Reviews

How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns by Audrey Kurth Cronin. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. 330 pp., £20.95 hardcover, 978 0691139487

A counterterrorism (CT) strategy that lacks perspective will not work. An awareness of local and historical trends and contexts, the ability to incorporate lessons of the past and familiarity with the bigger picture are all essential components of an effective CT toolkit. Perspective allows governments to disaggregate actors and issues and nuance their interventions in order to meet the difficult challenge of understanding terrorism threats and formulating effective counterterrorism responses.

By writing *How Terrorism Ends*, Audrey Kurth Cronin, who is currently Professor of Strategy at the US National War College and erstwhile researcher at the US Library of Congress, has provided a service to everyone with an interest in counterterrorism by providing much-needed perspective. As the title suggests, Professor Cronin focuses on how past terrorist campaigns have ended, but with the current and future al-Qa'eda threat very much in mind. According to Cronin, al-Qa'eda's is a novel token but not a different type of terrorism campaign; like those before it, al-Qa'eda's will come to an end.

Cronin points out six ways in which past terrorism campaigns have ended: decapitation; negotiation; success; failure; repression; and reorientation. According to Cronin, only negotiation, failure and reorientation offer realistic scenarios for al-Qa'eda's demise.

Firstly, the use of negotiation to promote al-Qa'eda's engagement in legitimate political processes could facilitate a transition from violence to nonviolent practices; however, for practical and moral reasons, negotiation should be with al-Qa'eda's affiliate groups operating in various regions around the world, rather than al-Qa'eda's core itself. In Cronin's view, the prospect of reaching a mutually agreed settlement with Osama bin Laden is neither realistic (given his demand for a pan-Islamic caliphate) nor ethical (given the blood already on his hands). Secondly, tactical and strategic mistakes that embarrass al-Qa'eda and the ideological schisms at the heart of the al-Qa'eda movement provide us with opportunities to highlight al-Qa'eda's failures that have the potential to dent their credibility and appeal. Thirdly, there is the possibility of al-Qa'eda going in different directions – including insurgency and crime – that would prompt the end of its terrorism campaign and the emergence of different agendas.

Cronin's analysis is textured, challenging and insightful. And, as with all good analyses, the assertions at the heart of the argument prompt further lines of inquiry for scholars and practitioners to explore. For example, Cronin's assertion that decapitation will not end al-Qa'eda prompts one to ask what effect Osama bin Laden's death would have on the respective agendas of al-Qa'eda's regional affiliates and their prospective negotiating positions (if, as Cronin suggests, efforts are made to talk to them). Similarly, Cronin's claim that repression will not end al-Qa'eda begs an assessment of the kind of impact a more constrained al-Qa'eda would have on the credibility of the al-Qa'eda brand, and its power to guide and inspire others to launch attacks. As for the suggestion that a transition to crime could mark the beginning of the end of al-Qa'eda's terrorism campaign, the potential for groups with terrorist intent to bolster their capabilities through ransom payments, piracy and drug running requires constant evaluation. *How Terrorism Ends* shines a light on the key issues that relate to an al-Qa'eda threat that is becoming increasingly diffuse, diverse and devolved – and, even with the benefit of Cronin's perspective, difficult to predict.

Christopher Mackmurdo

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The International Organization for Standardization (ISO): Global Governance through Voluntary Consensus (Global Institutions) by Craig, Murphy and JoAnne, Yates. London: Routledge, 2009. 160 pp., £16.99 paperback, 978 0415774284

This excellent book by Craig Murphy and JoAnne Yates offers a long overdue introduction to and an overview of a key organization in global governance, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO). The book is compact – yet its narrative is highly informative and thorough.

Little known until the mid-1980s, the ISO has become prominent in part due to the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade, negotiated during the Uruguay Round trade negotiations, from 1987 to 1994. This Agreement obliges all member states of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to use international standards as the technical basis of domestic laws and regulations *unless* international standards are ineffective or inappropriate for achieving the specified public policy objectives. Regulations that use international standards are arguably presumed to be consistent with the country's WTO obligations, whereas the use of a standard that differs from the pertinent international standard may be challenged through the WTO dispute mechanism as an unnecessary non-tariff barrier to trade and thus a violation of international trade law.

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The ISO has produced almost 18,000 international standards – far more than any other transnational standard-setting organization; and its production is likely to grow robustly in the years to come.

The book has a clear and compelling structure. Chapter 1 traces the history of the ISO, distinguishing three periods in the ISO's 62 years of operation. In the early years, the ISO was largely a European organization concerned with establishing globally accepted common terminology of measurements and nomenclature as well as ways of testing a variety of basic materials, including plastics and steel. The period from the mid-1960s to the 1980s was transformative. Under the leadership of Olle Sturén, the ISO became a genuinely international institution and played a key role in contributing to the building of the physical infrastructure of today's global economy, notably through the standardization of shipping containers. In the last 20 years, the ISO has entered new areas with great success: standard setting in quality management (ISO 9000 series), the environment (ISO 14000) and corporate social responsibility (ISO 26000). Chapter 2 describes the organizational structure and the standard-setting process of the ISO. The following two chapters detail the ISO's role in enabling contemporary economic globalization and its activities in new realms of standardization. The final chapter describes some of the challenges that the ISO faces, including rival proprietary standards formed by consortia of firms and the open source movement. However, these challenges are unlikely to weaken the central position of the ISO in global governance, as Murphy and Yates explain.

