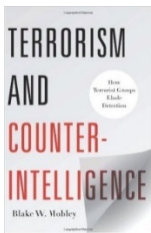
This is a *Cliff Notes* like view of various definitions of terror, the evolution of terrorism, modern terror threats, specific terrorist attacks, both international and domestic terror groups, tactics and technologies of terrorism. The publication is dated, but still a good primer for those seeking a basic understanding of terrorism before the 9/11 attacks.





**The Intelligence Threat Handbook:** Published in June, 2001; 80 pages.

Like its twin above, this book was produced by the Interagency Operational Security Support Staff (IOSS). It is also a compacted view of the evolution of the intelligence targeting of America, the foreign intelligence service who send their spies to our shores, facilities and companies, Economic Espionage and Cyber collectors and other Internet threats. The publication is dated, as it was written while the Cold War was still considered the number one threat to our national security, but it too is still a good primer for those seeking a basic understanding of intelligence collection threats to our nation.

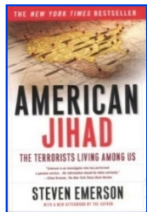


**Terrorism and Counterintelligence: How Terrorist Groups Elude Detection (Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare):** By Blake W. Mobley; Published by Columbia University Press; August 21, 2012; 352 pages.

Protecting critical information, identifying informants and intelligence collectors, operating clandestinely are counterintelligence objectives of terrorist groups evading detection by intelligence and law enforcement officials. Some strategies work, some fail, and counterterror analysts and operators who are tasked with tracking and neutralizing these groups are deeply invested in the difference. The book outlines specific steps for improving the monitoring, disruption, and elimination of terrorist cells, primarily by exploiting their mistakes in counterintelligence. A key component of Mobley's approach is to identify and keep close watch on areas that exhibit weakness. While some counterintelligence pathologies occur more frequently among certain terrorist groups, destructive bureaucratic tendencies, such as mistrust and paranoia, pervade all organizations. Through detailed case studies, Mobley shows how to recognize and capitalize on these shortcomings within a group's organizational structure, popular support, and controlled territory, and he describes the tradeoffs terrorist leaders make

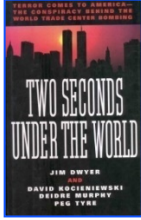
to maintain cohesion and power. He ultimately shows that no group can achieve perfect secrecy while functioning effectively and that every adaptation or new advantage supposedly attained by these groups also produces new vulnerabilities. This book was adapted from the doctoral dissertation of the author and provides insights into the use of counterintelligence by several terror groups (the PIRA; Fatah; Black September; al Qaeda; the Egyptian Islamic Jihad). It is worth noting that the author, while he was an analyst at the CIA and had access to the reports of Case Officers on various Middle Eastern terror groups, much of his experience of the subject comes not from operations but from reading operational intelligence reports and academic study.

**Blake W. Mobley** is an associate political scientist with the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, California. Before joining RAND, he worked for the Central Intelligence Agency as a counterintelligence analyst in the Middle East and Washington, D.C



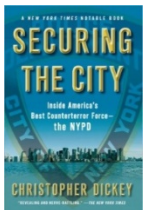
**American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us**: Written by Steven Emerson and published by the Free Press in February 2003; 304 pages.

Emerson is an American journalist, author, and expert on national security, terrorism, and Islamic extremism. Emerson has testified before Congressional committees on al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad. In this book he writes about Islamic groups that operate in the United States, the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993. He describes how the Palestinian terrorist group Hamas has grown an extensive network in the United States, how the group Islamic Jihad operated at the University of South Florida, and how an Islamic center in Tucson helped recruit two of Osama bin Laden's top deputies. Some of Emerson's statements related to activities and terror attacks by Muslims in the US and Europe have been criticized as inaccurate and "Islamophobic." However, he was one of the first to warn of Muslim extremist activities in the U.S., has consistently beat the drum for public awareness and is frequently called to put into context current terror attacks by the Media.



**Two Seconds Under the World: Terror Comes to America-The Conspiracy Behind the World Trade Center Bombing:** by Jim Dwyer, Deidre Murphy, Peg Tyre, David Kocieniewski (Authors); Publisher: Crown; 1st edition in August 1997; 322 pages.

Dwyer and three reporters who covered the World Trade Center bombing for New York Newsday provide a detailed and colorful account of the conspiracy that made the bombing possible. The authors put the bombing in the context of the attack on commuters near the CIA headquarters in Virginia, the murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane in Manhattan two years earlier, and the planned attacks on the Statue of Liberty and United Nations. On February 26, 1993, a 1200-pound bomb exploded in the garage of the World Trade Center in Manhattan, killing six, injuring over a thousand and half a billion dollars in damage. The authors, reporters for New York Newsday, use interviews with confidential sources, NYPD reports and trial testimony to describe the assembling of the bomb in a New Jersey warehouse, the explosion at the World Trade Center, the rescue effort and the detective work that led to the arrest of Islamic fundamentalists for perpetrating the attack. The book includes in-depth portraits of the bombers, the FBI informant whose hidden mike picked up incriminating statements by the conspirators, the trial of the four accused bombers and the guilty verdicts. It is the best account I have read of the challenges of planning and conducting an attack by a terror group; the difficulties in managing a bombing investigation by law enforcement agencies; and the complexities faced by prosecutors in taking a terror case to trial.



**Securing the City: Inside America's Best Counterterrorism Force--The NYPD:** by Christopher Dickey; Published by Simon & Schuster; February 2010; 336 pages.

This is an excellent look at the NYPD's counterterrorism response after the 9/11 attacks. It is required reading for those who have law enforcement counterterrorism responsibilities and a primer for the use of intelligence in CT operations. Commissioner Ray Kelley, dissatisfied with the Federal Governments sharing of intelligence and feeling he and NYPD needed to better protect his city, he formed the NYPD Counterterrorism Bureau. He hired David Cohen, a former CIA analyst, to organize the counterterrorism division The CT Bureau was staffed with experienced detectives, who were sent overseas to liaise with foreign police departments and collect intelligence on terror groups which might consider targeting New York City. The CT Bureau also recruited bright, young college graduates to be analysts.

Their weekly terror reports, based on the intelligence sent home from the detectives stationed abroad, became some of the best, unclassified intelligence on terror groups and their attacks around the world in the U.S.

The author, Christopher Dickey is the former Newsweek's Paris bureau chief and Middle East regional editor. He was given broad access to NYPD's Counterterrorism Bureau and was able to describe in detail the organization, the effectiveness and the resources of the high-tech, counterterror intelligence collection operations. Dickey examines the history of terrorism in the city following the attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and the Madrid and London bombings. *Securing the City* is both a fascinating account of the New York Police Department's response to the terror threat after 9/11, it is also an important contribution to public and law enforcement policy.



**Triple Cross: How bin Laden's Master Spy Penetrated the CIA, the Green Berets, and the FBI**: By Peter Lance; Published by William Morrow Paperbacks in June 2009; 688 pages.

Lance is the author of three works of investigative journalism, *1000 Years for Revenge*, *Cover Up*, and *Triple Cross*. He is a former correspondent for ABC News and has covered hundreds of stories worldwide for *20/20*, *Nightline*, and *World News Tonight*. *Triple Cross* is the story of Ali Mohamed, a trusted security advisor of Osama bin Laden, a dispatched double agent of Ayman al Zawahiri, an Army sergeant and trainer of Special Forces at Ft. Bragg, an FBI informant, and a CIA agent. In October 2000, Ali Mohamed appeared in handcuffs and a blue prison jumpsuit in a Federal District courtroom on Manhattan's Lower East Side, where he pleaded guilty five times. His crimes included brokering terror summits, financing an attack on two Black Hawk helicopters, training jihadis in improvised bomb building and the creation of secret cells. The book has value in a general way as Ali Mohamed is an important and very compelling figure who was connected to the first bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993 and the attacks on our embassies in Africa in 1998. However, much of the truth of his story is still known to only the government investigators and attorneys who had access to the official reports. Many of Lance's conclusions are his opinion and personal assumptions without real confirmation by official records.

**Books on Israeli Intelligence Operations, CT and threats to their national security:**



*Rise and Kill First: The Secret History of Israel's Targeted Assassinations*; by Ronen Bergman; Publisher: Random House; 1st Edition, January 30, 2018; Hardcover; 784 pages.

The Talmud says: “If someone comes to kill you, rise up and kill him first.” This instinct to take every measure, even the most aggressive, to defend the Jewish people is hardwired into Israel’s DNA. From the very beginning of its statehood in 1948, protecting the nation from harm has been the responsibility of its intelligence community and armed services, and there is one weapon in their vast arsenal that they have relied upon to thwart the most serious threats: Targeted assassinations. TAs have been used countless times, on enemies large and small, sometimes in response to attacks against the Israeli people and sometimes preemptively.

This book offers a riveting inside account of the targeted killing programs: their successes, their failures, and the moral and political price exacted on the men and women who approved and carried out the missions.

Bergman has gained the exceedingly rare cooperation of many current and former members of the Israeli government, including Prime Ministers Shimon Peres, Ehud Barak, Ariel Sharon, and Benjamin Netanyahu, as well as high-level figures in the country’s military and intelligence services: the IDF (Israel Defense Forces), the Mossad (the world’s most feared intelligence agency), Caesarea (a “Mossad within the Mossad” that carries out attacks on the highest-value targets), and the Shin Bet (an internal security service that implemented the largest targeted assassination campaign ever, in order to stop what had once appeared to be unstoppable: suicide terrorism).

Bergman traces, from statehood to the present, the gripping events and thorny ethical questions underlying Israel’s targeted killing campaign, which has shaped the Israeli nation, the Middle East, and the entire world.

