


Book Reviews

Edward J. Hagerty
USAF Air Command and Staff College

Daniel Masters
University of North Carolina, Wilmington

Mark J. Roberts

Leland Ericson
Henley-Putnam University

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Book Reviews

***Domestic Deployment of the Armed Forces: Military Powers, Law and Human Rights.* By Michael Head and Scott Mann. Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2009. ISBN: 9780754673460. Bibliography. Index. Pp. x, 203.**

Michael Head and Scott Mann of the University of Western Sydney, Australia, note in this book their growing concern over the possibility that governments will use military force to respond to domestic tensions arising from the recent global financial crisis. Those concerns are heightened by what they consider a post 9/11 "global turn to militarism" (p. i). In their Introduction, Head and Mann lay out a list of issues that they believe have not been addressed with the appropriate level of official, academic, or media scrutiny. Among those issues they include an international trend towards increased government power to use military forces for domestic and political purposes. They further note that the U.S. and Canada have for the first time established military commands "tasked with preparing and conducting internal operations" (p. 1). The list of complaints continues in a similar vein, and some readers by this point in the Introduction may be wondering whether the authors have adopted an unduly alarmist stance. Keeping in mind they are speaking about a perceived trend among advanced democracies, they are right in calling attention to their main concerns: "the strengthening of the power of the state over citizens; the undermining of democratic and legal rights; the erosion of civilian control over the military; and the growing role of...the 'military-industrial complex'" (p. 2).

The methodology starts with an historical review of the issue of domestic deployment of the armed forces. They see the current financial crisis as being similar to that of the Great Depression in that the latter gave rise to crises that saw the establishment of the fascist and totalitarian governments that led to World War II. They contend that post-war military restrictions placed on Germany, Italy, and Japan are now eroding. Likewise, they warn that Anglo-American nations must guard against rising militarism resulting from post-9/11 changes in military roles and doctrine.

After the historical setting is laid out, Head and Mann transition to a discussion of the issues of law, human rights, and civil liberties as they pertain to the use of military forces for domestic purposes. They rely on examples from the U.S., Canada, Australia, Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan. The first four nations derive their legal heritage from the English system of jurisprudence, while the other three are characterized by post-

World War II constitutions that were designed to act as bulwarks against the return of fascism or military imperialism. Despite their claim that "no attempt has been made...to examine wider global trends," Head and Mann seem consistently to put the lie to that statement with rather extravagant extrapolations accusing the U.S. of leading the way for world leaders to curtail legal rights under the guise of the War on Terror. They admit, however, that while the War on Terror might have provided the justification, the roots of militarization policies go deeper and may be attributable to "socio-economic and geo-political tensions" (p. 13).

Against this backdrop, Head and Mann go on to discuss each of the countries previously named, starting with the United States. They see a distinct bugaboo in the establishment of U.S. NORTHCOM, charged with coordinating homeland defense and civil support. They appear blissfully unaware of the fact that these missions have always existed but were dispersed throughout separate commands prior to 2002. Their arguments concerning civilian control of the military seem decidedly one-sided. They rest largely on the opinions of a single military historian, Richard H. Kohn. While Kohn is a respected historian who has written much on this topic, and whose opinion is to be carefully weighed, his is hardly the last, best, or only word on the issue of civil-military relations. It is unfortunate that their otherwise sound proposal for closer study of the issue of domestic deployment of armed forces is marred by what struck me as rather inflammatory rhetoric. For example, they mention a 2005 *Washington Post* report that told of Pentagon plans for military operations within the United States, "in which terrorist attacks would be used as justification for imposing virtual martial law" in the country (p. 59).

Canada suffers with the same dreary prognosis for eroding civil liberties and potential use of military force to quell domestic social unrest, while that tiny island that ruled much of the world until nearly the middle of the twentieth century is chided for being involved in "US-led militarism abroad" that has seen increased ability for Britain to "call-out" military forces for home use (p. 93).

Head and Mann are obviously deeply concerned about what they see as a fundamental change in the role of the armed forces. In their view, military force is seemingly only to be used outside the borders of one's own country, but not inside those borders to secure domestic security. That use, they believe, threatens civil liberties and human rights, and further threatens the supremacy of civilian rule. Those fears, combined with international tensions and resulting social unrest, mean to them a world in which military forces will have unprecedented powers. They see signs of that growing militarism and our willing acquiescence to it under the

guise of a War on Terror, and they seek to provoke us to think carefully about what the future might hold. That is the real usefulness of the book; it provokes us to think and to evaluate the merit of the issues they have raised. Waving the bloody shirt might not have been the best way to present those issues though. A more balanced presentation coupled with some realistic solutions about how to balance the need to protect the homeland effectively while preserving fundamental rights would have been a more constructive approach. Instead, they have rung the alarm bell violently, but failed to show us the route to safety.

