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Adrian Goldsworthy, *Pax Romana: War, Peace and Conquest in the Roman World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 513, ISBN: 978-0300178821

Lieutenant Colonel Frank X. Weiss (United States Army, Retired)

Adrian Goldsworthy, the renowned British author of numerous critically acclaimed books, (including biographies of Julius Caesar, Cleopatra, and Augustus), has provided the interested military historian, liberal arts scholar and general reader with a nuanced portrait of the late Roman Republic and Early Roman Empire and a balanced consideration of the complex process of peacekeeping during those ancient times. Goldsworthy, by virtue of a decade's worth of extensive scholarship on The Roman Army, The Roman Republic and The Roman Empire, has endeavored to answer the question, "Was the Roman Peace solely the product of bluntly wielded military power and oppression or of subtler, more insidious methods of coercion?" (p. 2)

Chronology for this historic examination proceeds from 753 BCE through AD 476, and includes exhaustive source material from: Polybius; Livy; Pliny the Younger; Pliny the Elder; Sallust; Appian; Suetonius; Frontinus; Plutarch; Cato; Cicero; Strabo; Caesar; Dio; Horace; Ovid; Virgil; Josephus; Tacitus; Apuleius; Arrian and Ammianus Marcellinus. Notable modern Roman history subject matter experts are also included. E. Gibbon; L. Keppie; H. Delbruk; E. Luttwak; D. Potter; R. Alston and R. Bagnall are just a few examples among the impressive scholarly sources cited in the notes and bibliography.

In addition to Goldsworthy's extensive review of the era's historiography, he also provides photographs of archeological finds and artifacts that seek to reveal how the Romans and their Empire's subjects conducted their lives and affairs during The Pax Romana. This edition also contains fifteen finely drawn and well researched maps, which accurately represent pictorially the vast extent of the Roman Empire from its republican origins throughout the Mediterranean Sea, to its ultimate eastern frontier in Parthia. These maps are quite useful references whether for following Caesar's legions during their conquest of Gaul, or for enumerating the British tribes complicit in the Rebellion of Boudica, or for precisely delineating the Roman Empire's various frontiers on The Rhine, The Danube, and in Northern Britain.

Goldsworthy's Glossary is extensive and an absolute essential for those who missed out on their Classical Latin education. It covers both imperial nomenclature (e.g. *imperium*, *provinciae*, *legio* and *ala*), and important Roman virtues and concepts (e.g.

auctoritas, fides, cursus honorum). The author also defines his ancient Latin words in italics within the narrative text itself, to clarify any unfamiliar terms.

Revisionists and practitioners of political correctness are likely to find themselves offended by Goldsworthy's stated departure from modern historical orthodoxy. Some examples of this include: "Empires are not fashionable and for many anything associated with empires and imperialism must be a bad thing" (p. 2) and, "I am an historian, and this book is an attempt to understand one aspect of the past on its own terms." (p. 7)

Central to Goldsworthy's examination of the Roman Peace are its various disparate elements such as: civic virtue, citizenship, alliances, imperium, provincialism, trade, taxation, veteran resettlement, suppression of piracy, etc. While stark military conquest may have initially defeated many of Rome's adversaries and commercial rivals, that method proved insufficient to hold and to bind the defeated to a more permanent and more harmonious relationship with Rome.

In his Introduction, the author acknowledges, "The Romans were warlike, aggressive imperialists, who exploited their conquests for their own benefit." (p. 14) Nevertheless, Rome could never have integrated the vast conquered territories and peoples into an expansive "worldwide" empire for so long a period of time, without resilient alliances, enlightened administration, efficient civil engineering, committed citizenship, effective taxation and the maintenance of an acceptable level of well-being and domestic tranquility.

War was clearly the propellant that drove the legions to conquer lands and peoples and to extend the frontiers of the Roman Republic and Roman Empire, but ultimately the legions (however numerous) could only garrison the frontier's periphery. Rome's policy of creating alliances and treaties with the conquered cities, tribes, and civilizations added defensive military manpower reserves, which served as a buffer against further enemy raids and invasion, insulating Rome and conferring unprecedented internal peace on citizens and allies alike for lengthy durations.

The enlightened policy of extending Roman citizenship to all allied male inhabitants of the Italian peninsula and thence onto the males of the various Greek provinces apparently prevented continuous warfare throughout The Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. The policy of permitting some form of local "Home Rule" in domestic affairs also minimized the numbers of Roman troops devoted to the everyday policing of public safety.

As the Roman Empire's outer frontier was congealing, the expanding inner network of provinces demanded competent

government. Disputes among the governed required adjudication, markets needed definition and placement, these new markets required prices and exchange rates. Publicans had to collect taxes, safeguard them, and transmit them to Rome. Goldsworthy describes the activities of these Roman contactors, traders and settlers, as well as their interaction with the provincial Roman governors like Cicero. Some Roman governors provided enlightened leadership and judicious government; while others were manifestly corrupt and exploitive.

“Pliny’s letters and Trajan’s replies depict the government of the empire as benevolent and respectful of local law and tradition, wishing to ensure not only stable rule and peace, but also the welfare of the provincial population.” (p. 277) And yet, there coexisted within this ostensive Empire at peace, mass deportations, executions, slavery, atrocities, genocidal massacres, piracy, tribal brigandage, riots, rebellions and crime.

Goldsworthy in his conclusion reminds us that within this partially known Ancient World there was no international law, no permanent diplomatic contacts between states, no press or media coverage. Trade and travel during the Pax Romana moved along Roman protected sea lanes, to Roman controlled ports, and via Roman engineered roads. “The Pax Romana came after conquest and was imposed whether or not the population of the provinces wanted it ... rebellions against Roman rule ceased... Over time Roman rule became normal, and any alternative either unrealistic or unappealing.” (p. 414) Each state, tribe, or civilization that Rome incorporated into her vast Empire, paid a specific price in blood, treasure and liberty for any conferred prosperity, stability and security. This balanced and well written volume examines not only the benefits of the Pax Romana, but also specifically calculates the costs imposed on the conquered provinces and their peoples.

Anna Maria Forssberg, *The Story of War: Church and Propaganda in France and Sweden 1610-1710* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2016), pp. 288, ISBN: 978-9188168665.
Gregory Michna (Arkansas Tech University)

In *The Story of War: Church and Propaganda in France and Sweden 1610-1710*, Anna Maria Forssberg offers a comparative study of the relationship between the institutional church and monarchy in both of the aforementioned countries, specifically exploring how monarchs informed the population, dictated celebrations, and narrated the story of war. Forssberg draws on her role as the senior curator for the Army Museum of Stockholm and her doctoral work on domestic wartime propaganda in Sweden from 1655-1680, expanding her current research to include French comparisons. Though obvious differences existed between the two countries because of their religious differences and the relative power of the French and Swedish monarchs, similarities in the use of ritual to inform, selective reporting of wartime accomplishments, and religious appeals to God's favor appear throughout the work. Contrasting her work with that of Michèle Fogel's *Les Cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle* (1989)¹, Forssberg argues that French and Swedish monarchs intentionally utilized these ceremonies as propaganda.

The first section of *The Story of War* considers the informative nature of state and church rituals in the two countries, highlighting the important role that the pulpit played in spreading information to inform citizens. Both French *Te Deum* and Swedish thanksgiving celebrations aided the monarchy in mustering resources and boosting morale during wartime while distorting the realities of wartime progress and setbacks by selectively feeding the public positive information. Celebrations might praise God for aiding a country in capturing a city while omitting the fact that a significant loss occurred elsewhere. Swedish publications until 1645 aimed to convince audiences outside of Sweden that the country adhered to patterns of just warfare by casting Catholic neighbors as aggressors and Swedish attacks as a preemptive defense of Protestantism. French celebrations ignored attacks within France until 1635 and generally downplayed the roles of field commanders while highlighting the power of the king. Monarchs blurred the truth in both cases. The 1670s marks a turning point in

¹ Michèle Fogel, *Les Cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

which Forssberg notes that the rituals in France and Sweden both underwent formalization as the monarchs of both countries experienced infrequent victories.

Forssberg then shifts to focus on the celebratory nature of the rituals, highlighting the role that collective singing and participation played in encouraging people to accept the message presented by the clergy and the king. Rituals provided an opportunity for monarchs to dictate expectations for the carrying out of ceremonies and the intended message. The author notes that in both countries the clergy also diminished in importance over time, with France emphasizing the king more directly and Sweden pushing civic participation. Rituals in France provided the opportunity to reinforce the social hierarchy, as Forssberg aptly notes that the 1637 *Te Deum* involved the placement of a chair for Cardinal Richelieu apart from the nobility but subordinate to the king to emphasize his elevated status. The use of cannons in Swedish celebrations also blurred sacred and profane spaces and brought aspects of early modern warfare into churches and towns. Forssberg concludes this section – arguable the most interesting and well-written in the book – with an analysis of the national “self-portrait” these rituals sketch. In Sweden, the portrait is more religious in casting the country as one of God’s favored nations and emphasizing the collective effort all citizens played in wartime. She describes the French portrait as a triptych emphasizing hierarchy and the centrality of the king in the tripartite schema of organization, *Te Deum* singing, and the celebrations in the streets that followed.

