

The Iraqi government will be protected by the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF), who will replace the US as the 'strongest force in the country' and their continued neutrality in dealing with internal challenges will remain a key element in avoiding a Lebanon-esque descent into civil war. Of critical concern to the Kurdish community in Iraq is the increasing capability of the ISF.

As the report makes clear, 'in modern Iraqi history, the Iraqi army is the only existential threat the Iraqi Kurds have ever known'. With reports that the Maliki government is looking to acquire state-of-the-art US warplanes and armoured vehicles, the departure of US forces could be seen as the end of their guarantee of security. Although RAND don't go as far as General Odierno, they do recommend the need for a 'third party presence' that can moderate disputes along the Arab–Kurdish fault lines 'before they become violent'. In militating against this risk they also follow up on ideas initially described in the 2006 Baker–Hamilton report concerning the regional impact of the US withdrawal. This consists of a basic and uninspired listing of the national interests of Iraq's neighbours and avoids speculation on the potential impact of a US/Israeli conflict with Iran on stability in Iraq.

Finally, both books make the important recommendation that whatever happens upon the US withdrawal, the Obama administration must make a greater effort to solve the huge and largely forgotten problem of millions of displaced Iraqis. One obvious way to do this would be to expand and speed up the processing of the applications of Iraqis eligible for resettlement in the United States.

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Jihad in Saudi Arabia: violence and pan-Islamism since 1979. By Thomas Hegghammer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2010. 312pp. Pb.: £18.99. ISBN 978 0 52173 236 9.

Inside the kingdom: kings, clerics, modernists, terrorists and the struggle for Saudi Arabia. By Robert Lacey. London: Hutchinson. 2009. 432pp. £20.00. ISBN 978 0 09193 124 7.

Why did global jihad strike Saudi Arabia, out of the blue, in May 2003? And why, by 2006, had this insurgency, which destabilized the House of Saud and aroused the darkest fears about its survival, largely petered out?

Few researchers are as well equipped as Thomas Hegghammer to answer these questions. He has produced a path-breaking work, based on painstaking analysis of a mass of material, including jihadist literature, and some of his conclusions challenge the conventional wisdom about the character of both the Saudi state and global jihad.

Hegghammer argues that at the core of global jihad lies pan-Islamism, the notion that Muslims should not merely show solidarity with one another but go to each other's aid when they are under attack. In the 1960s, King Faisal made this doctrine the core of Saudi foreign policy, as a means of challenging the twin threats of pan-Arabism (championed by his regional rival Gamal Abdel Nasser) and communism. The idea gained a further boost in the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan in the 1980s. But after the Soviet defeat and withdrawal in 1989, it became clear that pan-Islamism was a Pandora's box from which unintended consequences would emerge, including Al-Qaeda and groups of the Al-Qaeda type.

Hegghammer examines the series of issues which fuelled pan-Islamist sentiment—the wars in Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya and Afghanistan, as well as the Palestinian *intifada*—and in particular their impact on the state, religious establishment and growing radical Islamist

Book reviews

community in Saudi Arabia. By the mid-1990s, domestic Islamism was becoming a threat to the Saudi authorities. They over-reacted, he suggests, and cracked down hard on Islamist radicals, many of whom were tortured and thereby further radicalized.

He describes in fascinating detail how by 2002 Al-Qaeda had decided to target Saudi Arabia itself, and how it set about recruiting 'Arab Afghan' *alumni* (Saudis who had returned home from the war in Afghanistan), setting up training camps, raising money and storing large caches of weapons. One of Hegghammer's key findings is that the recruits to Al-Qaeda's cause were motivated by pan-Islamist sentiment far more than by a desire for Islamic revolution in the Saudi homeland. Indeed, he writes, the group's leaders did their utmost to conceal their revolutionary agenda from potential recruits under a veil of pan-Islamism.

This helps explain the ultimate failure of the insurgency which rocked the kingdom between 2003 and 2006. Saudi Islamists were far more inclined to wage jihad against the Americans in Iraq or the Russians in Chechnya than against the House of Saud. What's more, after the initial shock, the Saudi authorities poured huge sums of money (over US\$30 billion between 2004 and 2006, according to Hegghammer) into a revamped counterterrorism strategy, which employed both hard and soft power to pull the rug from under the insurgents.

Robert Lacey's *Inside the kingdom*—a follow-up to *The kingdom*, published in 1981 (Hutchinson)—covers the same period as *Jihad in Saudi Arabia*, but with the general reader, rather than the specialist, in mind. Lacey lived in the kingdom for three years to write the book, and uses to good effect a series of interviews with a wide range of Saudis. The political portrait he paints is a convincing one—bringing to life, for example, the Juhayman revolt of 1979 and the discontents of the Shi'i minority—while also looking at social issues such as the boredom of Saudi women and the pressures for change within a society where, in many respects, religious conservatives hold sway. It is all immensely readable and may serve to shed a welcome light on a country outsiders find alien and opaque.

Roger Hardy, *BBC World Service*

The Israeli peace movement: a shattered dream. By Tamar S. Hermann. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2009. 310pp. Index. £50.00. ISBN 978 0 52188 409 9.

Tamar Hermann provides an exhaustive and revealing study of Israel's peace movement, stating that while the peace movement has not been able to exert influence over national policies, it has been more successful in transforming the attitudes of the Israeli public towards peace. Hermann, a professor of political science at the Open University of Israel, is a leading authority on Israeli public opinion, reflected in her role as a senior research fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute and a co-director of the Peace Index Project at Tel Aviv University.

Interestingly, Hermann's methodology involves two theoretical frameworks which rarely converge: social movement theories traditionally located within the discipline of political sociology, and theories relating to public opinion and national policy-making generally found within the field of political science. Hermann uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative research tools to arrive at her conclusions, relying upon participant observation, content analysis of sources of Israeli peace groups, communications among activists and public opinion polls.

The author skilfully explores the socio-political and structural difficulties that have hindered the ability of the Israeli peace movement to emerge from the margins of Israeli