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## Resources

### Counterterrorism Bookshelf: 15 Books on Terrorism & Counterterrorism-Related Subjects

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

*The books reviewed in this column are arranged according to the following topics: "Terrorism – General," "Textbooks," "Counter-Terrorism," "Countering Violent Extremism and Disengagement from Terrorism," "Hizballah," and "Sri Lanka."*

#### ***Terrorism - General***

**Tricia Bacon**, *Why Terrorist Groups Form International Alliances* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 352 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8122-5016-9.

This book examines relationships between terrorist organizations that are not rivals. Examples of rival relations between terrorist organizations with basically similar agendas not discussed in this book include Hamas and Fatah and al Qaida and the Islamic State. The book begins with the author's conceptual framework which discusses questions such as what motivates smaller groups to ally with larger terrorist "hubs." This framework is then applied to case studies of alliances such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – Special Operations Group (PFLP-SOG) and the Red Army Faction (RAF), al Qaida and the Taliban, al Qaida and the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ), and others. The benefits of such alliances, the author explains, "range from material or reputational gains, to knowledge acquisition, to increased political and organizational skill. Through alliances, groups can maximize their efficiency by leveraging one another's specializations and comparative advantages. Under some conditions, they may even aggregate their capabilities" (p. 18). An additional advantage that especially benefits smaller groups, such as EIJ, is to "project themselves as part of a broader movement to another cause through alliances, a particularly valuable asset when the resonance of their cause wanes" (p. 18). In the conclusion, the author points out the significance for counterterrorism in understanding the nature of these alliances to "anticipate when alliances are apt to occur and attempt to prevent alliances from forming" (p. 280), as well as "degrading hubs' alliance infrastructure" (p. 281) when possible. Numerous tables are provided that illustrate the types of alliances discussed in the study. This book, based on a Georgetown University dissertation for which the author won the TRI Award for the best thesis in terrorism and counter-terrorism studies four years ago, is an important contribution to the burgeoning literature on the types of alliances and rivalries that characterize the relations between all types of terrorist groups. The author, a former analyst in the U.S. Department of State, teaches in the Department of Justice, Law, and Criminology at American University, Washington, DC.

**Diego Muro (Ed.)**, *When Does Terrorism Work* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 194 pp., US \$ 145.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-1381-2350-2.

The contributors to this edited volume examine the question of whether terrorism is effective in producing its groups' intended results. This is an important question, as the editor notes, because "If the historical record confirms that terrorist violence has failed to deliver in a variety of times and contexts, militants may be less likely to take up weapons and may opt for less costly – and more effective – tactics like non-violence." (p. 1). Various measures of terrorist groups' effectiveness are proposed by the volume's contributors, such as securing tactical, operational, and strategic objectives; achieving groups' longevity; organizational success through establishing a 'franchise' system with other terrorist groups; causing fear and disorientation among their adversaries through their attacks; conducting spectacular attacks and gaining publicity; gaining the support of their communities for their cause; coercing government compliance to their demands; and overcoming the counterterrorism measures implemented against them. Among the volume's contributors' great insights is the

observation by Peter Krause, in his chapter on “When Terrorism Works: Explaining Success and Failure Across Varying Targets and Objectives” that “counterterrorism aims to decrease terrorist attacks (tactical), degrade terrorist organizations (organizational) and prevent terrorists from gaining political concessions (strategic),” but how these objectives and policies can be achieved needs to be better understood. (pp. 47-48). The volume’s theoretical chapters are complemented by case studies on the effectiveness of terrorist campaigns by the Spanish ETA, the Polisario insurgency in Western Sahara, and those of the MLN-T in Uruguay and the FMLN in El Salvador. In the concluding chapter, the editor finds that “Terrorism can be effective in delivering tactical returns but it is largely ineffective for realizing strategic goals” and that it is estimated that “only between 5 and 10 percent of groups who have used terrorism as a coercive method against governments have succeeded in generating the political results they seek.” (p. 166). This volume is a major contribution to the literature on formulating metrics of effectiveness by terrorist groups. The editor is Lecturer in International Relations at the Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) at the University of St Andrews and Senior Research Fellow at the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB).

**Anthony Richards, *Conceptualizing Terrorism*** (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 168 pp., US \$ 85.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-1987-4696-6.

