

## Counterterrorism Bookshelf:

### 50 Books on Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism-Related Subjects

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

*This column consists of capsule reviews of books from various publishers. The reviews are listed in these sections: "Terrorism – General Accounts", "Terrorism – Groups", "Terrorism – Africa", "Terrorism – Northern Ireland", "Terrorism – Asia", "Counterterrorism – International Law", "Counterterrorism General", "Counterterrorism – Conflict Resolution" and "Textbooks and Social Science".*

#### **Terrorism – General Accounts**

Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, *Radicals: Resistance and Protest in Colonial Malaya* (Dekalb, IL: NIU Press, 2015), 250 pp., US \$ 35.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-87580-492-7.

This is a well-constructed account, as the author explains, "of a group of radical Malay men and women in colonial Malaya who once formed part of the inmate population of Pudu Prison" in Kuala Lumpur. (p. 4) The significance of this group, which operated in the Malay Peninsula (including Singapore), is that they "played major roles in political, educational, social, and cultural institutions directed toward ending foreign rule" by the British, which led to their imprisonment in the 1940s and early 1950s. (p. 11) The author concludes that "the Malay radicals became agents of change in their society, who introduced new vocabularies of struggle, a new language of resistance, and new visions of politics, while imprinting the spirit of freedom in the minds of their compatriots." (p. 194) The author is associate professor in the Department of Malay Studies at the National University of Singapore.

Daniel Antonius, Adam D. Brown, Tali K. Walters, J. Martin Ramirez, and Samuel Justin Sinclair (Eds.), *Interdisciplinary Analyses of Terrorism and Political Aggression* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 335 pp., UK £ 44.99 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4438-1640-3.

This interesting volume represents the proceedings of the Coloquios Internacionales sobre Cerebro y Agresion (CICA) and Society for Terrorism Research's (STR) inaugural conference, which was held in Spain in 2007. The volume's contributors draw on academic disciplines such as criminology, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, physics and international relations to examine the relationship between human aggression and violent behavior in the form of terrorism. The book's thirteen chapters discuss topics such as the psychological development of terrorists from childhood to adulthood; the role of aggression in terrorism; applying Terror Management Theory (TMT) to analyze the motivation to engage in terrorism; the psychological impact of terrorism on its targeted population as a driver in support for governmental anti-terrorism policies; issues in profiling terrorists and effective alternatives, such as utilizing grounded theory methods (GTM) to analyze individuals who turn to terrorism; utilizing risk assessment methods to identify pathways into becoming Islamic terrorists; analyzing female suicidal terrorists in Chechnya; an assessment of the threat of biological, chemical, and nuclear terrorism; the risk of nuclear terrorism; and conceptualizing the cyberterrorist threat. The editors are academic psychologists who are affiliated with the Society for Terrorism Research (STR)

Christopher Coker, *Future War* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2015), 244 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 24.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-5095-0232-5.

This well-informed book about how to think about the future of warfare has the added value of having its Foreword written by General H.R. McMaster, at the time Director, Army Capabilities Integration Center, and Deputy Commanding General, Futures, US Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), and currently National Security Advisor to President Donald Trump. As General McMaster writes, "Thinking

clearly about future war is obviously important for military officers. Military leaders use their vision of future conflict as a basis for how to direct military operations or train soldiers. Senior officers draw on their understanding of war to provide best military advice.” (p. viii) This book fulfills General McMaster’s prescription as it looks at the evolution of the mechanics of war and the main features of future warfare, with increasingly robotic “warriors” on the ground (e.g. Unmanned Forward Observer units, Special Weapons Observation Reconnaissance Detection Systems and Tactical Autonomous Combatants), aerial (e.g., anti-satellite strikes using directed energy, electrical lasers, microwaves or plasma emitters) and cyber space (e.g., winning a war before it starts in physical space by dominating an adversary military’s information technology infrastructure). Regarding the future of terrorist warfare, the author writes that “tomorrow’s terrorists, insurgents and irregular fighters will be more imaginative than states in finding ways to wage war – a sobering thought indeed.” (p. 15) Future terrorist operatives, the author foresees, will become proficient in cyber-attacks because of its many advantages. He writes: “One is scale – it would involve few players; another proximity (everyone is within range everywhere at the same time); and a third is precision – you can be discriminating or not in your targeting.” (p. 93) The author is Professor of International Relations at The London School of Economics and Political Science.

Christopher Ely, *Underground Petersburg: Radical Populism, Urban Space, and the Tactics of Subversion in Reform-Era Russia* (Dekalb, IL: NIU Press, 2016), 324 pp., US \$ 39.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-8758-0744-7.

This is an interesting account of 19th century Russian reform-era radical populism which emerged in response to the limited reforms introduced by Alexander II. As the author explains, the restricted nature of these reforms in limiting suffrage, speech, and assembly “helped to create a frustrated public sphere alongside a substantial measure of discontent and subversion.” (p. ix) To examine these issues, the author explores the underground activities of radical populism from the point of view of its participants in terms of “Why and how did an underground come into being in the first place? How did it evolve over time? How did those who occupied the underground manage to maintain its autonomy? In what ways did members of the populist underground make use of the pre-existing spaces of the cities in which they operated? And how and why did the populist underground carry out the violent acts for which it is best known – assassinations of state officials including the tsar – in the face of a powerful state with a police force dedicated to their eradication?” (p. x) Distinguishing his analytical approach from others that focus on the ideological nature of radical populism, the author adopts a different approach that focuses on the trajectory of its “organization and activism” over time. The author concludes with the prescient observation that “among the real radical populists of Russian history, the turn to terrorism did not rest on a foundation of ethics alone. The choices the populists made in the 1860s and 1870s reflected a much more familiar phenomenon: young people in changing times casting about recklessly in search of a way to usher in a better world.” (p. 274) The author is associate professor of history at the Harriet L. Wilkes Honors College of Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Florida.

Elun T. Gabriel, *Assassins & Conspirators: Anarchism, Socialism, and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (Dekalb, IL: NIU Press, 2014), 305 pp., US \$ 50.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-87580-481-1.

This is a highly detailed account of 19th century anarchism and its relationship to Social Democracy in Germany, which the author argues was “crucial to Social Democratic refashioning and the reorientation of non-socialist attitudes toward the movement; opposition to anarchism provided German Social Democrats an important means by which to distance themselves from the stigma still attached to socialism in the 1870s.” (p. 12) The author observes that anarchism, particularly anarchist terrorism, served to shape European politics at the time, with anti-anarchist rhetoric serving to “demarcate the parameters of legitimate politics.” (p. 12) To examine these issues, the author discusses the history of conservative Germany’s anti-revolutionary rhetoric vis-à-vis anarchist activities such as assassination attempts against Kaiser Wilhelm I, which the government blamed on the Social Democrats, government efforts to pass laws to restrict socialism,

and changes over time, particularly in the decade before the outbreak of war in 1914 that contributed to decreased concern about the danger of anarchism. In the concluding chapter the author brings the discussion to the current period's concern about the terrorist threat by noting that the 19th century German case has "utility for evaluating how we talk about terrorist threats, radicalism, and the bounds of legitimate political expression in the twenty-first century, suggesting that we can learn something from how vilified political minorities [such as the Social Democratic party-JS] created a political culture of free and open debate in a time of fear and confusion." (p. 21) The author is Associate Professor and Department Chair, History, and Coordinator of European Studies, at St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York.

Christian Joppke, *The Secular State Under Siege: Religion and Politics in Europe and America* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2015), 240 pp., US \$ 69.95 Hardcover], US \$ 24.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-6541-2.

Terrorism, particularly religiously-driven terrorism, draws its support from radical subcultures within the societies where it operates. In the West, which is primarily secular in the form of separation of state and religion, extremist religious movements of all denominations have been attempting over the past several decades to exert themselves in these societies, with the most extremist groupings within them using terrorist tactics to inflict their vengeful anger against their adversaries. This book explains the larger context in which these radical religious subcultures operate. Its six chapters discuss topics such as the role of religion in social and political theory (e.g., the classical theories on demarcating the state and religion by Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Peter Berger); the moves over the years by secular elements to "privatize" religion, whether Christianity or Islam; and the moves in recent times by religious forces to assert themselves in society, for instance, in what the author terms "negative religious liberty rights" by publicly wearing manifestations of their religions such as a cross or a veil by Muslim women as a way to highlight themselves "as a besieged minority." (p. 186) Although such religiously separatist drives are not "terroristic," they are part of a larger fabric in society in which extremist groups within such religious sub-cultures decide to advance their causes via terrorist attacks. The author is Professor of Sociology at the University of Bern, Switzerland.

Daniel Koehler, *Right-Wing Terrorism in the 21st Century: The 'National Socialist Underground' and the History of Terror From the Far Right in Germany* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 288 pp., US \$ 155.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-138-12328-1.

This is a comprehensive, detailed and primary data-based account of right-wing extremism and terrorism in post-Second World War Germany. It covers topics such as the literature on right-wing terrorism; defining right-wing terrorism; the development of the militant far-right in Germany following the Second World War; a case study of the right-wing terrorist group National Socialist Underground (NSU); an examination of counter-measures by the German police and intelligence service against the NSU; an assessment of the effectiveness of German right-wing terrorism in terms of their group sizes, weapon types, tactics, targeting, and 'life spans', and an encyclopedic listing of military and terrorist right-wing groups in Germany in the post-Second World War period (with listings of their name, size, time of known activity, casualties, tactics, planned attacks, executed attacks, targets, and a summary overview). Also valuable is a chronological listing of right-wing terrorist groups and lone wolves and their periods of activity from 1963 to 2015. The concluding chapter provides a list of lessons learned, including the finding that "Right-wing terrorists are indeed overwhelmingly oriented towards a long-term and low-threshold strategy of violence." (p. 255) The chapter's section on directions for future research is also notable for its observation that "Right-wing terrorism is one of the most under-researched fields in the academic study of terrorism and political violence and consequently one of the least understood." (p. 255) This is followed by the conclusion that "Because the majority of terrorism research has focused on jihadi terrorism, a potentially distorting bias about the nature of terrorism can only be corrected if other forms of political violence are studied and compared with each other." (p. 257) This volume's extensive bibliographies, which accompany each chapter, are another

valuable contribution to the research on right-wing terrorism. The author is Director of the German Institute on Radicalization and De-Radicalization Studies (GIRDS) and Fellow at George Washington University's Program on Extremism, in Washington, DC.

