

drawing on benchmark texts and scholars in these four issue areas, whilst synthesizing something that is distinctive. The book's key contribution is challenging compartmentalization of the drone debate as being either a political one, or a legal one, or an ethical one, or a regulatory one. By arguing for interconnection they highlight how work in each area cannot succeed in establishing necessary public debate to secure the benefits armed drones whilst mitigating tendencies to overly militarize and under-scrutinize foreign and security policy, to weaken crucial legal protections and restrictions, to neuter ethical scrutiny and undermine key democratic values, and to risk destabilizing technology transfers that threaten international order.

Kaag and Kreps are clear that their focus is the U.S. experience. There are passing mentions of the UK and Israel as the two other principal states deploying armed drones. They note (p. 7) that the U.S. experience is, "... likely instructive in terms of other countries using drones, especially democracies ..." but actually checking whether that is so could have revealed some interesting differences. For example, Kaag and Kreps recognize (p. 27) that neither the UK nor U.S. governments have offered statistics on civilian casualties in Afghanistan, but there are efforts, similar to those relied on throughout the book in relation to casualties in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia, to unofficially assess civilian casualties. In the case of the UK, seven years of armed drone use resulted in just four civilian casualties. This reflects rules of engagement requiring RAF personnel to be certain that no civilian casualties would occur and that do not allow a target's value to be used to justify higher levels of 'collateral damage,' effectively trading off discrimination and proportionality. This contrasts with U.S. practice and shows how another democracy has approached some important aspects of drone use in a significantly different way (David Omand, *The Security Impact of Drones: Challenges and Opportunities for the UK*, University of Birmingham 2014: 24–6).

Absence of significant discussion of Israeli practice is even more important, given drones' extremely controversial role in operations in recent conflicts in Gaza and the way in which the Israeli Defence Force and some former members have challenged established understandings of the non-combatant immunity principle through arguments around the complicity of 'enemy civilian' populations in supporting 'terrorist' organizations, and that warnings of strikes, via leaflets, SMS messages, or firing warning shots—the so-called 'knock on the door'—transfers responsibility for deaths to victims for failing to heed the warnings (e.g. Avery Kasher and Asa Plaw, "Distinguishing Drones: an Exchange," in Bradley Jay Strawser, ed., *Killing By Remote Control: the Ethics of an Unmanned Military*, 2013).

Comparative perspective would aid Kaag and Kreps' cause, demonstrating how two democracies, both close

U.S. allies, have approached these issues differently. There are important lessons to learn from that practice, including cautionary ones, which strengthen their argument.

U.S.-centrism is the first of the book's principal weaknesses. The second is neglect of more radical perspectives on drones. The debate in *Drone Warfare* is an intellectually conventional one, drawing on mainstream accounts of democratic accountability, international law, the ethics of technology in warfare, and international regulatory challenges. There is no significant discussion of more radical and critical drones scholarship that explores, for example, the transformation of the nature of military-political space and the technological construction of political, legal, ethical, and geographical uncertainty facilitating power shifts that radically alter accounts of agency and accountability (e.g. Mark Coeckelbergh, "Drones, Information Technology and Distance: Mapping the Moral Epistemology of Remote Fighting," *Ethics and Information Technology* 15 [2] 2013; Derek Gregory, "From a View to a Kill," *Theory, Culture and Society* 28 [7–8], 2011; Derek Gregory, "The Everywhere War," *The Geographical Journal* 177 [3] 2011; Steve Niva, "Disappearing Violence: JSOC and the Pentagon's New Cartography of Networked Warfare," *Security Dialogue* 44[3] 2013; Alison Williams, "Enabling Persistent Presence? Performing the Embodied Geopolitics of the Unmanned Aerial Vehicle Assemblage," *Political Geography* 30 [7] 2011). Indebted to a post-structural tradition, recognition of this work's contribution would reinforce the urgency of broad-spectrum, critical public debate that Kaag and Kreps see as so important (pp. vii–ix).

Nevertheless, *Drone Warfare* is an important contribution because it stresses the necessity for debate and its insistence on the interconnectedness of the challenges armed drones present. Anyone looking for an account of why armed drones matter, how to get to grips with the debate, and where that debate should be heading will benefit from *Drone Warfare*. Those new to the issue will find sound foundations for developing their interest, whilst those already involved will have existing judgements tested by Kaag and Kreps' lucid analysis, and new interest piqued by their defence of the necessity of a full-spectrum debate that of necessity crosses conventional disciplinary boundaries.

