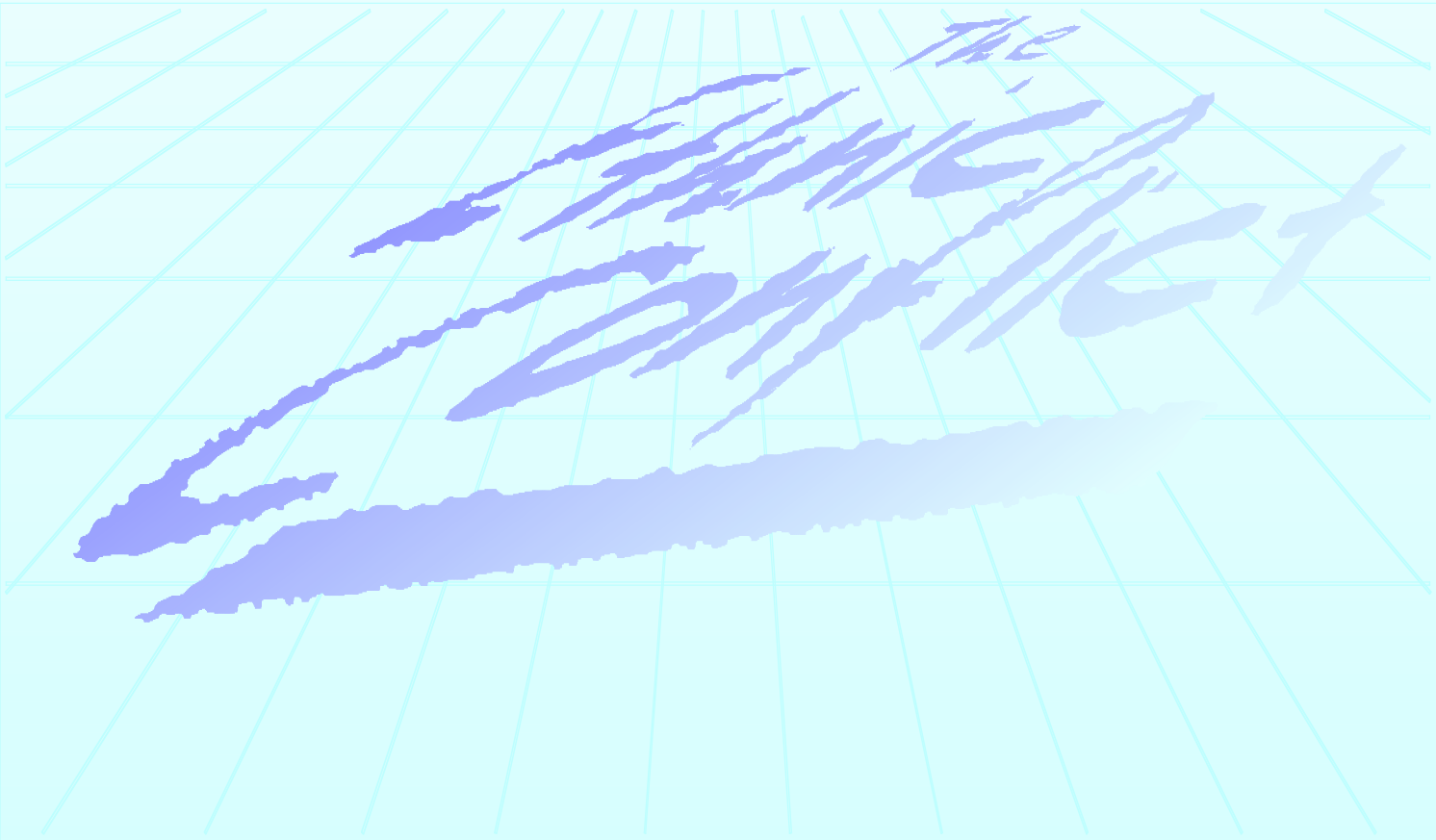
INCORE
international conflict research

The Ethnic Conflict

Research Digest

Volume 6, No.1 February 2006



Edited by Dr. Lis Porter

Ethnic Conflict Research Digest, 2006, Volume 6, Number 1

EDITORIAL:

Welcome to the 2006, Volume 6, Number 1 edition of the Ethnic Conflict Research Digest. This is the tenth edition of this review digest. Once again, we are reviewing a wide range of fascinating books in the field of peace and conflict studies, human rights, and international politics.

The interdisciplinary field of peace and conflict studies is of increasing significance in a globally complex world where intra-civil conflict prevails in so many places, where violence, civil unrest, genocide, war-rape, terrorist attacks, poverty, deaths and daily uncertainty are the norm for too many people. We who have the luxury of internet access, time to read and our material needs met can increase our knowledge and understanding of international conflict in order to work diligently toward furthering meaningful peacebuilding processes that change peoples' lives in positive ways.

I am grateful to the publishers for continuing to provide INCORE with books to review. Thanks to INCORE interns, Shauna Meehan and Brent Freeman for assistance with this edition. I am appreciative to all the reviewers for reflective reviews. Please feel free to contact INCORE if you would like to be added to our list of reviewers.

In addition to this file with all the reviews for this edition, individual reviews are available on the INCORE website:
www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/ecrd/new/search.html
The website has search tools to enable you to search by subject, year of publication, author title, keyword, reviewer or volume.

Enjoy this edition.

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REVIEWS

Somalia the Untold Story – the war through the eyes of Somali women
Judith Gardner and Judy El Bushra (eds.)

London, Sterling: CIIR and Pluto Press, 2004, 257pp, PB, $26.95
ISBN 07453 2208 5 (PB)
ISBN 07453 2209 3 (HB)

This collection begins with an account of the civil war in Somalia, which at its height in 1992 is estimated to have cost 500,000 lives and displaced 1.5 million people as a result of the fighting and subsequent famine. The book is divided into two sections, 'Women's experiences of the war' and 'Women's responses to the war'. Key themes in part one include the normative status of women and girls in Somalia, the loss and slaughter of men and boys, and the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war. Part two moves on to examine among other themes the changing role of men and women at the family level, women as refugees, the role of women in mobilising peace and in political participation.

The book is rich with translations of native Somali women's poetry, the explanation of which reiterates the dominance of patriarchal accounts of conflict. Women harnessed verse for many number of practical functions including as a means of peace-building and female empowerment, yet their poetry as with their narratives rarely reached the public forum. '…*This of course does not mean that there were no women poets; but the reality is that nobody, neither foreigners nor the Somalis themselves, bothered to view women's literature and the themes they talked about as important enough to be recorded'* (xiv). This collection challenges the notion that women's experiences are not important enough to be recorded by including contributions from a range of Somali women from researchers and academics, to health professionals and artists. Whilst the authors acknowledge that as educated women these women represent the minority of Somali women (a country with one of the lowest literacy rates in the world) they claim that these women's experiences of the conflict are common to hundreds of thousands of women from all social classes.

Overall I found the style and content of this collection extremely comprehensive and was particularly impressed by the inclusion of a detailed chronology of the conflict, a map of Somalia, as well as a useful glossary of Somali terms. This collection challenges traditional constructs of the female as passive by including accounts of women providing funding for and actively engaging in armed conflict.

Sexual violence during armed conflict is a phenomenon now widely acknowledged following the landmark decision in 1996 of the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) to include sexual violence as a war crime in response to the Bosnian conflict. Unfortunately for the women and girls of Somalia this acknowledgement came too late, as this chapter outlines the scale and brutality of the attacks that were carried out with relative impunity. Chapter three on war crimes against women and girls demonstrates how the conflict practically eradicated the protection within clans of women and children leaving them subject to sexual violence on an unprecedented scale. Whilst all women and girls were open to such attack, it was the most vulnerable minorities and those without clan affiliation who suffered the brunt of the violence. The

widespread use of sexual violence in the Somali conflict is particularly brutal due to the almost ubiquitous practice of female genital mutilation that can cause severe and irreparable injuries. The pandemic of sexual violence can in part account for the fact that women and girls accounted for approximately 80% of refugees between 1991-1993. The chapter states that many of the women and girls who fled as a result of sexual violence were later raped again as refugees. Testimonies demonstrate that the majority of attacks were carried out by armed gangs, often involving multiple rapes, some carried out in front of husbands, relatives, friends or children, most involved physical violence and robbery. While the accounts of conflict are vivid and at times shocking, the collection is laced with stories of survival, perseverance, empowerment and hope.

The authors succeed in their aim of contributing to an understanding of not only the particular conflict in Somalia but also of conflict as a phenomenon. This collection adds significantly to existing literature on conflict and peace studies by providing invaluable personal accounts of women's experiences of conflict in a way that emphasises the impact of war on individuals, families and communities. The use of personal accounts has proved vital in presenting an insight into the culture of the different and often opposing clans and the affect which conflict has had on women's status in the family and community in general. The book contributes to both sides of the debate on whether women experience conflict differently from men. As result, this book will appeal to academics, researchers and scholars with an interest in peace and conflict studies, gender issues and political participation.

Sorcha McKenna, PhD Research Fellow, Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster

Prime Time Crime: Balkan Media in War and Peace
Kemal Kurspahic

Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2003, 288pp, PB, $19.95,
ISBN 1-929223-38-2.

Many prominent scholars and politicians have tried to understand and even solve the puzzle of the destruction of Yugoslavia. *Prime Time Crime: Balkan Media in War and Peace* by Kemal Kurspahic offers a compelling tale of power, control, threat and the few who tried very hard to preserve their journalistic integrity during the Balkan conflicts. Kurspahic examines very closely Slobodan Milosevic's stronghold on the media and his callous use of it to stir up favorable propaganda for his murderous and genocidal expansionism. In other words, every bullet and grenade fired, every fallen civilian and concentration camp prisoner, every Muslim woman raped, and every historic monument was headed by careful media preparation. *Prime Time Crime* is a combination of modern history and first-person insight into the decline of the Yugoslavia's media into nationalism.

The book starts with the comparison of media in Yugoslavia during the 35-year long rule of President Josip Broz Tito with happenings in other East European countries. Kurspahic continues with detailed analysis of the key role played by the media in Milosevic's and Tudjman's rise to power. The attempt of Croatian military forces to cover up their crimes during the defensive war for Croatia and their aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina is thoroughly analyzed. Following this analysis is a detailed description of how media managed to destroy the multi-ethnic structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Kurspahic also provides the reader with the factual evidence of how media played an important role in the post-war period and emphasizes the importance of local capacities, which were, according to Kurspahic, ignored and not fully utilized. At the end of the book, Kurspahic provides the reader with recommendations for the international community and gives an overview of international community efforts that could have been handled differently while trying to promote free media.