### **Reveiwis:**

“Blending history and investigative reporting, Bergman never loses sight of the ethical questions that arise when a state, founded as a refuge for a stateless people who were targets of a genocide, decides it needs to kill in order to survive. . . . This book is full of shocking moments, surprising disturbances in a narrative full of fateful twists and unintended consequences.” — The New York Times

“Authoritative . . . a chilling portrait of the evolution of the assassination program . . . Bergman has a reputation as an indefatigable journalist who has developed hundreds of

informed sources in the defense establishment over the past two decades. . . . Since World War II, Bergman calculates, the Jewish state and its pre-state paramilitary organizations have assassinated more people than any other country in the Western world.” – The Washington Post

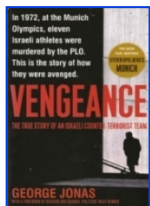
“A must-read . . . [Bergman is] Israel’s premier chronicler of the country’s principal spy services – the Mossad (Israel’s CIA), Shin Bet (its internal security organ) and Aman (military intelligence).” – Newsweek

“A textured history of the personalities and tactics of the various secret services . . . makes the case that Israel has used assassination in the place of war, killing half a dozen Iranian nuclear scientists, for instance, rather than launching a military attack . . . [Bergman] says that while the [United States] has tighter constraints on its agents than does Israel, President George W. Bush adopted many Israeli techniques after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and President Barack Obama launched several hundred targeted killings.” – Bloomberg

“Leading any list of notable nonfiction books – Jewish or not – must be Ronen Bergman’s Rise and Kill First, a massive and extravagantly well-sourced history of the use of the tool of assassination by Israel’s intelligence services. . . . One’s mouth is often agape with amazement, even shock, while reading.” – Haaretz

#### About the Author

Ronen Bergman is the senior correspondent for military and intelligence affairs for Yedioth Ahronoth, Israel’s largest daily paid newspaper, and a contributing writer for The New York Times Magazine, where he reports on intelligence, national security, terrorism, and nuclear issues. Bergman is the author of five bestselling Hebrew-language nonfiction books and *The Secret War with Iran*, which was published in the United States by Free Press. He received a master’s in international relations from Cambridge University, where he was also awarded his PhD in history.



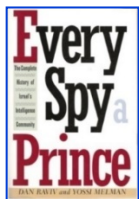
**Vengeance: The True Story of an Israeli Counter-Terrorist Team:** by George Jonas; Published by Simon & Schuster, December 2005. 388 pages.

Vengeance is a true story that was made into the popular movie *Munich*. It is the account of five Israelis, selected to hunt down and kill the Black September terrorists responsible for the massacre of eleven Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

This is the account of that secret mission, as related by the leader of the group -- the first Mossad agent to come out of "deep cover" and tell the story of a heroic endeavor that was shrouded in silence and speculation for years. He reveals the long and dangerous operation whose success was bought at a terrible cost to the idealistic volunteer agents themselves.

"Avner," the leader of one team, and his companions, set out systematically to find and kill the central figures of the Black September's Munich operation. The team has several initial successes but then they become targets of Palestinian assassins and are required to hide, change identities and move from European country to country, while containing to target and kill Black September terrorists.

Vengeance is an inside look at both an espionage and counterterror operations which takes the reader into the dangerous world of terrorism and political murder, going to the very heart of the ancient definitions of good and evil.

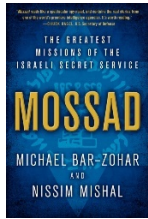


**Every Spy a Prince: The Complete History of Israel's Intelligence**

**Community Hardcover:** By Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman; Published by Houghton Mifflin in July 1990; 466 pages.

The Israeli secret service's lofty reputation declined in 1973 with Mossad's failure to foresee the Yom Kippur War, setting off bitter and demoralizing feuds among the country's intelligence agencies, Mossad, Shin Bet and Aman. The decline was further complicated by a succession of scandals in the 1980s that included the arrests of Jonathan Pollard (who was just released in November 2015) and Mordechai Vananu. Basing their work on interviews with former operatives and on declassified documents, CBS news correspondent Raviv and Israeli journalist Melman have produced an excellent history of the rise and decline of Israel's security and intelligence service, from the idealistic pioneering days to the current disarray in the face of the Palestinian intifada. The amount of detail in this book certainly lends some credence to the book's subtitle, and the journalist authors have also uncovered some fascinating new information: Israel has a number of top secret agencies, including one devoted to protecting their nuclear program and another for rescuing Jews from unfriendly countries; nuclear weapons using submarine-based launch platforms are nearly a reality; and Israel has been spying on the United States for years. Israeli intelligence has been a popular subject for both fiction and nonfiction, but a definitive nonfiction history on the subject is difficult to find as the services have no interest in allowing access to their records and discourage current and retired members of the service from talking to authors and the Media. An extensive

review of various sources will be required of any reader to gain even the most basic understand of Israeli intelligence.



**Mossad The Greatest Missions of the Israeli Secret Service:** By Michael Bar-Zohar and Nissim Mishal; Ecco Press/Harper Collins, NYC; September 23, 2014; 416 pages.

"This book tells what should have been known and isn't – that Israel's hidden force is as formidable as its recognized physical strength."

– Israeli President Shimon Peres

For decades, Israel's renowned security arm, the Mossad, has been widely recognized as the best intelligence service in the world. In Mossad, authors Michael Bar-Zohar and Nissim Mishal take us behind the closed curtain with riveting, eye-opening, boots-on-the-ground accounts of the most dangerous, most crucial missions in the agency's 60-year history. These are real Mission: Impossible true stories brimming with high-octane action – from the breathtaking capture of Nazi executioner Adolph Eichmann to the recent elimination of key Iranian nuclear scientists. Anyone who is fascinated by the world of international espionage, intelligence, and covert "Black-Ops" warfare will find Mossad electrifying reading.

Mossad unveils the defining and most dangerous operations, unknown heroes, and mysterious agents of the world's most respected – and most enigmatic – intelligence service. Here are the thrilling stories of daring top secret missions, including the capture of Adolf Eichmann, the eradication of Black September, the destruction of the Syrian nuclear facility, and the elimination of key Iranian nuclear scientists.

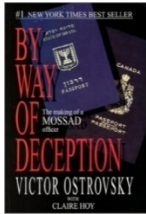
Drawn from intensive research and exclusive interviews with Israeli leaders and Mossad operatives, this riveting history brings to life the brave agents, deadly villains, and major battlegrounds that have shaped Israel and the world at large for more than sixty years.

Review:

"The Mossad is widely recognized today as the best intelligence service in the world. It is also the most enigmatic, shrouded in secrecy. Mossad: The Greatest Missions of the Israeli Secret Service unveils the defining and most dangerous operations that have shaped Israel and the world at large from the agency's more than sixty-year history, among them: the capture of Adolf Eichmann, the eradication of Black September, the destruction of the Syrian nuclear facility, and the elimination of key Iranian nuclear scientists.



Through intensive research and exclusive interviews with Israeli leaders and Mossad agents, authors Michael Bar-Zohar and Nissim Mishal re-create these missions in riveting detail, vividly bringing to life the heroic operatives who risked everything in the face of unimaginable danger. In the words of Shimon Peres, president of Israel, this gripping, white-knuckle read “tells what should have been known and isn’t—that Israel’s hidden force is as formidable as its recognized physical strength.”



**By Way of Deception: The Making of a Mossad officer:** by Victor Ostrovsky; Published by Wilshire Press Inc.; January 2002; 372 pages.

An excellent book on the training and tradecraft of a Mossad officer. The book is afforded greater credibility by the attempt to have it proscribed from publication by the Mossad. Intelligence agencies should probably not attempt to ban books about their operations, as, like Peter Wright's *Spycatcher* (Penguin USA, 1987), which was suppressed in Britain, this book ended up on the New York Times best seller list. Among the controversial revelations that led Israel to seek a ban (which was quickly overturned in the United States and Canada) is Ostrovsky's charge that the Mossad refused to share knowledge of a planned suicide mission in Beirut, resulting in the deaths of 241 U.S. Marines in 1983. The book focuses on the internal working and tradecraft of Israel's legendary spy organization, Mossad, and is written by a former Mossad katsa or case officer. Another New York Times best seller, Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman's *Every Spy a Prince* (reviewed above), provides additional details on Israel's spy agencies and networks. The author, Victor Ostrovsky, was born in Canada and raised in Israel. At eighteen he became the youngest officer in the Israeli military at the time, eventually rising to the rank of lieutenant commander in charge of naval weapons testing. He was a Mossad case officer from 1982-1986. He currently resides in Scottsdale Arizona where he is an excellent artist (painter) and owner of an art gallery in old town Scottsdale.



**Gideon's Spies: The Secret History of the Mossad Paperback:** by Gordon Thomas; Published by St. Martin's Griffin; March 2000. Among the world's most respected and feared intelligence services, the Israeli Mossad encompasses a shadowy

network of katsas (case officers) often operating undercover, from Washington to Tehran to Beijing. Mossad was formed in 1951 to coordinate the intelligence-gathering efforts of the very young nation of Israel. In the nearly half century since, it has become a force to be reckoned with, boasting an impressive track record of counterterrorist actions and assassinations. Gideon's Spies is loaded with their intelligence and counterterror cases, operations, operators and a few massive blunders. Among the titillating revelations are the suggestions that Mossad agents killed media tycoon Robert Maxwell in 1991, that the agency's attempted recruitment of Henri Paul, the driver of Princess Diana's car, may have caused his sufficient emotional distress to be a contributing factor in the accident, and that Mossad operatives in America had tapes of the phone-sex conversations between President Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky. There's also material on the links between the Israelis and the Vatican, including the Mossad's role in the investigation into the attempted 1981 assassination of Pope John Paul II and the agency's constant battles against the PLO.