Mahmoud Masaeli and Rico Sneller (Eds.), *The Root Causes of Terrorism: A Religious Studies Perspective* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 425 pp., UK £ 63.99 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4438-1680-9.

The contributors to this edited volume examine the root causes of terrorism in various religions, as the editors explain, from the perspective of "religious and philosophical issues, such as religious violence in scriptural monotheism, radical interpretations of religious texts, militancy and sacrifice, apocalypticism and terrorism, and religious terrorism in today's particular cases." (p. xiii) This perspective is discussed in the book's twenty chapters, which cover topics such as the role of biblical stories in terrorism, whether religion is inherently violent, the role of religion in suicide bombings, using religion to legitimate violence, Hinduism and terrorism, Roman Catholic responses to Islamic fundamentalism, non-violent religions and violent cultural practices by Igbo Nigeria Africans, theological and strategic foundations of militant Salafi jihadism, religious terrorism in Turkey, and Islamic terrorism and Islamic radicalization in the Russian Federation. With such interesting and well-informed chapters, the volume would have benefited from a concluding chapter that synthesized the contributors' discussions. The volume also lacks an Index. Despite these shortfalls, this book is recommended as a textbook on the role of religion in driving religiously-based terrorism. Mahmoud Masaeli is Professor of Global Ethics and International Development at the University of Ottawa, Canada. Rico Sneller is Professor of Philosophical Anthropology at Leiden University, The Netherlands.

Travis Morris, *Dark Ideas: How Neo-Nazi and Violent Jihadi Ideologues Shaped Modern Terrorism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), 170 pp., US \$ 80.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-7391-9104-0.

This is an innovative account of "dark ideas", a term used in the book to refer to a specific type of ideological doctrinal innovation used by violent extremists that propel terrorism into new "strategic and tactical paths," with Neo-Nazism and jihadism among the most significant exemplars of such innovations in contemporary terrorism. To examine the impact of the innovations introduced by such "dark ideas", each of the book's chapters addresses three questions: "(1) What is the origin of each innovation? (2) What is the context that surrounds each innovation? (3) How did they transition from idea to action?" (p. vii) This conceptual approach is applied to examining the personalities and impacts of leading and innovative ideologues and strategists in jihadism, such as Sayyid Qutb, Anwar al-Awlaki, and Abdullah Azzam, and their counterparts in Neo-Nazism, such as Ben Klassen, William Pierce, and Louis Beam. The discussion then shifts to an examination of the terrorist "implementers" of such ideological innovators, such as Usama bin Laden (jihadism) and George Lincoln Rockwell (neo-Nazism). In another interesting chapter, the author discusses Muhammad Maqdisi (jihadism) and David Duke (Neo-Nazism) as creators of "soft extremism." The author perceptively concludes that "If information warfare against violent extremists will ever be successful, it has to be generated from an 'inside out' perspective. This means that culture, context, and ideas need to be understood from an adherent's perspective, not as irrational psychological babble. In regards to addressing ideas, *Dark Ideas* affords a way to isolate certain innovations, analyze them in context, and provide a conceptual path forward. It is the hope that this text will inform future discussions on the connection between ideas and incidents of violence, how these ideas are transmitted, and the relationship of the idea to the men or women who advance them." (p. 119) The Appendix includes a useful case study in the form of a table that lists jihadi terrorists such as Nidal Hasan and Umar Forouk Abdulmutalab and their connection to Anwar al-Awlaki, their ideological patron. The author is assistant professor of criminology and criminal justice, and director of the Peace and War Center, at Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont.

Brett Bowden, *Civilization and War* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2013), 224 pp., US \$ 108.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 23.96 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-78254-571-2.

This is an attempt to critically examine the “widespread belief that the more civilized we become, the more we are inclined to shy away from war in order to resolve differences and disputes. There is a related assumption that when forced to resort to war, civilized societies are more likely to abide by the rules of war..” (p. vi) The author finds that “civilization and war are, to all intents and purposes, two sides of the same coin.” (p. vi) This also applies to countering terrorism by so-called “civilized states”, with the author arguing that “the global war on terror is just that latest circumstance in which those prosecuting the war, in response to atrocities or acts of savagery by an uncivilized foe, seek to justify a turn to any means necessary, including ‘more brutal’ means of warfare.” (p. 92) Although the author’s discussion draws on the great books and essays on civilization by authors such as Thomas Hobbes, Oswald Spengler, Arnold Toynbee, Hans Morgenthau, William McNeill, and Samuel P. Huntington, in this reviewer’s judgment, he does not appear to fully understand their arguments about the components of civilization, including their modernizing dimensions. Moreover, like Edward Said’s book on *Orientalism*, which he cites in the book’s conclusion, he does not appear to understand the nature of the threats presented by religiously extremist terrorists and their adherents who are waging war against what constitutes a modern society. The author is Associate Professor of History and Political Thought at the University of Western Sydney, Australia.

Emma Louise Briant, *Propaganda and Counter-Terrorism: Strategies for Global Change* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2016), 304 pp., US 29.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5261-0729-9.

This is a well-argued critique of the use of propaganda in the counter-terrorism campaigns by the United States and the United Kingdom. The author defines propaganda as including public diplomacy, public affairs, information operations and psychological operations (PSYOP) as they are “institutionally defined and politically motivated.” (p. 13) Following a discussion of the boundaries and the extended apparatus of propaganda, how ‘formal’ propaganda is coordinated, and Anglo-American relations in the counter-terrorism propaganda war, this framework is then applied to a case study of how propaganda was employed in the Iraq War in the aftermath of the U.S.-led intervention in March 2003. There is much to commend in this book, including the author’s distinction between strategic level PSYOP (as long-term goals); operational PSYOP (intermediate goals), and tactical PSYOP (near-term goals). (p. 13) The book, however, would have benefited from a more extensive discussion of the nature of the terrorist adversaries that these propaganda campaigns had attempted to counter, in order to present a more comprehensive context to discuss these issues. The author is Lecturer in Journalism Studies at the University of Sheffield, United Kingdom.

Jens Eder and Charlotte Klonk (Eds.), *Image Operations: Visual Media and Political Conflict* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press/New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 272 pp., US \$ 110.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-52610-721-3.

This conceptually innovative volume is the product of a workshop held in Berlin in April 2014, in which the participants discussed image operations across different academic fields. As explained in the volume’s introduction, image operations refers to the means by which images are used by various sides involved in an event to “depict news stories but are [also-JS] crucial to their legibility, illegibility, and perceived reality.” (p. 3) In this volume, the contributors discuss “the use and function of imagery in three areas: contemporary warfare, insurgency/counter-insurgency and non-violent political activism.” (p. 4) The book is divided into three parts: Part 1, “Using images, metaphors, process, affects” (different levels of image operations ranging from “metaphorical usage in world politics to everyday practices of arranging images on a desktop”); Part 2, “Images in warfare, insurgency and counterinsurgency” (such as images of acts of terror, including videotaped testimonies of suicide bombers); and Part 3, “Image activism and political movements” (how artists and activists from different countries utilize various digital visual technologies to investigate political conflicts). The volume includes 35 photos that illustrate the authors’ discussion. Jens Eder is Professor in

Media and Communication Studies at the University of Mannheim, and Charlotte Klonk is Professor in Art History and New Media at the Humboldt University in Berlin.

Robert G. Picard and Hannah Storm, *The Kidnapping of Journalists: Reporting From High-Risk Conflict Zones* (New York, NY: I.B. Tauris/Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford, 2016), 128 pp., US \$ 25.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-78453-589-6.

As explained by the authors, “This book explores the challenges faced by news organisations in attempting to protect journalists, in responding to kidnappings of their journalists, and in covering abductions of one of their own. It explores the familial, governmental, and economic influences on news organisations during kidnappings and lays out some good practices for avoiding, preparing for, and responding to the horror of a kidnapping.” (p. 1) The book addresses these challenges by discussing issues such as why journalists are kidnapped, which are either premeditated or opportunistic; the four types of capture or killing of journalists (detained or imprisoned by combatants in conflict zones, deliberate abduction and killing of journalists by groups or individuals to “stop their coverage”, having journalists killed in a crossfire, and kidnapping for ransom or holding as hostage by terrorist and criminal groups); relations between the kidnappers and the journalists’ governments; news organizations responses to such kidnappings; the experience of being kidnapped, based on case studies; how news organizations cover the kidnapping of journalists; the roles of private organizations that provide security to journalists in conflict zones; and best practices for journalists and their employers in preventative planning. Robert Picard is North American Representative for the Reuters Institute in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford, and Hannah Storm is Director of the International News Safety Institute (INSI).

John Lloyd, *Journalism in an Age of Terror* (New York, NY: I.B. Tauris/Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford, 2017), 272 pp., US \$ 17.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-78453-708-1.

This is a noteworthy account, from the point of view of a working journalist, of the tension between “the two trades of espionage and journalism.” The account begins with a discussion of how fiction writers, such as John Le Carre, and journalists, covered the world of espionage during the Cold War and how journalists, such as Jason Burke and Mark Urban, write about terrorism today. The author explains that it is during the current era of terrorism threats in the democratic societies covered in this book – the United States, Britain, and France – that “the intelligence agencies’ central task is to secure the state against external or internal threats” such as terrorism, and, particularly its intent to use weapons of mass destruction. (p. vi) Journalism, also, views “its free activity [as] a necessary pillar of a democratic order.” (p. vi) Thus the dilemma for journalism is in “deciding what is and what is not fit to be published,” including sensitive information that is generated through leaks, such as Edward Snowden’s massive leaks in 2013 of highly classified data about the U.S. government’s counterterrorism surveillance programs and techniques. While the author calls for a “purposeful response” by journalists to “politicians’ hype,” he nevertheless accepts the premise that the need for at least some level of secrecy by the security services in these three democratic societies must be respected “because of the presumed seriousness of the terrorists’ ambitions: their possible acquisition of WMD; [and] the attraction they have for some, especially the young, largely within [their] Muslim communities...” (pp. 225-226) The author is Senior Research Fellow at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

### **Terrorism – Groups**

Rafael Leonisio, Fernando Molina and Diego Muro (Eds.), *ETA’s Terrorist Campaign: From Violence to Politics, 1968-2015* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 254 pp., US \$ 145.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-138-10014-5.