Kurspahic's contribution to an understanding of this war is his argument regarding the willingness of the people to accept the crimes of its leaders as a natural part of the progression to statehood. The media's crime was its biased and willing participation in using nationalistic and war crime supportive language. *Prime Time Crime* consists of comprehensive interviews with the writer's colleagues who, like him, were not willing to betray their principles of professional journalism for the sake of serving the nationalistic leaders.

Prime Time Crime by Kemal Kurspahic, one of the most prominent and respected journalists in the Balkans, is an extraordinary book that should be required reading for students and professors of journalism, peace and conflict resolution and modern Balkan history. This book should be read by journalists everywhere but especially those reporting from conflict or post-conflict areas. This book helps historians to gain the knowledge of a complicated region's economic, political and societal developments that precipitated war and further inflamed already existent nationalistic feelings. This book helps in solving one piece of the destruction of Yugoslavia puzzle and it provides the

reader with warning signs and results of media captured and abused by nationalistic leaders.

Olja Hocevar Van Wely, IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board), Washington, D.C.

Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict,
Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall (eds.)

Washington D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005**,** 410pp. PB, ISBN: 1 929223 60 9

The authors of this edited volume argue that just like the nettle plant, intractable conflicts will, invariably, cause pain to anyone who touches them. The obvious consequence of this is that most people, including 'would-be' interveners, would prefer not to touch them or to get involved with them. Those that still do become involved are not guaranteed success and thus the overall intractability can often remain. Therefore, the point of this book is to focus, primarily, on some of the challenges of mediating 'the spectre of conflicts that go on and on and defy most attempts at management' (99). In doing so, it is hoped that it will become more readily apparent exactly when third parties can help in such contexts and when their efforts are more likely to be thwarted.

The volume begins with an analysis of the meaning of intractability, an examination of the root causes of intractability, the different 'types' of intractability and the various challenges of negotiations in intractable conflicts. Offering eight cases study analyses – Sudan, the Balkans, Angola, Colombia, Eurasia, Kashmir, North and South Korea, and the Middle East – the work concludes with specific recommendations for third party intervention in such conflicts in order that they can, perhaps, help to make them tractable. As such then, the central argument of the volume is that seemingly intractable conflicts can actually become 'tractable' through a meditative process. The key question, however, is how do we determine whether and/or when third party intervention in such conflicts will help to facilitate a negotiation or create additional obstacles to peace?

For scholars of peace and conflict studies, this book will be a welcome addition since it attempts to marry new theoretical approaches to the issue of intractability with the evidence emerging from the considered case studies. For practitioners working in the field, the key recommendations offered are designed to help them attempt to 'create and exploit fluid moments of tractability' (376). Consequently, the book has a broad appeal, and offers something for everyone – practical lessons for mediators, analytical lessons for students and scholars of the discipline, and up-to-date analysis of some of the world's most enduring conflicts for all potential peacemakers including government officials, UN policy-makers and practitioners, NGO personnel and the academic community.

Clearly, as the case studies illustrate, an understanding of the historical, cultural and political context in which a conflict exists, is always critical. Much attention is given to the interplay of these variables in the various chapters. Sometimes, however, it is useful to isolate different variables for further in-depth examination. With this in mind, the greatest appeal of the book from my own perspective was that it began to give due regard to the role of leadership in such conflicts, arguing that 'third parties should give intense scrutiny to the role of leadership – its presence, its absence, changes in its quality, and how to foster the emergence of leaders who can lead their societies out of the conflict trap' (377). Certainly, such scrutiny should extend beyond the third party mediators and, in particular, should include further scrutiny by the academic community in peace and conflict studies. Such future enquiry is critical given that within much of the existing peace and conflict literature there is a temptation to leave the leadership phenomenon as a

factor so obvious as to overlook it. In those instances where the leadership phenomenon has been mentioned, the tendency has been to create unhelpful dichotomous distinctions between them (good and bad leaders; strong and weak leaders; heroes and villains etc) when the reality is often vastly more complex. As Schaffer and Schaffer argue in their chapter on Kashmir, 'there is no substitute for leadership' (316) and while the authors of this volume have made the role of leadership during both the conflicts and the peace processes implicit in their analysis, there is further room for a more explicit analysis. Hopefully, this will be the focus of a future USIP volume, and will be another welcome addition to this analysis of third party intervention in seemingly 'hopeless' cases.

Dr. Cathy Gormley-Heenan, Lecturer in Government, University of Ulster, INCORE Associate

Conflict Prevention from Rhetoric to Reality: Volume 1; Organizations and Institutions and Volume 2; Opportunities and Innovations
Albert Schnabel and David Carment (eds.)

Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2004. Lexington Books, 2004
437 pp £18.99 HB ISBN 0-7391-0549-3, PB ISBN 07391-0738-0 v.1
444 pp £19.00 HB ISBN 0-7391-0550-7.PB ISBN 0-7391-0739-9 v.1

These two seventeen essay volumes that have been edited by Albrecht Schnabel and David Carment are concerned with the practice and theory of international conflict prevention.

In volume one, the contributors scrutinize the regional organizations and the United Nation's (UN) preventive attempts in reaction to latest intra and interstate violent conflicts. There is also an elucidation on how these efforts have been favorably mainstreamed into the activities of both. The volume is divided into three parts, and begins with regional views on the sources, causatum and preventive reactions to anticipated conflict. This is followed by an examination of regional activities' mainstreaming of preventive thinking. The third section looks at how the UN is incorporating a preventive perspective into its daily activities. To conclude, a comparative study encompassing the UN and regional organizations is offered.

Drawing on analysts' and conflict prevention practitioners' perspectives, volume two critically examines opportunities within and innovations to conflict prevention in practice. The aim is to clarify three conventional subjects on the contemporary practice of conflict prevention. Firstly, they show that the response options of various actors, including governments, non-governmental organizations, corporations and multilateral institutions are informed by the actors' 'diverse mandates, leadership, funding, operational activities and the entry points to prevention that are part of the organizations' core' (4). Secondly, while appreciating that the various actors approach conflict prevention from different angles, it is noted that they evince common objectives hence the need for interaction and conjunction. Conflict prevention can be applied by different actors and at various stages of the conflict. Lastly, the book underscores that preventive efforts are malleable.

Read together or separately these two volumes will be a useful and stimulating read for all those who are interested in different aspects of current conflict whether it is ethnic conflict, state failure, genocide or even large scale violations of human rights. Their attempt to bridge the analytical gap between practitioners and scholars makes them recommendable reading for both, especially those who approach ethnic conflict and peace studies from a political science and international relations background. The two tomes can be used in the teaching, training and implementation of conflict prevention. Whilst the rest of the contents might appeal to decision-makers and practitioners, academics might find the second volume particularly pertinent, as it challenges them to develop risk assessment tools that are of relevance for policy application.

I regard the fourth chapter of the second volume (63-77) as read with other references to the gender dimension (217, vol.1) as one of the book's greatest strengths as it places the compendiums in line with contemporary discourse. This thinking takes its lead from UN

Security Council Resolution 1325 of 2000 and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, which asserted that:

> {I}n addressing armed or other conflicts, an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programs should be promoted so that before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively.[1]

While the scholarship is of unquestionable merit, it is however arguable that too much attention has been paid to the role of external actors at the expense of the needs and contribution of local functionaries. For example, whilst Africa is seen as being one of the places that defy all conflict prevention efforts (vol.1, 149; vol. 2, 135), out of volume one's seventeen chapters, only two are dedicated to the region. More so, the chapter that discusses mainstreaming conflict prevention at this regional level is restricted to East African efforts. One might recommend that future scholarship that seeks to demonstrate that conflict prevention has moved 'from rhetoric to reality' pay more attention to preventive efforts by local actors in conflict prone regions. It could be asserted that viewing causes of African conflicts through Western lenses could be one of the reasons why analysis of different regional actors may point to intrinsically different causes of conflict.

Nevertheless these two volumes do add value to existing literature on conflict prevention. Their overall contribution to conflict and peace studies is threefold. Firstly, there is a demonstration that regional and international organizations are currently incorporating conflict prevention thinking in their activities. Secondly, there is clarification on the need to move conflict prevention 'from rhetoric to reality' (title). Finally, there is an illumination of the under researched idea that capacity-building, political and financial feasibility, are core to conflict prevention.

Khanyisela Moyo PhD Research Fellow, Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster

You Are Welcome: Activities to Promote Self-Esteem and Resilience in Children from a Diverse Community, including Asylum Seekers and Refugees

Pamela Allen, Ben Harper, and Jay Rowell

London: Lucky Duck Publishing Ltd, 2004. 72 pp, ISBN: 1-90431-533-X

New in Our Nation: Activities to Promote Self-Esteem and Resilience in Young Asylum Seekers

Pamela Allen, Ian Warwick, and Jay Begum

London: Lucky Duck Publishing Ltd, 2004, 117 pp, ISBN: 1-9043152-1-6

I recommend these two books to anybody who is interested in group work facilitation, including educators, community youth workers, social workers and psychologists. They have a practitioner's focus and provide excellent guides and ideas to promote self-esteem and resilience in children and youth from diverse communities, including asylum seekers and refugees. They include preventive strategies and the group work programme aims to promote emotional literacy and well-being for groups of between 3 and 12 young people. Each book includes detailed session outlines, from the aims, plan for the session, materials needed, etc. It also provides excellent icebreakers, methods of 'check in' and ending of each session, trust games, additional notes of consideration and preparation suggestions. Additionally, what contributes to the usefulness of the books is that it includes a CD-Rom in each, which allows you to print all the session activities, evaluation sheets, colourful posters and parental consent letter. What I particularly like about both books is that they present and encourage the use of various arts-based and creative playful methods of expression and communication during all the sessions, e.g. name games, badge making, affirmation cards, reward stars, poetry, prose, painting, collages, lifeline, taking pictures, rhythmic clapping game, mind maps, creature from another planet, guided imagery, post cards, if I were the Prime Minister, and keeping of a journal.

You Are Welcome, includes 6 sessions relevant for pupils in primary school between 8 and 12 years old, e.g.:
Session 2 - who are we? (27-38):

- To promote awareness of factors that influence the way we feel about ourselves;
- To introduce concepts of how we see ourselves in the world, our likes and dislikes;
- To explore how society might judge us because of our looks, our image, our culture and our diversity;
- To think about how we can help young people to understand the different definitions that we have in society to describe people because of their race, culture, status, disability or gender.

Session 3 – important things to me (39-46):

- To celebrate, explore and create a collage of memories, experiences and events;
- To support participants to communicate creatively many different aspects of their life;
- To create a piece of artwork that will identify and recognise important people, places and things in their life.