The third edition of the book sees large portions of it unchanged for earlier versions , however, as some chapters were written in 1994, some in 1999, some in 2004 and some last summer, the ride is a bit bumpy. Also, some critics will wonder about the motives that inspired normally taciturn sources and former intelligence officers to open up to the author and will question their information, particularly regarding the more improbable conspiracy theories he writes about. Overall, along with other books we have read and reviewed for you in this bibliography, Thomas' text confirms the works of other authors as well as providing additional insights into the inner workings of one of the world's best and most secretive intelligence services, making this a worthwhile read.



**Israel's Secret Wars: A History of Israel's Intelligence Services:** by Ian Black and Benny Morris; Published by Grove Press; 1992; 634 pages. This is the first documented, comprehensive history of all three of Israel's intelligence services, from their origins in the 1930s, through Israel's five wars, up to the present, with a new chapter updating the book through the Gulf War. The authors have crafted a comprehensive and very readable guide to the labyrinthine history of Israel's efforts to spy on its Arab, Palestinian, European, American, and global neighbors from the 1930s to the present. Their ability to provide such encyclopedic coverage is bolstered by access to previously classified and unavailable diaries, reports, and documents. Some of the points covered by the authors that contribute to the success of Israeli intelligence services are:

- Israeli consistent emphasis on human intelligence (HUMINT), the oldest form of spycraft, which remains, the best way to determine an adversary's intent.

- The ingenuity, ruthlessness and dishonesty of their intelligence services in support of the survival of Israel.
- Israeli intelligence services have gone far beyond the traditional tasks of intelligence collection and counterintelligence and when necessary conducted state terror to protect national security and support national objectives.
- Conducting economic espionage, spying of allies, obtaining nuclear weapons and advanced technologies, often illegally, have been trademarks of their most successful operations.
- Using the both media and “sayanim” (little helpers from Jewish communities around the world) as force multipliers to disseminate stories, warnings and to assist in Israeli operations to undermine their enemies has long been a speciality.



**Hezbollah: A Short History (Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics):** By Augustus Richard Norton; Published by Princeton University Press; May 4, 2014; 248 pages.

With Hezbollah's entry into the Lebanese government in 2009 and recent forceful intervention in the Syrian civil war, this potent Shi'i political and military organization continues to play an massive role in the Middle East. Policymakers in the United States and Israel denounce it as a dangerous terrorist group and refuse to engage with it, yet even its adversaries need to contend with its durability, its reach around the globe and resilient popular support. Although Hezbollah's popularity has declined in many quarters of the Arab world, the Shi'i group--a hybrid of militia, political party, and social services and public works provider--remains the most powerful player in Lebanon. This book is a lucid, informed, and balanced analysis of the group. This edition, with a new prologue and expanded afterword, analyzes recent momentous events--including Hezbollah's political performance in Lebanon, inconsistent responses to the Arab Spring, and recent military support of the al-Asad regime in Syria. *Hezbollah* is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the Middle East.

**Augustus Richard Norton** (born September 2, 1946) is an American professor and retired army officer. He is currently a professor of international relations and anthropology at the Pardee School of Global Studies at Boston University.[1] He is best known for his writing on Middle East politics, and as an occasional commentator on U.S. policy in the Middle

East. Norton has also written, co-authored or edited more than ten books, as well as contributing to leading newspapers and magazines. His books include:

Hezbollah: A Short History, 2007, 2009, 2014[2]  
Civil Society in the Middle East, 2 vols., 1995, 1996, 2005  
Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon, 1987

### Reviews:

"In this remarkably thorough, articulate portrait of Hezbollah, Norton . . . analyzes how the organization was formed, how it evolved and its current role in Lebanese politics."-- Publishers Weekly

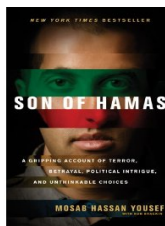
"Augustus Richard Norton's timely Hezbollah chronicles [a] dramatic evolution and its sweeping implications for the region and beyond. His lucid primer is the first serious reappraisal of the radical Shiite group since [the 2006] war shattered six years of relative calm on one of the world's most volatile frontiers."--Jonathan Finer, Washington Post Book World

"Norton, who has been studying Lebanon, and especially the Lebanese Shiites, for longer than Hezbollah has been in existence . . . offers here a brisk and balanced history . . . of Hezbollah while situating the party in the larger Lebanese and regional contexts."--L. Carl Brown, Foreign Affairs

"The best recent study of Hezbollah."--Fareed Zakaria, Newsweek

"Augustus Richard Norton, an American academic and former U.S. army officer, has studied that Islamic fundamentalist organization since its formation. And now, in Hezbollah ... he offers a cogent analysis of its emergence and impact on Lebanese politics."--Sheldon Kirsher, Canadian Jewish News

"Norton has written a clear, concise history of Hezbollah with specific reference to its relevant sociopolitical context. Piquant anecdotes and richly textured details make the book enjoyable reading"--Kristian P. Alexander, Middle East Policy Council Fall



*Son of Hamas: A Gripping Account of Terror, Betrayal, Political Intrigue, and Unthinkable Choices:* By Mosab Hassan Yousef and Ron Brackin; Published by Tyndale Momentum; February 2011; 304 pages.

Since he was a small boy, Mosab Hassan Yousef has had an inside view of the terrorist group Hamas. The oldest son of Sheikh Hassan Yousef, a founding member of Hamas and its most popular leader, young Mosab assisted his father for years in political activities of Hamas, while being groomed to assume his father's legacy, politics, status and power in the group. But everything changed when Mosab turned away from terror and violence, and embraced instead the teachings of another famous Middle East leader. In *Son of Hamas*, Mosab describes one of the world's most dangerous terrorist organization and the truth about his own role, his separation from family and his homeland, and especially the dangerous decision to work for Israeli intelligence. Before the age of twenty-one, Mosab Hassan Yousef saw things no young person should ever see: abject poverty, abuse of power, torture, and death. He witnessed the behind-the-scenes dealings of top Middle Eastern leaders. He was trusted at the highest levels of Hamas and participated in the Intifada. He was captured and incarcerated in one of Israel's most feared prison facility. His experiences and his dangerous choices finally made him a traitor in the eyes of family and the people he loved, but also gave him access to extraordinary danger, experiences and secrets.

**Ron Brackin** is an investigative journalist who was in Bethlehem, Ramallah, Gaza, and Jerusalem during the Al-Aqsa Intifada. He was on assignment in Baghdad after the fall of Iraq and with the rebels and refugees of southern Sudan and Darfur. He has contributed articles and columns to USA Today and the Washington Times and served as a broadcast journalist and a congressional press secretary in Washington after graduating from the University of Maryland.

## Books on Lone Wolf Terrorists



*The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* by Mark Hamm and Ramón Spaaij; Publisher: Columbia University Press, NYC; Illustrated edition, May 9, 2017; Hardcover: 336 pages.

In *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, experts Mark S. Hamm and Ramón Spaaij combine criminological theory with empirical and ethnographic research to map the pathways of lone-wolf radicalization, helping with the identification of suspected behaviors and recognizing patterns of indoctrination.

Reviewing comprehensive data on these actors, including more than two hundred terrorist incidents, Hamm and Spaaij find that a combination of personal and political grievances lead lone wolves to befriend online sympathizers—whether jihadists, white supremacists,

or other antigovernment extremists—and then announce their intent to commit terror when triggered. Hamm and Spaaij carefully distinguish between lone wolves and individuals radicalized within a group dynamic. This important difference is what makes this book such a significant manual for professionals seeking richer insight into the transformation of alienated individuals into armed warriors. Hamm and Spaaij conclude with an analysis of recent FBI sting operations designed to prevent lone-wolf terrorism in the United States, describing who gets targeted, strategies for luring suspects, and the ethics of arresting and prosecuting citizens.

### **Reviews:**

Covering characters as diverse as James Earl Ray, Sirhan Sirhan, Mark Essex, Lynnette "Squeaky" Fromme, Ted Kaczynski, Eric Rudolph, Jared Loughner, Wade Page, and Christopher Dorner, Hamm and Spaaij have written an excellent and well-researched survey of lone wolf terrorists in the United States—and a major addition to the field. -- Charles B. Strozier, founding director, Center on Terrorism at John Jay College of Criminal Justice

The study of lone wolf terrorism takes a significant leap forward in this important book. Hamm and Spaaij provide a thoughtful analysis and critical insights about the nature of lone wolf terrorism and terrorists. The book is a must-read for scholars, policymakers, and law enforcement officials. -- Steven Chermak, Michigan State University

A careful, detailed, original contribution to a vitally important debate. -- Richard English, Distinguished Professorial Fellow, Senator George J. Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security, and Justice, Queen's University Belfast

If you read only one book on lone wolf terrorism, this should be it. It sets the benchmark on what we know about this threat and what can be done to safeguard the future. Superb. -- Andrew Silke, University of East London

Defined variously as a 'radical loser,' a 'lunatic assassin,' or more grandiosely as a symptom of our fractured political age, the lone wolf terrorist is a much-commented-upon but frequently misunderstood phenomenon. Thankfully, with the publication of Hamm and Spaaij's compelling new work, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, we now have the definitive resource with which to explore both the mindset and the motivations of this most perplexing of political extremists. Crisply written and extraordinarily rich in empirical detail, this is essential reading for students of terrorism, criminologists concerned with political violence, and anyone else interested in the evolving nature of late modern radicalization. -- Keith Hayward, University of Copenhagen

