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Book Reviews

Terrorism, Freedom, and Security: Winning Without War by Philip B. Heymann. Cambridge, MIT Press, 2003. 210 pp. \$24.95.

Philip B. Heymann's book should be required reading in the White House, throughout the administration, in Congress, and wherever else people are directly or indirectly involved in anti- and counterterrorist decision making or are affected by actions and policies in those areas—which means literally all Americans. Unfortunately, the mass media, especially television, have paid scant attention to this important volume while providing ample promotional opportunities to the authors of sensational post-September 11 books that exploit the public's lingering fears. As far as I can tell from checking the Lexis-Nexis archive, CNN was the only TV network that interviewed the author. The interviewer seemed so perplexed by his "winning without war" thesis that she wondered why the words "war on terrorism" bothered him. What concerns Harvard Professor Heymann, however, are not words but rather the extraordinary steps taken in the domestic and foreign policy realm under the cover of the Bush administration's definition of the post-September 11 threat as "war."

While recognizing that crisis management during ongoing terrorist crises, emergency response measures, as well as retaliation and deterrence in the wake of terrorist strikes are major tasks and options in dealing with terrorism, Heymann focuses on prevention. The starting point of his analysis cannot be emphasized enough: because terrorism is not a temporary phenomenon, but is likely to remain a serious threat for decades to come, policymakers must develop a prudent response strategy that contains short-term and long-term measures. Heymann suggests that the development of such a comprehensive strategy calls for critical thought, not simply the pronouncement of slogans that are convenient for justifying unwise and ultimately ineffective policies. Although extraordinary measures that curb citizens' civil liberties and bypass the constitutional power-sharing arrangement or circumvent international law may be an acceptable price to pay for increased security during a conventional war of limited duration, Heymann warns of the consequences of a long-term retreat from fundamental rights and values in the long struggle against terrorism.

The book's most valuable contribution to the field of anti- and counterterrorism is a comprehensive analytical framework that points to the most impor-

tant goals in efforts to prevent terrorism at home and abroad, various options for achieving those goals, and the benefits and risks tied to the available policy alternatives. Heymann demonstrates convincingly that many measures considered to enhance prevention efforts are likely to be ineffective and costly in terms of alienating people at home and abroad. In applying his framework, Heymann tackles many controversial issues, from racial and ethnic profiling to the assassination of terrorist leaders. The thoughtful discussion and rejection of torture is a welcome departure from the cavalier post-September 11 treatment of this topic in the mass media. In some instances, the author tends to underestimate the difficulties of achieving crucial preventative goals such as aviation security and the identification of the most likely targets of future terrorist attacks.

While supporting the military actions against Afghanistan under the rule of the Taliban and arguing that the United States “should use the threat of our military and economic powers to prevent any state from openly supporting terrorists” (p. 162), Heymann argues convincingly that law enforcement and intelligence—not military force, as used in wars against nation states—are the most promising means to prevent conventional and catastrophic terrorist attacks by nonstate actors. To be sure, this requires broad international cooperation. Here, too, Heymann suggests options for enlisting such support. In the post-September 11 period—not before—this sort of cooperation has, in fact, worked very well. Unfortunately, nobody has compiled and publicized a summary of the many post-September 11 instances around the world in which terrorist plots were discovered in time and known terrorists and suspects arrested because of good bilateral and multilateral cooperation between intelligence and law enforcement agencies. But this success story does not fit the “war on terrorism” and the actions justified in its name.

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U.S. Hegemony and International Organizations edited by Rosemary Foot, S. Neil MacFarlane, and Michael Mastanduno. New York, Oxford University Press, 2003. 296 pp. Cloth, \$74.00; paper, \$24.95.

Relatively little scholarship has ever sought to test many of the claims made in everyday political rhetoric about U.S. foreign policy: does the United States prefer to “go it alone”? Is the United States so wedded to its “exceptionalism” as to undertake aggressive unilateralism and risk alienating the entire international community and its multilateral organizations? *U.S. Hegemony and International Organizations* is an edited volume in which a wide array of scholars and policymakers respond to these questions specifically as they pertain to: generalized perspectives on the United States and multilateral international organizations, with chapters from Edward C. Luck and G. John Ikenberry