Session 4 – similarities and differences (47-55):

- For participants to understand that everyone has strengths, weaknesses, similarities and differences;
- To appreciate the richness of culture and experiences that exists in society.

Session 5 – what is it like to be different? (57-62):

- To promote empathy and social skills;
- To use a safe activity for children to express their feelings about being different or new.

Session 6 – my shield of strength (63-70):

- To help participants explore systems of support available to them;
- To help participants build up a picture of their individual coping strategies and identity;
- To build up a personal profile in visual collage form of all the things that they find helpful and protective in their lives.

New in Our Nation, includes 8 sessions relevant for pupils in secondary school between 11 and 18 years old, e.g.:

Session 3 – role-models (37-51):

- To introduce positive role-models;
- To begin thinking about systems of support that can help in dealing with life's adversities;
- To introduce asylum seekers and refugee role-models from around the world that have contributed to society and made successful achievements in their lives;
- To introduce the notion of self-esteem and how feelings of worth can be affected by internal coping strategies as well as other people's attitudes and behaviour towards us.

Session 4 – poetry and painting (53-61):

- To explore alterative media to express our feelings and thoughts about refugee experiences;
- To use poetry and prose, painting and visualisation to discover ways to express personal stories.

Session 5 – history, legislation and My Bill of Rights (63-79):

- To explore the history of asylum and how legislation has evolved and changed;
- To begin thinking about the participants' own personal journeys and important events in their lives and to record them;
- To help the participants develop their ideas of the rights newly arrived people should have.

Session 6 – Agony Aunt (81-91):

- To explore cultural, trans-generational and personal issues that young people may encounter and to help develop a problem-solving approach;
- To use case studies of problem situations to allow participants to think about what support may be available to address some of the difficulties.

Session 8 – hopes, fears and dreams (101-112):

- To explore individual aspirations and hopes for the future;
- To consider realistic options and to look at what they need to do in order to achieve their goals;
- To run through exercises that help to plan for the future, using a career lifeline to explore the options.

If you read these books from a purely research and academic perspective, you will be disappointed, as they were not intended for this purpose. A recommendation for future work would be to have these programmes scientifically evaluated, using pre- and post tests, e.g. the standardised measuring instruments of Hudson - Generalized Contentment Scale (GCS), Index of Self Esteem (ISE), and Index of Peer Relations (IPR).[1] Furthermore, in the definitions section (34-37 and 25-26) they may consider also including Xenophobia to expand and complement the current range of concepts for discussion.

Building healthy and positive self-esteem in our children and youth is of utmost importantce, especially those that have been traumatised and are victims of violence and human rights abuses. Though our challenge still remains to include and transcend narrow ego- and ethno-centric national identities and to embrace and celebrate a world-centric citizenry.

Marlene de Beer, PhD Candidate, UNESCO Centre University of Ulster, INCORE Associate

Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict: The Berghof Handbook
Alex Austin, Martina Fischer, & Norbert Ropers (eds.)

[1] Bloom & Fisher. 1982. *Evaluating practice, guidelines for the accountable professional*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hill: P.149-165.

Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004, 473pp, PB, €39.90, ISBN 3-8100-3940-3

The conclusion of the Cold War did not lead to an equivalent conclusion of violent conflicts throughout the world, as one would have expected. If anything, it led not only to an increase in their scale and number, but to the increasing reappearance of intra-state conflicts in an effort to maintain or gain political power, civil rights, cultural identity, economic advantage or natural resources. The variety of responses from the international community, in the form of humanitarian assistance, development aid, crisis prevention and conflict resolution programmes have exacerbated as much as enhanced opportunities for sustainable peace. As many of us are all too aware, attempts to understand what works, what lessons can be learned and how to transfer best practice usually comes in the form of evaluations of individual projects or programmes, few of which are presented for further discussion in the academic field or for use by practitioners. The Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management has produced this Handbook 'in response to the contemporary challenges which have to be faced by those who are working in and on violent conflict. The intention is to give an overview of recent developments in the field of conflict transformation from various perspectives: from academic analysts and practitioners as well as from experts representing different areas of work inside and outside of conflict zones' (9).

This inspirational overview of the state-of-the-art of conflict transformation contains contributory discussions of the core issues and recent developments from some of the most respected theorists and practitioners in the field, aiming to 'make a particular contribution to well informed, enlightened and effective practice' (12). These contributions are presented under five broad headings. Firstly, concepts such as conflict management and resolution are examined along with a focus on cross-cutting challenges including culture and gender. Next, tools for analysing and predicting conflicts such as early warning systems are reviewed and current debates around impact assessments of conflict interventions are highlighted. The third section examines activities for enhancing capacity for handling and intervening in conflicts on interpersonal and inter-group levels, with the primary concentration here being on the psychosocial dimension of conflict transformation. The fourth section focuses on structural reforms, institution-building and violence control as preconditions for conflict transformation and peacebuilding, with the fifth section finally presenting a discussion on the challenge of conflict transformation to reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation in post-war situations and war-torn societies.

The *Berghof Handbook* is a practical work-in-progress which was first launched a number of years ago as a series of successive articles on the Centre's interactive website (www.berghof-handbook.net). This format provided for the gathering of feedback and commentary from users on the content and focus of the articles. The addition of further articles allowed for the creation of an evolving manual and reference guide to reflect developments in the field of conflict transformation. This hard copy version was published for those academics and practitioners who requested the complete compilation of all contributions. Unfortunately the web-based discussions on peace and conflict impact assessments (PCIAs) are not included in this volume as they have already been published separately through the Centre's Dialogue Series. Nevertheless, this volume is an extremely valuable guide for both seasoned academics and practitioners alike and makes a great reference book for those just beginning their work in this field, by

comfortably guiding the way through a field that is still newly emerging and lounging in a definitional morass. It is enthusiastically recommended to those trying to get to grips with the key concepts and themes central to transformational theory and practice. However, further debate and more detailed explorations are required. Happily however, this first edition is not the end, merely the interim, as the Center intends to develop this project further, a development which is eagerly anticipated.

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Representing 'Race'. Racisms, Ethnicities and Media
John Downing and Charles Husband

London: Sage Publications, 2005.
241 pp, PB, ISBN0-7619-6912-8

A comprehensive literature review and a good starting point for scholars interested in formulating policy recommendations, Downing and Husband's new book on the representation of race and ethnicity in the media manages to render – and to remind us of – the complex interaction between media and racism. For those interested in peace and conflict issues, the book might provide a good starting point in understanding the complicated web of relations and structures which constructs mass media and its role within contemporary society in relation to race and ethnicity. However, this work is not based on original research and does not offer any new theoretical or empirical takes on the problematic.

In my opinion, the greatest strength of this book stems from its capacity to unpack the issue of race/ ethnicity representation in the media on various interdependent levels: media content, the political economy of media (internal organization and professional culture, interdependencies with other sectors) and media reception. The book is divided into nine chapters: after briefly introducing the reader to the various definitions and perspectives on race, ethnicity and media (chapters 1 and 2), the readers are invited to reflect upon the relationship between media, ethnic/racial hatred and various types of violence (direct and indirect).

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 deal respectively with extreme right media, media in open conflicts (with interesting summaries of 'classic' case studies on Northern Ireland, ex-Yugoslavia and Rwanda) and indigenous media (with a brief overview of Australian Aboriginal and Saami media). The thread uniting these different settings is that of violence: while extreme right media allegedly represents only a minority of radicals, perpetrating indirect (or instigating to) violence towards minority groups, the authors expose the complex relationship between radicals, wider conservative forces and international media, all creating and normalizing a universe of racist expectations. This process becomes visible in open conflicts, when media gets entangled in supporting direct violence – by being constrained through state or internal policies and by voluntarily adhering to the increasingly radicalized norms. Last, but not least, structural violence is an essential dimension in considering the emergence and development of indigenous media. As the authors point out, indigenity poses threats to the logic of the nation-state, by challenging the alleged 'intrinsic axis' nation-territory rights. Consequently, the development of indigenous media is faced with eclectic forms of structural violence: within a revenue-oriented paradigm, it becomes constrained by the need of receiving state funding while at the same time being subject to state policies and to a wider social capacity to recognize diversity and address racial inequality.

The last chapters (6, 7, 8 and 9) attempt to provide a basis for future research on policy recommendations for media representation of race and ethnicity. The authors expose the complicated internal organization of media institutions, in which owners, organizational culture, legal framework and economic concerns melt into one another, contributing to

the difficulty of coming up with 'perfect' solutions for redressing inequality and bias. The concept of institutional racism becomes useful – yet dangerous – for understanding media's capacity to replicate or to challenge racism: while it provides a frame for identifying strategies and mechanisms of redressing social injustice, it simultaneously provides an 'excuse' for an 'impersonal' structural racism, removing responsibility from individual shoulders. Media ethics and internal regulations, the legal regulatory framework and the organizational cultures of media institutions are important points of pressure for redressing racism and inequality, yet it is important to understand that neither would automatically ensure a fair representation and participation of minorities. Rather, change should be envisaged as an array of actions undertaken by various actors, from state to individuals, pressuring on the various nodes of the network, on a long-term basis.

Delia Despina Dumitrica, Ph.D. Student in Communications, University of Calgary

Cultural Moves: African Americans and the Politics of Representation
Herman S. Gray

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005
257pp PB £12.99 ISBN 0-520-24144-4

In *Cultural Moves,* Herman Gray explores black popular culture and its role in shaping perceptions of political power and representation. The author questions 'conventional assumptions about recognition and visibility' (2) and asks whether these assumptions remain viable in the twenty-first century. With a marked fluidity, Gray critiques the cultural moves of jazz, television, and new musical technology over the last decade as sites of identity and representation.

Gray pushes the boundaries of conceptualising black identity in popular culture and illustrates this through his critical assessment of the work of black musicians, artists and critics. The author also highlights problems in perceptions of black representation and visibility in American network television.

The book is divided into three parts, 'Strategies', 'Tactics' and 'Moves' to illustrate the core issues of debate. In part one, the author critically assesses the work of Wynton Marsalis who established a jazz canon at the Lincoln Centre for Performing Arts in New York. Gray asserts that the work of Marsalis is 'absolutely central to understanding this move toward institutional recognition and legitimation' (34). He highlights the importance of the particular cultural moves of Marsalis and to a slightly lesser extent Ken Burns because they illustrate the complexity of such moves and their impact on wider American culture.

In the second section of the book, Gray, in exploring black visibility and representation, looks at the role of commercial network television in America, during the post-civil rights movement. While not denying the importance of the networks he argues against their current 'primacy as a site of cultural struggle for representation and inclusion' (6). Similarly with black cultural politics Gray urges the need for recognition of the changing meaning of black representation.