This is an interesting and theoretically innovative attempt to examine the definition of terrorism from an academic perspective. This is significant because of the lack of consensus in terrorism studies as well as among UN member states on how to define terrorism. Some of the problems in defining terrorism, the author points out, include its manipulation as a derogatory label to delegitimize adversaries who employ violence to pursue their political objectives. To redress this problem, the author argues that “there is something qualitatively distinctive about terrorism” in which “the core essence of terrorism is its primary intent to generate a psychological impact beyond the immediate victims. Terrorism, then, is the use or threat of violence with the primary purpose of generating a psychological impact beyond the immediate victims for a political motive” (p. 18). The distinctiveness of terrorism, therefore, is not necessarily in its targeting of civilians, non-combatant or combatant military personnel, but in its use as “sufficient ‘message generators’” (p. 21). To examine these issues, the book’s chapters discuss topics such as defining terrorism in the policy-making environment, the evolution of the definition debate on terrorism, the notion of terrorism as a form of violent communication, defining terrorism based on its targeting, distinguishing between political terror and terrorism, and the various components that go in definitions of terrorism, including domestic state terror and state-sponsored terrorism. The author is a Reader in Terrorism Studies, University of East London, England, UK.

**Daphne Richemond-Barak, *Underground Warfare*** (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 296 pp., US \$ 85.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 39.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-1904-5725-9.

With underground tunnels increasingly being used by terrorist groups, such as the Palestinian Hamas, to smuggle their fighters across borders to covertly attack their adversaries, this is one of the few comprehensive studies on such a warfare tactic. The need for such a study, the author explains, is due to “The lack of a systematic treatment of underground warfare in history, military theory, and law [which – JS] has left states without resources or records of state practice to turn to. Historically, no attempt has been made to analyze the evolution of underground tactics or to compare the various ways in which the tactic has been used” (pp. xii-xiii). To fill this gap, the book provides a blueprint to conceptualize the threat, the operational measures required to mitigate it, and the legal questions in international law and the laws of armed conflict that need to be considered in countering it. This framework is applied to the book’s chapters which cover topics such as the origins and evolution of the use of underground tunnels in terrorist and guerrilla warfare; a typology of different types of tunnels, the way they are employed, and future trends; sovereignty issues under international and domestic law that need to be addressed in countering threats posed by underground tunnels, including the right of pre-emptive and anticipatory self-defense; defining the use of tunnels for offensive military purposes under international humanitarian law; the legality of using underground tunnels by adversaries for military purposes in populated civilian areas; and technological measures that are being utilized to detect and destroy them. In this important book’s conclusion, the author calls for recognizing tunnel warfare as a new domain of war and as “a subset of land warfare calling for tailored policies, skills, expertise, processes, and legal interpretations.”

(p. 255). The author is Assistant Professor at the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy, and Strategy; and senior researcher and head of the International Law Desk at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya, Israel.

### **Textbooks**

**Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, Gordon Clubb, and Simon Mabon (Eds.) *Terrorism and Political Violence*** (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2015), 328 pp., US \$ 50.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-4462-7281-7.

The contributors to this edited textbook examine terrorism and counterterrorism from a multidisciplinary conceptual perspective. The textbook is divided into four parts, with each thematic part consisting of chapters that provide general overviews and essays that focus on specific topics. In Part I, "Approaching the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence," the chapters cover topics such as guidance on studying terrorism, including how to define terrorism; a history of terrorism in terms of ideology, tactics and organization; and cyberterrorism; while the three essays focus on victims of terrorism. There is also a critique of the sub-discipline of "Critical Terrorism Studies" and a chapter on the role of state terrorism in the "global war on terror." In Part 2, "Understanding Terrorism," the chapters cover the root causes of terrorism; the nature of the supporters of terrorism; and terrorists' utilization of the media of communications. Three essays cover the specialized topics of terrorists' use of IEDs and suicide bombings in their attacks; the spread of global jihadism; and the impact of terrorist attacks on Israeli society. In Part 3, "How Terrorism Ends," chapters cover topics such as the factors involved in the termination of terrorist conflicts; conflict resolution in resolving terrorism and the role of terrorist 'spoilers' in undermining attempts to resolve conflicts; and the processes involved in individual disengagement from terrorist groups. Three specialized essays discuss the debate over the role of attitudinal and behavioral changes in de-radicalization and disengagement; and the role of drone warfare in counterterrorism. Part 4, "Resources," consists of two chapters that cover the skills required to write academic papers, exam answers, and dissertations, as well as how to conduct field research on terrorism-related subjects. As a textbook, each chapter begins with an introduction, tables that illustrate the text, a conclusion, a study box that provides key readings and study questions, notes, and reference resources. This volume is highly recommended as a primary or secondary textbook in graduate courses on terrorism and counterterrorism.

**Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*** [6<sup>th</sup> Edition] (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications 2018), 552 pp., US \$ 99.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5063-8581-5.

This is the latest edition of what is widely considered one of the best, most detailed and encyclopedic textbooks on terrorism and counterterrorism at the undergraduate course level. Following an overview of the textbook's rationale and organizational principles, it is divided into four parts. Part I, "Terrorism: A Conceptual Review," provides an overview of the threat of terrorism, how terrorism is defined, and the causes of terrorism. Part II, "The Terrorists," covers state terrorism; various types of terrorist organizations, such as religious, right-wing and left-wings groups; international terrorism, and emerging terrorist environments that are 'gender-selective' and criminally-based. Part III, "The Terrorist Trade and Counterterrorism," covers terrorists' tactics and targeting, the utilization by terrorists of mass media, and a case study on terrorism in the United States. Part IV, "Securing the Homeland," covers the components of counterterrorism, including selected case studies; the nature and organization of homeland security in the United States, and future trends in terrorism. As a textbook, each chapter begins with an "Opening Viewpoint," side bars, figures and discussion boxes that provide additional information and tables to illustrate the text, various perspectives and case studies on the issues discussed in the chapter, a chapter summary, key terms and concepts, a self-study guide, recommended websites, a web exercise, and recommended readings. The Appendices include map references of significant terrorist conflict regions, significant terrorist leaders and organizations, and a glossary of terms. The author is Professor of Criminal Justice Administration at California State University, Dominguez Hills, California.

**Counter-Terrorism**

**Karen A. Feste, *Terminate Terrorism: Framing, Gaming, and Negotiating Conflicts*** (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 272 pp., US \$ 132.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 35.96 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5945-1822-5.

This book was originally published in 2010, by Paradigm Publishers, with Routledge re-publishing it in 2016. Although some of its information about terrorist activities may be dated, its importance lies in its conceptual framework which is relevant to analyzing the factors involved in terminating current terrorist-based conflicts. Termination, the author explains, “means the attacks of illegal violence against unsuspecting citizens framed around a particular contextual situation of issues and demands and carried out by politically motivated groups come to an end” (p. 5). In one outcome, the author adds, “a one-sided victory is determined and the opponent surrenders (either the target government or the terrorists win), although this outcome is relatively rare or short-lived” (p. 5). Most terrorist vs. government conflicts, however, the author explains, are characterized by a protracted stalemate, and one of the book’s major contributions is its adaptation of conceptual frameworks from the discipline of conflict resolution to resolving terrorist-based conflicts. This is highlighted by William Zartman’s work on the sequencing of the termination process for protracted conflicts in which four elements operate cumulatively to transform the nature of the conflict. First, the target government begins to change its thinking about the adversary; second, turning point events occur, such as a major military defeat by one side or the other, that bring about a changed approach; third, both parties begin to express a “negotiation readiness” to address a possible solution; and finally, both parties engage in a reciprocal “interest-based bargaining” to advance mutual gains for a settlement to succeed (pp. 22-23). This framework is applied to anti-American terrorism in the cases of the U.S.-Cuba skyjacking crisis, 1968-1973; the U.S-Iran hostage crisis, 1979-1981; the U.S.-Beirut kidnapping crisis, 1984-1991; and the U.S.-al Qaida conflict, 1998-2009. In the conclusion, the author argues that “The forgoing analysis outlines ideas for thinking about ways to resolve the terrorism problem, reversing the emphasis from the causes of terrorism outbreak to the causes of terrorism cessation.” (p. 211). The book includes numerous tables that illustrate and operationalize the chapters’ analysis and data. The author is Professor at the University of Denver’s Josef Korbel School of International Studies, Denver, Colorado.