The contributors to this edited volume examine the evolution and decline of Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA, Basque Homeland and Freedom). This Basque terrorist group was founded in 1959 when it engaged in political and cultural activities until around 1968. Then it transformed into a group that engaged in armed conflict and criminal operations until 2011, when it declared a unilateral cessation of hostilities. As explained in the volume's introduction, the book's contributors, who are Spanish academics who come from the disciplines of history, political science, and sociology, examine three areas: the interplay between ETA's tactics and strategy and the Spanish government's counterterrorism response policy; the impact of the polarization and fear created by ETA's violence, including feelings of victimization; and "the historical narratives and rituals that contributed to the production and reproduction of identity oppositions and war memories." (p. 1) In the book's conclusion, the editors observe that "terrorism does not end once the organization that practices it drops its weapons, but continues through its consequences into the realm of narrative identity. Terrorism continues to exist through its transformation into collective memory, which is established according to the usual hegemonic social framework (defined by Basque nationalism), making it a political tool that is just as effective in remembrance as when it was a political practice." (pp. 226-227)

John Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism: The Fight for Euskadi, 1890-1986* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 306 pp., US \$ 155.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 45.00 [Paperback], ISBN-13: 978-11389-0030-1.

This book was published in 1988 and reissued in 2015, as part of the publisher's "Routledge Library Editions: Terrorism and Insurgency." It covers important periods in ETA's history, beginning with the origins of Basque nationalism in the 1890s, the establishment of ETA in the late 1950s, the beginning of armed struggle (which the author demarcates as 1967), ETA's activities during Franco's dictatorship and the beginnings of post-Franco parliamentary democracy. In the book's conclusion, the author rightfully observes that "Inevitably, studies of 'terrorist' groups which ignore the social context of their existence and concentrate solely on their internal organization and training, or the supposed psychological motivation of their members, end up examining either trivial, or at best secondary, features of the phenomenon. I have attempted to show the deep roots of ETA in Basque history and social structure." (p. 277) This book is recommended for its detailed examination of ETA's socio-cultural and political nature during a significant formative period in Spain's history.

Teresa Whitfield, *Endgame for ETA: Elusive Peace in the Basque Country* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 402 pp., US \$ 35.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-19-938754-0.

This book is an important contribution to the literature on resolving terrorist conflicts through political and military measures as it focuses primarily on ETA's last decade of existence, when various initiatives were introduced in an attempt to resolve the conflict between ETA and the Spanish government. As the author explains, this book "chronicles the history upon which the achievement of the end of ETA's violence was built within a framework determined by interlocking preoccupations regarding the risks and benefits of engagement with armed groups proscribed as terrorist and the costs and benefits of counter-terrorism for democratic states." (p. 299) Interestingly, ETA's declaration of cessation of armed operations occurred unilaterally, as the author writes: "No negotiations took place and no peace agreement was reached in a process that saw unilateral change within a political-military organization and the broader structures of its political and social support, directly informed by actions of the state, pressure from Basque society and the involvement of international actors." (p. 303) The author is a senior advisor to the president of the International Crisis Group and a Senior Advisor and Non-Resident Fellow at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University.

**Terrorism – Africa**

Anneli Botha, *Terrorism in Kenya and Uganda: Radicalization from a Political Socialization Perspective* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016), 256 pp., US \$ 90.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-49852-331-8.

This is an important and empirically-based account of the role of political socialization in the process of radicalization into violent extremism and terrorism from an African perspective, which the author argues is essential in contributing “to more effective measures and strategies to prevent and combat terrorism.” (p. 5) Following the author’s overview of terrorism in Kenya and Uganda, the subsequent chapters examine the radicalization processes that characterize those who join the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda, and al-Shabaab and the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) in Kenya, based on empirical research in the field in which the author conducted 283 interviews with radicalized member and relatives of other members who were killed. Also discussed are the prominent political socialization agents involved in their radicalization, such as parents, school and other peers, media of communications, and, “in the absence of a national identity, subnational identities – based on religion and ethnic principals,” which transfer “from one generation to the next.” (p. 212) It is through such early political socialization agents that the stage is set “for the way individuals interpret the world around themselves.” (p. 212) External circumstances also play a role in radicalization, such as economic circumstances, particularly a sense of “relative deprivation along the lines of ethnic and religious marginalization and frustration, [which] go over into political marginalization and frustration.” (p. 212) Based on primary research in Kenya and Somalia, the author proposes a number of recommendations for effective counter-measures by the affected governments and their security forces. These include developing and implementing intelligent counterstrategies, implementing policies to prevent ethnic and religious marginalization, enhancing the legitimacy of government, building an inclusive nation while celebrating diversity, building partnerships with local communities, and a commitment to addressing “the underlying causes of terrorism and therefore not only prevent[ing] individuals to resort to terrorism as a tactic but also to isolate terrorists from a potential support base.” (p. 218) The volume is based on the author’s doctoral dissertation, which was the winner of the TRI Award for the best Ph.D. thesis in the field of terrorism studies in 2014. The author is Research Associate of political studies and governance at the University of the Free State, South Africa.

Nick Ridley, *Terrorism in East and West Africa: The Under-Focused Dimension* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2014), 240 pp., US \$ 108.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-78347-051-8.

This is an extensively researched and detailed account of the multi-dimensional nature of the terrorist threats facing the countries of East and West Africa. The author uses a chronological approach to discuss how Usama bin Laden and his al Qaida grouping had established their presence in Sudan in the 1980s and 1990s and how their terrorist activities, including the twin attacks in August 1998 in Kenya and in Tanzania, led to the post 9/11 response by the international community against such terrorism, with a focus on how this expressed itself in Africa. The discussion then moves to an overview of the terrorist threats within individual countries—Cameron, Chad, Kenya, Niger, Nigeria, and Somalia—and then, in the second decade after 9/11, focuses on the series of “cataclysmic events” by al Qaida in the Maghreb (AQIM) in Mali. The involvement of local terrorist groups in maritime piracy off the coasts of East and West Africa is also discussed. In the conclusion, the author makes the important point that within the two prongs of the crises of nationhood and statehood facing these African countries, terrorist groups have either “been formed as territorial liberationist groups, or outside Islamic extremist groups taking sanctuary in the ongoing confusion and exploiting the ethnic and religious divide.” (p. 214) Exacerbating these problems, the author concludes, is the international community’s “under-focused” anti-terrorist response to such threats. (p. 220) The author is Senior Lecturer in Policing and Security at London Metropolitan University, United Kingdom.

Paul D. Williams, *War & Conflict in Africa* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2016), 400 pp., US \$ 84.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 26.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5095-0905-8.



This book, which also serves as a university textbook and primer, examines the factors responsible for the African continent's numerous armed conflicts, including those that are terrorism-related, after the Cold War, as well as the attempts by the international community to resolve them through various means. To examine these issues, the book is divided into three parts: Part I, "Contexts", provides an overview of the statistical and political background of the continent's armed conflicts, based on several data sources, such as the Political Instability Task Force, Monty Marshall's database, and the Uppsala Conflict Data Programme. Part II, titled "Ingredients", examines the period since 1990 to understand the interplay between five issues affecting Africa's armed conflicts (governance, resources, sovereignty, ethnicity, and religion). Part III, "Responses," discusses the major international efforts to resolve Africa's wars, such as peace operations, humanitarian relief and development assistance. The concluding chapter presents the findings from the second and third parts, including how they might be used to design more effective responses to such armed conflicts within the African context. Such responses, the author cautions, must cope with the continent's neopatrimonial regimes (i.e., patronage politics). But as he concludes, "Taken together, the preceding insights add up to a hugely daunting agenda that will require considerable time, money and, most of all, political effort. Nevertheless, as one Africa proverb has it: peace may be costly but it is worth the expense." (p. 278) The author is Associate Professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University, in Washington, DC.

### ***Terrorism – Northern Ireland***

Gordon Clubb, *Social Movement De-Radicalisation and the Decline of Terrorism: The Morphogenesis of the Irish Republican Movement* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 190 pp., US \$ 155.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-138-93394-1.

This conceptually innovative book draws on social movement theories to explain how terrorist movements decline by using the case of Irish Republicanism to demonstrate the validity of this approach. As the author explains, "The central contention of this book is that a refined conceptualization of the de-radicalisation process can explain declines in terrorism by movements. The focus of the book is primarily on how a behavior – namely, terrorism and political violence – changes, which is referred to as *disengagement*. Disengagement can be motivated by a change in priorities in response to changing circumstances, but this change in behaviour can be accompanied by the maintenance of attitudes that drove involvement." (p. 5) The author adds: "*De-radicalisation*, on the other hand, refers to the motivations, ideology and attitudes to armed violence changing genuinely, meaning the individual or group no longer wish to engage in armed violence. The central assumption behind the concept of de-radicalisation is that it can provide a more durable and stable form of disengagement if the drivers of violence are changed or removed." (p. 5) The account then shifts to explaining how these processes of disengagement and de-radicalization played out in Irish Republicanism, with an added factor of a process of morphogenesis – structural change – facilitating a substantial decrease in Republican terrorist violence. The author is Lecturer in International Security at the University of Leeds, UK.

John F. Morrison, *The Origins and Rise of Dissident Irish Republicanism: The Role and Impact of Organizational Splits* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2013), 224 pp., US \$ 108.00 [Hardcover], US \$35.96 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5013-0923-6.