In the final section, Gray contends that black musicians, especially Steve Coleman, George Lewis and Pamela Z, have been pivotal in using new musical technology to reshape black identities, '…thereby changing both the cultural terms of technologies and people's identities' (150) and thus extending tradition and culture within black music.

Gray acknowledges that in his interrogation of black visibility and representation, through these specific moves he has only scratched the surface, '…to identify paths that might be pursued to think black cultural politics differently' (193) However, in scratching the surface, my opinion would be that Gray has not only identified these paths but has succeeded in opening up the debate on black culture and identity in terms of its meaning in the twenty-first century.

Cultural Moves contributes substantially to the ethnic studies literature. It moves beyond the politics of identity by questioning our perceptions of that identity in terms of the visibility and representation of black culture and arguing that these perceptions have to

change with shifting patterns in society. This book is appealing to a wide audience of academics and students of ethnic studies, popular culture, politics and media studies. I suggest the value of this book is the incisiveness of the author's thoroughly scholarly critique of black culture coupled with its theoretical underpinning of identity.

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NGOs and Transnational Networks: Wild Cards in World Politics
William E. DeMars

Pluto Press: London, 2005
256pp, PB, £15.99, ISBN 0-7453-1905-X

The proliferation of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) across the globe during the last century, but more particularly in recent years, has been immeasurable. Not only are they to be found at every level of world politics from the bottom to the top, but they now have a presence in every region of the world, covering every possible transnational issue from human rights to animal rights, from peace to conflict and from poverty to democracy, in the process claiming 'to be able to do almost anything in world politics' (1).

This book provides an alternative insight into the intricate world of NGOs and the transnational networks they create by challenging what the author believes is their largely unexamined claim of being the 'most effective vehicles for social and political transformation' (6), a claim they articulate by evoking future progress through present action, despite only making minimal progress over prolonged periods. While supporters claim they are effective in the work they do, disparagers believe they are pathetic in comparison to governments and corporations. It is argued that many well established beliefs about NGOs (for example that their influence on the workings of the world flows automatically from their global norms development work at international conferences) are actually deceptive. NGOs and their networks are complex structures and oftentimes their significance lies in their unintentional political consequences 'whose impact is more important than either success or failure in reaching official [NGO] goals' (2). Many have managed to institutionalise conflict as much as cooperation and reshape states and societies often inadvertently. It is thus claimed that these organisations are wildcards in world politics as their influence and impact are really an unknown quantity – hard to predict and certainly not measurable. This book therefore, aims to analyse the complex world of NGOs across a range of issues in order to provide an understanding of their use and subsequently their consequences in world politics.

This analysis is presented at a number of levels. The book firstly looks at examples of NGO actions from several fields, examining a range of claims and contradictions associated with them. (For example, the fundraising technique pioneered by the Save the Children Fund of individual direct sponsorship of a child which provides the sponsor with a photograph and personal information is essentially flawed as more often reality dictates that the NGO has no way of tracking whether or how the contributions affect individual children. Yet it is a method that cannot be abandoned as it raises around $400 million each year in the United States alone). It is argued that this examination illustrates the need for 'a new theoretical approach to illuminate both the politics and the particularity of NGO action' (33) as the current schools of pluralism, globalism and realism do this only in a restrictive way, failing to explain NGOs as creators of institutional political conflict or to capture the minutiae of current NGO growth. By asking what are NGOs, what do NGOs do and what difference do NGOs make in world politics, the three planks of this theory 'portrays NGOs not only as agents of social and political action, but also as constituting the structure of international relations at three levels [showing] where to look for empirical evidence of how NGOs institutionalise

international conflict and cooperation' (61). After looking at the rather ironic religious origins of NGOs, the book's central challenge is then illustrated through three key examples of NGO relationships between state and society, 'the most significant consequences of which fell outside official NGO goals' (5), these being the role of human rights NGOs and their networks in overthrowing Argentina's dictators during the dirty war from 1976 to 1983, inadvertently acting as a catalyst for the transition to democracy in Argentina and also contributing to the process in Latin America; the complex response and permeation of NGO networks to the Yugoslavia wars which ultimately shaped the final outcomes of the new states and the role of several groups in reengineering sexual relations, women's fertility and families on a global scale. Finally, the future of NGOs is addressed through emerging trends of NGO-corporate partnerships, moves once again towards religion after twentieth century secularisation and roles post-September 11.

By presenting a rarely examined aspect of NGOs, this book certainly achieves its central aim. Although an intricate read in itself, it clearly illustrates their huge ability for social and political change while revealing just how difficult it is to predict their impact by carefully peeling back the layers of complexity that surround NGO activities, particularly through the details of these three examples.

This book would appeal not only to policymakers or those engaged in international relations, conflict or development research but also to those working directly with NGOs. Indeed, anyone with a passing interest in current global movements, such as the Make Poverty History campaign, would find this book stimulating reading.

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An Alliance Against Babylon: The U.S., Israel, and Iraq
John K. Cooley

London: Pluto Books, 2005, 246 pp, HB £17.99 ISBN 0-7453-2282-4

Led by the United States (US), a new war in Iraq began in March 2003 and as this review is written, the war continues to claim lives on a daily basis. The controversial reasons given for going to war have been well documented. However in this book, John Cooley puts into historical context the reasons why Iraq, and more specifically Saddam Hussein's regime, became an enemy of the world's superpower. He claims that overt endorsement of 'regime change' in Iraq began during the Clinton administration, with the appointment of Madeleine Albright as US Secretary of State. He also argues that the current Bush administration had been making preparations to achieve this objective well before the tragic events of 9/11, despite having publicly committed to disarming Iraq through the auspices of the United Nations (195-6).

While the US took the decision to go to war alone, it was, and always has been Cooley argues, heavily influenced by Israeli intelligence, which on this occasion was either simply incorrect or had its own agenda. Israel's role in the war has never been publicly clarified. Despite this, the author argues that, whether intentional or not, it has cemented the alliance between the two states even further. Cooley asserts that the war has affected the balance of power in the Middle East and marks a turning point in the West's relationship with the Arab world - the consequences of which will reverberate not only regionally but also internationally. Although Israeli involvement is apparent, to some extent at least, the author maintains that most contemporary assessments of the historical background to the current conflict in Iraq and the previous conflict in 1991 ignore the crucial relationship between the Americans and the Israelis. One of the central aims of this book thus is to examine this alliance, but more specifically, to assess the role played by Israel in these wars.

Thematically, the book is chronologically ordered, although the author does put historic events into context for today's reader. He begins with an historic and Biblical overview of the Jews' Babylonian captivity, progressing into retelling the exodus of the Jews from Iraq when the new Jewish homeland was established in Palestine in 1947, and then onto reportage of the conflicts that have occurred since then. By detailing the development of the cultural and political heritage of those generations and the relationships, antagonistic and otherwise, of the Jewish people with the people and states of Iraq, from Biblical Old testament times to modern times, he illustrates to the reader the importance of the deep-seeded mistrust that many Jews have toward Arabs and vice versa. It is revealed throughout the book that Israel has always viewed Iraq as one of its greatest – even its greatest - long-term strategic enemy and feared that its eastern Arab neighbours – Jordan, Syria and Iraq -- might patch up their differences and ideological quarrels and join in a unified 'Eastern front' against their Jewish adversary (75). However, the Arabs seemingly have found it impossible to mount an effective and joint operational war against Israel and as a consequence have lost land to Israel. As Israel's power grew in the region, the US became an increasingly closer ally and a dominant power in the region. In conjunction with this development, Iraq became perceived as the over-riding threat to US power in the Middle East and Saddam Hussein's 'removal would serve as an example to others who might challenge this power' (202). The author holds a deep conviction that

none of the Middle Eastern conflicts will ever be resolved peacefully unless there is a fair settlement between Israel and the Palestinians Arabs. However, the war in Iraq and the close alliance between the US and Israel is polarising the Arab world even further and making this an increasingly impossible reality.

This book is an important contribution to those researching the conflict in the Middle East because it is well researched and pays particular attention to historic detail while at the same time relating it to current affairs. What Cooley relays vibrantly to the reader is the complex and often contradictory relationship between Israel and the US and how this affected Iraq and other Middle Eastern actors. Furthermore, throughout his forty years of journalistic experience reporting on Middle Eastern and Central Asian affairs, Cooley has interviewed some of the key players involved in the Arab-Israeli conflicts and can offer the reader a unique insight into the their personalities.

Shauna Meehan, University of Ulster, INCORE Intern, 2005-2006

Baghdad Bulletin – The Real Story of the War in Iraq – Reporting from Beyond the Green Zone
David Enders

London: Pluto Press Publications, 179 pp, £15, HB, ISBN 0745324657.

The book provides a unique perspective on the Iraq war and details a distinctive angle of outlining what the Iraqi war was like for the daily lives of the Iraqi citizens. The most original aspect of the book is the fact that it is giving a direct account of the war from the street level, from the time before the war ended to during the immediate unstable post-war period. It is carefully crafted into 12 chapters which outline pivotal points in the war from May 2003 onwards to June 2004. Firstly, the author sets the scene by detailing the difficulties and Trojan efforts that he and the founders of the 'Baghdad Bulletin' had encountered in establishing an independent newsreel in Iraq that would provide the Iraqis with real independent news of what was going on in their country. In the initial stages of the book a real feel for what journalists are doing in Iraq and the importance of their work is clarified in the opening chapters. The account of the author's experiences is another unique feature of the book; unlike many journalists, Enders avoids exaggerated accounts but rather focuses on providing an unprocessed but articulate vision of his experiences and goes beyond the already established journalistic arena by placing himself directly in the line of fire to understand what the war was like.

The book not only manages to detail and account visions and images from within the Iraqi war from a ground level view, it also encapsulates the difficulties journalists face in carrying out their job in Iraq and the level to which they place their lives in grave danger. It presents a carefully crafted set of entries that offer an informative insight into political and military struggles within Iraq. It is important to note that Enders moves much further than other ordinary journalists by establishing an independent newsletter, the 'Baghdad Bulletin,' written, printed and distributed in Baghdad during the war, overcoming prejudices, the war torn environment and serious financial constraints. The book would interest academics, journalists, students and people with a general interest in the Iraqi war, with specific interest in focusing on the ending of the official war and the immediate turbulence experienced post-war time. However, it is important to note that it is very much diary based, therefore allowing the reader to gain a unique perspective of the war in Iraq by reading the entries of one journalist.