The final section of *The Story of War* considers the narrative element of French and Swedish celebrations and contains some of Forssberg’s most surprising findings. One contrast to modern portrayals of war is that surprising lack of detail in terms of battlefield experiences and the hardship of war from a soldier’s perspective. In both cases the main protagonists were God and the king, with French texts adopting positive outlook in comparison to the Swedish tendency to frame war as God’s punishment. Wars also provided the opportunity for monarchs to emphasize their exploits and successes, though this occasionally created awkward narrative slippages like texts “authored” by a four-year-old Louis XIV after his father’s death, and the emphasis on field commanders in Sweden after the battlefield death of Gustav II Adolf. One of Forssberg’s most interesting observations in this section pertains to narrative framing of enemies. In French propaganda during the Wars of Religion the Crown rarely framed the war as a religious struggle between Protestants and Catholics, choosing instead to frame the conflict as one of disobedient

subjects. Likewise, she contrasts this somewhat inclusive French stance amidst civil war with Swedish portrayals of the Ottoman Empire as a wartime bogeyman despite the fact that they remained a peripheral threat during much of Forssberg's period of study. Swedish texts emphasized barbarity and framed antagonism with the Ottomans in explicitly religious terms to emphasize Sweden's support for the Habsburgs. The years of 1701-1710 marked the twilight of wartime narration in this period, as both France and Sweden found themselves chasing victories in conflicts like the War of the Spanish Succession that seemed increasingly elusive.

Forssberg utilizes a variety of sources to make her argument, drawing on French materials from the Notre Dame cathedral and provincial perspectives from Aix and Marseille. Newspapers and other provincial correspondence augment Swedish sources like the minutes and correspondence between the king and his council (Riksregistraturet). Analysis of the French *Te Deums* and Swedish thanksgiving ceremonies form the core of *The Story of War*, as Forssberg devotes significant space in each chapter to an analysis of details and omissions in the ceremonies linked to various battles, the greater context, and how groups within each society carried out directives for the celebrations. The sheer number of celebrations examined is impressive and requires Forssberg to devote time to contextualizing the circumstances surrounding the event that triggered a *Te Deum* or thanksgiving celebration.

The most significant criticism of Forssberg's work lies in its thematic structure and the fact that this makes *The Story of War* repetitive at times. The emphasis within typical French *Te Deum* celebrations on the centrality of the king and the participatory nature of the Swedish thanksgiving ceremony, their tendency to gloss battlefield specifics, and the fact that these ceremonies represented one of the only public sources of news, however flawed, represent three points repeated continually throughout each chapter. Forssberg could have shortened each of the major sections in the book to provide a final section on public participation and reception of state and church propaganda – the topic most notably absent from the work. Given Robert Darnton's sophisticated treatment of alternative forms of French media in *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (1982)², the primary source material certainly exists. To her credit, Forssberg makes passing reference to satirized forms of the *Te Deum* that appeared

² Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

late in Louis XIV's reign, but *The Story of War* would be a richer monograph if the author engaged more effectively with this topic. Forssberg's emphasis on the differences between France and Sweden naturally raises the question of effectiveness and whether monarchical strategies of informing, celebrating, and narrating were more effective or provoked different popular responses in the respective countries. One other minor point of criticism lies in the use of images to augment the text. Forssberg includes several engravings and illustrations of various French and Swedish celebrations with little commentary on how they related to the actual celebrations that occurred. Here Forssberg could have drawn on methods like that of Peter Burke in *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (1992)³ to explore the role that this imagery played in monarchical stratagem.

Nevertheless, *The Story of War* is an interesting and informative book that effectively places France and Sweden in a comparative context regarding wartime propaganda and its uses. Scholars researching and teaching comparative military history will find the book useful despite the need to supplement with other sources that deal with public reception. *The Story of War* is best suited for graduate seminars, though it could appear in an advanced undergraduate course in early modern European history with significant contextualization of the Thirty Years' War and the politics and statecraft of France and Sweden from 1610-1710. Forssberg deserves acclaim for drawing interesting comparisons between countries typically framed as opposites and in analyzing both the ceremonial and narrative nature of monarchical propaganda. A brief review cannot do justice to the interesting details and insights that Forssberg provides.

³ Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

Gregory Carleton, *Russia: The Story of War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), pp. 304, ISBN: 978-0674972483.

Orel Beilinson (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

War is a common theme in any given history of Russia. Indeed, its immense size is a product of warfare; the foundation of the Imperial capital of St. Petersburg was only possible after the Great Northern War; Two "Patriotic" wars (one against Napoleon in 1812 and the other in 1941-1945) are still the foundations of its national conception. Indeed, a war in 1905 made a constitutional revolution much more likely than it seemed, and a war in Afghanistan in 1979 impacted not only the chances of survival of the "Soviet experiment," but also changed the way Islam engaged its surrounding world forever. Instead of arguing that the entire Russian state is subjugated to its military, Gregory Carleton argues that war is central to the Russian understanding of itself, its place in the world, as well as its past and future.

Carleton's major claim is that war stands in the heart of a civic religion whose origins reach back as far as The Battle of Kulikovo in 1380. This civic religion delicately incorporates sacrifice and triumphalism, and these two themes characterize much of the Russian fiction and film, history and institutions. A limited, but flexible choice of motifs not only adorn but mainly give meaning to the present through the past: invasion, resistance, self-reliance, and self-sacrifice help tying the Mongols with the Nazis, and 1380 to 1812 to 1941 to 2018. 1812 and 1941, which represent the wars against Napoleon and Hitler accordingly, are the highlights of this long history of battles. In the domestic sphere, these motifs underscore "historical lessons" such as the need for a centralized regime and the need to obey, with *smuta* – a civil war or anarchy (often translated as the "Time of Troubles" when referring to a concrete period of interregnum that led to the rise of the Romanovs) – being the ultimate misfortune.

The impact of this myth of eternal war is also key to Russia's view of itself in the international arena. Russia sees itself as a martyr for the entire world; as epitomized in Yevtushenko's great poem, Russian blood is what made the Eiffel Tower possible. But the West is also a threat. Looking at the annexation of Crimea, for example, Carleton argues that this deterministic, but in no way monolithic, script made the West an enemy that threatens compatriots and therefore must be stopped. The constant comparisons made in Russia between historical events and current events, fueled by common vocabulary (such as the usage of the term "fascist" to describe the Ukrainian government), further

reinforces a Russian point of view on civilization, society, and politics.

Carleton makes an important point by integrating literature and state. By showing how these themes and motifs informed not only official practices but also ordinary cultural artefacts such as poetry and prose, he rejects any claim that this myth is propagated and administered top-down. It also serves to show how this myth is not scripted and monolithic, as said before, but is constantly developing. Thus, the Nobel laureate Svetlana Alexievich can be condemning war while classical Soviet films are slightly more forgiving, not to say enthusiastic. Essentially, however, we find the main themes – sacrifice seems an extraordinarily omnipresent one – in all discourses, even those that only seem to mirror the voice of ordinary people.

To further portray this process as dynamic, a separate chapter is dedicated to defeats. Mainly in the modern era, Russia did not avoid losses: The Crimean War led to vast processes of modernization; the Russo-Japanese War brought upon the Tsar a constitutional revolution; the Soviet-Afghan War virtually gave birth to Al-Qaeeda. In a nuanced treatment, Carleton shows how these defeats were transformed in storytelling to emphasize the heroism, the sacrifice, and the positive results – even if they were miniscule. While the author does not digress beyond his scope of study, this process is present in other societies as well, most notably perhaps in Serbia and the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 or Israel's Lag Ba'Omer, a holiday that commemorates a failed revolt.

Overall, this is a well-written and fine study of Russia's political and natural cultures. While one has to wonder whether such an overarching theory can really capture the essence of the phenomenon, no one can deny that Carleton has advanced the research in these fields immensely, mainly through his meticulous treatment of various facets of modern and contemporary Russian texts. It is an important reading for every scholar of Russia.

Margaret Hall, *The Imperial Aircraft Flotilla: The Worldwide Fundraising Campaign for the British Flying Services in the First World War* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2017), pp. 330, ISBN: 978-3838210919.

Paolo Andrea Gemelli (University of Genoa, Italy)

At 11 o'clock p.m. on August 4, 1914, Great Britain declared war on Germany. Because of the German unsatisfactory reply to the ultimatum delivered from Britain, the Foreign Office issued the following official statement:

Owing to the summary rejection by the German Government of the request made by his Majesty's Government for assurances that the neutrality of Belgium will be respected, his Majesty's Ambassador to Berlin has received his passports, and his Majesty's Government declared to the German Government that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Germany as from 11 p.m. on August 4, 1914.¹

On December 17, 1903, the Wright Flyer lifted into the air at 10:35 a.m. The flight lasted only twelve seconds and covered a distance of just 121 feet (37 m). It was the first powered, manned, heavier-than-air, controlled flight.² After that, the extraordinary development of power-propelled airplanes and, to a smaller degree, of dirigible airships, removed the question of aerial war from the subordinate place where it had been used as auxiliaries of armies.³

In the years before WWI the questions connected with the use of aircrafts in war were new and constantly changing with the progress of flight. Particularly, the question on the legitimate use of aircrafts in war was raised in 1911 during the Madrid Session of the Institute of the International Law. "I regret very much", said one of the jurists, "that the progress of science has made aviation possible".⁴ Despite the doubts expressed, the proposal made in Madrid to restrict their use to just scouting and reconnaissance

¹ "How the Guardian Reported the First World War: England Declares War on Germany," *The Guardian*, August 5 2014. Accessed April 15, 2018. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/05/england-declares-war-germany-1914>.

² "1900s: The American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics." Accessed March 26, 2018. <https://www.aiaa.org/SecondaryTwoColumn.aspx?id=5724>.

³ James M. Spaight, *Aircraft in War* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1914), p.1

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.3.

purposes appeared unrealizable, but the legislation was influenced by the fear of aerial attacks on undefended cities in violation of Article 25 of the Hague R glement ("The attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings which are undefended is prohibited").⁵

Margaret Hall is an anthropologist. In *The Imperial Aircraft Flotilla: The Worldwide Fundraising Campaign for the British Flying Services in the First World War* she examines the worldwide fundraising efforts as a part of the history of British Empire in the years of the WWI and also she discusses the propaganda and counter-subversion usages of the Imperial Aircraft Flotilla and the support for the imperial war effort revealing about contemporary national and regional identities and aspirations.

