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Edward M. Iacobucci and Stephen J. Toope, eds., *After the Paris Attacks: Responses in Canada, Europe, and around the Globe*. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2015. vii + 221 pp. \$32.95 Cdn. (pb). ISBN 978-1-4426-3001-7.

Review by Alexandre De Arango, Independent Researcher.

*After the Paris Attacks* is a collection of essays based on papers given at the University of Toronto during a one-day conference called “After the Paris Attacks” on March 9, 2015. The book is edited by Edward M. Iacobucci and Stephen J. Toope. While the vast majority of the contributors comes from academia, some have a journalistic background.

The purpose of this book is to reflect on the French, Canadian, European and worldwide responses following the terrorist attacks against Charlie Hebdo and at the Hypercacher kosher supermarket in January 2015 in Paris. It studies the responses to the attacks on social, political, cultural and legal levels while analyzing some of possible root causes of the attacks, both in the immigration policies and history of France. To that aim, the book gathers a collection of twenty-one essays, divided into four parts: “Religion, Culture, and Pluralism”; “Geopolitical Effects; From Headlines to Analysis: The Media”; “Canada: Security and Society.” The structure of the book, like the background of the authors, reflects its multidisciplinary nature, and not all the parts that make up *After the Paris Attacks* will be of interest to the readers of H-France.

In the first and largest part of the book, “Religion, Culture, and Pluralism,” Randell Hansen starts by briefly reviewing immigration in Europe from the 1950s onward to foreground his recommendations as to how to manage immigration after the attacks. Hansen recommends that antisemitism and islamophobia be legally and rhetorically addressed both by rigorously enforcing anti-discrimination laws and challenging discourses according to which Islam is incompatible with European values. He also calls for the conversation about immigration and integration in Europe to be refocused on education and employment. Specifically, he argues that the redistribution of students to better schools and that better training for teachers on issues of diversity would play a key role in the successful integration of younger immigrants. The same goes for employment. Allowing immigrants fair access, not only jobs, but to better-paid jobs is crucial, as working is also a key means for the integration of immigrants into society.

One of the most challenging and interesting chapters of the book is in this first part and authored by Mohammad Fadel (“A Tale of Two Massacres: Charlie Hebdo and Utoya Island”). In this chapter, Fadel compares the impact of Breivik’s attacks in Norway and the Paris attacks.<sup>[1]</sup> He argues that, while Breivik’s sanity was questioned and while he was widely believed to be representing only himself, those responsible for the Paris attacks—Coulibaly and the brothers Kouachi—were considered Islamist terrorists in societies where Muslims are considered a minority, thus associating Islam with terrorism and forcing Muslims to question themselves. Breivik’s attacks, on the other hand, did not create the same sense of crisis or self-criticism.

Other interesting contributions by Ruth Marshall, Mark G. Toulouse and Ayelet Shachar analyze the fact that the French Republic and society have had difficulty coming to terms with its colonial past. These authors show that the integration of immigrants from former colonies is challenged by a persistent association of them with Islam in political and public discourses, and by constant debate as to whether or not Islam is compatible with Republican values, consequently challenging the possibility of the integration of Muslim immigrants into French society. In the final chapter of the first part of the volume, Anna C. Korteweg summarizes why the Paris attacks are important and why it is relevant to analyse them from many different perspectives: by asking the right questions, it leads to thorough thinking about our own violence, as well as others' violence.

In the first contribution of the second part entitled "Geopolitical Effects," Arthur Ripstein discusses what it means to be at war, in a sense that a war against terrorism cannot be understood as being at war against another nation's army. He argues that, even if the language of warfare is used in political speeches and the media, the means that governments use to fight terrorism must not undermine fundamental values such as freedom, openness and tolerance, as this is precisely what terrorists are fighting against.

In her essay, "Looking Back and Looking Forward: Authenticity through Purification," Janice Gross Stein argues that, although the call of authenticity of Al Qaeda and Daesh is far from new, the communication means at their disposal brings their terrorism to its full transnational perspective. Daesh, claiming to be the "true" voice of Islam by applying Shari'a laws (and only those) to their full extent, manages to appeal to people all over the world looking for a purification of Islam and the establishment of a caliphate, as well as a commitment to fundamentals, largely thanks to a network of militants in a globalized world. This transnational terrorism, also discussed by Jutta Brunnée, poses a serious challenge for the international legal order. International law has a role to play in addressing transnational terrorism by preventing a rushed response and allowing time to frame a viable global effort to suppress terrorism.

In the third part--the shortest of the book--entitled "From Headlines to Analysis: The Media," Natasha Fatah proposes studying the Canadian media responses: what was done right, what was done wrong, and finally what could be improved. The main points that Fatah raises are that the cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad should have been published in the media, as journalism cannot and should not be constrained by religious precepts, and that the pressure to offer quick analysis meant the media's consultants were not representative of the majority of Muslims.