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Afghanistan: The Mirage of Peace
Chris Johnson and Jolyon Leslie

London: Zed Books, 2004
253pp, PB £14.95, ISBN 1-84277-377-1

The end of the Cold War and the subsequent withdrawal of Soviet troops unleashed a devastating power struggle between factional groups in Afghanistan. Into this picture stepped the Taliban, young Pashtuns from the South who vowed to return Afghanistan to Islam and law and order. Their reassertion of Afghan identity appealed to the traditionalists within Afghanistan. Their policies received international condemnation but it was September 11 that sealed their fate. Operation Enduring Freedom was portrayed as a humanitarian effort, an opportunity to liberate the people. The fact that America and its allies believed that they 'could bomb [their] way to victory' (22) only served to prolong the conflict and solidify the divisions. With the recent US-led war in Iraq serving to push Afghanistan from the headlines, this book serves as a testimony to the current state of affairs in Afghanistan.

This book offers an enlightening account of post 9/11 Afghanistan from first-hand, on the ground experience. Its clever blend of scholarly research and potent real life stories manages to give the reader a real sense of daily life in Afghanistan. The book irons out the complexities and realities of Afghan society that seem to get distorted and/or lost in the wider academic and media analysis that often depicts Afghanistan in terms of crude stereotypes, especially since 9/11. Reflecting on the authors' experiences turns this limited picture of Afghanistan on its head.

The problem with the so-called 'Western' view is that it tries to instil a notion of individualism in a country that operates on a strong sense of community-based identity. It tries to promote a liberal, market economy as the route to economic prosperity in a country that lacks a regulatory framework to permit this. Failure to recognise this gap and the attempt to impose alien values on the people with no consideration of social, political and economic history is a key reason why the international community has failed to make progress in Afghanistan. Furthermore, it has contributed to a sense of despair among the people who see no real change or prosperity as a result of intervention. In this context, it is easy to see why many turn to terrorism.

In developing their arguments, the authors critique the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) for failing to take into account lessons learned from previous work with indigenous structures as in East Timor. And although the Mission was successful in so far as keeping the transition process to the deadlines set out in the Bonn Agreement, its main objective to secure peace and security in Afghanistan was not achieved. For example, despite inadequate numbers of registered voters and poor security, the elections went ahead in order to meet political deadlines. It seemed very much a case of quantity, not quality.

Overall, the international community has tried to rebuild in two and a half years what it took more than two decades to destroy. They failed to acknowledge traditional systems of governance and consider how they might form the basis of a state-building strategy. The

fact that the international community seemed intent on building a representative, gender-sensitive state - something Afghanistan never was – was totally unrealistic.

The book is a stark lesson for post-conflict peace operations that fail, despite good intentions. Afghanistan has encountered the same old problems – broken promises, inept organisations, unclear mandates and local factions struggling for power. And while it is easy in hindsight to see what could have been done better, the international community seem to be making the same mistakes in Iraq. The authors clearly illustrate how international government politics can have local ramifications; that is, how the 'war on terror' has had an impact on the ordinary people of Afghanistan. They offer an informed account of the reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and the lack of will among the international community in efforts to bring real peace to Afghanistan. Anyone looking to get a real sense of what is happening in Afghanistan should read this book but be prepared for a pessimistic account. According to the authors, the future of Afghanistan and its people is not bright.

Lisa Brown, University of Ulster, INCORE Intern, 2005

How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process
Tamara Coffman Wittes (ed.)

Washington, United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005
172 pp, PB, £9.50, ISBN 1-929223-64-1

This is the latest volume in a series on cross-cultural negotiations produced by the United States Institute of Peace. The aim of the series was to 'improve the capacity of the United States and other countries for peaceful settlement of disputes' (3). And through making specific recommendations for negotiators that could be applied in other situations of ethnic conflict, this volume undoubtedly contributes toward that aim.

Three individual essays chart for the reader the progress of the Oslo Peace Process, illustrating the ups and downs of the negotiations, and analysing them in terms of the broader international political context, including the role played by the United States as mediator (Quandt, chapter 2); and the cultural specificities of both the Palestinian and Israeli negotiating teams (Dajani, chapter 3, Klieman, chapter 4). This analysis is undertaken on the basis that cultural variables, colouring as they do the 'mutual perceptions and interactions' (5) of negotiating parties, can have a profound bearing on the negotiating process, and as such must be taken into consideration when evaluating the lessons learned from the success or failure of a peace process.

Omar Dajani, himself a former legal advisor to the Palestinian negotiation team, provides a marvellous account of the composition and dynamics of the Palestinian team, as well as a description of the organisation, or lack thereof, that only an insider can do really well. He takes the reader through what are perceived as the central aspects of Palestinian culture, from their origins in the *Nakba,* or 'catastrophe', through military occupation, to the experience of self-government. He then highlights the manifestations of this culture in terms of a passive negotiating strategy focused on principle rather than detail, inadequate planning, based on a distinction being made between interim arrangements and final status negotiations, and fragmented delegations.

Aharon Klieman then outlines the basic Israeli styles of negotiation used during the Oslo process. He demonstrates the degree to which the military national security dominated ethos permeates Israeli culture and negotiating style, resulting in a much tougher and less compromising style than that of the Palestinians. This is evidenced in maximum opening demands, a fixation with detail rather than principle, and a tough talking bluntness. While this is the dominant trait that reveals itself in Israeli negotiating style, Klieman highlights the existence of 'dichotomous Israeli negotiating subcultures' (98) of the military and the diplomats, and the chapter advises looking within a culture for 'indications of heterogeneity and pluralism' (116) which can themselves cause difficulties in terms of delivering a deal to a domestic constituency. This suggests the possible limitations of using culture as a variable in analysing negotiations, namely that culture is not a uniform characteristic, and may itself be influenced by external factors linked to the process, such as renewed attacks, or failure to deliver on an agreement.

By drawing principles for broader application from the lessons of the Oslo process, this volume will be of interest to scholars and practitioners alike. The essays address issues of

positions and personalities through the lens of culture, suggesting that, rather than being an independent intervening variable, culture permeates all levels of society from individual to international (138), becoming integral to national character. This adds a further layer to the analysis of negotiation, which focuses on personalities and positions, suggesting as it does that these themselves are shaped by culture.

While it is commonly assumed that cultural awareness is about understanding difference, what is striking about this volume are the similarities between the experiences of each side. The essays reveal the common importance of identity and national narrative in forming negotiating culture. Both Israelis and Palestinians have a national identity forged through adversity and a perception of weakness. Cofman Wittes concludes that this parallel between the sides makes them interact particularly badly in negotiations on issues seen as concerning the 'existential viability' of the communities (136). Thus the lesson put forward for negotiators is that history is important.

Finally, the analysis contained in these works suggests that while an awareness of the culture of the opposing side is necessary for negotiation to succeed, so too is an awareness of the cultural factors influencing one's own position, a point alluded to by Klieman when he advocates looking more closely at competing national subcultures (117). For, as the essays reveal, understanding culture in and of itself is not enough to overcome difference. It would seem that understanding the factors underlying one's own negotiating position is just as necessary as understanding those of the other side if the two positions are to be reconciled.

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Young Soldiers: Why They Choose to Fight
Rachel Brett and Irma Specht

Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004, 192pp, £13.95, ISBN 92-2-113718-X

Young Soldiers is based on interviews with 53 adolescents, mainly men (46) and women (7) from 10 different conflicts who have been or still were members of either regular or irregular armed groups. Each of the seven chapters makes use of extensive quotes from the young people involved who came from disparate backgrounds including, Afghanistan, Colombia, Congo-Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, and the United Kingdom (Great Britain plus Northern Ireland). In turn, the young people belonged to a range of organizations from state armies to guerrilla units.

All of these factors could be used to criticise this book – small number of respondents in total with even smaller numbers drawn from each location and/or type of organization. However, because of the clear way in which the book is written, and the skilful way in which the quotations are used, such criticism would be gratuitous.

In fact, *Young Soldiers* reads extremely well, with each chapter beginning with a short introduction and ending with a very useful conclusion. The authors note that the aim of the book was to identify risk factors for young people becoming young soldiers and thus help to influence policy with regard to demobilization and indeed prevention of re-recruitment. In fact, the book is this and much more. It is a mine of information about children and war. Further, this not simply another 'isn't war awful' book that reminds us 'children are the future, after all'. What I liked about this book is that it is not over-indulgent, but rather the authors recognize, what many scholars in this field often fail to recognize that, 'The causal effects of war are not only direct, but also indirect' (36), impacting on family economics, identity, education and so forth.

One reason that the chapters are easy to read is that they are free from unnecessary detail. However, these details are not missing from the book. Two appendices provide all the information any academic reader would need. One appendix reproduces the detailed instructions given to the interviewers. This includes revealing sections on topics such as 'Tolerating silence' and 'Avoid a therapeutic relationship'. The second appendix has a one and a half page summary about each of the societies the young people came from and their associated conflicts. These summaries are so good they almost make the book worth buying on their own. In addition, each chapter is carefully referenced, and there is a good basic bibliography.

Young Soldiers therefore makes an ideal book to recommend to students both undergraduate and graduate. Undergraduates will find the book full of useful information, which may help them understand how the social sciences can play an important, if small role, in investigating important world problems. Graduate students will find this and more – a manual on how to conduct interviews plus a model of how to write up the results in a readable way.

Professor Ed Cairns, Psychology, University of Ulster, INCORE Associate

Human Development and the Environment: Challenges for the United Nations in the New Millennium
H. van Ginkel, B. Barrett, and J. Court (eds.).

Tokyo, New York and Paris: United Nations University Press, 2002. 313 pp., PB, ISBN 92-808-1069-3.

As its title suggests, this edited volume of chapters by different contributors sets out to explore the role of the United Nations in global efforts to pursue environmental sustainability and economic development. In the introductory chapter, the editors emphasize that the pursuit of these objectives requires an appreciation of the many links between them, and that success will depend on integrated strategies. The book is then separated into two sections – one containing a series of chapters on human development, and the second a set of chapters on environmental issues. The overarching context for understanding and addressing the challenges of development and the environment is the process of globalization, which several contributors present as a problematic dynamic requiring a concerted response.

The individual chapters come in two kinds. Some are focused technical analyses, containing much concrete data and information (see, for example, Chapter 5 on income inequality, Chapter 7 on demographic trends, or Chapter 11 on future prospects for global water supplies). These chapters provide the reader with a rapid introduction to a specific topic, and present facts and figures that inform an initial understanding of the context for the topic in question. Other chapters take the form of more conceptual argumentation (for example, Chapter 2 on globalization, Chapter 10 on urbanization and industrialization, or Chapter 14 on global food security). While drawing on some examples, these sections of the book rely more on ideas and frameworks, exposing the reader to modes of discourse relating to a particular environmental or development issue.