**Updesh Kumar and Manas K. Mandal (Eds.), *Countering Terrorism: Psychosocial Strategies*** (New Delhi, India/Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2012), 472 pp., US \$ 59.99 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-8-1321-0959-4.

The contributors to this volume examine the psycho-sociocultural environments that serve as a context for the emergence and proliferation of terrorism and the various psychosocial strategies that can be utilized to effectively counter terrorism. The volume contains 18 chapters that are arranged into two sections. The chapters in the first section, “Understanding Terrorism: Psychosocial issues,” discuss topics such as defining terrorism; psychological issues in terms of aggression and concepts to explain terrorism such as evolutionary psychology, social learning theory, and terror management theory; the behavioral profile of terrorists; understanding terrorist groups; the psychological implications of the use of biological weapons and mass contagion; and the role of media in propagating terrorism; The second section, “Countering Terrorism: Psychosocial Avenues,” covers topics such as the motivation of terrorism; rational choice and target selection; the impact of cyberspace in sustaining terrorism; the utilization of risk assessment in counterterrorism; strategies in interviewing terrorist suspects; a case study of countering violent extremism in Indonesia; the impact of government policies in affecting intergroup relations; the role of strategic information operations in countering terrorism; and the psycho-spiritual underpinning the prevention and control of terrorist violence. This volume is especially significant because it brings together leading conceptual approaches on these issues by Western and Indian experts. Updesh Kumar is Scientist ‘F’ and Head, Mental Health Division, Defence Institute of Psychological Research, Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO), New Delhi, India. Manas K. Mandal is Outstanding Scientist and Director, Defence Institute of Psychological Research, Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO), New Delhi, India.

**Stephen Tankel, *With US and Against US: How America’s Partners Help and Hinder the War on Terror*** (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2018), 424 pp., US \$ 90.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 30.00 [Paperback], ISBN:

978-0-2311-6811-3.

This book's premise is that America's counterterrorism cooperation partnerships with other nations are complex, ranging from close to mixed. The nature of such counterterrorism cooperation is examined through the lens of five variables (with the first four highlighted): domestic counterterrorism operations to counter terrorism; counter-radicalization programs; tactical cooperation such as "the provision of access, intelligence cooperation, and coordination on detainees"; partner countries' contributions to bilateral or regional military and diplomatic coalitions to counter terrorism; and cooperation in monitoring ports, airports, and borders (pp. 4-5). This framework is applied assessing the nature of such counterterrorism cooperation with the Muslim-majority countries that had experienced jihadist insurgencies before and after 9/11 such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen in the Middle East, Mali in Africa, Algeria in North Africa, and Pakistan in South Asia. For each of these countries, the author outlines the nature of their cooperation with the U.S. in terms of their mutual threat perceptions. In the conclusion, the author recommends that the United States' counterterrorism cooperative relationships with its partner nations, which is based on what he terms a threat-based paradigm, be augmented by a partner-centric paradigm in which the partners' own prioritization of terrorist threats facing them, as well as their own governance challenges, be taken into account. The author then proposes a toolkit for counterterrorism cooperation engagement that would be based on measures such as greater United States' investment in building the civilian security-sector capacity in partner countries, developing metrics to assess effectiveness in security assistance, using "positive conditionality" to provide assistance in return for "good behavior" (p. 319), and upgrading partners' military capacity through "train-the-trainer" programs led by U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF), which are "critical 'operational enablers'" (p. 323). The Appendix includes a valuable table listing major United States-led counterterrorism-relevant security programs prior to and following 9/11. This book is an important theoretical and empirical contribution to the study of the components of counterterrorism in general and effectiveness of the United States' counterterrorism cooperation with its Muslim-majority partner countries in particular. The author is Assistant Professor in the School of International Service at American University, Washington, DC.

### ***Countering Violent Extremism and Disengagement from Terrorism***

**Thomas Koruth Samuel, *Undergraduate Radicalisation in Selected Countries in Southeast Asia: A Comparative Quantitative Analysis on the Perception of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Among Undergraduates in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand*** (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: The Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT), 2018), 274 pp., No Price [PDF Copy], ISBN: 978-9-6715-6561-2.

The complete publication is available online at: [https://www.unodc.org/documents/southeastasiaandpacific/Publications/2016/Radicalisation\\_SEA\\_2016.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/southeastasiaandpacific/Publications/2016/Radicalisation_SEA_2016.pdf).