This is a conceptually interesting account of ideological and organizational splits within the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) over the years that actually enabled the PIRA's leadership, as the author notes, to bring "the majority of their movement away from sustained paramilitary activity." (p. 3) To assess this transformative development, the author examines four main splits within the PIRA, which occurred in 1969/70, 1974, 1986, and 1997, by examining why and how each of the splits took place, and what were the effects of the splits. (p. 6) He finds that—with the latest manifestation of violent dissident Republicanism still

posing a relatively minor and largely manageable threat, primarily characterized by criminal activities—it remains the responsibility of the mainstream Sinn Fein leadership to carry on with its political work. As the author writes, “It is this kind of brave move that must be sustained to maintain peace across Northern Ireland.” (p. 201) The author is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of East London, UK.

Jonathan Tonge, *Northern Ireland* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2008), 272 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 28.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-3141-7.

Although written some ten years ago, this account of how the rationale for violence on the Irish Republican and Ulster/British Loyalist sides shaped Northern Ireland’s party politics at the time is still relevant for understanding the Province’s current events, particularly, as the author presciently noted, “whether the causes of conflict and the paramilitary actors have finally been removed.” (p. 9) To examine these issues, the chapters’ concepts that explain the causes of conflict, such as ethno-national explanations and solutions, colonial explanations, structural explanations, and solutions to such sources of conflict such as con-sociational power-sharing; the Irish Republican Army’s (IRA) objectives and methods; the different measures used by the British government to counter the IRA; Sinn Fein, IRA’s political front; the loyalist’s sectarian violence; and an assessment of the attempts to resolve the conflict, such as the Good Friday Agreement (GFA). In the concluding chapter, the author writes that “many problems remain regarding the government and economy of Northern Ireland, a legacy of the rejection of the state by the minority community, misrule by its majority, emergency-oriented direct rule and unsatisfactory executive power sharing.” (p. 212) He concludes that “Until a settlement embeds, Northern Ireland, although largely peaceful, remains a failed political entity.” (p. 214) The author is Professor of Politics at the University of Liverpool, UK.

### ***Terrorism - Asia***

Om Prakash Dwivedi ( Ed.), *The Other India: Narratives of Terror, Communalism and Violence* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 190 pp., UK £ 39.99 English pounds [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4438-4127-6.

With pre- and post-independence Indian society plagued by inter-communal and terrorist violence, the contributors to this volume attempt to examine the vexing issues that make societal solidarity so difficult to achieve in order “to offer a cogent alternative for creating a strong solidarity among different communities in India.” (p. 8) As the volume’s editor explains, these underlying issues involve “Why should Muslims, or say any other community, be looked upon as a threat to the Indian society? How can this be possible that any particular community be viewed as dangerous, threatening, diabolical or uncivilized, or, why is it that the claims that the Other makes always needs to be looked upon as illegal or immoral?” (p. 8) What makes this volume especially interesting is the editor’s highlighting of the notion advanced by Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first Prime Minister (who was largely responsible for ushering independent statehood), of the need to create a secular and modern Indian nation that would be devoid of any communitarian differences, and how “this idea of a secular nation collapsed like a heap of cards because what Indians achieved was only a *reel* of that *real* Nehruvian dream.” (p. 4) It is against this historical background that the volume’s contributors discuss topics such as narratives by survivors of the anti-Sikh pogrom in 1984; Mahatma Gandhi’s concept of violence; an Indian feminist’s critique of “patriarchal discourses of honour and cultural purity within a broader framework of nationalism and communal violence”; the “rise of the spectre of terrorism in Bollywood movies”; “literary representatives of gendered violence”; communal and sectarian violence in Kashmir; and how the issue of ethnic solidarity is discussed in Salman Rushdie’s novel *Midnight’s Children*. (pp. 8-12) The volume’s editor is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Taiz, Yemen.

Prem Mahadevan, *The Politics of Counterterrorism in India: Strategic Intelligence and National Security in South Asia* (New York, NY: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 320 pp., US \$ 110.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-84885-775-9.

This is a comprehensive and detailed assessment of the role of intelligence agencies in supporting the Indian government's counterterrorism campaigns from the 1980s until the current period. Specifically, as the author explains, "This book investigates whether Indian counterterrorist failures are failures of intelligence, or failures to act on intelligence. It concludes that they are the latter. Specifically, they are failures to act on long-term warnings or *strategic* intelligence. Such inaction stems from four factors, two of which are political and two operational. The factors are: a lack of political consistency and consensus, and a lack of operational capacity and coordination. Between them, these constraints ensure that decision-makers in the Indian political and security establishments fail to act on initial warnings provided by intelligence agencies." (p. 2) Following a useful literature review on the role of intelligence in counterterrorism, as well as an historical overview of the establishment of intelligence agencies in India, this conceptual framework then is applied to case studies such as the separatist movements in Punjab and Jammu Kashmir, the pan-Islamist threats to India, and the November 2008 attacks in Mumbai by the Pakistani-sponsored Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). In the concluding chapter, the author recommends the "adoption of an offensive counterterrorist policy [that] would require massively upgrading Indian intelligence capabilities and orienting them for offensive use." (p. 205) He adds: "For this to happen however, it has to cease relying on defensive counterterrorist policies and shift to a posture of active defence." (p. 205) The Appendices include useful tables listing yearly fatalities in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, and a table on major attacks by Pan-Islamist jihadists in India from 2002 to 2008. The author is a Senior Researcher at the Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich, Switzerland.

Rohan Gunaratna and Stefanie Kam (Eds.), *Handbook of Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific* (London, England, UK/ Hackensack, NJ: Imperial College Press, 2016), 680 pp., US \$ 168.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-78326-995-2.

This is a well-organized, comprehensive and detailed handbook on the terrorist threats facing the Asian-Pacific countries and their governments' counterterrorism response measures. Following Rohan Gunaratna's introductory overview, the 28 countries of what are considered part of the Asia-Pacific are covered, including the five countries of Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan). With the country overviews written by leading regional experts, each chapter begins with a background to the conflict(s), a description of the terrorist groups active, the terrorist leaders, governmental counter-terrorism response measures (including counter radicalization and rehabilitation programs, where present), and ends with a conclusion. The concluding chapter, by Stefanie Kam, presents the volume's findings, such as the insight that "In Southeast Asia, Malaysia and Indonesia appear to be the most significantly affected by the threat from the Islamic State," (p. 637) that a number of countries in South Asia covered in the book such as "Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, Maldives, Nepal, and Bhutan, are recovering from the scars of past insurgencies to various degrees or are still dealing with remnants of these insurgent groups," (p. 640) and that regional cooperation in countering terrorism by these countries are hampered by "the lack of coordination and synchronization among sovereign states due to mistrust between them." (p. 641) Gunaratna is Professor of Security Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) and Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), at Nanyang Technology University, Singapore. Stefanie Kam is an Associate Research Fellow with the ICPVTR.

### **Counterterrorism – International Law**

Shadi Adnan Alshdaifat, *International Law and the Use of Force Against Terrorism* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 370 pp., UK £ 74.99 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4438-3917-4.

This is an encyclopedia-like comprehensive account of international law and the use of force against terrorism as it is expressed through international laws, United Nations resolutions, and academic writings on

these topics. Following an introductory overview, the book's six chapters discuss topics such as the historical background of terrorism, how terrorism is defined, terrorist tactics, international and state terrorism, the roles of international and regional organizations' in countering terrorism, legal justifications for the use of force against terrorism, and a comparative analysis of the causes of terrorism and recommendations for resolving terrorism. The author concludes that "In writing and thinking about terrorism, inexorably, I want to convey that the road to fighting against terrorism is long and treacherous, but the end is known in advance. In the end, terrorists are defending a lost cause. The defeat of terrorists is inevitable, and there will eventually be the triumph for democracy that we anticipate." (p. 326) The author is Assistant Professor in the College of Law at the University of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates.

Federico Fabbrini and Vicki C. Jackson (Eds.), *Constitutionalism Across Borders in the Struggle Against Terrorism* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2016), 368 pp., US \$ 135.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-78471-538-0.

The contributors to this volume examine how constitutional rules and principles in the field of counter-terrorism move across country borders in the campaign against terrorism. Specifically, as explained by the volume's editors, "the book underlines how constitutional-like norms consolidate at the level of international and supranational organizations as a limit to the exercise of public power in the field of counter-terrorism policy, especially in the effort to block terrorism financing; in this regard, the book emphasizes what many in the EU would call the vertical emergence of constitutionalism beyond the state." (p. 1) Also examined is "how the application of constitutional rights, including due process and free speech, extends extra-territorially, to state anti-terrorism action overseas," (p. 1) and "how transnational cooperation between states in areas such as intelligence gathering and data sharing calls for updating domestic constitutional law rules or for adopting new international law compacts that would entrench rights across borders." (p. 2) Finally, as the editors write, "these threads are interwoven in an interplay between constitutional law, international law, criminal law and the law of war, creating complex webs of norms and regulations that apply in the struggle against terrorism conducted across borders that appear increasingly more porous." (p. 2) This framework is examined in the volume's 14 chapters, which are divided into four parts: "International Constitutionalism and Anti-Terrorism Finance Measures," "Counter-Terrorism and Constitutional Migrations," "Extraterritoriality, Detention, and Free Speech," and "International Criminal Law, International Law, and Terrorism." This volume is the product of papers that were presented at a Conference of the Research Group on 'Constitutional Responses to Terrorism' of the International Association of Constitutional Law, held at Harvard Law School in March 2014. Federico Fabbrini is an Associate Professor of European & International Law at iCourts (Center of Excellence for International Courts), Faculty of Law, University of Copenhagen, and Vicki C. Jackson is the Thurgood Marshall Professor of Constitutional Law at Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA.

Ben Saul (Ed.), *Research Handbook on International Law and Terrorism* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2014), 832 pp., US \$ 292.50 [Hardcover], US \$ 55.96 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-85793-881-7.