The editors sought to appeal to policy-makers, the academic community, and civil society, and both types of contributions to the book described above may interest a broad audience. However, the book does not leave a particularly clear impression regarding the future role of the United Nations, at least not in any sense that is distinct from what the United Nations already is generally perceived as doing with respect to these issues. The editors express an intention to 'promote a more humane form of globalization' (21), which most would agree is an appropriate United Nations role. How it will do so, though, is left somewhat nebulous, beyond serving as a forum for discussion, promoting the participation of a broad array of stakeholders in these discussions, and ensuring that particular concerns appear on the agendas of these discussions.

Nevertheless, several themes that reappear throughout the chapters result in an interesting book that informs discussion of critical issues. The role of international development assistance, for example, is touched on by several authors, and critically assessed in Chapter 8 against the backdrop of weak institutions and corruption that characterize many countries in need of support. Given that advancing global development and environment objectives will likely depend on substantial flows of financial and technical assistance, questions surrounding the effectiveness of foreign aid are crucial. Another recurring theme is problems with global economic governance, as embodied in the World Trade Organization, and the inadequacy of global environmental governance, especially with respect to biodiversity. While most contributors acknowledge the need for some form of

global governance in these two arenas (which should be seen as closely interlinked), they also express concern about how imbalances in north-south power relations shape such governance.

As a whole, the book stands as a compelling argument that global efforts to address linked problems of development and the environment are vital to future political stability. Inequitable distribution of the benefits of globalization, continuing pressures of poverty and underdevelopment, and increasing resource scarcity and degradation already can be seen to fuel tensions and conflicts within and between countries. Unless these trends improve, we can expect such conflicts to proliferate and intensify. Therefore, it is clearly incumbent on the United Nations to seek a more assertive role with respect to development and environment in the new millennium.

Dr Eduard Niesten, Director, Conservation Economics Program, Conservation International

North Korea: The Paranoid Peninsula – A Modern History
Paul French

London: Zed Books, 2005, PB $19.95, ISBN 1842774735

One of the world's last bastions of Communism and one of the most politically isolated countries in the world, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is also one of the least understood states in the world -- former CIA Seoul station chief Donald Gregg called it 'the longest running intelligence failure in the world.' *North Korea: The Paranoid Peninsula – A Modern History* familiarizes readers with the politics, economics and history of the DPRK.

Written by Paul French, a director at a market research and business intelligence company, Access Asia, the book is split into four parts: everyday life in the DPRK, especially its theoretical underpinnings; the economics of the DPRK, including attempts to reform the economy; the history of North Korean foreign relations, with particular attention to the nuclear crisis; and the DPRK's future prospects.

French explains Juche, the DRPK's guiding political, economic and moral philosophy of nationalism and self-reliance. Developed by Great Leader Kim Il-sung as sort of Korean adaptation of Marxism-Leninism, Juche 'permeates every aspect of North Korean life' (30). DPRK leader Kim Jong-il is now the sole interpreter of Juche; questioning any aspect of Juche theory is to question the Dear Leader himself, thus squelching any semblance of political discourse and further solidifying the personality cult surrounding Kim.

The DPRK economy, as French describes it, is divided into two tracks. The first, the command economy, is hopelessly mired in waste and acts as a drain on critical energy resources. The collectivization of agriculture has created inefficiencies in food production, and North Korea's 'military-first' policy means the army receives the bulk of what little food is harvested. Chronic food shortages precipitated a famine in the mid-1990s, when reports surfaced of people surviving on foods such as grass, acorns and tree bark. This humanitarian crisis necessitated the second track 'aid economy,' which keeps the DPRK on a 'drip feed' (107). French details the problems international aid organizations have had in reaching the most desperate populations and in trying to prevent food aid from being diverted to the army.

In the section of the book about the DPRK's nuclear ambitions, French skillfully describes how Kim Jong-il has used nuclear brinksmanship to gain aid and diplomatic talks, especially from the United States. French takes the United States to task for allowing Kim to frequently manipulate its policy with the 'nuclear bargaining chip,' pointing out that the United States 'has largely reacted to events rather than anticipating them' (207). The section also includes an in-depth chapter on the military-first policy, focusing on the DPRK's military capabilities and the effects of military conscription on the population.

The final section of *The Paranoid Peninsula* looks at the potential for reunification of the two Koreas and hypothesizes how an eventual collapse might occur. French comes to the somewhat foregone conclusion that reunification will not occur as long as Kim and the

Korean Workers Party are in power. However, his look at how a collapse might eventually occur is more nuanced, exploring the possibilities of mass exodus, of internal dissent leading to regime change, of military coup, and of change coming as a result of concessions demanded in exchange for aid, as well as the chances for a peaceful succession of Kim Jong-il should he step down or be overthrown. French seems to believe the DPRK's collapse will eventually come as a result of the country's long-standing economic woes.

Throughout the book, French is careful to consider the role of historical events and outside state actors in shaping North Korea. Particularly interesting parts of the book include the first chapter, which discusses how ordinary citizens as well as the political elite deal with day-to-day issues like housing, shopping and employment in the DPRK. The case study of Sinuiju, an attempt to mimic China's Special Economic Zones, provides an interesting segue from the section of the book covering the DPRK economy to the section covering foreign relations.

On the other hand, the chapter dealing with the history of US-DPRK relations takes a somewhat simplistic view of the US side of the relationship, with French mentioning at one point, for example, that President Bush the elder 'spent his presidency embroiled in the first Iraq war … and consequently had little time for North Korea' (195).

Students interested in ethnic studies and conflict resolution may well find the entire book a useful introduction to the issues surrounding the DPRK, but they might find the sections on North Korea's culture of Juche self-sufficiency and on the military context of foreign relations most interesting. The section on the reunification of the two Koreas also includes an interesting comparison to the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990.

Overall, *North Korea: The Paranoid Peninsula – A Modern History* serves as an excellent introduction for anyone hoping to develop an understanding of why the world deals with this isolated regime the way it does, and how the regime continues to survive despite failures that seem obvious from the outside.

Michael J. Harrison, Editorial Associate, Office of Public Affairs, Chicago-Kent College of Law, Chicago, Illinois

Searching for Peace in Asia Pacific: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities
Annelies Heijmans, Nicola Simmonds, and Hans van de Veen (eds)

London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004, 848pp, PB £18.50, ISBN 1-58826-239-1

The critical task of comparing different case studies and critically synthesizing the accumulated knowledge and information has not been sufficiently undertaken in the literature that is concerned with various aspects of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. This collective volume represents an attempt to address the aforementioned deficiency, since it contains an impressive collection of thirty-three contributions and offers a holistic examination of the intrastate and interstate conflicts and tensions in the Asia-Pacific region, which includes the sub-regions of Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands. Collective volumes often face the dangers of being incoherent and conducting unsuitable comparisons. Given the large number of the examined recent, ongoing and potential conflicts and the considerable cultural and political diversity of the region itself, this book succeeds significantly in overcoming these possible problems. It does so because, apart from presenting the conflicts, the basic actors and the dominant issues, it primarily focuses on *multi-track diplomacy and peacebuilding activities of civil society organizations*. Although official policies of conflict resolution and prevention are described, the aim of the book is to examine more in detail the 'unofficial approaches to violent conflicts' (3). This specific emphasis is put because of the literature gap on this particular aspect and probably because the authors of the book believe that the root causes of the conflicts are better addressed through grassroots initiatives and processes that involve not only elites, but broader parts of the conflict-torn societies, a theoretical assumption that can be traced throughout the volume.

The chapters of the first part of the book delineate the general picture and the distinct features of the region. Asia-Pacific has the biggest number of major armed -intrastate- conflicts than any other region in the world. However, there are some unresolved interstate tensions as well, two of which can be viewed as direct legacies of the Cold War period (China-Taiwan, North-South Korea). Moreover, authoritarian governments have constituted the majority in the region. Even those countries that experience democratic transition, such as Indonesia, Cambodia and the Philippines, have not so far succeeded decisively in producing institutions capable of accommodating demands of ethnic self-determination, devolution of power and democratic participation (18-19, 85-86). Aspects of bilateral and multilateral security cooperation (e.g. Association of Southeast Asian Nations) are also analyzed in the first part, as well as the impact of international developments in the region. Particular emphasis is put on the post-9/11 period and the US policy of war on terror. Bello's chapter lucidly and critically describes the principles and concrete policies of the Bush administration (esp. 77-80), whereas Wright-Neville points out that war on terror has been used by certain states in the region as a pretext for violence against 'cultural and religious organizations' (55). Overall, the first part succeeds in outlining the core causes and issues of the regional conflicts and contextualizing them within broader episodes and processes. One line of criticism could be that with regards to the critical issue of the relationship between democratization and conflict, more emphasis should be put on internal dynamics and processes rather that on the role of international actors.

The second part of the volume focuses on the major conflicts in Asia-Pacific. A regional introduction is offered for each of the three sub-regions, although one could point out that the chapter on Southeast Asia could delineate broader trends and features, instead of focusing particularly on the problem of small arms proliferation. Apart from this, the similar structure that is followed in the various chapters on individual conflicts maintains the clarity of the book's focus and facilitates the comparison and the drawing of certain conclusions. Special emphasis is put on the official management of the conflicts and on the specific efforts of domestic and international NGOs, civil associations and grassroots initiatives, which is the main interest of this book as indicated above. One of the strengths of this book is that the team of the authors includes academics as well as practitioners, who come from diverse national backgrounds. This often permits them to criticize the Western conventional wisdom, especially among policy-making circles, with regards to various aspects of conflict intervention. Instead, they underline the importance of local and traditional peacebuilding mechanisms in addressing the root causes of the conflicts (see for example 108, 451, 535). Finally, in the third part of the book there is included an extremely helpful directory of 350 organizations, mainly NGOs and research institutes, that cope with issues of conflict and peacebuilding in Asia-Pacific.

Overall, this book represents an outstanding contribution to the literature of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. It will be particularly helpful to those scholars and practitioners who are interested in how civil society organizations can empower local societies in coping with conflict and promoting positive peace.

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Pax Pacifica: Terrorism, the Pacific Hemisphere, Globalisation and Peace Studies
Johan Galtung

London: Pluto Press, 2005, 170 pp, PB, ISBN 0-7453-2002-3

Pax Pacifica, as the title suggests, focuses the issues that surround war and peace within the Pacific arena. In this book, Galtung, one the most pre-eminent Peace Studies scholars, examines the Pacific region in geopolitical terms, assessing the main actors and powers within the Pacific Hemisphere and the threats and challenges the region has to confront in order to achieve sustainable peace through non-violent means, impossible without also considering the past, present and future conflict dynamics in the region and its vast racial, cultural, economical and political diversity.

