

■ Bunker, Robert J., ed., 2005. *Networks, Terrorism and Global Insurgency*. London & New York: Routledge. xvii + 221 pp. ISBN 0415385946.

This edited volume has been written by a veritable 'who's who' of US theorists on insurgency and military strategy (most of whom work for US military colleges or consultancy firms). Together with Mark Galeotti and Andrew Garfield (based in Europe), they provide interesting and informative analysis of contemporary insurgency and terrorism. The book is divided into four parts, focusing on a theoretical and legal introduction; crime and private armies in Chechnya and Northern Ireland; Al-Qaeda; and, finally, networks. There are many highlights. Max Manwaring provides an impressive overview of the global security landscape, emphasizing the links between failed states, criminality, terrorism and insurgency. The links between terrorism, crime and private armies are also highlighted by John Sullivan. Neal Pollard suggests that legalistic anti-terrorist initiatives are hamstrung by an inability to prosecute people for being part of terrorist networks (rather than just as individuals), and that it is too difficult to take action against the state sponsors of terrorism. Galeotti and Garfield have produced informative case studies of, respectively, Chechen insurgents and the Provisional IRA. Unfortunately, other contributions do not meet these high standards. Arquilla & Ronfeldt's piece on 'netwar revisited' is rather perfunctory. The two biggest disappointments are the two chapters devoted to Al-Qaeda – Robert Bunker and Matt Begert's operational analysis and Lisa Campbell's order of battle. Despite recognizing that it is a disparate body of often loosely connected groups and individuals, they tend to present it as a unitary foe. They cite examples of the tactics and technology used by Al-Qaeda groups, but fail to highlight the extent to which the rest of the network can actually use them.

*Nicholas Marsh*

■ Collins, Kathleen, 2006. *Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xx + 376 pp. ISBN 0521839505.

The established academic avenues for examining macro-shifts in modern societies, such as the modernization and transition theories, focus on

explaining the advance of democratic institutions; the new school of 'state failure' assesses the risks of setbacks in this process. There is, surprisingly, little attention to the driving forces behind the non-democratic trajectory and the rise of new autocracies – and Collins's meticulous research seeks to fill this gap. She argues that it is the clan networks that make the most profound impact on the nature and direction of regime transition (p. 21). Her definition of clan emphasizes 'kin and fictitious kin identities' as well as vertical/horizontal bonds stemming from 'rational calculations of individuals made within a collectivist cultural and historic context' (p. 17). The analysis goes into the history of Central Asia's colonization by Russia and investigates the mutation of clan networks during the Soviet period. The main emphasis, however, is on the post-Soviet transition with three main cases – Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan – that present the remarkable convergence of the initially sharply different political trajectories: respectively, the democratic reforms, the protracted civil war and the buildup of an authoritarian regime. The structure is not entirely clearcut, so the narrative tends to be rather repetitive, but the argument is built with utmost care and the comparisons with other cases, from medieval Italy to present-day Somalia, add more value. Collins acknowledges the positive impacts of the clan networks but concludes that their prevalence determines the decline of states in question; this conclusion was perfectly illustrated by the collapse of the Akayev's regime in Kyrgyzstan in spring 2005, which the author briefly describes in the epilogue.

*Pavel Baev*

■ Davenport, Christian; Hank Johnston & Carol Mueller, eds, 2005. *Repression and Mobilization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. xxi + 258 pp. ISBN 0816644268.

This book offers a new model of protest and contention that is far more actor-rich, event- and regime-specific, and interactive than conventional models. The authors argue that we must add more actors, consider the regime's perceptions of threat and its own capacities, and examine how repression shapes the perceptions and actions of protest groups and others. McPhail and McCarthy point out that, faced with repression, dissidents often shifted their tactics. Boudreaux cleverly shows how a regime's sense of its match-up shapes its

response. Francisco argues that massacres can produce a 'repression backlash' that ultimately weakens states. Zwerman and Steinhoff argue that groups sometimes *seek out* repression to provoke the state into actions that will delegitimize state authorities. Johnston and Ferree, in separate essays, focus on speech acts as challenges to regimes and identify ridicule and social stigmatization as forms of 'soft repression'. Koopmans shows how the public discourse either permits or blocks states from using violent repression on certain challengers, while Ball shows how media distortions make it difficult to get good numbers on government repression. The volume closes with a valuable debate in which Tilly presents four plausible and empirically well-supported mechanisms for explaining social protest. Lichbach challenges this by presenting ten highly convincing mechanisms by which military action against terrorist-harboring states will *reduce* terrorist mobilization, and then ten equally convincing mechanisms by which it will *increase* it. Lichbach argues that it is devilishly difficult to specify *which* mechanisms will be activated and dictate outcomes in any specific circumstances. This volume gives us many mechanisms of protest/repression dynamics to consider and advances considerably our understanding of those dynamics.

*Jack A. Goldstone*

■ Engene, Jan Oskar, 2004. *Terrorism in Western Europe: Explaining the Trends Since 1950*. Cheltenham & Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar. 200 pp. ISBN 1843765829.

Based on the author's doctoral dissertation, this book describes a major events dataset on terrorism in Western Europe (TWEED) covering the period 1950–95. In a time when much focus is on transnational terrorist threats, Engene reminds us that terrorism in Western Europe has primarily been conducted by domestic groups. The number of groups and countries involved is considerable. Of the 18 countries covered, only 2, Iceland and Finland, never experienced any form of terrorism. A total of 188 different terrorist organizations are identified. The data are compiled from a single source of information, *Keesing's Record of World Events*. Keesing's produces brief reports of political events globally, based on a broad set of primary news sources. Interestingly, the overall trends in terrorism in Western Europe seem to

follow global trends in armed conflict incidence. From low levels of terrorism in the 1950s and 1960s, the number of terrorist events increased dramatically from the early 1970s and through the 1980s. After the end of the Cold War, the number of events and, eventually, active organizations and countries affected started to decline. While Engene does not provide exact numbers beyond 1995, he concludes that the declining trend continues up to recent times with terrorism primarily affecting countries with protracted ethnic conflicts, such as Spain, France and the UK. Another interesting trend is that there has not been the general increase in right-wing terrorist violence in the past decade that was predicted by many observers. Engene concludes that ethnic heterogeneous countries seem to have a greater risk of terrorism and that 'ideological terrorism' is more likely in countries with social and political injustices.

*Henrik Urdal*

■ Gausset, Quentin; Michael A. Whyte & Torben Birch-Thomsen, eds, 2005. *Beyond Territory and Scarcity: Exploring Conflicts over Natural Resource Management*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute. 218 pp. ISBN 9171065407.

Gausset, Whyte & Birch-Thomsen have edited a volume consisting of nine case studies from Africa. The chapters discuss the shortcomings of a neo-Malthusian understanding of the relationship between natural resources and population growth in sub-Saharan Africa. By exploring different locations in nine African countries – Burkina Faso, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Lesotho, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Sudan – the contributors show how people cope with challenges brought about by population growth. While the common view of Africa is of a continent plagued by resource scarcity and conflict over resource access due to increasing population density, this book provides more complex knowledge on these issues. The authors stress a move 'beyond territory and scarcity', arguing a stronger emphasis on social, political and cultural contexts surrounding natural resources. Some chapters admit scarcity challenges but emphasize various adaptation strategies, such as seeking wage-labour opportunities in Lesotho and intensification and diversification of crops in Nigeria. Other chapters discuss conflicts that appear to be over resources