A great wave of fundraising patriotic associations followed Britain's declaration of war in 1914, and the most successful public campaign of all was launched in 1915 in London. The Imperial Aircraft Flotilla scheme aimed to attract funds for fighter aircraft in the same way of Dominica in the Caribbean: on September 26, 1914 the island's Legislative Council introduced a resolution approving a grant of  4,000 from Dominica's financial surplus, to be offered to the British Government as a contribution to the Royal Flying Corps (RFC). A similar scheme was developed during the naval arms race with Germany that had preceded the WWI by Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In Canada, particularly, the imperial naval contribution became a party political issue: since 1911 the Canadian Premier, proposed that Canada meet the costs of three new ships for the Royal Navy.

On January 5, 1915 Evelyn Wrench, British author and founder of the Royal Over-Seas League,⁶ sought the Army Council's approval for a public campaign aimed at getting each section of the British Empire to present an aeroplane to the RFC, to be named after the district that provided it. Wrench's intention in launching the Imperial Aircraft Flotilla scheme had been essentially political: to give British communities in all parts of the empire a sense of involvement in the war. His fundraising campaign was launched with every part of the Empire in his sights: he simply fired off leaflets and subscription forms to all Colonies and

⁵ "Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague, IV)," 1907 in *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949*, ed. US Department of State and Charles I. Bevans (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, 1968), vol. 1, 631-653.

⁶ Accessed March 26, 2018. <https://www.rosl.org.uk/>

Protectorates, as well as to press contacts and Overseas Club branches abroad and to influential figures on his mailing lists in the Dominions.

By mid-October 1915 the Overseas Club had provided 35 aeroplanes to the RFC, or £60,000 in cash, with several more promised. The only example of a government allocating money for the procurement of aeroplanes under Wrench's scheme every year of the war was that of the island of Zanzibar in the Indian Ocean. The Zanzibar series of aircrafts were all gun-mounted, and cost £2,250-£2,700 apiece: from FE2b fighting scouts presented in 1915-1916; through the multipurpose Reconnaissance Experimental 8s (RE8s) in 1917; and the Bristol Fighters and Scouting Experimental 5as (SE5as) in 1918.

On receipt of Evelyn Wrench's appeal, the Governor of Hong Kong, Sir (Francis) Henry May, passed it on to the local newspapers. Referring to the recent Zeppelin bombing raid on Yarmouth, it cited an official German statement to the effect that there would be more of the same to come: in the light of this threat, every aeroplane that could be provided would be needed, with no contribution too small. Local contributions were to be sent to the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank. A message of support from Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lewis Harcourt wished every success to this "excellent" proposal of the Overseas Club.

The War Office sent a report on one of Hong Kong's presentation aeroplanes at the end of 1915: "This machine has mainly been used for cooperation with artillery, but has also been out on reconnaissance. In July, when over the enemy's territory, it was attacked by 2 German machines, both of which were driven off." (p. 105) In 1915, Wrench's aircraft appeal reached the desks of the four British Colonial Governors of West Africa, and all of them, to varying degrees, responded positively. The Governor of Sierra Leone even visited Evelyn Wrench at the London headquarters of the Overseas Club in August 1915. His name headed a list of subscribers for the reconnaissance *Sierra Leone*, with a donation of £100. Gambia's gift was made in mid-1917, and consisted of £10,000 voted by the Colony's legislature for aeroplanes simply entitled *Gambia Nos. 1-4*.

In Nigeria Sir Frederick Lugard was in touch with Wrench and he even permitted fundraising among his staff. A benefit match at the Lagos Tennis Club in September 1915 saw the Governor's Deputy and the Administrator paired against the Director of Marine and First Assistant Secretary of the Central Secretariat, the proceeds from entrance fees being maximized by a Mrs. Lambert "who sat at the gate ...stoutly refusing to give change." (p. 137)

By the close of 1915 the Nigeria Aeroplane Fund had sent £3,000 to London for two presentation BE2cs.

By August 21, 1917, overseas contributors had defrayed the costs of 437 aeroplanes and seaplanes for RFC and RNAS, and over five hundred and fifty by the Armistice. If gift planes from Great Britain itself are counted, well in excess of six hundred were presented from all sources during the conflict. Their designated names included those of countries, cities, districts, businesses, communities, ranches, homesteads, and individuals, even, in the case of Harry Arnhold of Shanghai his racing pony *Oriole*.

The book is an interesting reading as it covers a facet of the WWI otherwise missed. It is fascinating, not just for historians, to see different people from different countries of the Empire taking actions to participate in the British efforts in the WWI, sometimes in quite unconventional ways. The sense of national identity and individual responsibility that emerges in one of the most critical moment of the history may be a good and actual lesson to learn for everyone.

Claes Ahlund, ed. *Scandinavia in the First World War: Studies in the War Experiences of the Northern Neutrals* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2012), pp. 360, ISBN: 978-9187121579.
Michael Carragher (University of Birmingham, United Kingdom)

The relative fates of Belgium and Denmark prove Gooch's contention that geography is the mother of history: Denmark was as contiguous with Germany as Belgium but geostrategic considerations carry greater force than any "scrap of paper." Nevertheless, all Scandinavian countries faced challenges in sustaining neutrality through the Great War, and these challenges are explored here in thirteen often-fascinating essays. Neutrality was to the countries' individual and mutual benefit, and seen as "a morally superior position" (p. 22), but it was a complex and sensitive business for open economies dependent on trade with both belligerent camps and territorially adjacent to both Germany and the Russian Empire. The Hague Convention precluded neutrality blocs, so each country had to devise its own policies and these were determined by different national and geographical considerations.

In maintaining neutrality, pragmatism was more important than sticking to the letter of international law and all countries skirted perilously close to this at times. Nor did neutrality come without cost: policing it became more burdensome as the war dragged on and decline in trade reduced governments' funds, while expelled aliens, refugees, deserters and escapees imposed further burdens on people already short of food, leading to resentment and increased xenophobia.

Scandinavians already had a reputation for liberalism, and had just celebrated a century of intra-peninsular peace, but they were not unaffected by the contemporary *zeitgeist*. They differed in their cultural and economic affinities, and their respective histories. Swedes considered themselves Teutonic Germanic and though they feared interference by both countries, history of war with Russia drove the "active neutrality" faction to favor their old ally Germany; the "real neutrality" faction favored the more democratic Entente over the aggressor nations (p. 158), as did the great majority of Norwegians and Danes. These considered themselves Anglo-Saxon Germanic, but trade links with Britain and resentment over relatively recent war with Prussia respectively were more important than racial factors. Simplistic racial distinctions became blurred by Entente alliance with Slavic Russia and deployment of colonial troops, while the Belgian atrocities were perceived as evidence of Germany's racial degeneracy, the result of dilution with Slav and Jewish blood. Pacifism was argued

by a few to be also evidence of racial degeneracy, but as the war dragged on, killing off "the best" on both sides, it came to be seen as having Social-Darwinian advantage. Ultimately "the war shattered European racial confidence" and confirmed the virtues of neutrality (p. 208).

The war was brought home not alone in economic hardship but by sailors killed at sea, corpses washed ashore after the Battle of Jutland and by the media. Phototelegraphy had yet to be perfected and poor image quality often required touching up by traditional illustrators, but the immediate realism of photojournalism made the war "a visual phenomenon in people's consciousness" (p. 78). Fiction built on the fascination, creating enduring memory of events not witnessed and reinforcing commitment to neutrality, while reminding readers of its fragility. Invasion stories as a genre dated back to Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* of 1871, and were popular in Scandinavia, the invading villain being Russia in Sweden, Germany in Denmark, for obvious reasons of history. Danish writer Inga Nalbandian set her novels against the Armenian exterminations, with some conflation with accounts from the Bryce Report, generating empathy with war's victims. Spy novels were more formulaic but had propaganda value and, like Childers' *The Riddle of the Sands*, even led to official note if not indeed action being taken. They reinforced the value of neutrality, and perhaps contemporary racist attitudes, in portraying moral erosion of national virtue by foreigners.

Spies and foreign agents certainly were active, especially in Norway with its huge merchant navy and trading links with Britain. They were managed, respectively, by N-Abteilung and MI6; the former had several sub-stations across Scandinavia and "inserted a large number of agents" into Britain (p. 90), but these were of little value and open sources provided Germany with more information. Other German agents, posing as journalists and businessmen, kept watch on shipping traffic in harbors but they were amateurish and unreliable. One brought his own form of *schrecklichkeit* in the form of curare and anthrax germs and this caused outcry. Added to this were two high-profile cases of German espionage exposed in Bergen, the main port, so in the popular mind Germans came to be synonymous with spies. Spying had been criminalized to help defend neutrality and combined with the U-boat campaign led to increased anti-German sentiment and a tougher stance being taken. As always in the intelligence war, the British were far subtler and effective. They kept a low profile and Frank Stagg, of MI6, effectively collaborated with Norwegian police to catch German spies. This and other factors meant Norway "became de facto part of the Allied war effort" (p. 40).

In Norway "Germans were regarded as cold-blooded murderers and barbarians" (p. 329), not alone because of the U-boat campaign but because of their laying mines in shipping lanes. Norwegian shipping losses were second only to those of Britain, but resentment was also directed against war-profiteers, for Norway being a maritime trading nation these often grew fat on the risks taken by merchant seamen yet were loath to pay danger money or increase wages. Anger was expressed in indignant novels, poems and plays, here and in Denmark, which also suffered but had to be more circumspect given the proximity of the offender, who had contingency plans to occupy the country if necessary. Indeed, some Danish literature reflected pride in those from Schleswig-Holstein who served in the *Kaiserliche Marine*.