A searing, eye-opening, and comprehensive depiction of the evolving nature of terrorism in the United States, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* is certain to become essential reading for anyone interested in understanding both the factors leading to terrorism and new ways

of approaching counterterrorism. Hamm and Spaaij's detailed analysis of the connection between personal circumstances and contemporary social and political realities shed light on aspects of terrorism that are all too often overlooked. Their work is an indispensable primer for policy makers, counterterrorism experts, and students of terrorism. -- Karen J. Greenberg, Director, Center on National Security, Fordham University

The enduring merit of *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* is that it provides an empirically robust and theoretically nuanced framework for addressing how ordinary individuals can become the agents of extraordinary violence and destruction. -- from the foreword by Simon Cottee

Hamm and Spaaij have done us all, as citizens in a world increasingly vulnerable to lone wolf terrorism, a service in their comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon. — PsysCritiques

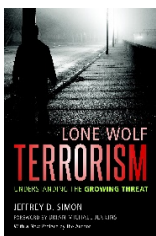
Exceptional from a scholarly point of view, while also providing crucial insights that can help towards devising effective policy responses to lone wolf terrorism. -- Christos Balafoutis — *British Journal of Criminology*

The authors make a compelling, data-backed argument that political violence committed by lone offenders has been steadily increasing for decades, and that this increase is particularly marked in the United States. — *Journal of Communication*

#### About the Author

Mark S. Hamm is a professor of criminology at Indiana State University and a senior research fellow at the Center on Terrorism, John Jay College of Criminal Justice. His books include *Terrorism as Crime: From Oklahoma City to Al-Qaeda and Beyond* (2007) and *The Spectacular Few: Prisoner Radicalization and the Evolving Terrorist Threat* (2013).

Ramón Spaaij is a sociologist based at Victoria University and the University of Amsterdam. His books include *Understanding Football Hooliganism* (2006), *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism: Global Patterns, Motivation, and Prevention* (2012), and *Sport and Social Exclusion in Global Society* (2014).



*Lone Wolf Terrorism: Understanding the Growing Threat*; By Jeffrey D. Simon; Publisher: Prometheus, Amhurst, NY; Reprint edition September 27, 2016; Paperback: 331 pages.

Simon makes the following key points about this growing threat: lone wolves have proven to be more creative and dangerous than many terrorist groups; lone wolves are not just Islamist extremists but can be found among all types of political and religious ideologies; the Internet has provided the perfect breeding ground for isolated individuals with terrorist tendencies, but it may also prove to be their undoing; there are few women in this category, but this is likely to change in the coming years; and the common perception that nothing can be done about lone wolves is wrong. In fact, innovative strategies and policies can be developed to both prevent and respond to this type of terrorism.

Reviews:

"Simon's book is a lucid survey of the phenomenon..." - Foreign Affairs

"Lone Wolf Terrorism is a wake-up call to those who view terrorism solely as a threat that comes from large groups acting through well-organized networks. This mistaken view often leads to the conclusion that fighting terrorism is like waging a war with large military units. Instead it is often more akin to a police action fighting the mafia or looking to catch an individual criminal. Understanding the threat from lone wolf terrorists greatly improves our ability to combat the threat that confronts us." - David L. Boren, former US senator, longest serving chairman of the US Senate Intelligence Committee, and current president of the University of Oklahoma

"Relying on a selective, but broad, gathering of case studies, Simon presents a lively and well-paced overview of a subject that is attracting increasing attention." - John Mueller, PhD, Ohio State University, coauthor of *Terror, Security, and Money*

"This book is a must-read for anybody who wants to understand one of the foremost threats of our time. The narrative has elements of a mystery while providing insights into the nature of terrorism and ways to combat it. Jeffrey Simon has done a terrific service to academicians, policy makers, and the general public in this coherent and clear presentation about this important aspect of terrorism." -Richard Sandor, PhD, chairman and CEO of Environmental Financial Products, and author of *Good Derivatives: A Story of Financial and Environmental Innovation*

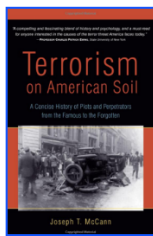
About the Author

Jeffrey D. Simon, Ph.D. (Santa Monica, CA), is president of Political Risk Assessment Company, Inc. and a visiting lecturer at UCLA. A former RAND Corporation analyst, he is the author of *The Terrorist Trap: America's Experience with Terrorism*, which received a starred review in *Publishers Weekly*. His writings on terrorism have appeared in many publications, including the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, *Foreign Policy*, and the *New York Times*. Dr. Simon is also on the editorial board of the *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*.



## Domestic Terrorism:

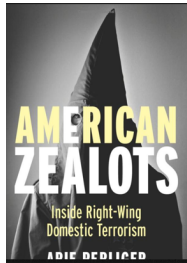
A comment before reviewing the small number of worthy books available on the important topic of home grown, domestic terror groups. While there are a large number of books and articles on international terror group operations in the U.S., there are few that cover domestic terrorism. Some good authors do devote portions of their books to the subject (**Inside Terrorism**: by Bruce Hoffman; **Understanding Terrorism: Groups, Strategies, And Responses**, By James M. Poland; and **Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century**: by Cynthia C. Combs), but the coverage is uneven. So, I am always on the lookout for new offerings and would appreciate it if you become aware of new books on domestic terror you'd send them along for my review and addition to this list.



**Terrorism on American Soil: A Concise History of Plots and Perpetrators from the Famous to the Forgotten**: By Joseph T. McCann; Published by Sentient Publications; September 2006; 336 pages. This book chronicles the history of terrorist plots and attacks on American soil using the case study format to illustrate important lessons about the changing nature of the terror threat to the Homeland. Terrorism has plagued the United States throughout its history, though some seem to believe it began with the Oklahoma City bombing and the Sept. 11 attacks. A new book by a Binghamton University adjunct faculty member argues that studying the history of terrorism in this country can lead to an understanding of the changing nature of the problem, methods for coping with the threat and the psychological, political and legal principles involved.

McCann's book includes more than three dozen case studies of attacks in the United States, beginning with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln in 1865. According to McCann, "There have been many terrorist attacks throughout our history, by many different individuals and for different reasons, some of which overlap. Certain trends in terrorism repeat themselves. Some of the issues that were present a hundred years ago with anarchists are the same issues we're struggling with today." This is the only book I've found which considers domestic terrorism along with international terror attacks inside our borders and for this reason along it add value to a terrorism library. It provides a good primer for almost 40 terror attacks and an excellent starting point for further study of those that are of interest to the reader.

McCann, 47, a clinical psychologist at Binghamton General Hospital who also holds a law degree, is an adjunct assistant professor in the Psychology Department.



*American Zealots: Inside Right-Wing Domestic Terrorism* by Arie Perliger; Publisher: Columbia University Press, NYC; August 18, 2020; Hardcover – 232 pages.

This is an excellent new book on far-right, domestic terrorist and groups with some very helpful statistics. One of the real problems today is the Federal government has not specific statutes to prosecute domestic terrorist and no Federal agency is keeping track of the numbers of attacks, the individuals or the groups involved on an annual basis. So, city managers, police chiefs and politicians have no real idea the size and scope of the problem when they begin work to apportion budgets and resources. Perliger gets into the weeds a bit with some of his data but overall the book is a welcome addition to the meagre national coverage on the actual size of today's domestic terror challenge.

In *American Zealots*, Perliger provides a wide-ranging and rigorously researched overview of right-wing domestic terrorism. He analyzes its historical roots, characteristics, tactics, rhetoric, and organization, assessing the current and future trajectory of the use of violence by the far right. Perliger draws on a comprehensive dataset of more than 5,000 attacks and their perpetrators from 1990 through 2017 in order to explore key trends in American right-wing terrorism. He describes the entire ideological spectrum of the American far right, including today's white supremacists, antigovernment groups, and antiabortion fundamentalists, as well as the histories of the KKK, skinheads, and neo-Nazis. Based on these findings, Perliger suggests counterterrorism policies that can respond effectively to the far-right threat. A groundbreaking examination of violence spawned from right-wing ideologies, *American Zealots* is essential reading for everyone seeking to understand the transformation of domestic terrorism.

### Reviews:

*American Zealots* is an immensely timely and important publication. Written by one of this country's foremost authorities on far-right extremist violence, it provides a comprehensive analysis of this movement's evolution and trajectory and its implications for American society and politics. -- Bruce Hoffman, author of *Inside Terrorism*

Arie Perliger makes sense of the complicated and contentious reality of domestic right-wing terrorism. His explanation of the complexities, deep historical roots, and ideological

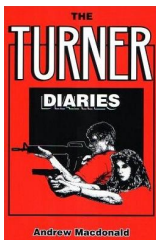
diversity of the threat is clear and dispassionate. His conclusions are all the more important for being bluntly realistic: there is unlikely to be a decline in right-wing violence unless we devise a wide-ranging public policy response. -- Martha Crenshaw, Stanford University

At a time when both DHS and the FBI have underlined the threat posed from the radical right, Arie Perliger's *American Zealots* is a comprehensive and comparative study of right-wing terrorism that sheds light on how the movement emerged, grew within the US military, and our society to become the center of current domestic political debates. Using original data that he collected, the book is anchored in rigorous empirical evidence to explain how we got here and identify the path forward. -- Mia Bloom, author of *Small Arms: Children and Terrorism*

This arresting book explores the backgrounds of right-wing activists who have terrorized America's heartland from Oak Creek, Wisconsin to El Paso, Texas in recent decades. Far from being lone wolves, they are supported by a vast community of hatred, this revealing study shows. It descends into America's underground cultures of violence and helps the reader understand the motivations and organizations of what has become America's number one terrorist threat. -- Mark Juergensmeyer, author of *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*

#### About the Author

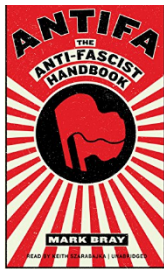
Arie Perliger is professor and director of the graduate program in security studies at the School of Criminology and Justice Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Lowell. His many publications on political violence include *Jewish Terrorism in Israel* (Columbia, 2009).



