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How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything: Tales from the Pentagon

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illustrate how the military is changing from a force of confrontation to one of cooperation” (p. 224). But this strategic pillar is still a work in progress, as the United States seeks out the most effective formulas for achieving national objectives via security cooperation. Congressionally approved security assistance programs will be shaped more effectively. Interagency policy and planning will be refined. Better assessment, monitoring, and evaluation methods will be implemented. Military services will learn to execute engagement activities that simultaneously sharpen war-fighting skills and build partner capacity. The underrepresented tool to accelerate this progress is insightful academic and government dialogue. Dr. Reveron has laid a solid foundation on which this dialogue should build. Then perhaps the taxpayer can look forward to a better return on security cooperation investment.

MICHAEL MCCRABB



How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything: Tales from the Pentagon, by Rosa Brooks. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016. 448 pages. \$29.95.

This is a history of modern war, particularly America’s war against terrorists since the attacks of September 11, 2001. Rosa Brooks analyzes the forces and principles underlying modern conflict, including history, international relations, international law, political-military relations, and domestic politics. She has produced a fascinating, realistic, and at times humorous look at our struggles to make sense of it all.

The book begins with a Pentagon meeting whose purpose is to decide

whether and when to launch a drone attack on an Al Qaeda operative. Brooks takes the reader on a journey that ultimately addresses two simple but important questions: Is war or peace the norm, and what rules apply?

Brooks reviews conflict in Rwanda in 1994, Bosnia in 1995, and Kosovo in 1999, parts of a continuum stretching until today. Since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, sovereign states have formed the basis of international relations, but recently civil wars and revolution have spilled across state borders, upsetting international law and order. Many of these states, such as Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Afghanistan, never enjoyed a firm footing in statehood. Interstate conflicts with fixed beginnings and ends, such as the two world wars, are distant memories. Modern war is both boundless and endless.

Using historical examples, Brooks argues persuasively that war is the norm, peace the exception. Our concept of peace arose only around the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1863, the Lieber Code codified law-of-war traditions for Union troops in the American Civil War. In 1864, the International Committee of the Red Cross was founded to ease the burdens of war. Our international institutions are predicated on the belief that we can limit war in space and time while maintaining our humanity. Our current “war” against terrorists, however, does not fit this paradigm. Use of “enhanced interrogations” and targeted drone attacks, and even our definition of our enemy, push our notions of law into uncharted territory.

How do common notions of human rights fare in this environment? Brooks revisits this idea throughout. Do states have a responsibility to protect

their citizens? Do other states have a responsibility to intervene when citizens' states do not? Do human rights trump sovereignty? For over two decades, we have failed to answer these questions. If the "international community" has no answer, how can we expect fighters—a young soldier battling Taliban insurgents in Afghanistan or a drone pilot sitting in an operations center tracking a suspected terrorist in Yemen—to answer them? The received law of war was not designed for this.

Efforts to fit modern war into this structure create more problems in turn, undermining both domestic and international law. The rule of law, Brooks argues, is critical to all societies and to international order. One solution she suggests is to update our laws and international structures, as challenging as that task might be. We should think of war and peace as poles on a spectrum, and envision that we move closer to one or the other over time. We should reject rigid definitions of war as an all-or-nothing concept.

Brooks argues that endless war undermines American institutions as well as the rule of law. The Department of Defense has assumed missions that it is ill equipped by culture and training to perform—such as nation building and civil reconstruction—at the expense of other agencies that traditionally have carried out American public policy and diplomacy overseas, such as the State Department. Brooks submits that, for policy implementation, the military has become a one-stop shopping center—like Walmart.

Brooks's tale also chronicles a personal journey. As the child of antiwar activists, then throughout her career as a law professor, human rights

lawyer, State Department lawyer, and Defense Department official, she has experienced and here relates her close encounters with most of the subjects about which she writes, in part owing to her marriage to an Army Special Forces officer. Anyone who has served in the Pentagon in any capacity will get a chuckle or two from Brooks's tales of her time in this unique place.

This book is informative, enlightening, and entertaining. As director of national security legal studies at the Army War College from 2000 to 2006, I struggled to answer the same questions Brooks addresses in her book. *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything* should be required reading for anyone interested in military strategy and national security, or anyone who wonders how we got where we are today and how we might find a better way.

THOMAS W. MCSHANE



Rough Waters: Sovereignty and the American Merchant Flag, by Rodney P. Carlisle, with Bradford Smith. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2017. 304 pages. \$31.95.

Rough Waters is a historical review of the use and significance of the port of registry (which yields a "flag state") of merchant vessels. Author Rodney Carlisle has revisited his prior work *Sovereignty for Sale: The Origins and Evolution of the Panamanian and Liberian Flags of Convenience* (Naval Institute Press, 1982, out of print) and augmented it with his other prior periodical work to provide a deeper history of the use of merchant ship flags.

Generally speaking, *Rough Waters* is well researched—with the profound