

seriously still, Mazanec credits the 1899 Hague ban on “asphyxiating’ shells” (p. 45), before such weapons actually existed, as a crucial step in the road to censure. Despite noting that “this foundation proved inadequate in World War I” (p. 43), he ascribes a degree of norm-induced restraint onto the combatants in that war. No mention is made of Fascist Italy’s use of chemical weapons in Ethiopia, which occurred uninterrupted by contemporary norms and condemnations; and the “strong international response” to Iraqi use in the 1980s and Syrian use in 2013 is more debatable than the author implies. Mazanec asserts that a norm “will be more successful if [it] can be permanently and preemptively established before the weapon exists,” but the chemical weapons study does not adequately support his assertion. Therefore, while his conclusion that “with cyber warfare, the train has already left the station” (p. 191) may be true, it is less clear the train was ever there.

Nearly two-thirds of the book deals with the analytic framework, leaving barely 100 pages for a detailed consideration of the hostile actions in the cyber realm. The prioritization of the framework means that the portion dealing with the history of specific cyber events such as the Stuxnet virus that targeted Iranian nuclear development, the distributed denial of service attacks against the former Soviet republics of Estonia and Georgia, and the Iranian targeting of Saudi Aramco are all confined to the book’s 30-page appendix. Readers expecting a book on the evolution of cyber warfare should consider reading the appendix of the book first, then turning to the main text and its explanation and application of norm evolution theory.

In sum, *The Evolution of Cyber War* presents interesting and important conclusions with respect to cyber war. The book is not without shortcomings though, and these mostly derive from the struggle to use an idealist theory to find a realist conclusion. Nevertheless, Mazanec includes useful information and makes an early and important attempt to place cyber war and emerging weaponizable technologies into some larger context, particularly with respect to the process of negotiating constrictive norms.

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***Pakistan’s Enduring Challenges.*** Edited by C. Christine Fair and Sarah J. Watson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. ISBN 978-0-8122-4690-2. Graph. Tables. Notes. Index. Pp. vi, 311. \$69.95.

The well-edited essays in this volume address contemporary security challenges, domestic and political issues, and foreign relations in Pakistan. They are marked by a common interest in distinguishing and identifying the dangers posed by religious militancy, but also give attention to the country’s economic conditions, democratization, new media, and foreign relations. There are few radically new insights about Pakistan; the authors largely rely on published data, journalistic accounts, and private interviews to analyze the intentions and objectives that drive key actors in Pakistan.

Stephen Tankel identifies Pakistan's inter-connected Sunni Islamist groups and describes their activities in each of three loci: Kashmir, Afghanistan, and revolutionary and sectarian groups. Tankel synthesizes a range of research on militancy in Pakistan, predicting that the country will continue to tolerate militancy and militants will increasingly gravitate toward Afghanistan after the U.S. withdrawal. This essay has an interesting counterpart in Joshua White's scrutiny of the commentary of Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, a leader of the terrorist organization *Jamaat-ud-Dawa*, on a Quran verse with reference to the evocation of similar themes by other Sunni theologians. This is a meaningful reflection on the interpretative underpinnings of jihad and militancy in Pakistan, but the nature of pan-Sunni collaboration, the distinctions between politically participant and militant Sunni political organizations, and the extent to which political positions of militant groups are in fact derived from public theology remain unclear.

Sarah J. Watson and C. Christine Fair argue that drone strikes conducted in Pakistan have targeted those who threaten Pakistan's internal security (as well as U.S. security) with "Pakistan's consent and often at its government's behest" (p. 74), and that rather than focusing on the program as a violation of Pakistani sovereignty, it is imperative to examine the legality of this program as it is conducted in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) under international law, American law, and Pakistani law. They conclude that while the legitimacy of the program under U.S. and Pakistani law is uncertain at best, militancy in the FATA poses a persistent threat and there are few viable alternatives for confronting it. This contribution is usefully supplemented by Karl Kaltenhaler and William J. Miller's analysis of opinion polling data in Pakistan and the identification of two sources of anti-American feelings in Pakistan: nationalist responses to United States policies (including the drone program), and associations with Islamic culture. They then identify those Pakistanis who are most militantly anti-American as those who identify with Salafi Islam. They conclude that the United States must impress upon Muslims worldwide that it is not hostile to Muslims and Islam. A final chapter by Davede Gartenstein-Ross and Tara Vassefi traces the history of twentieth-century Afghanistan and then briefly reflects on violent non-state actors—particularly the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and the Haqqani Network in the FATA—as having become a permanent element.

The remaining essays focus on policies, strategies, imperatives, and weaknesses of the Pakistani state. Christopher Clary examines Pakistan's ability to protect its nuclear arsenal by identifying command and control threats of infiltration of military bases and access to weapons arming codes and battlefield weapons by non-state actors and insiders, and the potential for escalation of this risk. Clary concludes by pointing to the influence of Pakistan's international allies as the factor most likely to tip the balance of the global threat posed by Pakistan's nuclear arsenal. Christine Fair explores gains in democratization thus far, and the scope and means for military intervention through a review of the issues surrounding the military, the judiciary, political representation, and Nawaz Sharif's government. Huma Yusuf explores the uses of new media, arguing that it has the potential to support the rise

of new actors, but warning that evidence of censorship means it also functions as a tool of the state. Feisal Khan describes power generation and the inability to raise sufficient tax revenue as two economic crises confronting the country, and reflects in conclusion on Nawaz Sharif's inability to bring meaningful economic reforms.

Finally, two essays suggest a growing cynicism among Pakistan's international allies. Paul Staniland describes the growth of a full-spectrum relationship with Pakistan that accompanied the United States' military presence in Afghanistan cutting across economic, political, and military issues. He argues that the outcomes of these policies are questionable. He posits that the drawdown of U.S. forces in Afghanistan will give both countries some strategic breathing space. Aparna Pande looks at the history of Pakistan's relationships with China and Saudi Arabia, "friends of last resort," identifying major Pakistani economic, political, and military collaborations with each country. He warns that these relationships are driven by the larger countries' interests and not by Pakistan's objectives.

Each essay offers predictions about the course Pakistan will take in the near future; most authors concur that Pakistan will continue to "muddle along." Some predictions have already been disproven by the concerted efforts of the current Pakistan military establishment to confront and tackle militancy. Others, pointing to Nawaz Sharif's apathy and the lack of will for meaningful change, seem accurate. The real contribution of this volume is that it brings together a variety of well-placed observers in the field to synthesize a large body of disparate, anecdotal, and often contradictory accounts of the risks posed by and faced by Pakistan around a set of well-chosen themes. This volume is useful for policymakers and advanced students of Pakistani politics.

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