The US Federal Trade Commission observed in 1978: '[A]lthough the considerations of [a] standard tend to be expressed in rather technical language, behind this façade of engineering jargon, what is actually happening is an economic fight, often of the most savage type imaginable because the stakes are so high'.[1] Chapter 5 of the book refers to some of the distributional battles of standardization. This topic – the politics of standardization – is central not only to a proper understanding of the ISO and other private sector global regulators but also to thinking of how to improve this crucial part of global governance.[2] If I have to name one weakness of the book, it is its failure to be more upfront and explicit about the politics of global standard setting and analyse more systematically the complex and far-reaching distributional consequences of the move away from national to global rule making for product markets over the last 20 years or so.[3] Overall, however, the book fills an important gap in the literature and makes for very interesting reading. I trust it will stimulate much more research on this fascinating topic.

Walter Mattli

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Notes

1. Federal Trade Commission (1987) *Standards and Certification: Proposed Rules and Staff Report*. Washington, DC: FTC, p. 94.
2. See Tim Büthe and Walter Mattli (forthcoming) *Global Private Governance: The Politics of Rule-Making for Product and Financial Markets*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
3. See Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods (eds) (2009) *The Politics of Global Regulation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Boundaries of Contagion: How Ethnic Politics have Shaped Government Responses to AIDS by Evan S. Lieberman. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. 368 pp., £16.95 paperback, 978 0691140193

Three decades into the HIV/AIDS epidemic, we know remarkably little about effective HIV prevention policies, or how to change individual behaviour. This volume addresses not so much the issue of what can be done to reduce incidence, but rather why certain governments have responded more aggressively to the epidemic while others have chosen instead denial, delay or inaction. The book is suitable for political scientists and other social science researchers working in the area, but is written in a style (particularly in the presentation of the country case studies) that is likely to be accessible to a general audience.

The central thesis is that in societies that are more ethnically fragmented, state policy responses are weaker because of divisive interpretations of HIV risk and responsibility across ethnic groups, linked to the need to preserve group status by assigning blame to others. These arguments are illustrated through a detailed contrast between South Africa and Brazil. The earlier and more comprehensive response in Brazil is traced to a 'collective neurosis' and shared recognition of the HIV threat, due in part to the lack of racial boundaries (p. 167) but also other factors such as a well-organized civil society movement. South Africa failed to respond as quickly even as the HIV prevalence began to outpace the level in Brazil, with leaders and political parties unwilling to address successfully a disease so imbued with racial connotation.

The author also examines the case of India, where the epidemic is understood as particular to states outside the 'Hindi heartland' (p. 202) and to scheduled caste groups, with such internal divisions along with stigma and sexual conservatism having stalled HIV prevention campaigns. A cross-country regression analysis shows that measures of ethnolinguistic division are significantly correlated with lower government AIDS expenditures per capita, particularly in Africa, though weakly so in Asia and Latin America, with government effectiveness, GDP per capita and the level of HIV prevalence also related to significantly higher AIDS spending.

The volume makes much progress toward developing a theory of state behaviour based on ethnic divisions, though

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the fact that policy responses are a by-product of many context-specific factors is inescapable. For example, the famous Ugandan 'success' occurred in an ethnically diverse nation, and though the nation's longer experience with the disease and President Museveni's active involvement are perhaps 'exceptional' (p. 284), the strong multisectoral response reflects the fact that ethnic boundaries may not matter as much as other variables depending on the local circumstances. The implications for practice are also vexing. How do policy makers who wish to rectify inequalities between groups escape identifying group differences, and is it feasible to expect that they can cultivate a 'global citizenship' that emphasizes 'connections between groups'? If so, how?

Nevertheless, this book is an insightful addition to the too few studies analysing varying policy responses with respect to HIV across countries, adding a thought-provoking and often rich analysis highlighting the role of ethnic divisions as among the important factors shaping state responses to HIV/AIDS.

Sharon Ghuman

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Globalisation and Migration: New Issues, New Politics edited by Ronaldo Munck. London: Routledge, 2009. 239 pp., £80.00 hardback, 978 0415468329

Practitioners and scholars alike are increasing their awareness of how migration, governance and development are intersecting in a globalised world. Munck's edited volume is a collection of analytically sharp, critical and up-to-date articles that shed light on the neglected implications of these developments. Starting with a critical review of relevant approaches and open questions, his concise introduction is a felicitous umbrella for the different topics of the chapters.