Edward J. Hagerty serves on the faculty of the USAF Air Command and Staff College Online Master's Program.

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***America's War on Terror*, 2nd ed. Edited by Tom Lansford, Robert P. Watson, and Jack Covarrubias. Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009. ISBN 978-0-7546-7787-1. Figures. Tables. Contributors. Appendices. Bibliography. Index. Pp. 312. \$39.95 (paperback).**

America's War on Terrorism, 2nd edition, is an edited multi-authored volume that focuses on the historical, normative, evaluative, and ethical issues on the War on Terrorism launched in 2001. The second edition incorporates new information and insights gained during the intervening seven years of the War on Terror, since publication of the first edition in 2003. The new volume incorporates eight new chapters and reorders the previous chapters. Part 3 is completely revamped into a section on "Foreign Policy Implications" that evaluates the impact of the War on Terror in the international arena. Part 4 is developed into a section on "Future Challenges" that brings the reader back to the ethical and moral debates surrounding the War on Terrorism, and leaves the discussion as a partial postscript on the Bush Administration while starting a preface on the Obama Administration.

The greatest strength of the book is its landscape that treats counterterrorism as the multifaceted policy area it truly is. The terrorist problem America is most concerned with originates in faraway lands (drawing in foreign policy and military tools), but it transcends national boundaries (drawing in the police, immigration, and the criminal justice system). Therefore, the terrorist threat is a foreign and domestic policy area. *America's War on Terror* reflects these complex elements of U.S. counterterrorism.

Part 1 of *America's War on Terror* explores the nature of the War on Terror from multiple perspectives. The War on Terror is developed historically via the evolution of al-Qaida from the Afghan civil war in the 1970s, through U.S. gamesmanship during the Soviet invasion that led to the formation of al-Qaida and its orientation in opposition to the United States. The foreign policy perspective evaluates whether or not the War on Terror is consistent with previous American foreign policy or if 9/11 ushered in a regime shift similar to changes observed during the presidencies of Teddy Roosevelt and Harry Truman. The boundaries of the War on Terror are explored using "just war theory" and the notion of the "Axis of Evil" to evaluate U.S. military actions in Afghanistan and in Iraq. These chapters bring to the forefront a core issue for discussion in any evaluation of the War on Terror: Is Operation Iraqi Freedom truly part of the War on Terror or is it a tangential mission that was justified via the War on Terrorism? Pauley and Hayden come down on different sides of this issue. The

chapters are not presented as a debate, but taken together they do create a debate.

Part 2 analyzes the domestic politics of the War on Terror. The domestic front contains many intersecting issues. *America's War on Terror* opts to emphasize the impact of the war on the federal budget and the development of homeland security from the founding of the Republic through World War II and the Cold War, all the way to the War on Terror. Finally, Part 2 assesses the factors that shaped America's approach to the War on Terror with a particular emphasis on how George H.W. Bush served as a useful guide and looming shadow for George W. Bush as he crafted the War on Terror and moved into the war with Iraq. The title of Part 2 alludes to the notion that counterterrorism contains both domestic and international elements, but *America's War on Terror* overall misses an opportunity to lay out the entire scope of the domestic front. The selections in Part 2 focus more on the domestic politics of the War on Terror and not on the domestic front in the War on Terror.

Part 3 delves into the interaction between foreign policy and the War on Terror. The two chapters that stand out most are on Middle East Peace, and terrorism in Central and South Asia. Shannon captures the tensions of the War on Terror and American foreign policy goals in the Middle East by illustrating that the nature of the War on Terror makes it difficult for the U.S. to stake out a position that is consistent in the Israel-Palestine conflict and interests to pursue war with Iraq. The Bush Administration's efforts to navigate the cross-cutting interests eroded America's credibility as a powerbroker for Middle East Peace. In one of the chapters in this section Dirk C. van Reamdonck uses three-dimensional chess as a lens for analysis of the Af-Pak border and offers one the best pathways to grasp the multiple levels of interest in the region and how the different levels of interest interact. In sum, these chapters truly capture the constraints America operates under in the War on Terror, and these chapters alone make *America's War on Terror* an exciting and important contribution to understanding the difficulties of the War on Terror.