Not all Scandinavians were neutral. Immigrants in belligerent countries enlisted or were conscripted. Initially volunteers in the Australian Imperial Force were regarded with suspicion and had to renounce their Nordic citizenship, but they suffered with the rest at Gallipoli; later their native governments advised widows and dependents how to claim compensation. Many joined up for the same reason young men did in all countries—to swap unemployment for three square meals a day, or routine for adventure—but some Danes enlisted to avenge the defeat of 1864.

They might have found themselves facing brothers or cousins across No Man's Land, rural conscripts from Schleswig-Holstein who went to war reluctantly, worried more about the harvest than invading Cossacks. These conscripts were treated better than those from Alsace-Lorraine, but like all non-Germans in the Reich's armed forces they were distrusted and local defeats were sometimes put down to "Danish espionage" (p. 275). "Danish" POWs tended to get better treatment in Allied hands and this increased German distrust. Desertion was relatively easy from Schleswig-Holstein, but initially uncommon out of fear of post-war consequences; the rate increased after Verdun and the Somme, and Denmark refused to return deserters to the Fatherland.

After the Russian Revolution war came closer to Scandinavia. Some Swedes saw the Finnish Civil War as an opportunity to recover the Grand Duchy, lost to the old enemy, if not indeed restore former Swedish military greatness, but of far greater interest and importance was the Red Star animal relief drive, which took place behind the White lines. Given Swedish sympathy for the Whites, Red Star was an unfortunate name, and was subsequently changed to Blue Star (which still exists). The relief scheme was operated mainly by women, with their "compassion, nursing skills and sense of duty" (p. 317), and while it was humane concerns that

occupied the Red Star, the Swedish press brought home the appalling treatment suffered by horses, used in huge numbers by all armies in those largely pre-mechanized times. In winter, so far north, fodder was frequently hard to find and starvation added its misery to suffering inflicted by bullet and bomb. The result was deeper Swedish commitment to neutrality.

This book was the outcome of three seminars held between 2009 and 2011. As can be seen, it covers a broad range of topics "in a research field that is ... seriously underdeveloped in Scandinavian historiography" (p. 7) and little known even to Great War specialists. Most comprehensive and impressive is the introduction, which covers almost fifty pages and alone goes a good way to addressing this historiographical shortfall. As more than one essayist acknowledges, more work remains to be done but this is a good start. All essays are impressively well written and fully supported by endnotes. The only real criticism is a rudimentary index.

Spyros Tsoutsoumpis, *A History of the Greek Resistance in the Second World War: The People's Armies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 288, ISBN: 978-1784992514.

Nicholas S. Miceli (Park University, College of Management)

Spyros Tsoutsoumpis' *A History of the Greek Resistance in the Second World War: The People's Armies* is an interesting work, not just from a historical perspective, but also as an organizational analysis. The five chapters of this book provide a succinct but thorough analysis of the political, historic, religious, military, and social environmental conditions that drove the outcome of the Greek resistance and subsequent Greek Civil War.

Chapter 1 deals with the initial conditions underlying the beginnings of the Greek resistance. The Greek state had collapsed under Axis occupation, and though resistance began to emerge, it was not unified, and it was not uniformly supported across Greece. The turmoil of the larger war led to societal disruption, with established power structures being eradicated. As a result, the peasantry now held power due to being in a better position to survive, relative to urban dwellers. Social networks were reverting to a level of familial relationships, with larger extended networks becoming degraded (p. 26). Over time, given that the peasantry did not have ties to a strong Greek national identity, local and self-interests would come to dominate decision-making (p. 29).

In terms of an organizational theory that could explain these behaviors, Maslow's¹ "Hierarchy of Needs" would work well. Maslow's model is classified as a factor theory, in which factors or variables are used to explain the causes of individuals' behaviors. As earlier or lower-level factors are largely satisfied, later or subsequent factors emerge, and are satisfied in turn. The factors, in order of their need to be satisfied are:

- Survival (physiological) needs;
- Safety needs;
- Belongingness (affiliation) needs;
- Esteem needs;
- Self-actualization needs.

In the upheaval faced during wartime, the lower-level needs of survival and safety came to predominate everyday life. It is not surprising that the only way an initial resistance network (Belongingness needs) could be established would be through

¹ Abraham Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation," *Psychological Review* 50, no. 4 (1943): 370-396.

familial ties. The resistance leadership tended to emerge from urban communities with a higher proportion of educated persons. The leaders tended to have charisma, prestige or expertise, which made them appealing as leaders (p. 31). However, without sufficient connections to others to form large enough cells, these organizing efforts failed. As a result, familial connections were utilized (p. 32). Even familial ties could not generate enough critical mass to pull together a large enough group that could attract and retain members over time. These issues, of motivation and recruitment are covered in Chapter 2.

Initial recruiting methods were based on local political considerations, and pre-existing power struggles. The resistance movement could be viewed as an "overlay" to these pre-existing conditions. In Maslow's terms, competing leaders were fighting for esteem. Under these conditions, motivation and recruitment became even more complex issues than they would have been had the only opponent been the external occupying forces. The candidate pool had to be "politically reliable" or aligned with the "right" faction. Candidates had to be able to stand up to physical demands and deal with physical danger. Unarmed candidates were rejected. As a result, the pool consisted of the politically committed; family members; or criminals. Many of those seeking out the resistance had no other options, even in wartime. As a result, recruitment was extremely personalized (p. 72).

At this initial phase, material support for the resistance was whatever they could beg, steal, borrow, or intimidate from the peasantry. When the British Military Mission became involved, support was vastly increased, which enlarged the size of the recruit pool. In motivational terms, those who could be guerillas saw that the extrinsic motivators (e.g., money, uniforms, weapons = survival and safety) were vastly improved, compared to the previous situation (p. 73).

Even with improved support and the increased size of the candidate pool, it was difficult to recruit a sufficient number of troops to execute missions effectively. Part of this was due to the lack of political interest in rural areas. It was also due to the inherent disincentives associated with unconventional warfare. As a result, the candidate pool ended up consisting of persons with either police or military backgrounds, or criminals. This was extremely like the problem posed in "Moneyball."² When faced with the loss of star players, how do you make up performance

² Michael Lewis, *Moneyball: The Art of Winning an Unfair Game* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003).

deficits from the pool of available players? The answer is that you take who you can get that can get your goals accomplished. Even with successful goal accomplishment, the long-term problem was that the emphasis on intrinsic (self-motivated) versus extrinsic (rewards based) motivation. In other words, lower-level versus higher-level motivators in Maslow's hierarchy. For some of those who were successfully recruited, the shared hardships and personalized recruitment enhanced group cohesion (p. 77; 83).

Over time, the guerillas were able to expand their land area controlled. As a result, their recruitment and operations became more formalized (p. 83). The guerilla bands were becoming legitimized (p. 86), which would be consistent with affiliation and self-actualization in Maslow's hierarchy. Along with affiliation came increased power (p. 92) for individuals as members of cohesive armed groups.

Unfortunately, this exercise of power caused alienation of the peasants and rural population. The rural populace came to see the guerrillas as the same as the Axis occupiers, instead of as protectors from the Axis occupiers. The use of extrinsic motivators, i.e., money, to recruit guerillas, led to a loss of strength in the long run, due to a lack of intrinsic commitment. This could be seen in the increasing rates of desertion (pp. 93-96), as well as the ease with which entire groups would switch loyalties as expedient (p. 110). Given that recruitment (hiring) is the most important decision made when bringing members into an organization, then socialization, training and development are not far behind it, in terms of shaping organizational culture. In this chapter, the rituals and practices used to increase commitment and cohesion with the "in-group" are discussed.

Much of chapter 3 emphasizes the ways in which the guerillas distanced themselves from the peasants (p. 125). This was a mistake, as it cost them badly needed support as a people's resistance. To be able to claim that they had a higher purpose than a band of outlaws, their behavior would need to have been driven by more than sustenance and personal gain (p. 129). By 1943-44, the guerillas were viewed as a drain on the peasantry, by the peasantry, which cost them popular support (p. 136).

This lack of support, was, no doubt, partly caused by a lack of military effectiveness. While many of the guerillas would go so far as to claim to enjoy combat, much of their training was focused on political matters, and not on strategy, tactics, or anything that would promote operational effectiveness (p. 137). The goal was political reliability and social cohesion. Some of the methods used to promote these goals were operationally and ethically questionable.

Prisoner interrogations were a means of introducing some new members into inflicting violence onto others (p. 138). For others, with criminal, military, or law enforcement backgrounds, this was not a problem. Group norms tended toward an exaggerated masculinity and a propensity to readily inflict harm on outsiders (p. 139). Unfortunately, these norms were of little help when facing German Regular Army troops equipped with heavy armaments. Rather than use "hit and run" tactics which would have enabled them to inflict disproportionate damage with nil losses, the leaderships' lack of military expertise led them to attempt to defend fixed positions, with corresponding heavy losses. This was not the type of warfare that guerrilla units should have even considered (p. 141). In summary, this was a failure of leadership to think and plan strategically, or even execute tactically, in support of a long-term strategy. As introduced previously, political ideology was important to the leadership levels of the resistance. It was more important to them, than to most of the rank and file of the troops (p. 155). For most of them, group cohesion, fear of punishment, and personal honor or religious beliefs were their primary motivators. Given the original roots of personalized recruiting, friendship bonds were also important (p. 156). The problems caused by leadership having a predominantly political foundation was that it led to a lack of military training and discipline. Unlike other people's fronts, this led to abuse of the peasantry, which eroded popular support (p. 156). Instead of addressing the problem with a military solution, political indoctrination was the response. The leadership tried to draw causal linkages between Christianity and communism, going so far as to portray those lost in combat as martyrs, like Christian saints (pp. 158-159). Strong emphasis was placed on loyalty to the in-group, with its shared hardships and combat experiences. The constant applied, shared stress was supposed to raise *esprit de corps*, and reinforce the idea that no one was alone – each person was part of the group.