In "Journalism and Political Decision-Making in an Age of Crisis," Brian Stewart argues that the more information available, the more pressure there is to act politically and legally. This pressure, which is linked to the fact that information is in constant demand and must be offered quickly to the public, is dividing societies rather than bringing people closer. Stewart's contribution makes a good link with the fourth part of the book.

The last part of the book focuses on the C-51 Bill, exploring its technical details. This bill passed by the Canadian government is likely to be of little interest to most H-France readers as it is not directly related to France. The contributions, however, are illuminating regarding the scope and the purpose of the said bill. The seven essays, which compose the part entitled "Canada: Security and Society," question the political and practical relevance of the C-51 Bill and all the new security measures which accompany it. While this part will mainly appeal to readers interested in terrorism law or/and Canadian law, it raises very interesting and legitimate questions about the need for rushed legal "adjustments" after the Paris attacks throughout the West.

Due to the various nature of the contributions, not all chapters of this book will be appealing to the readers of H-France, especially the last part of the volume. Just like the conference, the book was published so quickly after the terrorist attacks that it obviously lacks in-depth analysis and, thus, *After the Paris Attacks* raises more questions than it provides answers, which the editors and authors acknowledge in the volume. Yet these questions are fundamental to finding viable solutions for dealing with transnational terrorism and addressing it at local, national and international levels. In the wake of the most recent attacks in Paris, the questions raised by *After the Paris Attacks* are clearly not only extremely important, but also urgent.<sup>[2]</sup> Islamic terrorism widens the gap in western societies by separating its Muslim members from the rest of the society, creating in turn a more fertile ground for new recruits. If there is one way in which *After the Paris Attacks* will benefit the reader, it is to make us ask ourselves the right questions, notably how French history both illuminates our understanding of these attacks and might lead to solutions.

## NOTES

[1] On July 22, 2011, Anders Breivik coordinated two terrorist attacks in Norway. The first attack was aimed at the Norwegian government and was a bombing in which eight people were killed and fifteen, wounded. The second attack was the shooting of sixty-nine persons and the wounding of thirty-three others, mostly youngsters attending a left-wing political gathering on Utoya island.

[2] On November 13, 2015, attacks in Paris were carried out by terrorists who had sworn allegiance to Daesh. One group of terrorists stormed the Bataclan (a night club) during a concert, while another group of terrorists attacked several cafés.

## LIST OF ESSAYS

Edward M. Iacobucci and Stephen J. Toope, "Preface"

### Part One: Religion, Culture and Pluralism

Randall Hansen, "After Paris: Liberalism, Free Speech, Religion, and Immigration in Europe"

Simone Chambers, "Free Speech and Civility in Pluralist Societies"

Jeffrey G. Reitz, "The Status of Muslim Minorities Following the Paris Attacks"

Mohammad Fadel, "A Tale of Two Massacres: Charlie Hebdo and Utoya Island"

Ruth Marshall, "The (In)Secure Citizen: Islamophobia and the Natives of the Republic after Paris"

Mark G. Toulouse, "Evil as a Noun: Dichotomous Avoidance of Political Analysis"

Ayelet Shachar, "The Search for Equal Membership in the Age of Terror"

Anna C. Korteweg, "*Charlie Hebdo* and the Politics of Fear: Questions without Answers"

### Part Two: Geopolitical Effects

Arthur Ripstein, "What Does It Mean to Be at War?"

Ronald W. Pruessen, "After the Paris Attacks: Long Views Backwards and Forwards"

Jutta Brunnée, "International Law and Transnational Terrorism"

Janice Gross Stein, "Looking Back and Looking Forward: Authenticity through Purification"

Part Three: From Headlines to Analysis: the Media

Natasha Fatah, "After the Paris Attacks: Reflections on the Media"

Brian Stewart, "Journalism and Political Decision-Making in an Age of Crises"

Part Four: Canada: Security and Society

Ken Roach and Craig Forcese, "Legislating in Fearful and Politicized Times: The Limits of Bill C-51's Disruption Powers in Making Us Safer"

David Schneiderman, "What Lessons Have We Learned about Speech in the Aftermath of the Paris Attacks?"

Wesley Mark, "C-51 and the Canadian Security and Intelligence Community: Finding the Balance for Security and Rights Protections"

Hugh Segal, "Freedom and Security: The Gordian Knot for Democracies"

Lisa M. Austin, "Anti-Terrorism's Privacy Sleight-of-Hand: Bill C-51 and the Erosion of Privacy"

Ronald Deibert, "Who Knows What Evils Lurk in the Shadows?"

Ron Levi and Janice Gross Stein, "The Complex Ecology of Policing, Trust, and Community Partnerships in Counterterrorism"

Stephen J. Toope, "Postscript: The Paris Attacks as a Turning Point?"

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