Part 4 provides a capstone to *America's War on Terror* by debating the existential nature of the War on Terror. One the one side Evans takes the position that terrorism is objectively a moral evil that violates norms of behavior in the international system where peace and participation dominate over violence and force as a means to advance preferred political goals. The general purpose of Evan's chapter is to undercut the notion of political-historical understanding of terrorism. By attempting to explain terrorism, we introduce moral relativism. Andrews picks up the argument to emphasize explanation (i.e. understanding) as opposed to justification

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(sympathizing, or moral relativism). Andrews presents a straightforward analytical position that understanding allows us more avenues on how to best deal with the problem. The chapters are clearly juxtaposed to be competing strains of a debate. However, the positions are completely reconcilable, taking wind away from the debate. Williams and Covarrubias complete Part 4 by offering an early view on how the incoming Obama Administration will adapt the Bush Doctrine to a new reality based on "Smart Power," or the fusion of soft power and hard power directed at providing a common global good defined as "common security."

In conclusion, *America's War on Terror* offers a wide range of topics related to American counterterrorism in the post-9/11 world. Most of the selections for this book provide excellent insight and perspectives on terrorism and counterterrorism not found in many books on the same subject. However, the book would do well to actually confront and openly deal with the subject of whether or not Iraq truly constitutes a front in the War on Terrorism. Chapters that broach this subject are uneven with some chapters treating Iraq as tangential, while others treat Iraq as central. The uneven treatment of Iraq does detract from the text. On the balance *America's War on Terror* is a solid contribution to the field.

Daniel Masters is an assistant professor in the Department of Public and International Affairs at the University of North Carolina, Wilmington.

***Handbook of Transportation Policy and Administration.* By Jeremy F. Plant, Editor, and Van R. Johnson, Associate Editor, with Cristina E. Ciocirlan, Assistant Editor. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2007. ISBN 1-57444-565-0. Figures. Photographs. Index. Notes. Tables. Pp xxi, 633. \$144.95.**

Handbook of Transportation Policy and Administration is a collection of 32 essays divided into five major topic areas. The editors and authors all hail from academia. This academic bent, while providing a structured, thoroughly-researched framework, is also more descriptive and theoretical than an offertory of practical solutions for the intelligence, counter-terrorism, or homeland security professional.

In the preface, the editor states that the book's intent is to provide "knowledge of the basic organization of the transportation field, the policies guiding its operations and development, case examples of transportation planning, operations and management, connections between the transportation system and other policy arenas, and a picture of how transportation modes and systems are changing under the pressure to remain safe and secure under new types of threats" (p. xxi). Having thus defined the scope of the work, the editor cautions that the authors "were not expected to test any particular thesis or vision of transportation" and that the book "takes no stand on the contentious issues" associated with transportation (p. xxi).

The overall emphasis of the book discusses the evolution of key transportation modes and their impact on American society and industry. It takes snapshots of organizational and institutional changes that have impacted the transportation "system of systems," to include metropolitan planning, industrial trends, and the ever-developing discipline of Homeland Security. Case studies sprinkled throughout the book highlight best practices, benchmarks, and innovative initiatives. The editors' multi-disciplinary approach to studying the multiple facets of transportation has an appeal to public and private sector specialists, scholars and students, policy analysts, and the interested layperson.

The first major topic area is Transportation Systems in the 21st century. Areas for discussion include an overview of the U.S. transportation system of systems, the trucking sector, ports, the inland waterway system, the evolution of transportation systems, and toll roads. In the opening essay, the author sets the tone for both the book and the topic area by posing the question of how different transportation systems play a part in a larger transportation infrastructure and yet maintain their own unique characteristics.

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The second major topic area examines Transportation and Federalism. Issues covered include state transportation departments, passenger rail service in states, metropolitan transportation dilemmas, the myriad transportation management associations, rural transportation difficulties, the environmental impact of transportation in California, and a case study examination of Baltimore's experience with urban transportation. The breadth and depth of these topics is thoughtful and helps outline the panoply of transportation policy concerns at the local, state, and federal levels.

A series of essays on Transportation Policy follows. These articles not only outline policy issues, they provide the historical and contextual factors for how transportation policies evolved as they did. They credibly outline the private sector and governmental interface that collaborated to shape the current transportation environment. The scope and size of this section encompasses spatial modeling, transportation sector decentralization, highway and street design factors, energy and transportation interdependence, transportation privatization questions, public transit, and disadvantaged business enterprise concerns.