Chapter 5 re-iterates that the power struggles were taking place, along the lines of pre-existing rivalries. Counter-guerrilla operations by the Wehrmacht in October-November 1943 are detailed. This was while guerilla bands were fighting each other. As a result, guerilla effectiveness in countering the occupation forces was drastically reduced. Their main impact was negative and directed against the peasants. The author compares the combined damage done by the Germans and the resistance to that of a natural disaster (p. 214).

Going further, the resistance behaved just as barbarically toward the peasants as the occupying Germans. Torture was not

infrequent, along with death threats and coercion. This chapter conclusively establishes that the resistance factions acted in a ruthless manner, as it suited them. This theme runs throughout this work and unifies the chapters. This story is more one of faction versus faction than one of Greeks versus outside enemies (p. 216). It is no wonder that the resistance generally lost popular support among the peasantry.

In his concluding remarks Tsoutsoumpis emphasizes, that

Guerillas changed sides based on want and fear or familial ties (Maslow's physiological and safety needs) (p. 258).

Guerillas viewed themselves as apart from civilians, who resented this attitude (Maslow's affiliation needs) (p. 259): This was not a people's war like China or Vietnam.

The resistance was largely localized and tied to their districts. They did not want to function as did the Yugoslavs. This struggle was culture driven and guerilla driven (pp. 260-261).

All in all, the author has done a fantastic job in this work. It is recommended to those who have an interest in the historical period, the Greek resistance, or dysfunctional organizations and their underlying causes.

Thomas Kühne, *The Rise and Fall of Comradeship: Hitler's Soldiers, Male Bonding and Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 310, ISBN: 978-1107046368.

Kevin T. Hall (Central Michigan University)

Thomas Kühne's well researched book, *The Rise and Fall of Comradeship: Hitler's Soldiers, Male Bonding and Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century*, is an interesting study that traces the perceptions, impact, and actions of comradeship among German soldiers. Using soldiers' letters and diaries as the main source of analysis, Kühne initially focuses on World War I and the interwar period, attempting to better understand the "cultural preconditions of war, the 'knowledge,' imaginaries, and attitudes that have shaped individual and collective expectations of the war." (p. 7) The ultimate goal being to comprehend why German soldiers fought to the bitter end in World War II despite the clear signs that there was no chance for victory. Finally, Kühne analyzes the impact and role of comradeship in the postwar era.

Since the 1980s, historians have increasingly shown that the Wehrmacht was complicit in Nazi war crimes. In addition, the knowledge of what would become known as the Holocaust certainly existed among the greater population. (p. 141) Influenced by historians Omar Bartov and Christopher Browning's research, Kühne agrees that racist ideology, group pressure, along with "the experience of enormous casualties, primitive living conditions at the Eastern front, and the Wehrmacht's draconian military justice brutalized and barbarized these soldiers and enabled their complicity in the Holocaust." (pp. 4-5) Yet, Kühne is interested in understanding the role of comradeship—still represented as a core virtue of soldiers throughout the world—as the "engine of evil." (p. 5) While comradeship "denoted inclusion, belonging, solidarity, and togetherness, its reality depended on its opposite, the Other, the foe—exclusion." (p. 171)

During World War I and the interwar period, Kühne argues that the "myth of comradeship ... conveyed polyvalence ... [and] addressed the humane, tender and caring side of the soldier in war, and simultaneously it epitomized the social pressure that made men perform in a 'manly' way in battle. It could denote vertical trust and cooperation between officers, NCOs, and enlisted men, or it could be limited to peer relationships, especially between rank-and-file soldiers." (p. 111) It also made war more endurable. Moreover, it was hailed as "the model of altruistic male solidarity" and communal security. (p. 10) The concept of a "people's community" (*Volksgemeinschaft*) predated the Nazis. It

was rather a product of World War I and interwar periods, serving "different political camps to address a common desire somehow to overcome the misery of the present and its political, social, and ideological antagonisms." (p. 49) During the interwar period, "veterans and society at large were helped to cope with their traumatic experiences of physical destruction, emotional deprivation, and moral transgression by the notion of a sentimentalized or idealized, allegedly omnipresent, hallowed comradeship as the epitome of humanity." (p. 60) However, by the 1930s, with the rise of the Nazi regime, comradeship was heavily used in propaganda to coerce Germans to denounce individuality and to not only put the needs of the *Volksgemeinschaft* before oneself, but also to promise absolute obedience and unconditional trust in the Führer. The indoctrination process was bolstered by the years required in the Hitler Youth and Reich Labor Force (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*—RAD). The goal was to cleanse the soldiers and future soldiers of civilian morality. (p. 35)

Not all soldiers prized comradeship. The "cultural baggage" of each soldier influenced their experiences during war (their mindset and the actions they undertook) and later when they reflected upon their actions in the war. While soldiers came from different social classes, regions, and generations, comradeship was promoted and used as a way to not only solidify a strong fighting unit, but also obtain the Nazis goal of a *Volksgemeinschaft*. Nevertheless, soldiers often became divided between community and individuality. According to Kühne, friendship "served only to enrich the individual self." (p. 75) Soldiers often experienced a complex desire for their civilian lives while fighting at the front, but then often sought the comradeship of their "front community" (*Frontgemeinschaft*) while home on leave or recuperating in hospitals. Fighting units became a symbolic family, where soldiers had to earn the respect throughout comradeship. This included both "soft and hard [forms of] masculinities. Comradeship was the virtue of empathy, care, and tenderness in the military, but also the compound to convert weakness into hardness, to steel the men." (p. 80) Comradeship often offered empowerment to powerless individuals, whether to the extent of voicing doubts about Germany's final victory among comrades or relieving soldiers of responsibility for their own actions and placing the accountability on the group or officer in charge.

During the postwar years, the concept of comradeship "helped whitewash the image of the Wehrmacht after the damage the involvement in criminal and genocidal warfare had caused." (p. 12) After the war, soldiers often met to trade war stories about comradeship, which showed (to themselves) that they had

preserved their civilian identities despite being involved in atrocious and inhumane crimes. (p. 37) Gradually, the moral essence of comradeship began to be questioned. While it was once viewed as the "epitome of altruistic solidarity ... and moral goodness, of humaneness per se," the concept became a "euphemism for criminal complicity" by the end of the twentieth century. (p. 12)

Ultimately, Kühne suggests that the main reason German soldiers fought to the bitter end in World War II was because "physical death lost its cruel face when social death was overcome and symbolic life as a hero was guaranteed." (p. 139) Soldiers "were caught in a net of emotional inducements, moral motives, ideological dispositions, and practical interests that seemed to leave no other option. They wanted to survive the war and return to their civilian lives, although not as deserters or cowards." (p. 195) Wehrmacht soldiers' choices were influenced by either "the universal virtues of human compassion and pity for the weak, enjoining mercy for the unarmed civilian and a defeated enemy [or] ... the harsh racist ideology that denounced the idea of universality and demanded, as Himmler put it, an 'ethics' that complies 'solely with the needs of our people'." (p. 143)

While scholars have argued that military masculinity "was defined by the repudiation of femininity, ..." Kühne argues that, "in the social practice of male interaction, diversity and flexibility were needed." Moreover, the "soldiers' daily routine of social interaction ... allowed for ... the display of femininity coded affection: tenderness, empathy, caring, tolerance, towards emotional breakdowns, moments or periods of weakness. Soldiering provided men with a male identity that was eventually ... defined ... by integration of femininity, and thus allowed men to experience themselves as *whole* human beings in a way that seemed ... not possible in civilian lives." (p. 292)

Despite Kühne's detailed and well-researched study, a few things remain wanting, for example the impact of technology and mechanization of warfare on soldiers' comradeship, especially the differences between the World Wars. In addition, Kühne rarely incorporates the concept of "total war" in his analysis of comradeship. While Kühne utilizes a number of great personal memoirs and diaries of German soldiers, the majority of them represent non-ardent Nazis, such as Heinrich Böll. It is important to also see the role comradeship played in what ardent Nazis in the Wehrmacht were thinking and how they were acting. Moreover, Kühne only briefly mentions the rare possibility of open defiance to orders in the Wehrmacht. It would be interesting (and important) to know more about the soldiers who did exhibit

defiance and why they did so. Finally, Kühne argues that German soldiers had the ability to show "feminine qualities" to create the world they missed at home, even while fighting a ruthless war; however, it would be interesting to also analyze the role of comradeship among women, for example nurses or camps guards. (p. 293) While this is rather outside the scope of this book, Kühne's study fosters new questions and greatly adds to the historiography.

Thomas Helling, *Desperate Surgery in the Pacific War: Doctors and Damage Control for American Wounded, 1941-1945* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2017), pp. 476, ISBN: 978-1476664217.

Amy Gallagher (University of North Texas)

So detailed and descriptive, I felt as though I was in theater hearing explosives and screams while witnessing the horror of the bloodied, shredded and amputated limbs and remaining human carnage. It's the first book I've ever read that had the power to bring tears to my eyes just by looking at the cover. If you want to step back in time to truly know the experiences of the doctors, soldiers, and medical crew as lived by and died from during the Pacific War, then this book is for you. While reading Dr. Helling's historical account of aviation-medical-military during wartime, I began to feel empathy for the doctors and the soldiers who sacrificed their lives so I could be given the privilege of living my own life reading in the comfort of my home. Dr. Helling's factual knowledge about this horrific time in American war history is reflective of the extensive and time-consuming research he dedicated to deliver this "must read" to the American public. As a public-school educator, also certified in English and History, I highly-recommend adding *Desperate Surgery in the Pacific War* to the AP, Dual Credit and Honors courses.