This is an examination of how undergraduates from both public and private universities in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand perceive issues of terrorism and counterterrorism. The book draws on the current literature on the subject and the experiences of other countries that face similar challenges, with a quantitative survey then applied to gauge the perceptions of the undergraduate subjects on these issues. These issues are examined systematically, based on three objectives. The first objective was to examine students' sources of information, their views on the use of terrorism to redress grievances, and how terrorism should be countered. A second objective was to identify areas of concern that might require governmental or community intervention. A final objective was to propose recommendations for mitigating potential radicalization among students. The survey generated numerous significant findings, such as the need to counter the utilization by terrorists of the Internet's social media sites and to provide credible alternatives to terrorism in the context of addressing underlying grievances that drive terrorist conflicts. Another finding is the need to move from what the author terms 'selective countering violent extremism (CVE)-inoculation' to 'comprehensive CVE-inoculation,' with universities, at both undergraduate and graduate levels playing an

important role as conducive environments and stakeholders in such programs. The author is Director of the Digital Strategic Communications Division (DSCD) with the Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT), which is under the purview of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia.

**Michael Taarnby, *Serendi: Inside Somalia's Terrorist Rehabilitation Project*** (Scotts Valley, CA: Create Space, 2018), 476 pp., US \$ 27.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-7205-0682-9.

This book is a chronological narrative of the author's team's field work-based program to manage the rehabilitation and reintegration of former al-Shabaab terrorists into Somalian society from March 2009 to December 2014. The author, a Danish social anthropologist, applied a field research methodology known as high-risk ethnography (HRE) to conduct his team's work in the anarchic and violent situation in Somalia. Following the author's return to Denmark in late 2014, the book's Epilogue, written in March 2018, provides a pessimistic update on his field team's accomplishment. He writes: "The collapse of the defector rehabilitation project seems near certain, since the Somali government will not be able to handle it and there is only so much the donor community will put up with. But stepping back, and seeing this project in a larger perspective, a few salient statistics stand out: We did manage to extract perhaps 15 percent of al-Shabaab's fighting strength, if not more. With 1,228 defectors going through the two centers, and 719 reintegrated in our shift, we managed to put a serious dent into the terrorist group" (p. 453). With some 600 jobs created through the program, which the author believes will be sustainable over time, he concludes on an optimistic note that such rehabilitation and reintegration of former terrorist combatants can be "dealt with at the local level," while, overall, his project "appears to have been an exercise in futility" (p. 457) because of governmental inefficiency and the deteriorating situation in the country. This book is recommended for specialists in countering violent extremism programs in Somalia and beyond.

**Kamil Yilmaz, *Disengaging From Terrorism – Lessons From the Turkish Penitents*** (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 252 pp., US \$ 170.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 49.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1380-7918-2.

This is an excellent and conceptually innovative ethnographic examination of the processes of individual disengagement from terrorism in Turkey through an interview-based reconstruction of the lives of 13 former terrorists from the Kurdish PKK as well as left-wing revolutionary terrorist organizations. The author is a former chief superintendent at the Turkish National Police and currently based at the International Center for Terrorism and Transnational Crime (UTSAM) in Ankara, where he works as a researcher and a lecturer; this makes him uniquely positioned to conduct this study on Turkish "penitents." A rites of passage (ROP) model is used to map the cognitive and behavioral trajectories of such individuals from engagement in terrorism to disengagement from it. The book's chapters are arranged according to an additional conceptual framework of Arnold Van Gennep's tri-partite formulation of the separation stage (i.e., paths to political violence), the transition stage (i.e., life in terrorist groups and paths away from terrorism), and the incorporation stage (i.e., politics of repentance and life after violence) (p. 8). This framework is applied to examining the motivational and structural factors that influenced these Turkish penitents' processes of disengagement from terrorism. It explores whether obstacles and inhibitions were present for leaving a group, analyzing also the differences and similarities between the penitents who left a leftist-revolutionary group and those who exited from a separatist organization such as the PKK. In addition, the author analyzes what their current positions in society and "states of mind" are. Finally, the book outlines what can be learned from their experiences that can be applied to facilitating the disengagement processes of others involved in terrorism (p. 227). With answers to these questions discussed in the book's concluding chapter, the author's main policy recommendation is worth noting: "it is extremely important for states to allocate more resources to reintegrate former terrorists into society. This will contribute greatly to the stability of any given society by enticing active members of terrorist organizations to disengage from terrorism. More importantly, clear-cut reintegration programs will give all kinds of former terrorists a 'second chance' in life" (p. 240).

