

the political, diplomatic, and legal world of the mid-1940s could handle.

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Badges without Borders: How Global Counterinsurgency Transformed American Policing. By Stuart Schrader. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019. xii, 393 pp. Cloth, \$85.00. Paper, \$29.95.)

The recent militarized response to Black Lives Matter rallies highlights just how repressive the policing of racially marginalized and economically vulnerable populations in the United States has become. It is in this context that Stuart Schrader's *Badges without Borders* is a particular compelling and relevant study. For those already aware of the negative consequences of police-training programs and how they have led to extensive human rights abuses around the world, this book will come as no surprise; rather, it extends and deepens what we already know.

Schrader examines how domestic law enforcement in the United States and international war making have become intertwined as the distinction between the two become blurred. He places the rise of the carceral state in the United States in a transnational context in which counterinsurgency practices that the government employed elsewhere were subsequently repatriated as policing practices on the city streets of the United States.

Significantly, the militarization of policing did not flow only in one direction. Counterinsurgency activities elsewhere influenced the nature of policing in the United States even as "riot control" in the United States influenced military practices elsewhere. The use of tear gas in the 1960s, for example, to criminalize dissent and subdue activists in Harlem, Watts, Detroit, and Newark influenced how the U.S. military deployed defoliants in Vietnam to force its opponents into so-called free-fire zones. The introduction of stop-and-frisk tactics and other coercive surveillance tools to

control Black and Brown bodies occurred simultaneously on a transnational level.

The implementation of these counterinsurgency tactics is most visibly demonstrated in a turn away from community policing tactics and toward the militarization of police forces. This is particularly evident in the prevalence of paramilitary Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams, originally termed Special Weapons Attack Teams, which embody racialized social control. Schrader contends that to dismantle the carceral state the national security state will also need to be dismantled.

Schrader's work excels at placing very contemporary issues in broad historical and theoretical contexts. One example is the predecessors to current calls to defund the police (even though the book was published before those demands gained widespread traction). In the 1970s the progressive senator James Abourezk from my home state of South Dakota sponsored legislation to terminate Office of Public Safety operations that trained repressive regimes in torture and other unsavory practices. One of the most high-profile examples of such activity was that of Dan Mitrione in South America that the director Costa-Gavras famously dramatized in his 1972 film *State of Siege*.

Unfortunately, Ronald Reagan resumed and accelerated police-training programs when he took office in 1981. If more reasonable and rational voices had prevailed, we would likely not be facing today the plague of racist policing practices that extinguish the lives of young Black men on the streets of cities stretching from Minneapolis, Minnesota, to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

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The Closet and the Cul-de-Sac: The Politics of Sexual Privacy in Northern California. By Clayton Howard. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019. viii, 378 pp. \$45.00.)

The Closet and the Cul-de-Sac is an original and ambitious study of postwar sexual politics