The book is delineated into seven concise chapters, within each the author seeks to analyse the key historic events that have occurred within the Pacific Hemisphere. Chief among these events are the colonisation and decolonisation processes, the Pacific War, the Pearl Harbour attack, the politics of non-reconciliation within Japan-Asia-US, the Cold War, the European Union integration and its synergies for peace and war towards the region, September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the US and finally the importance of the prospect of consolidation of the East Asian community. Galtung dissects these issues highly critically, but also pays considerable attention to more philosophical arguments in examining these themes and the way in which they have been affected, and in turn have influenced, the Pacific region.

A key focus of this book is to illustrate using a variety of arguably world-changing events and post-conflict situations such as the nuclear genocide on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the exploitation and military intervention in Latin America, the Korean War, and so forth, to exemplify the unilateral dominion based on the force and the unrestricted use of power by the US. In the view of the author these events have caused deep resentment, which remains in the collective psyche of many people living in the Pacific region, making it hard to accomplish peace and build various functional regional organisations. However, Galtung is not merely concerned with the role of the US, and arguably its brutality, he goes further in his critique. He argues that traumas affect victims and victimiser alike, and as a result, the international community must attempt to build a cultural, direct and structural peace.

Galtung draws upon a theoretical peace studies model, chiefly concerned with past, present and future elements of direct and structural violence. He argues that in the search for peace in the Pacific Hemisphere, the root causes of direct and structural violence must be addressed and resolved. He proposes a Pacific Hemisphere agenda for peace which welcomes dialogue between civilizations, believing that there is a need to talk about the traumas of the past in order to alleviate the present and prevent future traumas, but he also recognises that this resolution cannot be achieved without UN reforms, civil society participation, international law versus force solutions, in essence dialogue, reconciliation, coalition-building, harmony and solidarity. For Galtung, peace has to be a cooperative and contagious process, an increasing sum game.

In addition, Galtung assesses the problematic entry of developing countries of the region into a market system driven by globalisation, which lie under the shadow of the Pacific

Hemisphere powers like Russia, China and Japan, not least the US. His analysis also includes a response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. All the examples in this book are a collection of terror and, without diminishing the dramatic events of 9/11, the author reiterates that the main obstacle to the construction of a sustainable peace is structural violence and the need to find peaceful solutions to terrorism, and to reject homogenization and world hegemony.

Finally, the epilogue of this book, *Pax Pacifica* in Yokohoma Harbor, is a moving transcript of a workshop for conflict transformation and reconsolidation held in the City of Yokohama in 2002. The main idea of this workshop was to understand what happened during the Pacific War 1931-45 and move towards a symbolic burning of the records. The facilitator within this dialogue, called Wise Man and interpreted by Galtung, concludes that everyone, everywhere, no matter what socio-cultural background or geographical context, must learn to apologize; we must not forget the atrocities of the past to ensure that the atrocities are not repeated, however we must learn to close a chapter and open another, a peaceful one, Pax Pacifica.

In this book, the author suggests a new vision and an interesting approach for peace in the Pacific, using a mix of the diverse cultural heritage of the Hemisphere. In the words of the author it is to use the *alo'ha* spirit to engender a *fa'a pasifika*, to try to understand the bad *karma* and how this *karma* can be improved, using the *ying* the *yang*, the harmony. The author's message is that the path for peace is to respect all cultures, and allow them all to contribute to this vision. Even though some may consider this approach controversial, it provides a highly illuminating and healthy starting point to the consideration and evaluation of new approaches to peace. In that sense, this book is essential reading, even more if we are on the side of peace, not just as the absence of war, but in the search for real harmony and equality.

Asmara Gonzalez Rojas, MA in International Studies, University of Sheffield, INCORE Intern, 2005

Jobs after War: a critical challenge in the peace and reconstruction puzzle
Eugenia Date-Bah (ed.)

Geneva, International Labour Office, 2003, 452 pages, PB, £24.95, ISBN: 92-2-113810-0

Drawing on the expertise of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), *Jobs after War* makes excellent use of the organisation's privileged status, embedding precise area-specific observations in a detailed overview of the post-conflict reconstruction field.

With employment concerns rarely featuring in peace accords, this topic is largely excluded from the post-conflict reconstruction debate. The ILO holds that job-creation and socio-economic reconstruction is 'an integral facet of this process and critical for consolidating peace' (13). The book locates post-conflict job-creation in a broad human- rather than *state*-security perspective, highlighting the linkages between socio-economic security and health, environmental, community and political security (3) bolstering the argument that the ILO's definition of 'decent work' – '…work that meets people's basic aspirations…'(25) – contributes to all of the above.

The volume identifies two central concerns and allows thorough exploration of both:

- How to make employment and other socio-economic concerns a central focus in post-conflict reconstruction, reintegration and peace-building processes, policies and programmes; and
- How to promote coherence between policy and action to ensure the desired outcome in terms of job-promotion and socio-economic recovery (2).

As the title indicates, post-war reconstruction is still very much a puzzle and the breadth and variety of initiatives herein described illustrate that the field is being effectively 'made-up as it goes' along. Indeed this embryonic nature of the field as it stands offers interesting possibilities. 'Integration' is the watchword of this volume – integration of vulnerable groups into the reconstruction agenda, of sensitivity to the conflict's specifics into the approach of International Financial Institutions and of the 'decent work' agenda into peace-building programmes. This emphasis on integration presents the possibility that, as discourse on post-conflict employment issues is so underdeveloped, perhaps it could be constructed in such a way as to promote, in Date-Bah's words, a more 'holistic' approach (15) from the near beginning. Whether or not this will aid in integrating the ILO's agenda into mainstream post-conflict reconstruction debate is, however, by no means guaranteed.

Arguably this publication's main flaw is its attempt to fill so much of the surrounding information vacuum. Too wide-angle to be of direct use as a handbook, yet slightly too specialised to be a general introduction to the field, it is nonetheless, a coherent, ambitious, and very necessary contribution to a currently sparse debate. Indeed the book's authors recognise this shortfall and provide references for further ILO publications where space precludes proper discussion.

Chapter highlights include a detailed breakdown of the costs of war; the role of a variety of stakeholders: the private-sector, co-operatives and self-help organisations, worker's organisations and labour administrations (ministries) in post-conflict employment-

creation; and recommendations for the inclusion of marginalised groups such as youth, women, refugees, IDPs and ex-combatants in the planning stages of *all* post-conflict policies. Attention is drawn to the role post-conflict economic-development can play in social reconciliation (306). Of particular note are contributions detailing the failure of the massive international response in the Balkans to include local staff '*lokalci*' into the 'agency culture' of the reconstruction effort thereby undermining potential capacity-building benefits (393), and the damage the immediate post-conflict aid-influx may wreak upon unstable economies focussing on Timor-Leste (430). From street-lighting initiatives in Kabul (218), sustainable development for East Cameroon's Baka Pygmies (292) to IMF structural adjustment policy in Mozambique (40), *Jobs after War* offers a readable, surprisingly colourful and inclusive perspective on where 'decent-work' promotion fits in post-conflict and conflict-prevention action.

Ultimately practice-oriented, this handbook offers unambiguous policy suggestions throughout, supported by specific and detailed case-studies and ILO data-collection. Furthermore the volume highlights gaps in the knowledge-base, calling for further research into the linkages between humanitarian/reconstruction efforts and their employment impact and the relationship between transferable best-practice guidelines and adaptability to local specifics; more systematic data collection and critical analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the ILO's role. Indeed, while making a strong claim for the ILO's centrality to post-conflict reconstruction in addition to a role in conflict prevention and early warning, this volume is remarkably clear-sighted regarding the organisation's flaws. The ILO's previous inadequacies in crisis response – blamed for marginalising the 'decent work' agenda in the arena of post-conflict reconstruction – come under particularly heavy fire and possible entry-strategies for the body are offered (48).

Overall this book makes an authoritative contribution to the field and will stimulate discussion, very likely continuing to do so should the current paucity of similar publications be corrected. This book is highly recommended.

Emma J. Plant, University of Ulster, INCORE Intern, 2005

Jobs After War: A Critical Challenge in the Peace and Reconstruction Puzzle
Eugenia Date-Bah, (ed).

Geneva: International Labour Office, 2003. 452 pages, PB, £24.95, ISBN: 92-2-113810-0

After the end of the Cold War there was great hope that the world would face a new era of widely enjoyed improvements in economic development and peace accomplished through cooperation within and between countries. However, since then over one hundred conflicts have taken place. A number of countries experienced coups, inter-communal violence, genocide and high levels of organized crime. Even though every conflict is different and unique in its own way, there are some common factors that are usually responsible for these conflicts; such as: unemployment, poverty, political instability and economic stagnation. *Jobs After War: A Critical Challenge in the Peace and Reconstruction Puzzle* analyzes the nature of contemporary armed conflicts in terms of their impact on population, human, physical, socio-economic and political capital.

Jobs After War: A Critical Challenge in the Peace and Reconstruction Puzzle is divided in three parts. Part I analyzes the labor market in terms of supply and demand during and after the conflict. Part II puts a spotlight on different conflict affected and most likely to be seen vulnerable groups. In Part II, Date-Bah provides the reader with concrete examples and analysis of various organizations and their approaches towards more sustainable local economic and societal development. Several important conclusions, critiques and proposals are summarized in Part IV.

Jobs After War presents the reader with one main point that in post-conflict contexts there are no quick fix solutions. Drawing from examples of contemporary conflicts and countries that are still dealing with post-conflict peacebuilding and free market challenges (Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Timor-Leste, Angola, Guatemala, Mozambique and Rwanda), this volume shows that post-conflict assistance needs to be employment oriented from both supply and demand sides. Employment in this context is not solely an economic issue; it is an integral component of post-conflict reconstruction as well as conflict prevention.

Date-Bah notes in her own chapter 'Women and other Gender concerns in Post-conflict Reconstruction and Job Promotion Efforts,' that 'the post-conflict reintegration and reconstruction processes offer a window of opportunity for enhancing women's and men's socio-economic security rather than for re-establishing the status quo ante, including the gender stereotypes and traditional gender division of labor' (111). In addition, the chapter titled, 'International Organizations and Local Staff: the Case of Sarajevo' provides the reader with a solid example of lessons learned and recommendations, noting that 'agencies should aim to draw maximum benefit from the potential capacities that the involvement of local staff provides…[that] staff development is not regarded as luxury, but a necessity…[and] rather than being recruited at lower level positions, national employees should be hired as local partners who work alongside expatriates with equal authority, responsibility and decision-making powers' (385, 386, 393).

Jobs After War: A Critical Challenge in the Peace and Reconstruction Puzzle is an important contribution to the field of post-conflict reconstruction which provides a

comprehensive explanation of why employment is a challenge and how to create a more sustainable approach. This volume should be one of the required readings for peace and conflict resolution and international development students, professors and practitioners.