**The Turner Diaries:** by Andrew MacDonald; Published by Barricade Books; January 1, 1978; 211 pages. *The Turner Diaries* is a 1978 novel by William Luther Pierce (founder of the white nationalist organization National Alliance), published under the pseudonym "Andrew Macdonald". It depicts a violent revolution in the United States which leads to the overthrow of the federal government, nuclear war, and race war. All groups opposed by the Christian Identity Movement and the author, Jews, gays, and non-whites, are exterminated in the book and it was described as "explicitly racist and anti-Semitic" by *The New York Times* and labeled the "bible of the racist right" by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

The book was sold at gun shows by Timothy James McVeigh who, on Wednesday April 19, 1995, drove the truck loaded with two tons of explosives that ripped apart the Murrah

federal office building in Oklahoma City. This was the worst case of domestic terrorism in our history, this explosion killed 169 men, women, and children. William Luther Pierce has written, "if [this book] had been available to the general public . . . the Oklahoma bombing would not have come as such a surprise." The Turner Diaries are considered by the Justice Department as the bible of right-wing militia groups, and the FBI believes it provided the blueprint for the Oklahoma City bombing. Though a novel, it is an important read for professionals and others interested in domestic terrorism as it is so widely read by members of the Christian Identity Movement, the very dangerous Sovereign Citizens Movement and



Antifa, the Anti-Fascist Handbook; by Mark Bray; Publisher: Melville House, Brooklyn, NY; August 14, 2017; Paperback: 304 pages

What is Antifa and where did it come from? As long as there has been fascism, there has been anti-fascism - also known as "antifa." Born out of resistance to Mussolini and Hitler in Europe during the 1920s and '30s, the antifa movement has suddenly burst into the headlines amid opposition to the Trump administration and the alt-right. They could be seen in news reports, often clad all in black with balaclavas covering their faces, demonstrating at the presidential inauguration, and on California college campuses protesting far-right speakers, and most recently, on the streets of Charlottesville, Virginia.

Antifa aims to deny fascists the opportunity to promote their oppressive politics, and to protect tolerant communities from acts of violence promulgated by fascists. Critics say shutting down political adversaries is anti-democratic; antifa adherents argue that the horrors of fascism must never be allowed the slightest chance to triumph again.

In a smart and gripping investigation, former Occupy Wall Street organizer Mark Bray provides a detailed survey of the full history of anti-fascism from its origins to the present day - the first transnational history of postwar anti-fascism in English. Based on interviews with anti-fascists from around the world, Antifa details the tactics of the movement and the philosophy behind it, offering insight into the growing but little-understood resistance fighting back against fascism in all its guises.

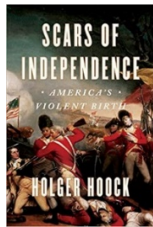
Reviews:

"Insurgent activist movements need spokesmen, intellectuals and apologists, and for the moment Mark Bray is filling in as all three... The book's most enlightening contribution is on the history of anti-fascist efforts over the past century, but its most relevant for today is

its justification for stifling speech and clobbering white supremacists." – Carlos Lozada, THE WASHINGTON POST

"[Bray's] analysis is methodical, and clearly informed by both his historical training and 15 years of organizing, which included Occupy Wall Street." – SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

"Bray's aim is to present an accessible genealogy of today's militant anti-fascist movement... Antifa is written from a commendable place of engagement and provides a serviceable genealogy for militant anti-fascism in the present, and Bray's often well-reasoned defense of controversial tactics should and will make the critics reflect. The book is at its best when criticizing the liberal view that official democratic institutions alone are sufficient to prevent a fascist seizure of power." – LOS ANGELES REVIEW OF BOOKS



The Scars of Independence; By Holger Hoock; Publisher:Crown, NYC; 1st Edition May 9, 2017; Hardcover: 576 pages.

One book that you may be surprised to find in the section on Domestic Terrorism is *Scars of Independence – America's Violent Birth*. It provides a novel look at our Revolution as both a war for independence and as our first civil war. Fought on the battle fields, we all know from our history classes, by General George Washington's Continental Army against the best British generals available, is the way most see the Revolutionary War. But the author, Holger Hoock, a German historian who researched and wrote the book in England and America, sees that conflict also as a violent civil war, with American Patriots on one side and supporters of the King, Torys, on the other, both sides guilty committing shocking acts of terror on the other. Hoock graphically chronicals the terrorism of that period and make a persuasive case for the Revolution War being a civil war.

### **Reviews:**

"Drawing upon impressive research, [Hoock] makes a fluent, original and thought-provoking contribution to American Revolutionary scholarship.... Hoock compellingly argues that the era was characterized by far more pervasive brutality – both physical and psychological – than prevailing perceptions of a high-minded fight for liberty

might suggest.... Well-crafted vignettes reveal how the violence unleashed by the Revolution spread far and wide, leaving few communities immune from its effects." – The Wall Street Journal

"Revelatory... Scars of Independence [forces] readers to confront the visceral realities of a conflict too often bathed in warm, nostalgic light.... [Hooock] marshals a good deal of startling new evidence, the fruits of prodigious research in British archives too rarely used by historians of colonial America.... The myth of an America conceived in love and sprung fully formed from the thigh of George Washington misshapes our present as much as it distorts our past. Hooock's research casts a startling light on that primal scene." – Jane Kamensky, The New York Times Book Review

"[A] sobering corrective to the sanitized version of the American Revolution passed down through generations.... [and] a fascinating case study in the power of myth-making.... Scars of Independence eschews comforting good/bad dichotomies in favor of assessing the past in all its complexity and ambiguity.... [A] balanced, unvarnished portrait." – The Boston Globe

"Outstanding and long-overdue... [Scars of Independence] dares to look beyond the principles and perceptions of righteousness that pervade much of the popular literature on the subject, illustrating that the operational aspects of the war were fraught with atrocities and injustices... that were committed by all sides." – Journal of the American Revolution

"This timely, powerful book reveals a side of America's founding too often forgotten: the American Revolution was our first civil war, and the United States that emerged long bore its scars. I have read no account of the conflict that so impressively shows how the violence of this war touched all Americans: patriot and loyalist, enslaved and free, indigenous and colonial. Hooock's careful research and vivid writing bring to life a history at once gripping, challenging, and essential." – Maya Jasanoff, Harvard University, and author of Liberty's Exiles

"This striking history exposes the grim realities behind America's origin myth. But it is not an exercise in disillusionment or cynicism. By describing the Revolutionary War as it really happened, Hooock adds vividness and realism to implausible legends of heroes and saints. He sheds light on divisions that shape the world today, and most important, he reminds us how far we've come." – Steven Pinker, Johnstone Professor of Psychology, Harvard University, and author of The Better Angels of Our Nature

"From the scalding tar poured on merchants and customs officials to the public stripping of women suspected of loyalist sympathies, Holger Hooock's deep research

and gripping prose expose the frightening violence of the American Revolution and overturn the sentimental myth of our nation's bloodless birth." – Kathleen DuVal, University of North Carolina, and author of *Independence Lost*

"War by definition is about violence, but Holger Hoock's brilliantly written book is perhaps the first to use violence as its main focus for understanding the War of American Independence. He highlights some truly shocking instances of violence – on both sides – in a gripping (if at times stomach-churning) account. All students of the American Revolution and its war should read this book." – Stephen Conway, University College London, and author of *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*

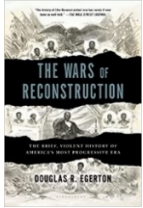
"In this American Revolution, neighbors killed neighbors. Patriots slaughtered American Indians, and vice versa. British soldiers committed mass atrocities on the battlefield. Loyalists were tarred, feathered and worse by Patriot mobs. Hoock plays no favorites as he makes clear through copious research that there was nothing clean about the Revolution. It was messy, complicated business, drenched in blood. It was, after all, war." – Dallas Morning News

"While the many romantic and sanitized versions of the American Revolution present it as a just and idealistic war... Hoock presents a much more complex and nuanced story of American-on-American violence.... [An] important and corrective account." – MHQ Magazine

#### About the Author

Holger Hoock was educated at Freiburg and Cambridge and received his doctorate from Oxford. He currently serves as the J. Carroll Amundson Professor of British History and Associate Dean for Graduate Studies and Research in the Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pittsburgh. His previous books include *Empires of the Imagination* and *The King's Artists*. An elected fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Hoock has recently been a Kluge Fellow at the Library of Congress; visiting scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and senior fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, University of Konstanz. In 2006, he was awarded the UK's Philip-Leverhulme-Prize for internationally recognized young historians. From 2014 to 2017, he was edited the *Journal of British Studies*. Hoock and his family divide their time between Pittsburgh, PA, and the UK.