The contributors to this handbook comprehensively examine how international law has responded to the phenomenon of terrorism in terms of regulating terrorism as a criminal activity and managing how counter-terrorism is to be conducted in a legal regime. As explained by the handbook's editor, "the problem of terrorism engages a very broad spectrum of specialized branches of law: transnational and international criminal law; the law on the use of force; state responsibility; international humanitarian law; human rights law; refugee law; international financial law; the law on development and humanitarian assistance; and the law of the United Nations and international organisations." (p. x) To examine these issues, the handbook's 43 chapters are divided into five parts: normative frameworks (e.g., defining terrorism in international law, how international law defines aviation, maritime, and nuclear, chemical and biological terrorism, including the financing of terrorism); terrorism and conflict (e.g., international law on terrorists' use of force); terrorism and human rights (e.g., extraordinary rendition, counter-terrorism and international law, torture

and counter-terrorism, terrorism prosecutions, and victims' redress amid terrorism's changing tactics and strategies); terrorism and the United Nations system (e.g., the role of the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force and the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Centre), and terrorism and regional organizations (e.g., the legal responses to terrorism by the European Union and Council of Europe, the Organizations of American States, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, counter-terrorism and Pan-Africanism, and regional responses to terrorism in Asia and the Pacific). The handbook's editor is Professor of International Law at the University of Sydney, Australia.

### **Counterterrorism - General**

Robert Morgan Byrne-Diakun (Ed.), *What the New Administration Needs to Know About Terrorism & Counterterrorism* (Washington, DC: Georgetown Security Studies Review, February 2017), 118 pp., no price [Paperback], ISSN: 2474-8552.

This volume is the product of the proceedings from the January 26-27, 2017, conference hosted by the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, and the Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. As explained by Bruce Hoffman, in his introductory overview, at the conference sixteen panelists and two keynote speakers discussed the variegated dimensions of the issues of terrorism and counterterrorism that the new Trump Administration has to address in formulating its national security policies. Fourteen of these presentations were included in this volume. As an organizing principle, each article focuses on the problem at hand and the author's policy recommendations. Readers will find all the articles interesting. These include Bruce Hoffman's article on "The Evolving Terrorist Threat and Counterterrorism Options for the Trump Administration" in which he discusses five key potentialities arising from current threats, such as the resilience of ISIS's external operations arm, the enduring threat posed by the tens of thousands of foreign fighters who have joined ISIS and al Qaida's fighting forces, the prospect of al Qaida "absorbing – whether amenably or forcibly – ISIS's surviving cadre" (p. 6), the possibility of terrorist deployment of WMD, and what the new administration should do about these developments. Also noteworthy is David Veness's article on "Global Trends in Terrorism", in which he highlights seven layers of threats: core groups, external structures, affiliates, local groups, inspired/provoked incidents, foreign terrorist fighters (FTF), and insiders. (p. 23) Paul Pillar's article, "Terrorism and Current Challenges for Intelligence," makes the important point that "bulk collection and analysis of data, especially telecommunications data ... is exactly the kind of intelligence material that is most useful when the main task is not to monitor a known threat such as a named organized group or quasi-state but instead to identify one emergent threat out of a vast amount of innocence. This is the task of finding those who are not part of any larger organization but who establish themselves as terrorists only when they conduct their first, and perhaps only, attack. The intelligence task is a job akin not only to finding a needle in a haystack, but of trying to determine which pieces of hay in the stack will turn into needles." (p. 109) It is such insights by veteran counterterrorism experts that will also benefit the larger terrorism and counterterrorism studies community.

David Connery, David Cran and David Evered, *Conducting Counterinsurgency: Reconstruction Task Force 4 in Afghanistan* [Australian Military History Series – 2] (Newport, NSW, Australia: Army History Unit/Big Sky Publishing Pty Ltd., 2012), 160 pp., US \$ 19.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-9219-4177-1.

This volume utilizes oral history-type interviews with Australian Special Forces officers who had served in Afghanistan to analyze the principles of effective counterinsurgency operations. Specifically, it uses the experience of 18 members of the Australian Reconstruction Task Force 4 (RTF4) which deployed to Afghanistan from April to October 2008 as the basis for its examination of these principles. With counterinsurgency defined in general as political, social, civic, economic, psychological, paramilitary and military operations employed in an integrated manner to defeat an insurgency, the Australian approach, as

discussed in this volume, encompasses the ten principles of political primacy and legitimacy, host nation primacy (and strengthening its security forces), reinforcing the rule of law (and host nation legitimacy), support and good governance (including a safe and secure environment), a comprehensive approach, a dominant narrative (that also serves to discredit the insurgent's narrative), effective intelligence (especially in understanding the insurgent adversary), adaptation (including flexibility in seizing new initiatives), physical and moral isolation of the insurgents, and presence in the local environment—each of which “reinforces the rule of law and supports the dominant narrative.” (pp. 6-7) This volume includes numerous photos of the Australian Special Forces and equipment in Afghanistan, maps, and order of battle diagrams that illustrate the text. The authors are senior oral historians with the Australian Army History Unit.

Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree, *Countering Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2017), 272 pp., US \$ 32.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-8157-2764-4.

This is an important academic and public policy analysis of the role of the “conceptual and empirical requirements of defining, classifying, explaining, and responding to terrorist attacks” in “crafting effective counterterrorism policy.” (p. 1) This is done by examining the magnitude of current terrorism threats and the state of academic research in analyzing them; the issue of responding to terrorist incidents, which in the United States are rare events, and, therefore, difficult to predict their frequency rate; placing failed and foiled terrorist plots within the overall context of the wider terrorist threat; explaining the nature of terrorist organizations; the dilemmas involved in attributing responsibility for attacks to specific terrorist perpetrators; and formulating metrics to measure the effectiveness of counterterrorism campaigns.

There is much to commend in this excellent study. Chapter 3, “The tip of the Iceberg: Accounting for Failed and Foiled Terrorist Plots,” for example, provides a valuable breakdown of terrorists’ plot development as communication of intent, attempt to acquire capability, practice or training, elaboration of actual plan, and final physical implementation – all of which are useful, as the authors explain, for determining “at what stage the plot was foiled or failed, if it was.” (p. 79) In another example, Chapter 6, “Counterterrorism Results: Can Effectiveness Be Evaluated,” provides a comprehensive discussion of the goals and objectives of counterterrorism, which is buttressed by an overview of leading academic formulations of the metrics of effectiveness. This chapter, however, could have been improved by a table or diagram that synthesized these leading conceptual approaches, which would have benefited the public policy community who require tool kits to use in their own work to assess the effectiveness of their counterterrorism programs. In the final chapter, “Moving Forward,” the authors present findings from their earlier chapters, including an insight from the discipline of criminology that also applies to the environment of terrorism: namely, “all crime requires just three elements: motivated offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians.” (p. 218) This book is recommended as a primary or secondary textbook for university courses on terrorism and counterterrorism. Crenshaw, a leading academic expert on terrorism, is a Fellow at several institutes at Stanford University, and LaFree is professor criminology and criminal justice and director of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland.

R. Brad Deardorff, *The Roots of Our Children's War: Identity and the War on Terrorism* (Williams, CA: Agile Press/An Imprint of Agile Research and Technology, Inc., 2013), 280 pp., US \$ 34.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-9830-7450-2.

This is an interesting account of the components required to implement an effective domestic counterterrorism (CT) campaign. While primarily focusing on the United States, the author also discusses the approaches of the United Kingdom and The Netherlands to provide lessons learned in effective response measures, with the common adversary in all three cases Salafi-jihadist terrorism. As the author explains, the lessons learned from countering Salafi-jihadist terrorism are intended to serve more broadly to inform strategies for combating other forms of unconventional threats; for instance, right- or left-wing terrorists, ethno-nationalist groups, separatists and single-issue terrorists.” (p. xv) The first requirement for effective

counterterrorism is to understand the terrorist adversary. To accomplish this objective, the author utilizes a Social Identity Theory (SIT) approach to counterterrorism, which “demands purposeful contact between in-groups and out-groups, as well as an effort to develop new interactions that might attract members of the terrorist recruiting pool to membership into expanded, more inclusive groups.” (p. 25) The SIT approach, the author notes, “has the potential to attract those undergoing the radicalization process away from terrorism.” (p. 25) Following a valuable discussion that assesses the effectiveness of the counterterrorism approaches of the United Kingdom and The Netherlands, the discussion shifts to an analysis of counterterrorism in the United States, with all three cases accompanied by useful diagrams that illustrate their approaches. The next chapter, “Practical Applications: the Marriage of Lessons Learned and Social Identity Theory,” presents the author’s synthesized findings on how to recognize the magnitude of the domestic threat and appropriately align government agencies in a holistic way at the national and local levels in order to counter and prevent violent extremism in a coordinated manner, including the capability to identify and reach out via so-called Regional Outreach Coordination Centers (ROC) to suitable leaders in the communities that feel aggrieved. This integrated approach is accompanied by a valuable diagram that outlines the components of counter-radicalization as four-fold: *eliminate* root causes, *increase* trust in government, *create* safe space for debate, and *reduce* grievances, etc. (p. 212) This book is recommended as a supplemental text for courses on terrorism and counterterrorism. The author is a veteran officer in U.S. federal law enforcement and a graduate of the Naval Postgraduate School’s Center for Homeland Defense and Security.

Colin S. Gray, *The Future of Strategy* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2015), 188 pp., US \$ 64.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 14.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-8794-0.

An effective counterterrorism campaign utilizes elements of strategy, operations, and tactics to achieve its objectives. As explained by the author, a prominent academic expert on strategy, “The core challenge of strategy is the attempt to control action so that it has the political effect desired. Indeed, strategy is all about the consequences of action that is tactical behaviour.” (p. 1) With military strategy of particular relevance to counterterrorism, the author defines it as “the direction and use made of force and the threat of force for the purposes of policy as decided by politics.” (p. 21) The author also formulates a valuable general theory of strategy that is based on 23 elements, which are divided into four parts: “nature and character of strategy,” “making strategy,” “executive strategy,” and “consequences of strategy.” (pp. 47-48) Throughout these, the three elements of strategy, operations, and tactics are interlinked, the author points out, so that in the case of a military – and counterterrorism – campaign “when strategy and operational artistry are absent or confused, the tactical consequences for troops can be appalling.” (pp. 39-40) With regard to the future of strategic conceptualization, the author observes that “A major challenge to statecraft and strategy is the difficulty of proposing for an ever-changing today, with no idea of its shelf-life.” (p. 116) The book also includes a valuable listing of books on strategy for further reading. The author is Professor Emeritus of Strategic Studies at the University of Reading, UK.