For the United States, World War II on the Pacific front was a four-year fight on the beautiful islands of the Pacific Ocean, due to which the "necessity of invention" paved the birthplace for surgical procedures that would grow into "best practices" within the medical profession today. The Pacific War was also home to the advent of new terminology in patient care; words that are often loosely-applied, and yet widely-used today. The act of performing "damage control" was born from necessity during the war for doctors to relieve, repair, and/or redirect the care of the patient to a triage system honorably organized in the color-coded category of red, white and blue. The "Portable Surgical Hospital" is yet another brainchild birthed from the carnage and the courage. While thousands perished, others paralyzed or required prosthetic limbs, every man who fought—the soldiers and the physicians—worked together, unified on the battlefield as one, fighting for the same purpose: life.

Astoundingly, however, these men weren't fighting for their own lives; rather, they fought for the lives of one another as one, brothers-in-arms, regardless of rank, role or responsibility. Their only responsibility was to keep the man next to them alive. It was a bond like no other, except perhaps mother and child. And yet, the

conditions of war would test their dedication to one another by the hour, seconds for those who lay dying. If they were lucky enough to survive the unexpectedly, highly-advanced warfare systems that were dropped on America's fewest and finest, they would raise their honor with every bullet blown just like they raised the American flag.

The young physicians and surgeons, primarily 20-something reservists from the Army and Navy called to duty or volunteered after the devastation of Pearl Harbor. It was the physicians and surgeons of World War II who recognized the value of plasma to "buy time" until adequate care could be ascertained. With minimal training in trauma or combat casualty care, America's medical military personnel would immediately and instinctively apply whatever resource was available. What began as high-speed, fieldhouse experimental medical care without the comfort provided by their stateside hospitals was transformed into high-quality inventive care.

WWII medical teams discovered a way to temporize a trauma patient by using plasma when whole blood was routinely used at stateside. However, during wartime, whole blood was a resource that wasn't always available. The inventive mindset of the physicians and surgeons was rerouted to the use of plasma. Later, it would become realized by one physician that saline and glucose solutions were ineffective as a blood substitute, and downright dangerous to the patient. Plasma then became a means of temporizing the patient until an adequate, higher echelon of care could be given.

Helling's ability to describe the biological devastation of the human body, the carnage of death in such gruesome, but realistic detail was the very "bookmarker" I needed to close the book, absorb the reality of exactly what those soldiers, doctors and surgeons experienced, and what they sacrificed. I had to let it sink in, literally and mentally. His descriptive language generated the feeling of presence in the here and now, as though I witnessed it myself. Later, I could return to my reading again a few hours later, or even the next day.

Sacrifice wasn't new to Helling though. He was raised to serve just as his father served in the Pacific Theater. The discipline of sacrifice was ever-present and intuitive during an unforgiving, merciless war on human life. Between the highly-unexpected Japanese bombing warfare known as the new "kamikaze" attacks and the thick jungles of the Pacific islands, the 476-page, six-chapter book underscores the true definition of courage exhibited by United States military soldiers, the doctors and surgeons. The account is presented as a historical narrative complete with

primary source references, as well as actual statements and quotes of those present, highlighted the adaptability and the perseverance of the doctors and surgeons who would apply their medical expertise in an unknowing, unconventional, never-encountered surgical environment they would come to know intimately as the "combat zone."

It's a history book, a white paper, a non-fiction, an emotionally-attached, intellectually-sound read that will affect all five senses. As though the reader can hear the bombings and those guttural pleadings, and yet hear the calculated, methodical, calm instructional demands of the surgeon while performing his highly-earned medical expertise. The book is educational and inspirational. It's a read that leaves you with a greater depth of human compassion, enlightened awareness of the true definition of sacrifice, of the grit to push through, push on while holding a higher sense of gratitude for your own life. Dr. Helling was a member of the U.S. Medical Corps and served nine years in the Army Reserves. In 2000, Helling received an honorable discharge as lieutenant colonel. Today, Helling is a professor of surgery at the University of Mississippi Medical Center in Jackson where he holds a special interest in trauma surgery and trauma system development.

Helling's research intricately captured the finest of details as though he was present reporting as a war correspondent from the frontline. They were physicians with stripes representing every branch of the U.S. military and every medical specialty regardless of its present-day categorization; it deserves its own category. A new version of the Hippocratic oath would have to be written to reflect the level of commitment, duty to service and country, sacrifice, selflessness.

The reader does not need to be a medical professional to appreciate the details of Helling's book. While the book could well serve both the medical and military professions, I would invite those whose minds need a healthy dose of history to read his fine work. With a comprehensive collection of well-researched primary and secondary sources, Helling weaves the realities of wartime medicine through medical journals, treatment logs, casualty reports, supplemented with detailed maps, photographs and charted statistical data. All in all, it is my profound privilege to respectfully recommend *Desperate Surgery in the Pacific War*.

Richard E. Holl, *Committed to Victory: The Kentucky Home Front during World War II* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), pp. 408, ISBN: 978-0813165639.
Mark D. Van Ells (Queensborough Community College, CUNY)

The Second World War affected virtually every corner of the globe. Though the United States was not significantly bombed or invaded, the conflict nevertheless transformed American life in myriad ways. Richard E. Holl, professor of history at Hazard Community and Technical College in Kentucky, examines the impact of "The Big One" on the Bluegrass State in *Committed to Victory: The Kentucky Home Front during World War II*.

Holl incorporates the Kentucky experience into the existing scholarly narrative of the U.S. home front, showing how Kentucky fit into national wartime trends. At the same time, he also highlights the state's distinctive contributions to Allied victory. The author examines a remarkably wide range of topics – from industrial production to high school sports. The book contains mountains of data gleaned from federal and state official documents, but Holl humanizes these facts and figures with first-hand accounts from ordinary Kentuckians who lived through the war.

Several chapters document the economic impact of the war. Holl notes how the war revitalized Kentucky industry after the dormant years of the Great Depression. Many of the Jeeps that GIs drove during the war, for example, came from the Ford Motor Company factory outside Louisville. The Bluegrass State became a major center of the synthetic rubber industry. Even the state's world-famous whiskey distilleries got behind the war effort, switching production from bourbon to industrial alcohol. While the war promoted industrialization, Kentucky still lagged behind other Southern states in economic development. Nevertheless, the war accelerated the trend toward a more industrial and urban Kentucky.

In Kentucky – as in other states – women entered the factories to fill the vast labor void, symbolized by the U.S. government propaganda character "Rosie the Riveter." Indeed, Holl notes how Hollywood luminary Walter Pidgeon discovered a native Kentuckian named Rose Will Monroe working as a riveter in a Michigan aircraft factory. Struck by her name and job, Pidgeon featured her in several propaganda films. For many Americans, Monroe was Rosie the Riveter. Despite women's great contributions to wartime industry, the author points out that in Kentucky most industrial workers were white men. "White male workers ... received little acknowledgement then and historians

have paid scant attention to them since," writes Holl, "but they performed far more war work than any other group while passing on their knowledge to inexperienced operatives. Ralph the Riveter preceded Rosie and supported her." (p. 77) The vast majority of workers in Kentucky honored a no-strike pledge for the duration of the war, but in 1943 as many as 60,000 of the state's coal miners walked off the job. The United Mine Workers, under the combative John L. Lewis, won important concessions in the strike, though also the unforgiving ire of citizens, soldiers, and political leaders alike.

Agriculture was the mainstay of the Kentucky economy in the 1940s, and wartime farm production increased dramatically. Farmers put more acreage under cultivation, and with increased profits spent more on fertilizers and equipment to further increase yields. The number of tractors in the state more than doubled between 1940 and 1945, for example. Tobacco – a product much beloved by GIs – remained the "undisputed king of Kentucky agriculture," claims Holl (p. 89). "Only Coca-Cola," he argues, "rivalled cigarettes" in popularity among the troops (p. 90). Much of the tobacco American troops smoked came from Kentucky. Though the state's agricultural economy remained overly dependent on tobacco, Kentucky farmers grew numerous other crops. The Bluegrass State played a vital role in U.S. hemp production, for example, used for bags and cordage. "The bottom line," Holl writes, "is that Kentucky farmers left the war much better off economically than when they entered it." (p. 89)

Kentucky politics saw little obvious change during the war, with Democrats maintaining their dominance; though World War II stimulated important social and cultural changes that would eventually transform the state's political landscape. As in other Southern states, black Kentuckians faced segregation and second-class citizenship, though the demands of war slowly loosened Jim Crow's oppressive grip. Comprising more than seven percent of the state's population, African American labor was needed in the factories and on the farms. Federal antidiscrimination laws further promoted African American participation in the defense industry, though typically at unskilled work for low pay. Holl notes how African Americans were enthusiastic participants in war, gladly fighting Hitler's racism while also fighting for a better place in American society. Jim Crow proved to be stubborn, though. "The great majority of whites in the state still embraced the view that blacks were inferior," Holl observes (p. 205), though he also detected the changing attitudes of some whites, such as Louisville mayor Wilson Wyatt, who appointed many African Americans to influential positions in city government.

Wartime Kentuckians, whether black or white, were a people on the move. Holl points out that one out of every eight Kentuckians migrated during the war. While many moved from rural to urban areas in search of defense work, a substantial number departed the state altogether and headed to Northern cities like Cleveland and Detroit. The impoverished hills and hollows of eastern Kentucky saw the greatest losses. Holl notes how migrants kept in close touch with family and friends back home, and though many hoped to return after the war, they frequently did not. Outmigration was so substantial that Holl claims it created a "brain drain" (p. 217) of the state's intellectual talent. The war led to other disruptions in everyday life. Juvenile delinquency concerned many. In the village of Olive Hill in 1943, a police crackdown on young people setting off firecrackers evolved into a youthful mob of more than one hundred people. Entering the municipal building, the teenagers emptied file cabinets, smashed windows, and lit a bonfire in the street.