#### **Digital Militarism: Israel's Occupation in the Social**

**Media Age.** By Adi Kuntsman and Rebecca L. Stein. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015. 192p. \$65.00 cloth, \$21.95 paper. doi:10.1017/S1537592716001006

— Nick Robinson, *University of Leeds*

Following the events of the Arab Spring, Edward Snowden's revelations of state-sponsored monitoring of the internet, the proliferation of violent social media circulated by ISIS, concerns about growing military

conflict, and the worldwide growth of social media usage, the potential of a book which analyzes the relationship between social media and militarism is considerable. This book—focused on the growth of militaristic social media in Israel and the associated support for military violence—potentially offers insights for a wide readership.

*Digital Militarism's* central argument is that social media has been important in militarizing Israeli society: “As Israeli digital militarism has become normalized, enfolded into everyday Israeli networking practices and structures of online feeling, Israeli social media users are willingly aligning themselves with Israeli military violence” (p. 86). The book seeks to explore and explain how and why this change has occurred, with ‘digital militarism’ not only increasing support for military action but also deflecting attention from the violence within Palestine.

Following a conceptual overview and a brief historical exposition for context, the substantive analysis centers on three chapters and an afterword that utilize specific high profile examples to illustrate key changes in the relationship between the state, military, and Israeli citizenry. The book convincingly tracks the military’s increasingly sophisticated social media activity and, perhaps more importantly, the rise of Israeli citizens as active producers and promoters of pro-military social media.

*Digital Militarism* tracks and analyzes the evolution of militaristic social media over time. Chapter 2 explores the military’s initial focus on using social media for military propaganda and hacking rival’s web content; Chapter 3 focuses on the management of social media scandals caused by serving military personnel; Chapter 4 examines the systematic undermining from 2006 onwards of the validity of images which had begun to proliferate of “dead Palestinians;” and Chapter 5 considers the present day’s normalization of digital militarism as evidenced through the “selfie militarism,” which combines trends towards the ubiquitous circulation of images of soldiers posing with weapons in a “domestic setting” and of “scantily clad” female soldiers posing for the camera. Finally the book’s afterword covers the contemporary era from 2014, in which the public has demonstrated vigorous support for Israeli military action through posting “revenge selfies” on social media that explicitly call for attacks by the Israeli military on Palestinians. Rather than standing at “something of a distance from soldier violence,” Kuntsman and Stein argue that this move shows the public “as aggressive agents in their own right by collectively demanding violent retribution” (p. 95).

The book thus convincingly explores the role of militaristic social media in Israel, with social media used as a source of pro-military images and citizens mobilized to challenge images and messages which question the legitimacy of Israeli military action (pp. 53–4). Present throughout is the notion of the “public secret”—namely a secret that is known to the public but which the public

chooses to keep from itself through various cultural strategies and mechanisms (p. 15). This important insight exposes a crucial paradox—namely, how can something that is so visibly everywhere (violent images within social media) appear to be hidden?

Furthermore, the book offers insights for scholars beyond its immediate focus, such as those with an interest in framing and discourse analysis (how social media texts and images interrelate and are articulated) and visual politics (with extensive social media examples and exploration of the effects of these). The authors convincingly demonstrate that evolving digital militarism in Israel has produced a growth of both “digital suspicion” and “patriotic suspicion” (Chapter 4), with the former mobilizing citizens to be suspicious of the validity of images (e.g. seeing images of dead Palestinians as fake or doctored) and the latter equating skepticism towards such images as a patriotic act “now deemed a *requisite* mode of reading” (p. 67).

Such insights have clear implications beyond the Israeli case. Globally, social media usage is widespread with many users actively circulating images within and between societies. There is also growing evidence of a proliferation of militaristic imagery in the West. Is social media usage leading to a more reactionary, conservative, and pro-military citizenry? Is there a general growth of skepticism towards the validity of knowledge/images fuelled by social media discourse?

However, while the book should be praised for its accessibility, desire to connect with non-academic readers, and use of highly instructive case studies, this comes at some cost. The Israel-Palestine conflict is presented in polar terms and the book has elements that border on the polemical with expressions such as “repressive state violence” (p. xi), “Jewish Israeli racism” (p. xiii), and “Zionist modernizing narrative” (p. 9), a stance that is particularly pronounced in the introduction. This is unfortunate as it could unnecessarily polarize reaction to the book. The book’s arguments are arguably more important to a pro-Israeli audience than to one that is instinctively critical, but such phrasing is likely to alienate the former.

Striving for accessibility has also resulted in a relative absence of robust academic sources with much of the analysis drawing on blog posts and images and the case studies developed from such sources. This is perhaps understandable—these are accounts of social media after all—but it does mean that the academic veracity of some of the findings feels unnecessarily thin.