The penultimate set of writings, "Managing Transportation Systems," scrutinizes such aspects as logistics, supply chain management, transportation performance management, asset management, and public-private partnerships in urban rail transit from an international perspective. These issues encompass such aspects as incident management, customer satisfaction, system safety criteria, traffic flow and congestion, urban transport congestion factors, environmental considerations, economic impact, cost-benefit ratios, stakeholder relations, strategic planning, budgeting, and future trends. The international examples include case studies of best practices from Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Argentina, Brazil, Hong Kong, Singapore, and the United Kingdom.

The final major topic area is "Securing and Protecting Transportation," which will be the section of most interest and relevance to intelligence, counterterrorism, or homeland security professionals. The themes take in transportation security policy, international transportation security, seaports, the Department of Defense (DoD) role in transportation security, post-9/11 rail security, and mass transit in the wake of the Madrid and London attacks.

One of the essays examines how we understand and analyze inter-modal transportation security in the aftermath of 9/11, which has continuously evolved into a host of factors such as risk, threat, vulnerability, countermeasures, information sharing, and criticality, all of which serve as ele-

ments of the new transportation security matrix. Another study focuses in the abstract on the globalization of transportation security and terrorism, and how their intertwined nature requires international cooperation in the areas of prevention, border security, internal security, and consequence management. While the observations have a certain validity, they are based upon outdated and, in some instances, biased studies whose underlying agendas were not fully understood or stated by the editors.

The port security chapter, while useful to the layperson, offers little new insight to the transportation security professional from the Coast Guard, the Navy, the Transportation Security Administration, or the department of Homeland Security. The information is a re-encapsulation of oft-repeated mantras and doctrines. The chapter on DoD roles in transportation security, while a useful overview of recent historical developments, is more descriptive than analytical. The blatantly political commentary on Hurricane Katrina reveals more of the author's political bias than any true contribution DoD made to hurricane recovery efforts. This outlines the weakness of academics with no practical experience in a given field offering uninformed opinions rather than cogent analysis that helps frame an issue in proper perspective. The railroad security essay offers a credible snapshot of the panoply of rail security issues marred by the use of sensationalist sources. The examination of how to define the problem and identify the many aspects of the threat provides a solid framework to seriously examine the issue. Unfortunately, editorial suppositions diminish the credibility of the otherwise excellent scholarship. The concluding piece on the Madrid and London mass transit attacks offers cogent observations but, in line with the rest of the book, little in the way of practical solutions.

Handbook of Transportation Policy and Administration is a useful tome for reference and it has insightful background information. Considering what the publisher is charging for it, it is best left to ivory-towered academics and ephemeral policy wonks pondering theories and paradigms rather than intelligence, counterterrorism, or homeland security professionals grappling with real solutions to real problems.

Mark J. Roberts is a transportation security subject matter expert.

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***The War on Terrorism: A Collision of Values, Strategies, and Societies.* By Thomas A. Johnson. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, 2009. ISBN-13: 978-1-4200-7987-6. Appendices. Notes. Sources cited. Index. Pp. xix, 369. \$79.95.**

Thomas A. Johnson, Ph.D., currently serves as a member of the FBI Infra-guard program. He is a member of the Electronic Crime Tack Force, New York Field Office, U.S. Secret Service, and is the founder of the Center for Cybercrime and Forensic Computer Investigation and the Forensic Computer Investigation Graduate Program. Dr. Johnson draws upon his extensive experience and expertise as he lays out his in-depth strategy for reforming our intelligence community and defeating religiously-inspired terrorist organizations with a meticulous attention to detail concise in its organization and clarity of presentation. The author identifies the key vulnerabilities specific to religiously based terrorist organizations including al-Qaida, and he presents the vulnerabilities of the United States to potential attacks and how to remedy them. Without wasting time on partisanship, Johnson still does not mince words. He points out the willful failure of government in maintaining our nation's infrastructure, and how that negligence has brought our country to a serious state of breakdown of strategically critical, vitally important systems that are the life blood of our nation. Johnson does not linger excessively on the causes of the problems, be they infrastructural or the divisions within the 16-member Intelligence Community. He lists them clearly and plainly, followed by a clear set of recommendations for correcting the specific problem described in each of the book's eight chapters.