Holl's final two chapters explore the war's impact on families and individuals. Chapter 9, entitled "Loved Ones," tells of the war's impact on Kentucky military personnel and their families. The final chapter suggests how entertainment – from sports to music – helped Kentucky residents cope with the harsh realities and sacrifices of war. He notes how the war severely restricted the state's horse breeding and horse racing activities. The famed Kentucky Derby, threatened with cancellation, remained open largely on the grounds of keeping up the morale of soldiers stationed nearby.

The changes the war wrought made World War II a watershed moment in Kentucky history. "World War II propelled Kentucky along new historical pathways," writes Holl, "leaving the state a fundamentally different place" (p. 7). He skillfully weaves together a wide range of topics and experiences to present a compelling portrait of World War II Kentucky. His expansive vision of the home front is to be commended.

There are a few areas where the author might have pushed that vision even farther, particularly in the final two chapters. For example, his discussion of the war's impact on soldiers might have included federal veterans' readjustment programs, such as the famous GI Bill of Rights, as well as the Kentucky state government's efforts to convert soldiers back into civilians. Similarly, the entertainment chapter might have explored the recreational programs for soldiers on the state's army posts, such as Camp Campbell near Hopkinsville and Fort Knox near Elizabethtown – two of the army's most important wartime

facilities. Indeed, Holl might have written more on the impact of military bases on local communities.

Committed to Victory will be of great interest to scholars in a variety of fields, particularly in Southern history and of the U.S. home front during World War II. For those who study Kentucky history, whether in academia or the general public, this work is essential.

Svenja Goltermann, *The War in Their Minds: German Soldiers and Their Violent Pasts in West Germany*, translated by Philip Schmitz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), pp. 428, ISBN: 978-0472118977.

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Published originally in 2009, now translated into English and thus made available to an international audience, Svenja Goltermann's prize-winning "The War in Their Minds" is an important book that analyzes an untapped body of psychiatric case files held by the Bodelschwingsche Anstalt Bethel, describing the early post-war struggles of German Wehrmacht veterans with their wartime or POW experiences. Goltermann embeds them in a larger context of post-war developments in the field of psychiatric care and public memory of the war and Nazi persecution up to the 1970s. Schmitz' translation is eminently readable and carried out with much care for both the source and target language.

Goltermann is Professor for modern history at the University of Zürich and has published extensively on the post-war experience of German veterans. Recently, she has moved her focus onto the history of victimhood and victimization while being at the same time a critic of reductionist approaches to "trauma" and "traumatization." In this book, Goltermann argues against an "ex post ascription of trauma" (p. 284), which concerns both the long shadow of a total war and its indisputable effects on the psyche of combatants and the psychological effects of Nazi persecution. She perceives "trauma" as a modern term, that cannot readily be applied to the experiential worlds of people that lived in early post-war Germany, who had no existing concept of "trauma" or "traumatization" (p. 283).

Goltermann's goal is a historization of trauma in scientific discourse, but not a history of "trauma" (p. 7). She describes developments that made modern definitions of "trauma" possible, but which cannot readily be projected backwards in time. Goltermann illustrates that only in a slow and painful process did psychiatrists realize that wartime experiences, lived through by soldiers, perpetrators and victims of Nazi persecution could cause long lasting, if not permanent psychological damage. However, "trauma" remained a foreign concept in the timeframe Goltermann analyzes.

To illustrate these developments Goltermann divides her book into three interdependent and interrelated parts, each offering a different perspective on this phenomenon: The first part shows, based on the case files, individual experiences of veterans and

POW's in early post-war Germany. Goltermann's focus lies exclusively on West German society and the untold or hidden effects of wartime experiences on individual soldiers of the Wehrmacht and their psyche. Deep seated horror and nightmares shaped the allegedly productive and entertainment focused life of war veterans, the "hidden underside of the 'normalization'" (p. 6). Instead of establishing a cohesive narrative Goltermann acknowledges the fragmentary nature of her source material, featuring highly interesting "memory fragments" including descriptions of dreams, hallucinations and contra-factual imaginations of soldiers. Accordingly, the chosen format reflects important qualities of memory: it is fragmentary, changing and not necessarily factual. The breadth of individual experiences and effects of wartime terror are remarkable and show in some cases long term quests to reshape the self, coming to terms with one's own actions during the war. Surprisingly the featured fragments are entirely self-referential, with little emphasis or empathy for the victims of Nazi persecution.

A discussion of newer publications on emotion, affect, empathy and their role in historical societies would have benefitted this part and could have updated the book in the course of its translation. Integrating the corpus of 250 additional records of women, including female returnees and rape victims, mentioned in a footnote on page 307 would have been welcome and could have introduced the concept of "gender" to the analysis.

The second part connects aptly the individual reports of troubled veterans with the motivations and preconceptions of the psychiatric establishment. Both psychiatrists assessing patients and veterans being plagued by symptoms had to consider current psychological doctrine. In addition, professionals were prompted to ascertain if symptoms were faked in an attempt to obtain a disability pension. Veterans had to carefully assess what to share in terms of publicly accepted narratives and to not being seen as a simulant. This led to a less than open relationship between patient and psychiatrist and may have hindered curing patients troubled by the effects of war (p. 144).

Goltermann illustrates that World War I doctrine was not questioned or modified in early post-war Germany. Instead the psychiatric establishment did not recognize a causal relation between wartime experiences and psychological trauma. It was assumed that the human capacity to endure stress and terror was limitless and any psychological or somatic symptoms in veterans and late-returnees from POW camps were caused by other factors such as a hereditary disposition (p. 164) or organic defects caused

by malnutrition. Will alone was allegedly enough to overcome any detrimental effects of the war or imprisonment. This idea of hereditary dispositions, later somewhat cynically renamed "constitutional or endogenous factors" when confronted with returnee associations' critique of the term, prevailed well into the 1950s (p. 180). Unfortunately, Goltermann does not explore if this was caused by persistent racially motivated interpretations in post-war Germany. However, it becomes clear that prevailing doctrine severely limited the diagnostic ability of psychiatrists and stood in the way of refining and developing the field (p. 153).

The third and final part of Goltermann's study attempts to outline the slow acceptance of mental suffering of war veterans in West German public memory, but also emphasizes a significant change in attitude caused by Nazi trials and acknowledgment of the mental effects of Nazi persecution. Early post war cinema seemed to confirm that war does not cause mental problems, despite a more sympathetic approach to veterans' experiences at least on the surface (p. 235). Through determination and willpower, so these movies suggested, everything could be reconstructed: ruined cities or ruined lives. Work was portrayed as a way to personal recovery, while giving hope for a renewal and reconstruction of German society at large. Accordingly, veterans had to be careful to not be stigmatized as "unwilling" to contribute or falling victim to the suspicion of being "insane." Prevailing psychiatric doctrine was thus generally met with widespread acceptance and reinforced in public media. In effect, the cinema of the 50s brought the trope of the steadfast and unflinching Wehrmacht soldier that does not falter in the face of war's terror.

A change in attitude only came in the wake of the Nazi trials and a focus on victims of Nazi persecution. Goltermann shows that the media once again followed the developments in the psychiatric field and strictly separated the experiences of veterans and those of the victims of Nazi persecution. The guilt of all Germans moved to the center of media attention and the perpetrator became the focus in public memory. The discussion of the victim status of former soldiers was thus – at least in the media – closed (p. 271). Nevertheless, doctrine "cracked" and accounted for "experientially determined alteration of personality" in victims of persecution (p. 198), but still explained symptoms in veterans with the effects of long-term malnutrition, thus a double track explanation was established and a door for modern explanations opened. While this part is highly interesting in illustrating most of the media's adherence to authoritative explanations and some flexibility with regard to doctrine, the third part could have been

further enhanced by taking into account other forms of public memory, for instance exhibitions and memorials, as it stands it is limited in its range.

Given the rich body of endnotes, making up 90 pages of the manuscript, offering interesting additional information and in-depth discussions of the source material and current research, footnotes would be preferable for ease of access. In contrast the glossary is a very welcome addition and features individual cases to simplify further study. The book will be of interest to a broad international as well as expert audience, but is also suitable for students of both history and psychology that endeavor to further their understanding of post-war Germany and the effects of war on the human mind. It is to be hoped that other studies on the effects of warfare on the human psyche will be inspired by this publication and address – for instance – pre-modern concepts of what would now be termed “traumatic experiences” that are not congruent with our modern understanding.

Eric Stover, Victor Peskin, and Alexa Koenig, *Hiding in Plain Sight: The Pursuit of War Criminals from Nuremberg to the War on Terror* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), pp. ix + 487, ISBN: 9780520296046.

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The past two decades have seen a plethora of scholarship on human rights. Overwhelmingly interdisciplinary, this field draws experts from history, law, political science, international relations, and gender and race studies.¹ The combination of improved archival access to documents from the former Soviet Union, the push for official disclosure of government-sponsored atrocities in post-1945 Latin America, persistent Freedom of Information Act requests in the United States, and impressive investigative journalism, are among the many causes of our greatly improved understanding of war crimes, perpetrator history, and the challenges involved in enforcing international law. Eric Stover, Victor Peskin, and Alexa Koenig's *Hiding in Plain Sight* is a valuable and timely addition to this body of scholarship.

The book is divided into three parts containing three chapters each. Part one deals with the Second World War and the subsequent hunt for Nazi War criminals by official as well private channels. Part two includes chapters on the Balkans and Rwanda since the 1990s, as well as on Hybrid Tribunals, while the book's final three chapters explore war crimes and global justice after the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the beginning of the War on Terrorism.