### ***Hizballah***

**James Worrall, Simon Mabon, and Gordon Clubb, *Hezbollah*** (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2016), 200 pp., US \$ 52.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4408-3134-8.

This is an authoritative, comprehensive and detailed overview of Hizballah. The volume's chapters cover topics such as Hizballah's historical origins in Lebanon; its Shi'ite ideology and grievances; its leadership and organizational structure; the underlying causes driving its terrorist warfare; its military capabilities and its military wing's warfare tactics; its areas of military operations, including its warfare with Israel; its socio-political activities, including its role in Lebanese politics and government; the relations with its Iranian sponsor and its involvement in the Syrian civil war; as well as its place in the "Post-Arab Spring" Middle East. In the concluding chapter, the authors discuss some of the contradictions in Hizballah's current activities, such as its close alliance, on behalf of Iran, with Syria's ruler Bashar al Assad, and its battles against the country's predominantly Sunni forces, while at the same time claiming to lead the fight against the Israeli "Zionist" enemy on behalf of the Sunni-based Palestinian cause. This leads the authors to conclude that "Ultimately, then, the Party of God faces a delicate balancing act to ensure its legitimacy and survival, both as a domestic actor in Lebanon and as an influential actor across the Middle East" (p. 152). The Appendices include a timeline of Hizballah's activities as well as profiles of its top leaders. Both James Worrall and Gordon Clubb are lecturers at the University of Leeds, while Simon Mabon is a lecturer at the University of Lancaster, England, UK.

### ***Sri Lanka***

**Visakesa Chandrasekaram, *The Use of Confessionary Evidence under the Counter-Terrorism Laws of Sri Lanka*** (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 228 pp., US \$ 115.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-9-4629-8157-7.

The author argues that the Sri Lankan government's legal prosecution strategy against alleged Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) terrorists during their insurgency (which ended in 2009) had suppressed "the rule of law, justice, truth and human rights" and was a discriminatory "persecution and unjust punishment of suspected terrorists..." (p. 9). To prove his case, the author examines the degree of fairness in using indefinite detention and extracting confessionary evidence in convicting alleged terrorists within the broader context of the government's counterterrorism campaign against the LTTE. With thousands of Tamil Tigers prosecuted on the basis of such confessions, the book's chapters discuss the conflicting narratives employed by LTTE and the government in responding to such judicial measures. In the conclusion, the author points out that the use of forced confessions was not a primary factor in the LTTE's military defeat, with the major factors identified as India's and China's support for the Sri Lankan government against the LTTE, as well as the LTTE's problematic leadership which preached martyrdom while betraying their fighters in the field. Nevertheless, the "oppressive elements" of the Sri Lankan judiciary system, the author cautions, need to be reformed "to prevent the possibility of another rebellion against the state" (p. 200). This book is an important contribution on the role of the judiciary system in a government's counterterrorism campaign. The author has worked as a human rights lawyer in Sri Lanka and Australia.

**Rachel Seoighe, *War, Denial and Nation-Building in Sri Lanka*** (Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, 2017), 378 pp., US \$ 159.99 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-3-3195-6323-7.

Drawing on the theoretical literature of "post-war commemorative practices in order to make claims about how 'official histories' are consolidated in the service of nation-building" (p. 16), this is a critical account of the period in Sri Lanka from 2005 to 2015. It demonstrates how the Sri Lankan government employed "exclusionary and repressive" policies "to facilitate the terrible violence inflicted on the Tamils at the End" (p. 319). Although

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the book's research is based on the author's fieldwork in Sri Lanka in 2012, this reviewer found much of the text difficult reading as it is highly theoretical and jargon laden. Examples includes the author's adoption of Michel Foucault's notion of discourse as "not simply that which translates struggle or systems of domination, but it is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized," or that "The state, in its post-war rhetoric of development, reconciliation and 'oneness,' tries to consign the End to the past." (p. 324). The author is a Lecturer at the Department of Criminology and Sociology, Middlesex University London, England, UK.

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