There are numerous books on the period of Reconstruction that followed the end of the Civil War and if you wish to understand right-wing violence and hate crimes today, you'll need to understand the environment where the Klan was formed, the bloody violence of Reconstruction and how the "Jim Crow" South began. I've read several times and can recommend the following as an excellent reference volume on the Reconstruction:



*The Wars of Reconstruction*; By Douglas R. Egerton; Publisher: Bloomsbury Press, NYC; Reprint edition, October 13, 2015; Paperback: 448 pages

By 1870, just five years after Confederate surrender and thirteen years after the Dred Scott decision ruled Blacks ineligible for citizenship, Congressional action had ended slavery and given the vote to black men. That same year, Hiram Revels and Joseph Hayne Rainey became the first African American U.S. senator and congressman respectively. In South Carolina, only twenty years after the death of arch-secessionist John C. Calhoun, a black man, Jasper J. Wright, took a seat on the state's Supreme Court. Not even the most optimistic abolitionists had thought such milestones would occur in their lifetimes. The brief years of Reconstruction marked the United States' most progressive moment prior to the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Previous histories of Reconstruction have focused on Washington politics. But in this sweeping, prodigiously researched narrative, Douglas Egerton brings a much bigger, even more dramatic story into view, exploring state and local politics and tracing the struggles of some fifteen hundred African-American officeholders, in both the North and South, who fought entrenched white resistance. Tragically, their movement was met by ruthless violence—not just brutal mobs, but also targeted assassination.

### **Reviews:**

“The history of [the] era [of Reconstruction] has rarely if ever been as well told as it is in Douglas R. Egerton's forcefully argued and crisply written *The Wars of Reconstruction*.”  
—Wall Street Journal

“Key figures develop into rich characters, balancing Egerton's own objective, wide-seeing perspective, which even explores the revisionist Reconstruction histories that informed the American consciousness, particularly the pernicious effects of influential racist cinema. All told, Egerton's study is an adept exploration of a past era of monumental relevance to the present and is recommended for any student of political conflict, social upheaval, and the perennial struggle against oppression.” —Publishers Weekly



“A richly detailed history . . . An illuminating view of an era whose reform spirit would live on in the 1960s civil rights movement.” —Kirkus Reviews

“Understanding issues that continue to roil American politics--the definition of citizenship, the meaning of equality, the relative powers of the national and state governments--requires knowledge of Reconstruction. For this reason alone, the appearance of Douglas R. Egerton's *The Wars of Reconstruction* is especially welcome . . . its dramatic account will challenge and enlighten . . . Egerton paints a dramatic portrait of on-the-ground struggles for equality in an era of great hope and brutal disappointment.” —Eric Foner, *New York Times Book Review*

“[Egerton's] crisp, immersive history follows an army of black activists, politicians, ex-slaves, educators, clergy, veterans and their white allies who hoped to remake the devastated South.” —*The Atlantic*, Best Books of 2014

About the Author: Douglas R. Egerton is Professor of History at LeMoyne College. He is the author of five books, including *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey*, *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 & 1802*, and *Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America*.

## Books on the Ku Klux Klan

There are hundreds of books on the Klan. I will mention 3 below but any good history will give you enough background to get started. You can also go to the Southern Poverty Law Center, <https://www.splcenter.org/>, or the Anti Definition League, <https://www.adl.org/>, for more information on the past and current threat posed by the Klan and other hate groups.



[The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition](#); By Linda Gordon; Liveright Publishing Corp. NYC; 2017; 288 pages.

Perhaps the best, recent book on the Klan. It covers in detail the 2d Klan from 1915 to the late-1920s. Reviews include:

**Reviews:**

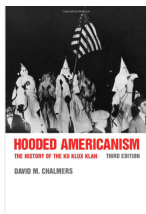
An urgent examination into the revived Klan of the 1920s becomes “required reading” for our time (New York Times Book Review). Extraordinary national acclaim accompanied the publication of award-winning historian Linda Gordon’s disturbing and markedly timely history of the reassembled Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. Dramatically challenging our preconceptions of the hooded Klansmen responsible for establishing a Jim Crow racial hierarchy in the 1870s South, this “second Klan” spread in states principally above the Mason-Dixon line by courting xenophobic fears surrounding the flood of immigrant “hordes” landing on American shores.

“Part cautionary tale, part expose...” (Washington Post)

The Second Coming of the KKK “illuminates the surprising scope of the movement...” (The New Yorker)

The Klan attracted four-to-six-million members through secret rituals, manufactured news stories, and mass “Klonvocations” prior to its collapse in 1926, but not before its potent ideology of intolerance became part and parcel of the American tradition. A “must-read” (Salon) for anyone looking to understand the current moment.

The Second Coming of the KKK offers “chilling comparisons to the present day” (New York Review of Books).



Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan; By David M. Chalmers; Publisher: Duke University Press Books; Third edition (February 9, 1987) Paperback, 489 pages.

This is a complete history of the Klan from its organization by Confederate veterans in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866 to the 1970s.

### Reviews:

"The only work that treats Ku Kluxism for the entire period of its existence . . . the authoritative work on the period. Hooded Americanism is exhaustive in its rich detail and its use of primary materials to paint the picture of a century of terror. It is comprehensive, since it treats the entire period, and enjoys the perspective that the long view provides. It is timely, since it emphasizes the undeniable persistence of terrorism in American life." – John Hope Franklin

"Chalmers has steeped himself in the details of the KKK organization, personalities, and intrigue, and particularly their relation to the entire nation. . . . Chalmers has not only read widely; he has pondered the meaning and destiny of the Klan." — American Historical Review



**Terror in the Night: The Klan's Campaign Against the Jews**: By Jack Nelson; Published by University Press of Mississippi; September 1996; 287 pages.

Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, claiming that Jews were the driving force behind the civil rights movement, bombed two synagogues and a rabbi's house in Jackson and in Meridian, Miss. in 1967 and 1968. An FBI informant provided them with a Klan hit list that targeted Jewish business leaders for assassination. Nelson, Los Angeles Times Washington bureau chief who covered the South in the civil rights era, discovered evidence that the FBI and the Meridian police, using funds supplied by the Jewish community, paid informants to set a trap that left Klan hit man Thomas Tarrants III wounded and his fanatically anti-Semitic bomb-maker girlfriend Kathy Ainsworth dead. This book considers one small aspect of the FBI's operations against the Klan in Mississippi. Using FBI files obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, Nelson recreates a case of Klan retribution in three parts. The first is the story of how the assimilated Jewish communities of Jackson and Meridian, Mississippi, were drawn into the struggle against the Ku Klux Klan when they became targets. The second part is the story of the response of the FBI and the local police, with the cooperation of the Jewish community leaders. The third, a detailed account of how the FBI persuaded two leading Klansmen to become informants and entrap Thomas Tarrants III into bombing the home of Meyer Davidson. On June 30, Tarrants drove to Meridian to bomb the home of Meyer Davidson, an outspoken leader of the Jewish community. The FBI and police chief Roy Gunn convinced two local Klan members, to gather information about the Klan's operations targeting leaders of the Jewish community, which had raised money to pay the two informants, Raymond and Alton Wayne Roberts. The two reported to the FBI that Tarrants had built another bomb and planned to attack the Davidson home. Fifteen police officers and FBI agents were hidden around Davidson's house shortly after midnight when a car drove up. Tarrants exited the vehicle with a box, later found to contain 29 sticks of dynamite, and approached Davidson's carport. When police ordered him to stop, he dropped the box and fled to his vehicle. Officers then chased him for about 15 blocks before ramming the back of his vehicle, ending the chase. Tarrants opened fire on the police with a submachine gun, striking officer J.M. Hatcher four times in the chest (though critically injured, the officer survived). Tarrants fled through the neighborhood continuing to fire at the policemen and

wounded a civilian. Police eventually found Tarrants in a pool of his own blood in a local resident's backyard. Kathy Ainsworth, a 26-year-old fifth grade school teacher from Jackson who had helped with the bombing of Jackson's synagogue a few months earlier, was found dead in Tarrant's car with a loaded pistol in her purse.



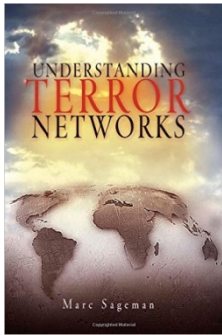
**Mississippi Burning**: by Kirk Mitchell; Published by Signet; January 2, 1989; 255 pages.

Novelization of the film of the same title in 1988 by Kirk Mitchell (as Joel Norst) based on the murder of three civil right activists (James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner) in Mississippi in 1964 and the surging of FBI Special Agents to solve their disappearance and bring the Ku Klux Klan murders to justice. This abduction/murder was the most infamous episode of violence during Freedom Summer of 1964, when the three civil rights activists left their base in Meridian, Miss., to investigate one of a number of church burnings in the eastern part of the state. The Ku Klux Klan had burned Mount Zion Church because the minister had allowed it to be used as a meeting place for civil rights activists. The three young men were stopped and arrested by Neshoba County Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price. After several hours, Price released them only to arrest them again shortly after 10 p.m. He then turned the three over to his fellow Klansmen who took them to a remote area, beat them, shot them several times and buried them and burned their car. After several weeks of searching and recovering more than a dozen other bodies, the FBI found the civil rights workers buried under a new earthen dam. Seven Klansmen, including Price, were arrested and tried for the killings. A white jury found them all not guilty. Later the federal government charged the Klansmen with violating the civil rights of Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney and this time they were convicted and served sentences ranging from two to ten years. Although this is a novel, and I recommend few novels as you know, it is worth your time. It is a quick read and does focus on some of the counterintelligence tradecraft the FBI used to break the back of the American Communist and Socialist Parties, which was then used against the Klan, and I do use it as a reference in my counterterror class.

### **Books on Terrorist Motivations and Predictors:**

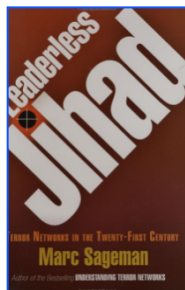
Two books I have reviewed above have significant information on the motivations of terrorists and the road to radicalization: *Enhanced Interrogation: Inside the Minds and Motives of the Islamic Terrorists Trying To Destroy America* by Dr. James E. Mitchell; and *United States of*

*Jihad: Investigating America's Homegrown Terrorists* by Peter Bergen. Therefore I am placing them in this category as well.