Metin Gurcan, *What Went Wrong in Afghanistan? Understanding Counter-Insurgency Efforts in Tribalized Rural and Muslim Environments* (Solihull, West Midlands, England: Helion & Company Limited, 2016), 132 pp., US \$ 35.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-911096-00-9.

This is a well-informed critique by a former Turkish Special Forces officer, with operational experience in Afghanistan, of the Western-led coalition’s counter-insurgency (COIN) campaign in Afghanistan. The author contends that “in hybrid settings like Afghanistan, modern security actors of the world need new designs, preferably asymmetric ones, which zoom closer into the nature of an unfamiliar conflict in order to conceive of a framework for problem solving.” (p. xiii) As he explains, the “dilemma of strategic inputs and tactical outcomes” needs to be addressed in what he terms Afghanistan’s Tribalized Rural Muslim Environments (TRMEs), because traditional COIN strategies “excessively emphasize ‘what to do’ in strategic and operational level planning,” while he recommends that “‘how to do’ in tactical level planning is more

important to determine the end state of COIN in any TRME.” (p. xvii) Thus, as opposed to the conventional COIN’s doctrine that the “destruction of the enemy” would represent “a clear victory in TRMEs,” he argues that “the support of the populace should be the center of gravity.” (p. xix) This conceptual framework is then applied to explain the nature of TRMEs within Afghanistan’s tribalized, rural and Muslim environment and the conditions of the turmoil in the TRMEs that need to be addressed by COIN forces vis-à-vis their insurgent adversaries at the tactical level. The author is a security analyst and research fellow at the Istanbul Policy Center (IPC), Sabancı University, Turkey.

John Kaag and Sarah Kreps, *Drone Warfare* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2014), 200 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 19.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-8099-6.

This is an account, as explained by the authors, of how “the speed of technological development” in the deployment of weaponized drones in American warfare, particularly in the war against terrorists overseas, “has far outpaced our understanding of how that technology interacts with politics, international law, and ethics.” (p. 3) While the authors accept “the tactical effectiveness of drones,” they contend “that there are practical as well as normative reasons to question extant drone policy.” (p. 3) These issues are discussed in the book’s chapters on how drones are used in warfare, and the relationships between drones and democracy, international law, and ethics. The concluding chapter, the authors write that “Our reliance on precision weaponry risks becoming a stand-in for hard moral or legal decisions. Combatant status [such as the status of the targeted terrorists-JS] cannot be determined by an algorithm, and we should not be lulled into believing that technical precision can extricate us from complicated questions. Instead, we should recognize the unshakably human character of war and identify new ethical and legal resources to regulate armed conflict.” (p. 157) John Kaag is Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of Massachusetts Lowell, and Sarah Kreps is Assistant Professor in the Department of Government at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.

David Lyon, *Surveillance After Snowden* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2015), 120 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 12.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-9085-8.

In this well-written book the author discusses the magnitude, reach and impact of the national security surveillance state, based on the estimated 58,000 secret NSA documents that Edward Snowden had illicitly disseminated to journalists in 2013. Of particular interest to counterterrorism studies is his account of the transformation of the U.S. government’s surveillance programs from their earlier period in which they “relied extensively on past records to build a picture of the suspicious person or the susceptible purchaser. Steadily, as real-time records of the present have proliferated, it has become increasingly possible to know what is going on *at the time*. And while, since at least the 1990s, risk management techniques had increasingly turned towards attempts to predict and pre-empt future developments, the anticipatory approach was ratcheted up some further notches as early forms of data analytics were brought into play.” (p. 84) In the latest development, such big data analytics now attempt to *anticipate* our actions. “Such systems attempt to create new knowledge using the statistical power of large numbers to help grasp the fragmented details of individual lives.” (p. 85) The problem, the author argues, is that while such big data analytics may be able to predict epidemiological trends such as the imminent outbreak of diseases, in the case of terrorism, “there is no regular presentation of accurate, identifiable and actionable intelligence... [because] it is nearly impossible to distinguish between a violent and non-violent activist, and with so few facts, correcting for false positives and negatives is both rickety and risky.” (pp. 85-86) Since the author provides no examples of such ‘false positives’ – or, for that matter, any examples of successful ‘connecting-the-dots’ through the use of big data analytics that apprehended terrorist operatives prior to the intended attacks (of which there are likely numerous cases), and, equally importantly, following their attacks, as was the case with Faisal Shahzad, the May 2010 Times Square bomber, his argument appears more polemical than one that is based on empirical evidence. Moreover, his description of what he refers to as ‘governmental surveillance overreach’, but without explaining the nature of the adversaries that such programs attempt to surveil prior to their attacks. As he



also fails to mention that within such governmental agencies civil liberties attorneys must authorize such activities prior to their initiation, he gives the impression of an Orwellian 1984 state, which is not the case. The author directs the Surveillance Studies Centre at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

Carol Mansfield and V. Kerry Smith (Eds.), *Benefit-Cost Analyses for Security Policies: Does Increased Safety Have to Reduce Efficiency?* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2015), 288 pp., US \$ 117.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-78471-107-8.

In this important volume in homeland security studies, the contributors, who are economists, discuss methodologies to assess the effectiveness of various policies designed to protect a country's infrastructure and population against terrorist threats (with other non-terrorism threats to the infrastructure, such as those impacting the Environmental Protection Agency [EPA], also being discussed). As the editors explain, in such an assessment of effectiveness "an important dimension of the evaluation must begin with a clear definition of what these policies are intended to provide and how they will accomplish these objectives. This specification is important because the means used to enhance security may well diminish other 'rights.'" (p. ix) These issues are discussed in the volume's five parts. Part I, "Introduction and Objectives," presents an overview of challenges in evaluating homeland security policies and the components of designing a benefit-cost architecture for homeland security policy analysis. Part II, "Security Policies and Reducing Risks," discusses issues such as lessons from risk assessment, economics, and risk management at EPA; dealing with safety in UK public sector appraisal; and a comparison of key benefit estimation issues for natural hazards and terrorism. Part III, "Adaptation and Economy-Wide Effects," discusses issues such as contrasting terrorism and natural disaster risk in an urban setting, and estimating the macroeconomic consequence of terrorist attacks. Part IV, "Practical Implementation of Policy Evaluation," analyzes issues such as applying the methodology of benefit transfers for evaluating homeland security counterterrorism measures, which is explained as "Benefit estimates can be transferred through time or space; the key feature is that study-site values are used to estimate a value for a policy that is different from the original policy objective." (p. 227) The concluding chapter, by the co-editors, "What We Know and What We Need to Learn," recommends "small" and "large" steps for the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to improve the analysis of homeland security policy. These include establishing an Economic Analysis Advisory Committee of outside experts to consult on benefit-cost analysis, as well as for DHS to build an 'analysis platform' to provide "an organized set of practices for DHS risk assessments and benefit-cost analyses." (p. 263) This volume is the product of a workshop held in 2010 under the auspices of the DHS-funded CREATE (National Center for Risk and Economic Analysis of Terrorism Events) at the University of Southern California. Carol Mansfield is Senior Economist at RTI International and V. Kerry Smith is Emeritus Professor at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

Anthony Tucker-Jones, *The Afghan War: Operation Enduring Freedom, 2001-2014* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire, England, Pen & Sword, 2014), 128 pp., US \$ 24.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-78303-020-0.

This volume is part of the publisher's "Modern Warfare" series, which are designed to provide a visual account of defining military conflicts. Following an introductory overview about Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), the chapters discuss how the war was declared, the air war, how Kabul was captured, the battle for Tora Bora, how NATO took charge of the campaign, the fight against the Taliban, countering the Taliban's IED bombing operations, the nature of the coalition force's soldiers' tours of duty, the types of military vehicles that were used in the operations, and the transition of the coalition's leadership from NATO to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) – although supported by largely United States-led coalition forces. In the Epilogue, the author concludes that "While Operation Enduring Freedom did not get Afghanistan completely back on its feet, it certainly made progress in many areas." (p. 127) With more than 140 color photos illustrating the text, this volume is recommended as a concise visual documentary of OEF. The author is a prolific British writer on military affairs, armored warfare and terrorism.

Tali K. Walters, Rachel Monaghan, and J. Martin Ramirez (Eds.), *Radicalization, Terrorism, and Conflict* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 335 pp., UK £ 49.99 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4438-4617-2.

The contributors to this volume apply multidisciplinary approaches to examine the processes involved in producing terrorism and the way it manifests itself. The book is divided into three parts. The first examines the causes of terrorism. In the chapter on the causes of the Arab Spring, the author, Saideh Lotfian, of the University of Tehran, places the blame on societal inequalities, repressive governments, and the policies of the “great powers” that promote “national security concerns, and not by the broad criterion of democracy promotion in the region.” (p. 22) Other chapters examine the causes of the politicization of European converts to Islam; the radicalization of Anders Breivik and the threat of right-wing terrorism; and the impact of the Internet’s cyberspace in providing terrorist groups sanctuary to operate, just like the freedom to maneuver provided to them by failed states, also focusing on how jihadi groups use the Internet to disseminate their propaganda. The second part’s chapters focus on how Spanish criminal law prosecutes terrorism and organized crime and the need to professionalize and internationalize its investigations, especially through the use of computer technology, to produce more effective investigations; the United Kingdom’s counterterrorism campaigns against terrorist threats emanating from Northern Ireland, the international (e.g., al Qaida) and domestic (e.g., right-wing) arenas; the components that constitute effective intelligence in counter-terrorism (such as effective communication from sources on the ground to national agencies and foreign partners) and how it is applied to the case study of Pakistan; and a software-based decision support system approach for analyzing and avoiding intelligence failure. The third part discusses the implications of the symbolic importance of group property in causing intergroup conflict and terrorism; the impact of cyber terrorism in causing fear and anxiety; and the role of revenge seeking and forgiveness in conflict resolution. Tali Walters is a forensic psychologist in Boston, Massachusetts, Rachel Monaghan is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Ulster, and J. Martin Ramirez is a Professor at Universidad Complutense Madrid.