Each chapter is presented with an overview of the specific issue to be addressed, and summarized in outline form point by point. The chapter then proceeds to follow that outline, delving into the subjects in greater depth and detail. Johnson offers his own insights and opinions as well as those of numerous professionals, presenting his recommendations relevant to the subject of the chapter. This concise organization chapter by chapter enables the reader to follow the complexities of the issues, the member agencies of the Intelligence Community and their specific mandates and professional roles, and the problems facing our nation and the "free world" in light of the threats of radical Islam and terrorist groups such as al-Qaida.

The first chapter focuses on the clash of societies, ideology, and the impacts of globalization. Johnson points out that while globalization has meant prosperity for many people, there are countries and regions such as the Middle East where authoritarian forms of government rely upon their oil revenues and have no desire to see their sovereignty diminished by

opening their economies to the benefits of economic diversification and empowerment that globalization offers. This has provided a breeding ground for militant Islamic fundamentalism that sees globalization as merely a new form of colonialism by the United States and our allies, aided and abetted by Muslim governments or monarchs seen as corrupt despots interested only in their own wealth and power at the expense of the people over whom they hold sway.

The author defines the clash of societies as being a direct conflict between the major religious and philosophical values embedded in all cultures, compounded by the clash of fundamentalist religious orthodoxy and more progressive religious liberalism. Johnson warns of the grave dangers posed by mounting environmental crises, the depletion of finite resources, and how a failure of past societies to acknowledge such events and take remedial action led to their downfall.

Chapter 2 provides a systematic tour of terrorism and terrorists, the impact of radical Islam on terrorism and insurgencies, the organizational skills of the terrorist leader, and the dynamic and increasing role of the Internet in terrorism. Johnson defines the characteristics and ideology of terrorism, making the succinct and self-evident point that a terrorist act is by its very nature politically inspired, that it must by definition involve violence or the threat of violence—the act must be symbolic and send a message, and is inherently the act of sub-state groups. Chapter 3 focuses on the many targets of terrorists, the neglect of our nation's infrastructure and how it contributes to our vulnerability, how to improve the situation, and calls for a focus on the targets, not the terrorists.

Chapter 4 is devoted to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) and how they relate to terrorist groups in general and religiously-motivated groups such as al-Qaida. Johnson systematically takes the reader through the overall picture of the known efforts by terrorist groups to acquire WMDs, nuclear proliferation, the illicit trafficking of nuclear materials, including the knowledge to develop and produce WMDs, and the very disturbing reports of "suitcase bombs" missing from former Soviet stockpiles. Biological terrorism, categories of biological agents, bio-weapon lethality, the size and scope of known biological weapons laboratories are also covered, as are genetically engineered weapons and agro-terrorism.

Chapter 5 is focused on the sixteen-member Intelligence Community, the operational mandates, Congressional Oversight, the Intelligence Process, the processing and exploitation of information, analysis of the accumulated information and the resultant production of a finished intelligence product, and dissemination to the authorized branches of government.

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Chapter 6 advocates for a unified approach with our nation's Intelligence Community, as has already been done with the U.S. Armed Forces. Johnson calls for greater care being exercised by Congress, and concludes his call for reform by advocating the adoption of self-correcting methodologies found within the scientific community. Chapter 7 presents a detailed breakdown of the transformational issues and challenges confronting policy formulation. The author provides recommendations as to how best to confront and defeat terrorism by engaging our allies, especially the moderate and progressive elements of the Muslim world, to help them recapture their faith from the fundamentalist extremists of al-Qaida and their fellow heretical extremists.

Whatever one's views on the decision to invade Iraq, there can be no disputing the author's position, espoused in the final chapter, that a firm stand against the religious extremists of al-Qaida and their fellow Islamist terrorist groups, such as Hizbollah, was long overdue on the part of the United States Government. In outlining the future trends of global terrorism, Johnson passionately advocates greater engagement with the Middle East, with consensus building as a central feature of that strategy, rather than the ambivalence of past administrations of both parties. The author continues by addressing the need for a strategy that will undermine the ideological basis of al-Qaida and their fellow extremists by engaging the greater Muslim community.

Johnson's recommendations are no less than a clear-eyed call to tackle the problems presented by terrorism using a multi-level approach, rather than merely bombing known terrorist training sites and hoping that will fix the problem. This effort is a meticulously organized and concise primer for anyone who desires clarity on the complexity of the origins and nature of the threat posed by terrorist groups such as al-Qaida. The author, like a good physician, presents an actual clear-headed and systematic proposal for a cure, rather than just another plan to treat the obvious symptoms of the disease.

Leland Ericson serves on the faculty of Henley-Putnam University.