*Digital Militarism* offers potential insights to scholars of militarism and militarization, social media and politics, visual politics and gender. Yet in all cases the potential contribution is under-developed due to a limited engagement with key literatures. The book shows that militaristic social media is becoming normalized, and that the public is increasingly using social media to share militaristic imagery and to voice

support for a militaristic Israeli state. Yet questions remain unanswered—how if at all is social media contributing to such social and political change? Is it a vehicle of militaristic sentiment (militarism) or contributing to a process of political change (militarization)? Are such changes due to the intrinsic qualities of social media or to outside events? Are all Israelis equally acquiescent in these changes? What role does resistance play here? Is state propaganda as effective on social media as on other platforms? What is required here is a clearer differentiation between social media as an *agent of politics* and as a *platform for politics*.

More systematic engagement with work on visual politics would also be valuable, providing a scaffold for consideration of the politics of images, their power, and questions of image manipulation. It would also provide a framework for discussion of the interrelationship between images and the accompanying text that would enhance the analysis of both “selfie militarism” (Chapter 5) and “revenge selfies” (Chapter 6).

Finally, many of the cases expose important gendered dimensions, with sexualized imagery integral to discussion of “selfie militarism” (Chapter 5) and the Facebook scandal (Chapter 3) being contingent on the perpetrator being a woman. Consideration of such cases through a framework drawn from the literature on gender and politics would significantly enhance the analysis.

Despite these caveats, this book is highly recommended. The growth of militaristic imagery is certainly not isolated to Israel, nor is the growth of internet-based activism or the ubiquitous presence of social media in many people’s lives. *Digital Militarism* encourages us to reflect more systematically on the consequences of such changes—which are, one suspects, considerable.

### **International Responses to Mass Atrocities in Africa: Responsibility to Protect, Prosecute, and Palliate.**

By Kurt Mills. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

320p. \$69.95.

doi:10.1017/S1537592716001018

— Hyeran Jo, *Texas A&M University*

Kurt Mills’ *International Responses to Mass Atrocities in Africa: Responsibility to Protect Prosecute and Palliate* is a fabulous contribution to the study of human security. The author has written extensively on human rights, security, international justice, and international organizations, and this book extends his previous work to assess major international responses to atrocities in the African continent. Mills provides an amalgam of three approaches—protection, prosecution, and palliation—to address the world’s most intractable conflicts. His book is also a trenchant reminder of how difficult it is to solve the problem of mass atrocities.

Mills raises an interesting question: How should we understand different kinds of international responses with

an eye toward ending mass atrocities? The norm is now famously called the ‘responsibility to protect’ (R2P). The book deals with three primary methods of R2P intervention: protection, palliation, and prosecution (3Ps hereafter). Protection refers to peacekeeping activities with the primary goal of protecting civilian lives. Palliation refers to humanitarian actions to aid the victims in conflict zones with the aim of reducing suffering. Prosecution refers to the application of international justice through international tribunals, and more recently, via the International Criminal Court (ICC).

This is a welcome addition to the list of books on international responses to civil conflicts. The academic culture of publish or perish often pushes scholars into narrowing their focus to just one response, be it peacekeeping, or humanitarian action, or prosecution. Looking at them as a whole provides a novel view of international responses to atrocious conflicts.

The book’s key contribution is to subvert the assumption that the three international responses to atrocities (protection, prosecution, and palliation) reinforce each other. In fact, Mills forcefully argues and convincingly demonstrates that, at times, the 3Ps undermine each other’s efforts. The three responses have the same goal: saving lives. Yet, as Mills shows, employing those three methods at the same time might be infeasible and may produce trade-offs and moral quandaries.

The trade-offs among protection, prosecution, and palliation, are starkly described. Palliation, for example, decreases the motivation for protection. The pressure to “do something” might motivate politicians to rely solely on humanitarian assistance and nothing more. In this case, protection might not occur. Mills claims that this what happened in Darfur and Rwanda. Similarly, the prosecution effort might reduce the incentive to protect. International actors supported the ICC’s involvement in the DRC, but it might have hindered the protection efforts via peacekeeping. These tradeoffs are important lessons for protectors, prosecutors, and palliators—the key protagonists in R2P efforts.

Moral conundrums also abound in employing the three responses. Palliation via humanitarian action might prolong conflict. When humanitarians co-opt rebel elements, they may inadvertently reduce the incentive for protection, and thereby, lengthen the war. Also, humanitarians might be averse to participating in prosecution activities and refuse to take the stand as witnesses. Injecting international justice into the middle of a conflict could also upset the conflict dynamics. Many previous observers have noted that prosecution might undermine the peace process, usually termed as the issue of “peace-versus-justice.” When the ICC is involved, there is a possibility that the peace process might be derailed, as belligerents negotiate hard for amnesty. Mills presents such an example in the case of the ICC’s involvement in