**Understanding Terror Networks Hardcover:** by Marc Sageman; Published by University of Pennsylvania Press; April 16, 2004; 232 pages. Sageman has applied his varied experiences and medical/psychological training to create an empirical argument for the socio-psychological reasons why someone would join an insurgent/terror organization like al-Qaeda. In the late '80s, Sageman worked closely with Islamic fundamentalists during the Afghan-Soviet war and gained an intimate understanding of the development, form and function of their networks. Sageman wrote this book to dispel incorrect assertions about terrorist networks made by self-appointed experts. Using interview transcripts, numerous direct interviews and public documents, Sageman concluded that the motivation to join a terrorist organization does not stem from extreme poverty or extreme religious devotion but mostly from the need to escape a sense of alienation. He also disproves conventional wisdom that terrorist groups employ a "top-down" approach to recruiting, showing instead that many cells evolve from friendships and kinships and that the thinking and verbalizations of certain members of a cell influence the thinking of the others. Unfortunately, Sageman's academic prose may lose readers.

**Marc Sageman**, a former CIA case officer, a medical doctor, a forensic psychiatrist and a government counterterrorism consultant. He is the author of the bestselling *Leaderless Jihad*, reviewed next.



**Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century:** By Marc Sageman; Published by University of Pennsylvania Press; January 3, 2008; 208 pages. In the post-September 11 world, Al Qaeda became less of an insurgency/terrorist organization and more of a source of inspiration for terrorist acts carried out by independent local groups that have branded themselves with the Al Qaeda name or now call themselves ISIS.

This book builds on Sageman's excellent work on al Qaeda operation, Understanding Terror Networks. Sageman expanded his research on what motivates young men and women to terror and to explain how Islamic terrorism emerges and operates in the twenty-first century.

In Leaderless Jihad, Sageman rejects the views that place responsibility for terrorism on society or on the seriously flawed individual. Instead, he argues, the individual, outside influence, and group dynamics come together in a four-step process through which young men and women are radicalized. First, traumatic events either experienced personally or learned about indirectly spark moral outrage. Individuals interpret this outrage through a specific ideology, more felt and understood than based on doctrine. Usually in a chat room or other Internet-based venues, adherents share this moral outrage, which resonates with the personal experiences of others. The outrage is acted on by a group, either online or offline. Drawing on historical analogies, Sageman argues that the zeal of jihadism is self-terminating; eventually its followers will turn away from violence as a means of expressing their discontent. The book concludes with Sageman's recommendations for the application of his research to counterterrorism operations.



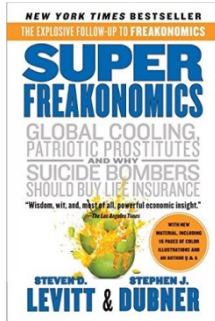
**What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat:**

By Louise Richardson; Published by Random House; (November 13, 2007; 336 pages. Richardson grew up immersed in the troubles of Northern Ireland, and her academic research in "terrorism studies" has been fueled in part by proximity to her research subjects and independence from governmental counterterrorism efforts. Unlike Sageman, she has never worked the terrorism problem and while she is better than most academicians, she still suffers from being on the outside of the practical world of counterterror operations with its daunting challenges and significant resourcing problems.

Richardson's views and policy prescriptions are similar Sageman and other terrorism experts and commentators critical of current efforts, her arguments for such methods are studied with historical examples, including many that may be new to readers new to the topic. Richardson also joins the chorus of commentators criticizing the idea of a "war on terror." I tend to agree as there is daily evidence that the Media, our senior policy makers and politicians have failed to put into perspective terrorism's real threat. Terrorism is not an existential threat to the U.S. or our allies and yet we spend billions of dollars annually on measures to prevent what can't be prevented – a small number of bad people doing bad things. Let's look at the numbers: the possibility of any of our citizens being killed in a

terror attack is very small (Since 9/11 there have been 89 Americans killed by Muslims in the U.S. in 47 attacks or 5.9 people per year). This is smaller number of Americans than those killed by lightning in 2015 (26) or the total number killed since 2005 (322); it is smaller than the number of Americans attacked by sharks since 1958 (1104 attacks of 19.7 annually, with 35 deaths); and certainly much smaller than those killed on U.S. highways each year (32,719 in 2013 and the annual average in 40,000 deaths over the past 50 years). So, why the irrational and unfounded focus on the terror threat by the Media, senior policy makers in government and politicians running for office and not on these other, more deadly/dangerous threat to Americans? The answer for the Media is simple: bottom line, profits: "if it bleeds it leads." Terrorism, especially in HD color, was made for the 24-hour news cycle. What about our policy makers and politicians? If I were a complete cynic I would opine the following; political capital from public fear means votes to politicians; enhanced budgets for military, intelligence and law enforcement agencies to protect us from a threat that does not justify such extreme, expensive measures means money, agency growth and power for the public sector and profits for government contracting companies who are tasked to provide security guards, equipment and technology – the business of security. But what's the harm, one asks, if terror, like war, grows the economy, our private sector and our military and intelligence capabilities. First, unreasonable and unfounded fear makes the terrorists and terror groups seem more dangerous than they are and this gives the terrorists what they seek, attention for their cause and makes them winners. The truth is that most terror attacks in the U.S. (while occasionally deadly as in the case of Major Nidal Hasan's attack at Ft. Hood, Texas, the Boston Marathon bombers and the San Bernardino shooters, were successful and 31 Americans lost their lives) have been unsuccessful as they were preempted by U.S. law enforcement (more than 1000 terror plots have been disrupted since September 11, 2001, and the terrorist arrested and imprisoned).

This real contribution of Richardson's book is her argument that eradicating each terrorist movement cannot defeat terrorism; however, it can be contained by measures that appreciate the factors driving terrorists and aim to deprive them of what they want. **What terrorists want**, according to Richardson, is the "three Rs"--revenge (for perceived injustices), renown (the attention of the world), and (over)reaction by governments (disproportionate enough to perpetuate a sense of moral outrage and result in an increase in the number of recruits and funding for the terror group). Those who have been students in my class on terrorism (Practical Perspectives on Counterterror Operations, hosted by DOE over the 6 years beginning in 2006) will recall that I agree with her "3 Rs" but add two additional motivations: "the age of individuation" (the vast majority of terrorist become so during those years when they are individuating/becoming independent from their families) and the excitement (thrill and danger) in being in a group that defies authority. Richardson's book is a worthy addition to your professional library and when read with the comments of Bruce Hoffman, Michael Scheuer, Steve Coll and Marc Sageman on what motivates terrorists, it will provide additional insight into the important subject.



*SuperFreakonomics: Global Cooling, Patriotic Prostitutes, and Why*

*Suicide Bombers Should Buy Life Insurance* Paperback; by Steven D. Levitt (Author), Stephen J. Dubner (Author); Publisher: William Morrow Paperbacks; Reprint edition May 24, 2011; 320 pages.

This book does actually have justification to be included in my counterterrorism bibliography. As a predictor of terrorism, the author tells the story of a British bank employee who developed an algorithm which would predict and identify which in it 8 million customers were committing fraud. He then was asked to modified the algorithm so that it would identify terrorists in that same customer base. The author reports his successful but is light on details. With terror events in the UK and Europe at their current high levels, one wonders if the algorithm is still in use.

### **About the Author**

Steven D. Levitt, a professor of economics at the University of Chicago, was awarded the John Bates Clark Medal, given to the most influential American economist under forty. He is also a founder of The Greatest Good, which applies Freakonomics-style thinking to business and philanthropy.

Stephen J. Dubner is an award-winning author, journalist, and radio and TV personality. He quit his first career – as an almost rock star – to become a writer. He has since taught English at Columbia, worked for The New York Times, and published three non-Freakonomics books.

### **Editorial Reviews:**

The New York Times best-selling Freakonomics was a worldwide sensation, selling over four million copies in thirty-five languages and changing the way we look at the world. Now, Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner return with SuperFreakonomics, and fans and newcomers alike will find that the freakquel is even bolder, funnier, and more surprising than the first.

Four years in the making, SuperFreakonomics asks not only the tough questions, but the unexpected ones: What's more dangerous, driving drunk or walking drunk? Why is chemotherapy prescribed so often if it's so ineffective? Can a sex change boost your salary?

SuperFreakonomics challenges the way we think all over again, exploring the hidden side of everything with such questions as:



How is a street prostitute like a department-store Santa?

Why are doctors so bad at washing their hands?

How much good do car seats do?

**What's the best way to catch a terrorist?**

Did TV cause a rise in crime?

What do hurricanes, heart attacks, and highway deaths have in common?

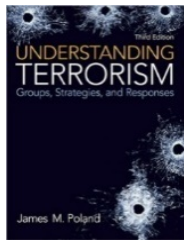
Are people hard-wired for altruism or selfishness?

Can eating kangaroo save the planet?

Which adds more value: a pimp or a Realtor?

Levitt and Dubner mix smart thinking and great storytelling like no one else, whether investigating a solution to global warming or explaining why the price of oral sex has fallen so drastically. By examining how people respond to incentives, they show the world for what it really is – good, bad, ugly, and, in the final analysis, super freaky.

**I want to add two additional text books on terror. Although not written as well as Hoffman's and Bergen's books, they both are worth a mention:**



**Understanding Terrorism: Groups, Strategies, And Responses**, By James M. Poland, Prentice Hall; 01/03/2010. This text considers today's most crucial lessons and discoveries for analyzing terrorism and terrorist strategies, and defining effective countermeasures. It brings together both theory and practice, it assesses terror threats, individual terrorist attacks and responses by intelligence agency and law enforcement departments. This Third Edition includes recent trends: suicide bombings; increased terror group sophistication; the decline in state-sponsored terrorism; terrorist resistance in Iraq, and the evolution of antiterrorism legislation. It also presents new coverage of hardening targets, anti-terrorism technology, and international cooperation.