### **Counterterrorism – Conflict Resolution**

Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* [Fourth Edition] (Malden, MA: Polity, 2016), 480 pp., US \$ 99.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 39.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-8722-3.

This important and comprehensive textbook on conflict resolution is also an ideal complement for terrorism and counterterrorism studies, as it focuses on the conflict resolution component in counterterrorism, which is essential for long-term resolution of terrorist conflicts when a terrorist adversary demonstrates a willingness to engage in the give-and-take of a negotiation process. The textbook, which is in its fourth edition (the first edition was published in 1999), is divided into two parts: Part I, “Contemporary Conflict Resolution”, by which the authors mean a traditional approaches to conflict resolution involving peacemaking, peacekeeping, postwar reconstruction, peacebuilding and reconciliation; and Part II, “Cosmopolitan Conflict Resolution,” which draws on the new complex challenges in current inter-state and sub-state conflicts that require new tools such as “adequate hybrid local-global responses to tackle the new reality – the hybrid mix of local, regional and global conflicts that we call ‘transnational conflict’”. (p. 5) Such tools, the authors add, need to be “truly intercultural and transnational,” with a “new emphasis on linking conflict resolution to the ‘clusters’ of other pools of expertise and enterprise...” (p. 5) This framework is applied to the textbook’s chapters, which include valuable conflict resolution models, such as a conflict tree, a model of conflict escalation and de-escalation, and the “hourglass model” that depicts a spectrum of conflict resolution and responses approaches. Of particular interest to counterterrorism is chapter eleven’s “Towards Cosmopolitan Conflict Resolution,” which includes a section on “Testing Conflict Resolution: Responding

to Terrorism.” It presents a valuable framework that is based on four components: prevention (reducing proneness to terrorism), persuasion (reducing motivation and support), denial (reducing vulnerability and defeating hardliners), and coordination (promoting international cooperation and legitimacy) [pp. 338 – 347]. The concluding chapter discusses future trends that need to be considered in conflict resolution, such as emergent conflicts based on factors linked to identity/secession, revolutionary/ideology, and economic/resource. Future drivers of conflict include geopolitical transition, the North-South economic divide, the crisis of the postcolonial state, gender oppression, weapons development, and the environment. With regard to the ‘next generation’ of conflict resolution, the authors point to the earlier generations of precursors (1925-1945), founders (1945-1965), consolidators (1965-1985), reconstructors (1985-2005), and the new generation of what they term “cosmopolitans” (2005–) – who are in the process of developing “new tools and approaches that reflect upcoming technological and other challenges and opportunities that were not evident or available to previous generations.” (p. 502) Oliver Ramsbotham is Emeritus Professor of Conflict Resolution at the University of Bradford; Tom Woodhouse is Emeritus Professor of Conflict Resolution at the University of Bradford, and Hugh Miall is Emeritus Professor of International Relations at the University of Kent.

Tom Woodhouse, Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham, and Christopher Mitchell (Eds.), *The Contemporary Conflict Resolution Reader* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2015), 408 pp., US \$ 99.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 34.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-8677-6.

This reader is intended to complement the content of *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* [reviewed above] by providing additional articles that discuss the theoretical and practical aspects of conflict resolution. As the editors explain, it “provides examples of conflict analysis frameworks and their application to cases, case studies of mediation and negotiation, exercises in the use of skills for mediators, texts of peace agreements, codes of conduct of conflict resolution organizations and examples of cyber-conflict resolution.” (p. 1) The reader’s 73 chapters are organized into six parts, with three types of chapters: reflective pieces (theory and conceptualization), guides to practice (the operational end of conflict resolution), and case studies. The six parts consist of Part I, “Foundations” (e.g., types of conflict, the management of protracted social conflict, and the mathematical psychology of war); Part II, “Conflict Theories and Analysis” (e.g., the dynamics of contention, ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war, and conflict analysis tools); Part III, “Praxis (1) Conflict Prevention and Nonviolence” (e.g., from escalation to conflict resolution, ethnic conflict and civic life in the case of Hindus and Muslims in India, and Mohandas Gandhi’s article on nonviolence in peace and war); Part IV, “Praxis (2) Mediation, Negotiation and Reconciliation” (e.g., understanding conflict resolution, the mediation dilemma, and a training manual in community mediation skills); Part V, “Praxis (3) Peacebuilding” (e.g., the U.S. and U.N. roles in nation-building, the theory and practice of transitional justice and reconciliation, and code of conflict for conflict transformation); and Part VI, “Challenges and Future Directions” (e.g., why violence has declined, climate change and armed conflict, and a cultural perspective on peace studies). With three of the editors’ affiliations listed in the preceding review, the fourth editor, Christopher Mitchell, is Professor Emeritus of Conflict Resolution at George Mason University.

I. William Zartman, *Preventing Deadly Conflict* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2015), 284 pp., US \$ 64.95 [Hardcover], US \$19.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-8692-9.

This book, by a prominent academic practitioner in the discipline of conflict resolution, examines the utility of the role of prevention in mitigating state and sub-state conflicts. As he explains, “violent escalating conflict is a symptom of a causal problem of some sort, and de-escalating the conflict disarms the forces who demand attention to their problem; disarmament (conflict management) carried with it the promise of settlement (conflict resolution). Efforts at prevention must be complemented by efforts at solution, or the prevention will not hold.” (p. 3) To examine these issues, following the introductory overview, the book’s chapters discuss the nature of prevention (e.g., the roles of prediction and early warning mechanisms and the need to act on such information, including examples of successes and failures); the types of actors and factors involved

in conflict escalation (e.g., states and sub-states as actors and territorial and ethnic conflicts that require short-, medium, and long-term mechanisms for prevention); the norms required for long-term prevention (e.g., respecting an adversary's territorial integrity, arranging for non-proliferation regimes for weapons of mass destruction, managing the issues of ethnic relations, human rights, territorial integrity, environmental protection, population displacement and democracy); the mechanisms of mid-term prevention (e.g., awareness, de-escalation, stalemate, ripening, and resolution); and methods of pre-crisis prevention (e.g., interrupting an escalation, separating the contending sides, and integration, by getting the adversarial parties to attempt to negotiate their differences); and measures to prevent a "post-crisis" outbreak (e.g., monitoring the implementation of an agreement and then managing the post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction activities). In the concluding chapter, the author calls for new imperatives, knowledge, mechanisms and agents to facilitate prevention for what he terms "this World in search of Order." (p. 202) The author is Professor Emeritus at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC.

### ***Textbooks and Social Science***

Benedetta Berti, *La Fine Del Terrorismo: Oltre L'Isis e Lo Stato Di Emergenza [The End of Terrorism: Beyond ISIS and the State of Emergency]* (Mondadori, 2017), 240 pp., € 18.50 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-88-04-67371-2.

This reviewer is not fluent in Italian, so this capsule review is based on the book's English-language description on the publisher's website (However, an English edition of the book is in the making). The proliferation of terrorist attacks by Islamist groups such as ISIS in the West has created a pervasive climate of insecurity and fear at being at the mercy of an "invisible and uncontrollable opponent." To understand the nature of this threat, the author examines the origins, agendas, and activities of the spectrum of jihadist groups, led by ISIS, which has developed 'business models to get rich'. Moreover, like the modern political parties they seek to emulate, they seek to obtain consent by those they govern. Like 'successful advertising agencies', they devise marketing campaigns to take advantage of their audiences, and like government agencies they ensure that waste is collected, and schools and health systems are established. In such a complex environment in which they operate, to counter them military measures are not the most effective tool to defeat terrorism because it is essential to 'dry up the sources that feed it' and to solve the root causes of such forms of rebellion and insurrection, whether in the Middle East or elsewhere. Also required is the removal of "inefficient and corrupt states, where the gap of social inequality is excessively broad and dissent is stifled by imprisonment and torture." It is only by understanding the individual pieces of this "explosive mosaic" and by "acting on them simultaneously", the author concludes, that terrorism will end and the "world [will be-JS] free from fear. The Italian author is a Fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Tel Aviv University, a Robert A. Fox Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI), in Philadelphia, PA, and a Non-Resident Fellow at the Modern War Institute at West Point, NY.

Andrew Booth, Anthea Sutton, and Diana Papaioannou, *Systematic Approaches to a Successful Literature Review [Second Edition]* (Los Angeles, CA: SAGE, 2016), 336 pp., US \$ 128.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-4739-1246-5.

This textbook presents a comprehensive approach, beginning with explaining how to adopt a systematic approach in one's literature review, choosing appropriate review methods, defining one's scope (e.g., the problem to be examined, the context for the questions to be answered), assessing the evidence base (whether published or "grey" literature – i.e., information, which is widely used in terrorism studies, that is "produced on all levels of government, academic, business and industry in electronic and print formats not controlled by commercial publishing") [p. 120], and synthesizing and analyzing quantitative and qualitative studies while minimizing the risk of bias and maximizing the reliability of the results, including deciding how to represent the data via graphical or other visualized approaches, identifying gaps in the literature. The concluding

chapter on writing, presenting and disseminating one's literature review is especially useful, as it highlights the importance of considering one's audience, such as policy makers who require reviews for decision support to provide answers or direction, or practitioners who might prefer summaries of information, or the research community, the media, or the public. (pp. 276-279) Also important is the creation of an audit trail that documents the steps taken in conducting the research so that the research is replicable for other researchers to utilize in advancing the state of knowledge on that topic. The textbook also includes an extensive glossary. Each chapter follows the same structure, with key features such as "In a Nutshell", "Toolbox", "Exercises and problem scenarios", "Frequently Asked Questions", "Key Learning Points", and "Further Reading". The authors are affiliated with the School of Health and Related Research (ScHARR), The University of Sheffield, UK.

Dietmar Braun and Martino Maggetti, *Comparative Politics: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges* ((Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2015), 208 pp., US \$ 99.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-78347-206-2.