Given Munck's area of expertise (as Theme Leader for internationalisation, interculturalism and social development at Dublin City University and Visiting Professor at the University of Liverpool), the book's focus on the ambivalent relationship between development and migration is not surprising. A comprehensive and awareness-raising article by Blakewell, for instance, criticises the 'interventionist' African development rhetoric. He is disgusted by the paternalist discourse that paints migration as a 'problem' and the implicit imperative to 'keep them in their place', and concludes that migration is still excluded from current development approaches, preventing a true win-win-win situation. Wise and Covarrubias' critical development perspective reveals how Mexico's regional integration has, under the disguise of economic development, led to the marginalisation of the workforce, with its dependence on remittances and increasing asymmetries between Mexico and the USA. Trimikliniotis, Gordon and Zondo illustrate with a South African case of anti-immigration trade unions how 'developmentalist' approaches of economic integration have promoted multiregionalism rather than a 'borderless continent'. Marchand's chapter highlights the limited understanding of violence in the migration journey, by exploring violence as the reason for migrating, and the subsequent implications for family members and the receiving country. De Haas compellingly dispels myths of (trimming 'mass') migration by pinpointing the double hermeneutics of sending, transition and receiving countries that have little or no true interest in reducing irregular migration.

The book's petition to acknowledge alternative viewpoints is also achieved by bringing in Barber's thoughtful transnational study of gendered class subjects in Philippine–Canada migration, which reflects convincingly the new 'global complexity' (Urry) of migration that Munck refers to (p. 3). The proposed new approaches to temporary and circular migration and global governance of international migration are the virtue of Wickramasekara's chapter on (somewhat superficially discussed) migrant workers' rights.

Among the many research gaps Munck's book tackles are moreover the link between (the feminisation of) migration and the social dimension of development (Piper), gender analysis of the 'global remittances trend' (Kunz), the sustainability of return migration (van Houte and Davids) and overlooked shortcomings in the discourse of important migration bodies (Rogaly). The title of the final article, 'Towards a Theory of Illegal Migration' (Baldwin-Edwards) raises high expectations, which can only fail to be satisfied in such a short article. Nevertheless, Baldwin-Edwards plausibly connects typologies of irregular migration, historical roots of migration controls and the emergence of mass 'illegal' migration, to which in particular European governments failed to respond.

Overall, notwithstanding the book's occasional lack of recommendations and 'good practices', the unbroken contestation of development approaches will enrich current debates in academia and also policy-making fields. And although one volume cannot but leave gaps in the vast and complex subject area, Munck succeeds in providing an excellent compilation of well-selected, high-quality contributions of global scope on neglected issues at the interface of issues regarding globalisation and migration.

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The Economics and Politics of Climate Change edited by Dieter Helm and Cameron Hepburn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. 576 pp., £30.00 hardcover, 978 0199573288

Published in the run-up to the Copenhagen climate summit, in the midst of a flurry of books on climate change governance, this volume will nevertheless leave its mark, for it provides a magisterial review of national and international climate policy instruments. Taking stock of academic insights and policy developments so far, its main purpose lies both in providing an invaluable summary and in emphasising the many obstacles that continue to stall more effective climate policy making.

These objectives are accomplished very competently. The editors have brought together a great number of leading experts on the various areas of climate policy making who, without exception, offer excellent digests of the state of the art in their respective fields. The first section thus illuminates the debate among economists – cast into the limelight by the 2006 Stern Review – and includes the hitherto less prominent aspects of ethics and behavioural economics. A second section covers some of the main players in climate change governance, critically examining the vulnerabilities, political strategies and policy options of Africa, China, India, the US and the EU. One of the core messages here is that the current international climate architecture does not provide sufficient incentives for low-carbon development and that the policy experiments of the major industrialised countries have not progressed sufficiently. Despite the EU's rhetoric on mitigation, for instance, Dieter Helm (ch. 11) demonstrates that the EU climate regulations still fall short of achieving genuine emissions reductions.

Turning towards the putative 'remedies' to climate change, a third section offers an insightful analysis of major low-carbon technologies and related policy measures such as geo-engineering and energy efficiency. There is much in here to deflate the sometimes uncritical optimism of the proponents of ecological modernisation. Yet, despite a repeated caveat that the Stern Review's initial cost estimates were probably too low, the overall critique represents more corrective than dismissal and offers sound advice on maximising the potential of various technologies/measures and avoiding the most dangerous pitfalls. This constructive approach of critical counselling is continued in a fourth section on national and international policy instruments, such as different architectures for a global carbon market.

It is only in the final section on the global institutional architecture that the 'menu-like' style of policy recommendations somewhat recedes. While offering two very perceptive chapters on the advantages and drawbacks of the climate change regime (ch. 21) and comparisons with other areas of international governance (ch. 22), the authors in this section are strongly in favour of continuing a global and multilateral governance approach. Although they do offer options for reform, their overall stance should have been contrasted with a growing literature on alternative architectures. Such viewpoints are briefly acknowledged, but they would have merited closer examination or, ideally, a separate chapter.

Such small reservations aside, *The Economics and Politics of Climate Change* is a remarkably lucid and comprehensive volume that rigorously assesses the best available instruments for national and international climate policy making. It will serve as an essential resource for academics and a fount of first-rate advice for policy makers.

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