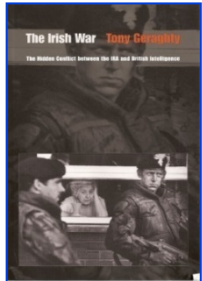
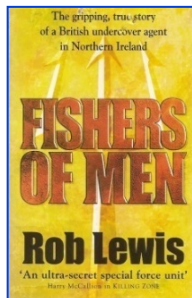
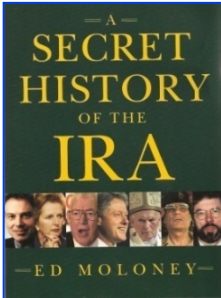
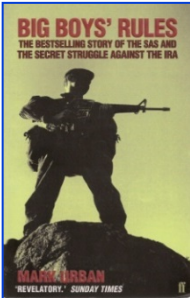
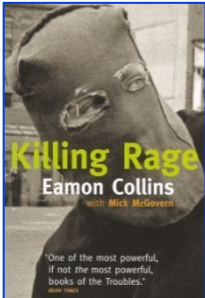


**Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century**: (6th Edition) by Cynthia C. Combs; Published by Routledge; New York, NY; 2013; 416 pp. This text places terrorism into a historical perspective and analyzing it as a form of political violence. It presents

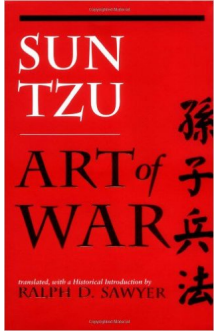
the most essential concepts, the latest data, and case studies including: numerous definitions of terrorism; it identifies terrorist, terror groups and their tactics; it analyzes the laws written to control terrorism; it considers the law enforcement responses to terror; the special operations forces created by the international community to meet this challenge; and predicts likely patterns of terror in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

**Books on Irish Terrorism:**

My source on books on Irish terror groups and terrorists is my colleague and good friend, Dan Mulvenna (give our homepage a look to understand why I went to Dan some years ago when preparing a module on Irish terrorism and the “Troubles” in Northern Ireland). I did use *Stakeknife*, *Big Boys’ Rules* and *Killing Rage* as reference in preparing my class but wanted to give you all six of Dan’s recommendations in case you are looking to cut a wide swath into Irish terrorism. I will not add separate reviews for each but recommend them to you as a group and Dan did for me.



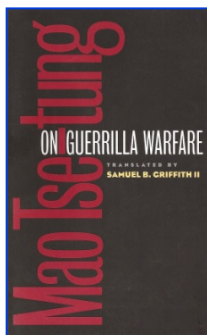
**Older works on war, guerrilla operations and terror:**



**The Art of War: by Sun Tzu:** as translated by Ralph D. Sawyer;

Published by Westview Press; February 11, 1994; 384 pages. The Ping Fa (Art of War) is the most famous study of strategy of war ever written and has had an extraordinary influence on both topics. First translated two hundred years ago by a French missionary, the principles of Sun Tzu have been incorporated into the campaigns of Napoleon, the German General Staff, Mao Tse-tung, Vo Nguyen Giap, Admiral Yamamoto who planned the Pearl Harbor attack, and in the planning for Operation Desert Storm. Many Japanese companies make this book required reading for their key executives. And increasingly, Western businesspeople and others are turning to the Art of War for inspiration and advice on how to succeed in competitive situations of all kinds.

Ralph Sawyer, an outstanding Western scholar of ancient Chinese warfare and a successful businessman in his own right, places this classic work on strategy in its proper historical context. Sawyer supplies a portrait of Sun Tzu's era and outlines several battles of the period that may have either influenced Sun Tzu or been conducted by him. In addition to his discussions on the principals of warfare, Sun Tzu also writes about the importance of intelligence and counterintelligence to the commander and the ruler. His comment here are timeless and a required read for all intelligence and law enforcement professionals.



**Mao Tse-tung on Guerrilla Warfare:** By Mao Tse-tung (Author),

Brigadier General Samuel B. Griffith (Translator); Published by CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform; May 19, 2014; 130 pages. Considered the Bible for modern terrorist insurgencies, Mao's *On Guerrilla Warfare* makes the case for the extensive use small groups of combatants using mobile military tactics in the forms of ambushes and raids to combat on larger and less mobile formal armies. Mao wrote the book in 1937 to convince Chinese political and military leaders that guerilla style-tactics were necessary for the

Chinese to use in the Second Sino-Japanese War to insure first their survival and then ultimate victory. This is one of the books studied by all terror groups in the modern era. Mao's most famous quotes: "*Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun...*"; and "*the guerrilla must move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea*" to be ultimately successful against a larger, trained military.

**Contents:**

Chapter 1: What is Guerrilla Warfare?

Chapter 2: The Relation of Guerrilla Hostilities to Regular Operations

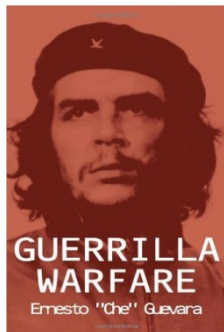
Chapter 3: Guerrilla Warfare in History

Chapter 4: Can Victory be Attained by Guerrilla Operations?

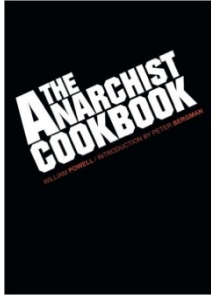
Chapter 5: Organization for Guerrilla Warfare

Chapter 6: The Political Problems of Guerrilla Warfare

Chapter 7: The Strategy of Guerrilla Resistance against Japan



**Guerrilla Warfare:** by Ernesto Che Guevara; Published by CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform; October 15, 2013; 154 pages. Che Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare* is a practical manual for how a small band of guerrilla fighters might use specific strategies and tactics to resist and defeat an oppressive state enemy in asymmetrical warfare. The manual is based on lessons learned from his part in the successful anti-Batista revolution in Cuba in 1959. It makes the political case for the guerrillas' militancy, and explains step-by-step how an insurgency can be grown in strength and number, taking advantage of local and regional conditions, relations with sympathetic inhabitants, and tactics of ambush, sabotage, and psychological warfare. Guevara describes in detail not only these tactics but also the ideal behavior and attitude of an effective guerrilla fighter. Published in 1969, *Guerrilla Warfare* has three of Che's most famous essays on guerrilla combat tactics. Finally, and perhaps the most important contribution of this book is that it offers an opportunity to see inside the mind of a well-known, innovative, successful terrorist/revolutionary and learn not just why he fought but how he thought.



**The Anarchist Cookbook:** By William Powell; Published by CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform; October 27, 2014; 162 pages. The Anarchist Cookbook was first published in 1971. It is a classic among the anti-establishment “how to books.” It contains instructions for the manufacture of explosives, rudimentary telecommunications phreaking devices, and other items. The book also includes instructions for home manufacturing of illicit drugs, including LSD. It was written by William Powell at the apex of the counterculture era in order to protest against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

**An interesting note from the Author of the Anarchist Cookbook:**

I have recently been made aware of several websites that focus on The Anarchist Cookbook. As the author of the original publication some 30 plus years ago, it is appropriate for me to comment.

The Anarchist Cookbook was written during 1968 and part of 1969 soon after I graduated from high school. At the time, I was 19 years old and the Vietnam War and the so-called "counter culture movement" were at their height. I was involved in the anti-war movement and attended numerous peace rallies and demonstrations. The book, in many respects, was a misguided product of my adolescent anger at the prospect of being drafted and sent to Vietnam to fight in a war that I did not believe in.

I conducted the research for the manuscript on my own, primarily at the New York City Public Library. Most of the contents were gleaned from Military and Special Forces Manuals. I was not member of any radical group of either a left or right wing persuasion.

I submitted the manuscript directly to a number of publishers without the help or advice of an agent. Ultimately, it was accepted by Lyle Stuart Inc. and was published verbatim - without editing - in early 1970. Contrary to what is the normal custom, the copyright for the book was taken out in the name of the publisher rather than the author. I did not appreciate the significance of this at the time and would only come to understand it some years later when I requested that the book be taken out of print.

The central idea to the book was that violence is an acceptable means to bring about political change. I no longer agree with this.

Apparently in recent years, The Anarchist Cookbook has seen a number of 'copy cat' type publications, some with remarkably similar titles (Anarchist Cookbook II, III etc). I am not

familiar with these publications and cannot comment upon them. I can say that the original Anarchist Cookbook has not been revised or updated in any way by me since it was first published.

During the years that followed its publication, I went to university, married, became a father and a teacher of adolescents. These developments had a profound moral and spiritual effect on me. I found that I no longer agreed with what I had written earlier and I was becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the ideas that I had put my name to. In 1976 I became a confirmed Anglican Christian and shortly thereafter I wrote to Lyle Stuart Inc. explaining that I no longer held the views that were expressed in the book and requested that The Anarchist Cookbook be taken out of print. The response from the publisher was that the copyright was in his name and therefore such a decision was his to make - not the author's. In the early 1980's, the rights for the book were sold to another publisher. I have had no contact with that publisher (other than to request that the book be taken out of print) and I receive no royalties.

Unfortunately, the book continues to be in print and with the advent of the Internet several websites dealing with it have emerged. I want to state categorically that I am not in agreement with the contents of The Anarchist Cookbook and I would be very pleased (and relieved) to see its publication discontinued. I consider it to be a misguided and potentially dangerous publication which should be taken out of print.