Terrorism and counterterrorism studies are also a sub-discipline of comparative politics, so it's useful to learn about latest developments in the study of comparative politics to advance the state of the analysis on these issues. As discussed by the contributors to this volume, some of the theoretical and methodological challenges in comparative politics that also need to be addressed in terrorism and counterterrorism studies include understanding the increased interdependence of countries in this era of enhanced globalization (and how, for example, this affects the requirement for closer cooperation in governments' counterterrorism campaigns, since terrorist groups also take advantage of globalization); understanding how 'de-nationalization' and the emergence of other political units can also be used to analyze the way terrorist actors take advantage of the way that weak political authority and government structures function in the countries in which they operate (i.e., weak and fragile states); and how "the availability of an exponentially growing stock of empirical information that constantly needs new and more refined concepts and methods in order to deal with the data in adequate ways" (p. 2) also applies to the need to reformulate concepts and methods in terrorism and counterterrorism studies. The chapter by Olivier Giraud and Martino Maggetti, on "Methodological Pluralism," discusses advances in social network analysis (SNA), which is widely used in terrorism and counterterrorism studies. They commend an approach "which combines an encompassing topographic study of the patterns of collaboration with a fine-grained analysis of the mechanisms through which ideas are transferred within these channels." (p. 143) In the concluding chapter Martino Maggetti and Dietmar Braun note that for the state of knowledge to progress it is necessary "to relax the epistemological postulates underlying specific research traditions and endorse a reasonable degree of analytical eclecticism as a compromise between the ambition for a synthesis moving beyond existing approaches and the juxtaposition of competing paradigms." (p. 194) Both editors are associated with the Institute of Political, Historical and International Studies (IEPHI) at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, where Dietmar Braun is Professor of Political Science and Martino Maggetti is Associate Professor of Political Science.

Hein-Anton van der Heijden (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Citizenship and Social Movements* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2014), 712 pp., US \$ 261.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 52.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-78195-469-0.

Terrorism is the ultimate violent manifestation of political activism gone wrong. Political citizenship and social movements are the most constructive expressions of political activism that seeks to bring about major social change, although there is always a possibility for political activism, when it feels itself frustrated and aggrieved by an unresponsive government, to turn violent. Interestingly, concepts such as 'alienation' and 'relative deprivation', which form important elements in understanding some of the underlying causes of terrorism, were initially formed in social movement studies. These issues are examined in this important academic handbook, whose 25 chapters (following an introductory overview) discuss how political citizenship's activism turns into social movements that can range from mainstream to radical. The handbook

is divided into four parts. Part I, “Political Citizenship,” covers republican, multicultural, ecological, urban, European, and global forms of citizenship. Part II, “Social Movements,” covers topics such as resource mobilization and social and political movements, social movements and emotions, the transnationalization of social movements, and social movements and the revolution in information and communication technologies (ICT). Part III, “Contemporary Social Movements,” discusses environmental, women’s, human rights, urban, and animal rights social movements, including the American Tea Party. Part IV, “Social Movements and Political Citizenship in the Global South,” covers social movements in China, India, Africa, and the Arab world.

Among the book’s chapters, the chapter by Lyle Munro on animal rights social movements is of particular interest to the discipline of terrorism studies, as he writes that “groups such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) do use violence against alleged animal abusers and sometimes even terror.” (p. 530) He explains that these groups and others that are more peaceful pursue two broad political strategies: the politics of coercion (e.g., where property is destroyed) versus the politics of persuasion (e.g., where shocking imagery is used to persuade an audience to support one’s cause) [p. 531]. In terms of theory application, the author’s discussion of Piven’s and Cloward’s *Poor People’s Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (1977) is especially pertinent to terrorism studies, as they “use the concept of ‘cognitive liberation’” to describe a best case scenario, where the climate for change is favorable, of how people lose faith in a system, begin to speak up about their grievances, and, once they learn their protests are effective, they experience ‘cognitive liberation’ and a sense of collective identity. (p. 535) The handbook’s editor is Associate Professor in Political Science at the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

John Ishiyama, William J. Miller, and Eszter Simon (Eds.), *Handbook on Teaching and Learning in Political Science and International Relations* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2015), 496 pp., US \$ 216.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 44.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-78643-433-3.

Although this handbook’s focus is on teaching international relations within the overall discipline of political science, teachers of courses on terrorism and counterterrorism studies will also find it useful. In particular, David Malet’s chapter on “Teaching Controversial Topics” makes the important point that in teaching topics such as how to label terrorists in a terrorism class, professors “need to take care to avoid personalizing debates or raising potential offensive topics without elucidating a clear and justifiable pedagogical reason for doing so.” (p. 253) In another insight, he adds that the application of theories such as Marxism cease to be abstract when students are informed that “people are willing to kill for and to die for [such-JS] theories,” and that Samuel Huntington’s *Clash of Civilizations* was used by Usama bin Laden “as one of his justifications for al-Qaeda’s major terrorist attacks.” (pp. 252-253) In another insight, he adds that “it is unfortunately a necessary element of classroom management to be on guard for students who seem to be getting too wrapped up in conflict or are behaving in any way that is threatening to the instructor or other students.” (p. 253) In addition to Malet’s chapter, readers will also benefit from the chapters on curriculum and course design, teaching subject areas, and in-class teaching techniques. John Ishiyama is at the University of North Texas, William J. Miller is at Flagler College, St. Augustine, Florida, and Eszter Simon is at the University of Birmingham, UK.

Paul Jackson (Ed.), *Handbook of International Security and Development* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2015), 496 pp., US \$ 216.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 52.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-78471-519-9.

The contributors to this handbook examine the nature of the relationship between development and security, stabilization, demobilization of armed forces following conflict, and security sector reform (SSR) in conflict-affected societies. Their approach is exemplified by Mark Sedra’s chapter on “Transitioning from first to second generation security sector reform in conflict-affected societies,” in which he writes that the “September 11th terrorist attacks on the US engendered a shift in security thinking that has significant implications for the implementation of the SSR model. The elevation of terrorism to the head of the threat

matrices of most Western states has prompted them to view bilateral security sector assistance through a counter-terrorism lens. Broadly speaking, SSR came to be seen as an important security tool or weapon to secure the Western core against threats emanating from the global periphery.” (p. 170) This approach has led, the author argues, for the “exigencies of the ‘global war on terror’ rather than the goal of advancing the human security needs of local populations [to dictate-JS] the shape of many SSR programmes in the post-9/11 era.” (p. 171) One of the problems with this approach is that it ignores the full magnitude of the terrorist threats facing the societies in which terrorists operate, especially ones that are fragile (such as Somalia and Yemen), and blames their lack of development on external factors driven by “Western imperialism”, rather than their own internal problems for which they are largely responsible. Thus, the SSR model is viewed as an “idealized liberal” approach that seeks to impose security solutions on “difficult conditions in conflict-affected societies”(p. 178), when, in reality, without solving their security problems – for which they require external assistance – socio-economic development cannot take place – which is also a problem that is not adequately covered in the handbook’s other chapters. Despite these shortfalls that affect many of the handbook’s 27 chapters, several will be of interest to the terrorism/counterterrorism analytical community, such as the ones on stabilizing fragile states, corruption and post-conflict reconstruction, lessons from peace processes: the case of Nepal, and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of ex-Taliban combatants in Afghanistan. The handbook’s editor, a political economist, is Professor of African Politics at the University of Birmingham, UK, and Research Fellow in the Centre for African Studies at the University of the Free State, South Africa.

Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Eds.), *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism* [Wiley Handbooks in Criminology and Criminal Justice] (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 632 pp., US \$ 195.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-1189-2395-5.

With the study of terrorism situated within the domain of criminology (i.e., terrorism is a form of crime that violates a nation’s laws), this comprehensive handbook brings together leading academic experts in the fields of criminological theories, methods, and research to apply their disciplines to examine the causes of terrorism and the components of effective counterterrorism. The handbook 36 chapters are divided into seven parts. Part I, “Introduction,” presents the editors’ overview on applying the discipline of criminology to the study of terrorism. Part II, “Etiology,” discusses topics such as the causes of radicalization; psychological factors involved in radicalization into terrorism; pre-incident indicators involved in the terrorists planning cycle; and group-level and country-level predictors of terrorism. Part III, “Theories,” covers prominent social and behavioral sciences’ theories to explain the causes of terrorism, such as general strain theory, social learning theory, situational approaches to terrorism, and victimization theories. Part IV, “Research Methods,” discusses the application of various methodologies to examine terrorism, such as social network analysis (SNA), spacial, temporal and multilevel modeling; and using latent class growth (LCG) and interrupted time series (ITS) analyses to estimate terrorism trends. Part V, “Types of Terrorism,” covers the spectrum of terrorism types, such as far-right terrorism in the United States; left-wing terrorism (anarchists and radical environmental groups); assessing aircraft hijackings as a terrorist tactic; the tactic of suicide terrorism; and a criminological perspective on the use of the tactic of assassination. Part VI, “Terrorism and Other Types of Crime,” covers criminological-related topics such as organized crime and terrorism; a comparison of terrorism and hate crime; financial crimes associated with far-right and al Qaida type groups; and utilizing the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) to empirically analyze the spread of maritime terrorism. Part VII, “Countering Terrorism,” discusses subjects such as empowering local communities to counter violent extremism; defending against domestic terrorist plots in the United States; ten principles for effective counterterrorism; the impact of policy changes in the aftermath of 9/11 in prosecuting terrorism; legislative efforts to counter eco-terrorism; the role of prisons in radicalization into terrorism; and the utility of cyber criminological research in designing policies and security solutions to counter cyberterrorism. This is a valuable reference resource and a useful textbook with each chapter opening with an introduction, followed by an overview of the state of the literature on the subject, and concluding with a series of observations. The

chapters also include extensive notes and a bibliography. Gary LaFree is director of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) and a professor of criminology and criminal justice at the University of Maryland. Joshua Freilich is a member of the Criminal Justice Department and the Criminal PhD Program at John Jay College, in New York.

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