

Contents

List of Figures	xi
Acknowledgements	xiii
Preface	xv
1. Dilemmas in Defining the Threat	1
The Need for a Definition	1
Terrorism and Crime	8
Terrorism and Political Protest	10
“Terrorism” versus “National Liberation”	12
Injury to “Innocents”	15
A Proposed Working Definition	16
2. Dilemmas in Defining Counter-Terrorism	25
Defining the Goals of Israel’s War against Terrorism	27
Factors that Influence the Scope of Terrorism and Its Nature	28
Dominance of the Military Component in Counter-Terrorism Policy	38
Defining a Counter-Terrorism Policy	44
3. Intelligence Dilemmas in the War on Terrorism	47
Employing Human Intelligence Sources (“humint”)	51
Intelligence Cooperation between Israel and the Palestinians during the 1990s	53
International Cooperation in the Intelligence Domain	57
Coordinating Intelligence and Operations	58
Decision Makers and Intelligence	61

4. Dilemmas in the Deterrence of Terrorists	63
Israel's Policy of Deterrence	70
The Issue of the Rationality of Terrorist Organizations	74
Deterring Suicide Terrorists	76
Deterring State Sponsors of Terrorism	79
Defensive Deterrence	93
Drawing "Red Lines" with Regard to Terrorist Activity	94
Escalation and Efficiency of Terrorism as a Result of Deterrent Activity	95
Summary and Conclusions	96
5. Dilemmas Concerning Offensive and Defensive Counter-Terrorism Actions	101
Assessing the Effectiveness of an Offensive Action	101
Targeted Killing—The Normative-Moral Dilemma	112
Targeted Killing as a Component of Israel's Counter-Terrorism Policy	120
"The Boomerang Effect"	129
Timing Offensive Actions against Terrorism	135
Defensive Action in the War against Terrorism	141
6. Democratic Dilemmas in the War against Terrorism	147
Public Opinion in the Liberal Democracy	149
The Limitations of Punishment	153
The Value of Human Life	154
The Governance Dilemma	154
The Ethical Dilemma	156
The Democratic-Intelligence Dilemma	158
Methods of Interrogating Terrorists—Example of a Democratic Dilemma in Counter-Terrorism	160
The Offensive Democratic Dilemma	172
The Defensive Democratic Dilemma	174
A Theoretical Model for Examining Democratic Dilemmas in Counter-Terrorism Activity	176
Summary and Recommendations	178
7. Dilemmas in Legislative and Punitive Policies	183
Forfeiture of Funds to Terrorist Organizations	190
Definite Anti-Terrorism Legislation	192

Emergency Anti-Terrorism Legislation	193
Outlawing Terrorist Organizations	194
Public Trial and Evidentiary Privilege	197
Prosecution of Those Suspected of Involvement in Terrorism	199
Summary of the Legislative Dilemmas	200
Types of Punishment for Terrorists	202
Collective Punishment	203
Administrative Punishment	213
8. Dilemmas Concerning Media Coverage of Terrorist Attacks	229
The Media as Part of the Strategy of Terrorism	234
The Journalist's Dilemma	236
The Live Broadcast Dilemma	238
The Media Coverage of Terrorist Attacks and Its Effect on the Broadcast Schedule	240
Interviewing Terrorists and Broadcasting Their Video Tapes	241
Media Response to Invitations from Terrorists	245
Censoring the Media while Covering Terrorism	246
9. Dilemmas in Coping with the Psychological-Morale Damage from Terrorism	251
Publicizing Intelligence Warnings Regarding a Potential Attack	258
Reinforcing the Public's Ability to Cope	260
The Psychological Impact of Terrorism in Israel and Its Effect on Morale	262
The Morale Component in Decision-Making	265
Using Offensive Means for Purposes of Morale	269
Summary and Conclusions	270
10. Dilemmas Concerning International Cooperation on Counter-Terrorism	273
Creating a Joint, Legal-Normative Platform to Combat Terrorism	278
Cooperation in Combating Terrorism	279
Establishing Joint International Counter-Terrorism Frameworks	282

Summary and Conclusions	285
Summary and Conclusions: Israel's Counter-Terrorism Strategy	287
Notes	299
Appendix A: Conclusions of the "Shefayyim Conference" of The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism	325
Appendix B: Recommendations by Participants in the Conference on International Cooperation on Terrorism	329
Index	331