In contrast to the recent work by Steve Stern and Scott Straus, which focused on "the paradoxical intersection between the universal and the specific"² of human rights violations, *Hiding in Plain Sight* is largely a book about the challenges the international community faces when pursuing justice in a world dominated by *realpolitik*. The authors persuasively illustrate that despite the

¹ See for example, Mark Goodale and Sally Merry, *The Practice of Human Rights: Tracking Law between the Global and the Local* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Rosalind Shaw and Lars Waldorf, with Pierre Hazan, *Localizing Transnational Justice: Interventions and Priorities after Mass Violence* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Steve J. Stern and Scott Straus, eds. *The Human Rights Paradox: Universality and Its Discontents*. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014); Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* (Belknap Press of Harvard, 2018).

² Stern and Straus, *The Human Rights Paradox*, 4.

seemingly straightforward nature of identifying war crimes – wars of aggression, murder by armed forces, ill-treatment of prisoners in violation of international conventions, enslavement, extermination of civilian populations or prisoners of war before or during a war, or the malevolent destruction of public or private property not justified by military necessity, to use the rather simplistic Nuremberg language (p. 42) – the apprehension and conviction of war criminals has proven exceedingly difficult even when the evidence is overwhelming. Looking critically at the post-WW II period, the book’s purpose is to “explore the political, legal, and operational dimension of the pursuit of war crimes suspects... that states and international criminal courts have adopted” on behalf of international law (p. 2). This sweeping narrative is backed by an extensive reading of the literature as well as several interesting interviews with participants working on behalf of international justice. The book is fast-paced, well-written, and engaging but despite its ambitious and often provocative agenda, scholars will find little here that is new.

The three chapters on the hunt for World War II war criminals cover the well-trodden ground resulting in the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials. Based largely on recollections of U.S. Counter Intelligence Corps operatives, memoirs, interviews, and secondary sources, the authors provide a convincing if largely unoriginal synthesis of topics from occupation policy and the rounding up of war criminals to the pursuit of Nazi escapees by Simon Wiesenthal and others. The stories of the hunt for Adolph Eichmann, Joseph Mengele and Klaus Barbie are vivid and well-retold. In particular, they provide interesting observations on the challenges crimes against humanity pose to international law as it concerns extraditions, national sovereignty, and jurisdiction.

While the hunt for the Nazis may well excite a popular audience, the decision to devote so much space to the best-known cases is regrettable. The result is that more recent cases get far shorter shrift as does the much more interesting debate about the power of international law in a globalizing world. Among the casualties of this focus – surprising given Peskin’s expertise³ – are the Rwandan and Balkan war crimes cases. Despite the political and legal intricacy of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, these ad hoc tribunals, which as the authors point out provided a critical framework for the later creation of the ICC,

³ See Victor Peskin, *International Justice in Rwanda and the Balkans: Virtual Trials and the Struggle for State Cooperation* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

receive only a singular chapter. Even less attention is devoted to more recent cases in Africa and Asia. This is lamentable not only because these cases are far less well-explored in the scholarship but because the pursuit of war crimes suspects in the post-Cold War era occurred at a time when international law was finally becoming institutionalized. A more in-depth discussion of the legal and political complexities of these tribunals would have been welcome because in both cases, their creation rested on the premise that "governments ensnared in violent conflict would be unable to deliver justice, impartially or at all" (pp. 220-221) and the increasingly important notion that crimes against humanity transcend local law and are thus subject to supranational prosecutions.

A greater emphasis on these factors would have been especially valuable because the book is at its best precisely when the authors explore the complexity of enforcing international law when universal ideals clash with national interests. These challenges were of course not new but one key difference between recent cases and the aftermath of the Second World War is that the territorial occupation of Germany and Japan and the absence of institutionalized international law enabled the victors to dominate the process and the proceedings. They determined what constituted a war crime and who possessed information valuable enough to be spared. In the Balkans and Rwanda no such victory on the ground existed. Here, the prosecuting authorities controlled neither the territory nor the political agenda. As a result they often found themselves bargaining with uncooperative local governments. A greater emphasis on these challenges within the context of national politics would also have crystalized the investigative and prosecutorial obstacles. This area is particularly worthwhile exploring because the scenario that played out in East Africa and in the former Yugoslavia is far more likely to mirror future apprehensions and prosecutions than is the World War II model. Both of these later cases illustrated that in the absence of the power that the victorious powers possessed in 1945, acting in violation of treaty obligations and international law, local governments often either shielded suspects or insisted on prosecuting them thereby enabling the local authorities to control the narrative.

The one parallel to the Second World War – and the one that raises the most serious questions for international law going forward – is one that the authors broach but abstain from engaging in-depth. Fundamentally the core problem of global justice and human rights is that wars are messy business. At their onset, the question of culpability may be clear enough but the

lines between good and evil soon become blurred. In the case of Rwanda, radical Hutus may have initiated violence against civilians but as the fortunes of war shifted, the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front proved as ruthless as had the Allies in the Second World War. The weapons were more primitive than the aerial bombing of Germany and Japan but by any legal yardstick the acts leading to the deaths of tens of thousands of Hutus clearly constituted war crimes. So it was in the Ugandans' hunt for Joseph Kony and the Lord's Resistance Army, and in the Ivorians' retaliation against Laurent Gbagbo's short-lived challenge for power as the book briefly highlights (pp. 298-304; 319-323). In these cases pro-government forces committed atrocities including mass rape, the razing of villages, murder and torture. Similar, if less intense, criticisms have been leveled at the Kosovars after they sought to remove Serbians from their territory following the NATO air war in 1999. Curiously enough, the authors do not engage the Kosovar cases despite the fact that this is one of the rare instances in which the original victims have had to answer for their retribution at The Hague.

A more analytical rather than narrative approach might have led the authors to explore in more detail this bigger question of who perpetrates war crimes. It raises serious questions related to global justice, after all. When does retaliation, however understandable, become its own war crime? How can international law – anchored as it is in righteousness and morality – hope to occupy a neutral space when faced with such realities? What incentive do nations have to collaborate with future tribunals or the ICC if its nationals are aware that they will be held to the same legal standards as those who started the conflict?

Moving to the ICC era, the authors competently demonstrate that the ICC has not resulted in more effective hunts for war crimes suspects. The cases against Kony and the pursuit of Sudan's Omar Al-Bashir serve as cases in point. The ICC's principal problem is that it is only as strong as member states allow it to be. Its justice is never purely blind. Corners are cut and sacrifices made. As the Chief Prosecutor on the Special Court for Sierra Leone summed it up, it "is a naïve prosecutor who acts on law and facts without considering politics and culture" (p. 264).

To explore this further, the book would have been strengthened by a greater emphasis on the challenges of international diplomacy and the much larger point of conflict between national sovereignty and the importance of international law. Most frustratingly when the authors do engage some of these issues, government officials appear entirely faceless. Instead of exploring specific policies or policy calculations, the authors

casually refer to decisions made by international organizations. The reader is left wondering who at either the national level or at the EU or NATO level were making decisions against arrests or the pursuit of particular war criminals. Neither of these international organizations has a bureaucratic structure so simple that the authors can blanket the institution as a whole and there is plenty of evidence of intense intra-institutional debates on this issue. None of this emerges here.

The book provides greater attention to such details in the final chapter on the American War on terrorism. This conflict forcefully exposes all the tragic ironies and weaknesses of international law. Chief among these, the fact that the original champion of global human rights and the prosecution of war criminals is now – at least if justice is indeed meant to be blind – one of the greatest perpetrators. Although not a member of the ICC, the United States actively supported many of the Court's operations prior to September 11. But after Al Qaeda's attacks killed more than 3,000 civilians, such support became far more aberrant. Washington considered this act of mass murder unprecedented to such a degree that it required extraordinary retaliation; retaliation that could be committed outside the boundaries of international law. In scope or consequences, September 11 was of course not unprecedented. Africans, Cambodians, the East Timorese, and many others could have relayed stories of similar – and far worse – atrocities and in many of those cases the international legal system had, however imperfectly, run its course. Americans had no such patience and the book skillfully shows the methodological manner which they dismantled their legal commitments as the hunt for terrorists began. There are interesting narratives of the capture of Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden but it is the debate over the American war crimes that is most intriguing. This is part of a topic that the authors touch upon throughout the book: the extent to which American exceptionalism enables the United States to insist that actions taken by American citizens are not subject to war crimes prosecution. If the cause is just so, in effect, are the actions. This is particularly interesting because in terms of torture of detainees, the Bush administration was very conscious of the extent to which its interrogation techniques and interneer-policy ran afoul of norms, laws, and treaty commitments.

Because of these contradictions, the book would have been strengthened by a debate on the domestic federal cases that have

resulted from the U.S. detainee policy.⁴ Especially so, because these cases provide a valuable prism through which to understand the dilemma of justice in a globalizing world. Amplification of the defendants' positions, including the complex arguments that governments often have to make for their actions, would have shed even more light on this. This never materializes largely because the book is told only from the prosecutorial perspective. Perpetrators are mere stage actors. None of this makes the stories less compelling but it does limit the overall value. Not only are the voices of those who have been tried or been fugitives absent, so are voices of lawyers or anyone criticizing the process. We still lack that history.

This critique aside, Stover, Peskin, and Koenig have completed an extraordinarily readable volume that will be of great value to scholars, students, and the educated public alike. By engaging critically with questions of war crimes in world of national sovereignty they persuasively highlight the challenge of justice and just how elusive the pursuit of it can often be. For anyone interested in the darkest side of human behavior, this is a highly recommendable book.

⁴ Allan A. Ryan, *The 9/11 Terror Cases: Constitutional Challenges in the War Against Al Qaeda* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2015).