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Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators
Peter Harris and Ben Reilly

Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2003**,** 414pp, PB £20.00, ISBN 91-89098-22-6

The publication of a second edition of *Democracy and Deep Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators* highlights the need for this type and style of book. The IDEA handbook series is geared towards policy-makers, politicians, civil society players and practitioners in the field of post-conflict reconstruction, and as such is written in a clear, accessible manner that immediately engages the reader. It also has the added attraction of rich case studies and neatly boxed summary tables that allow the reader to dip back into sections and have immediate access to the core principles of a chapter. The case studies in the book cover Northern Ireland, South Africa, Fiji, Bougainville, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sri Lanka and Guatemala.

In all, the tenet of the book is to explore the role that 'democracy' plays in building sustainable communities in the aftermath of a period of protracted violent conflict. With this task in mind, Harris and Reilly guide the reader through the complex field of post-conflict reconstruction with ease. The handbook begins by identifying the general characteristics of deep-rooted conflict and then moves the reader through the areas of Conflict Analysis, The Role of Negotiation and its different styles, Democratic Levers for Conflict Management (including autonomy-v-federalism; parliamentarialism -v-presidentialism), and the role of dealing with the past through Truth Commissions or War Crimes Tribunals. The final section of the book then focuses on what makes newly democratic systems sustainable, highlighting to the reader the dangers of coups, corruption and nepotism that can slowly eat away at these fledgling democracies.

From a conflict resolution perspective, the most appealing part of the book for me was Chapter Three on Negotiation Processes, with the quote by Nelson Mandela '*You don't make peace by talking to your friends; you have to make peace with your enemies*' (71) summarizing what negotiation entails, namely hard work and arduous decision-making. In all, the section covers i) Pre-negotiation, examining *commonly perceived deadlocks*, *seizing windows of opportunities*, *the importance of trust* and *flexibility*; ii) Developing a Specific Negotiation Process; iii) Basic Techniques for Negotiation; iv) Tools to Break Deadlock; v) Third Party Assistance, looking at the role of external actors in moving a negotiation process forward, namely through Track One (official) and Track Two (unofficial) diplomacy.

On a personal note, in the final chapter on 'Sustainability' I would have liked to see more written on the role that civil society plays in keeping fledgling democracies on the road to peaceful coexistence. For example, an exploration of the role of culture and the arts in celebrating diversity and commonality through music, dance, poetry, art, drama and literature could have highlighted how the 'cultural approach' to peace-building can act as the glue to keep new democracies together. Northern Ireland is one such example, with the emergence of numerous community arts festivals and activities directly funded from the European Union through their Peace and Reconciliation fund.

Dr Sarah Alldred, The Tim Parry Jonathan Ball Trust

Nation-building; A key concept for peaceful conflict transformation?
Jochen Hippler (ed.) (translated by Barry Stone)

London: Pluto Press, 2005, 213pp, pb £17.99, ISBN 0-7453-2335-9

For opponents of American foreign policy, the concept of nation-building is used to obscure and legitimise a long list of diverse policies, allowing the United States to better control and reshape countries where they have intervened militarily or politically. Others will see nation-building in less conspiratorial terms as a difficult but periodically inevitable project in a post-colonial world. There may even still be a few observers who see nation-building as purely a technical process of institution-building based around a rational assessment of needs and resources. The contributors to this edited collection have attempted to provide an objective appreciation and systematic set of concepts for understanding the meaning of 'nation-building'. The book is designed in three parts. Part I examines general and conceptual problems. Part II consists of cases in nation-building in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and the Balkans. Part III focuses on the policy practices in nation-building. The emphasis in the book is on interpreting nation-building efforts in countries where American led or backed military intervention has taken place. One exception to this is the case study of Nigeria.

The contributors are mainly academics and are all part of the German peace and conflict policy community. Their country of affiliation is quite significant as the book is clearly written as a German counterweight to an American dominated discourse on nation-building. Oddly given their historical and cultural vantage point the authors draw no explicit connections between the current exercises in nation-building and the three projects in nation-building undertaken in Germany during the twentieth century. The most dramatically successful nation-building exercise was of course the American and British led effort launched after 1945. Post-World War I Germany with little support from the allied powers serves as a historical lesson in nation-building gone wrong, while nation-building in re-unified Germany is very much an ongoing project. It would be intriguing to have been provided with a sense of how these experiences shape the German discourse on nation-building. Instead, nation-building is conceived as a concept with its origins in the 1950s.

The discussion of terminology and concepts associated with nation-building contained in Part I is the most successful element in the book. In just over 50 pages, the chapters by Hippler, Tetzlaff, Pfaff-Czarnecka and Claudia Derichs provide a succinct European accented summary of contemporary thinking on violent conflicts and nation-building, globalisation and nation-building, democratisation of divided societies and the treatment of ideology in researching nation-building. The contributors acknowledge that although when distilled down to substantive actions nation-building involves pretty much the same development project wherever attempted - creating political, economic, judicial, educational, cultural and medical institutions - there are significant differences in interpreting context and purpose. The chapters are well written and have a currency in areas of study beyond the immediate domain of nation-building and conflict.

Less successful case studies in nation-building experiences are provided in Part II. These deal respectively with Somalia and Somaliland, Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia and Kosovo and Nigeria. Unfortunately the conceptual toolkit assembled in Part I appears to have

little influenced the case study contributions. For the most part the chapters are written along journalistic lines with little sense of analytic depth achieved. As descriptive essays, they are quite successful and would be useful primers for students interested in the countries in question. The downside with journalistic contributions is that they date very quickly. The chapter on Iraq written in 2004 is already behind the times in the sense of capturing key events and summarizing the policy discourse.

The four chapters in Part III provide a sense of nation-building as a series of connected but separate actions led by NGOs and the military. There are also good chapters examining the efficacy of endogenous versus external led nation-building and the implications of nation-building for regional stabilization.

This is a worthwhile collection that should be purchased by university libraries, academics working in the field and students both at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. While the book is likely to appeal to an academic readership rather than to operational personnel working in societies in conflict it will also be of interest to practitioners and decision-makers higher up in the policy chain.

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Post-conflict Development: Meeting New Challenges
Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren (eds.)

Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2005
350 pp, PB £18.95, ISBN 1-58826-303-7

This book looks at how development can prevent violent conflict from resurfacing in post-conflict societies and, more specifically, how international organisations and other actors can satisfactorily go about 'designing and implementing development strategies in post-conflict settings' (5). As the two co-editors point out at the very end of the book, the purpose is also to 'make a contribution to the exchange of experiences among different conflict regions, … increase the awareness of potential pitfalls and [offer] … positive examples that provide inspiration to others that have to cope with similar situations' (326).

Co-editors Junne and Verkoren broadly introduce the topic in Chapter 1 and make a good case for why a re-evaluation of the field of post-conflict development is necessary and why it is essential to integrate the fields of conflict resolution theory/practice with development theory/practice in order to achieve the best long-term solutions in post-conflict settings. The general assumption is that renewed conflict is likely to be prevented by economic and social development and an even distribution of the fruits of these.

The following 12 chapters deal with a wide range of sector-specific post-conflict development issues, including security-sector reform, restoring the rule of law, the (re)building of institutions, reforming education, the media's role, reconstructing infrastructure as well as financial aspects. Added to these more general chapters are three case studies of how post-conflict development has actually been carried out in Mozambique, Cambodia and El Salvador. Several of the more 'general' chapters also contain case-specific analyses, such as Chapter 3 (Kosovo), Chapter 4 (East Timor), Chapter 9 (East Timor) and Chapter 13 (Palestine and Afghanistan). Discussions in these are however, sector-specific and generally, applicable conclusions are drawn.

The various authors of the book come from a mixture of backgrounds and their combined experience and knowledge lends credence to the book as a whole as the chapters are generally written by someone with significant practical and/or academic experience within their field of expertise. The book at large also combines theory and practice, though with clear emphasis on the latter. In fact, one of the book's many strengths is that the reader is offered hands-on ideas and suggestions of how development of various sectors in societies can be carried out following conflict.

A few minor issues could however be raised about the book. First of all, the focus of the book is on states that have completely collapsed/failed and little reference is hence made to 'semi-collapsed' states coming out of conflict with parts of the administrational/political structures still intact. Although lessons could be learned from the former by the latter, there is obviously a huge difference between conditions and needs in countries such as East Timor and Northern Ireland. Certainly, the scope of the book had to be limited, but it would still have benefited from more discussion of for instance, what impact conflict intensity (minor armed conflict versus civil war) and type of incompatibility/conflict (government or territory), have on the post-conflict

development process. Secondly, there also seems to be an indirect assumption in the book that intervention and take-over of the post-conflict development process by a third-party is generally necessary. In my view, complementary discussions focused on, for example, help to self-help would have added value to the book. Finally, some topics are raised in Chapter 1 that are not really followed through in any great detail in the following chapters (except to a certain extent in the concluding chapter). For instance, the assumption that 'the challenges of post-conflict development vary with the causes of the conflict … depending on the level of social organization at which the root cause are situated' (7) is not built upon in the rest of the book. The reader might therefore find it frustrating when topics are highlighted and then not actually dealt with in detail.

These last points aside, the book is definitely ambitious and covers an extensive amount of issues relevant to post-conflict development. In addition to offering a considerable amount of practical information and advice that could indeed inspire people experiencing and/or working in post-conflict situations, a number of ideas for further research are also raised in the concluding chapter. The book is hence not only useful for its target audience, namely practitioners and implementers of development programmes in post-conflict contexts, but also for students and academics with a general interest in post-conflict development issues.

Jessica Blomkvist, Intercomm, University of Ulster, INCORE intern, Spring 2005

Engineering Peace: The Military Role in Post-conflict Reconstruction
Colonel Garland H. Williams

Washington D.C.: United States Institute for Peace Press, 2005
pp. 317, pb £12.95, ISBN: 1-929223-57-9

Colonel Williams' book *Engineering Peace* is a timely contribution to the debate on the deployment and utility of international military forces in areas emerging from conflict. This is very much a 'soldier's eye' perspective, and for that reason alone it serves to redress a comparative dearth in publications by military practitioners of post-conflict intervention. The central thesis is that there exists a manifest gap in reconstruction activity between the deployment of troops tasked with ensuring stability and security, and the later arrival of civilian agencies tasked with post-conflict reconstruction of the society, and that this delay hinders economic recovery and risks a return to violence.

The book, divided into five chapters, focuses initially on the contemporary international context, and is sensitive to the complexities of multi-agency funding and cooperation (more frequently its absence) and geo-political as well as domestic imperatives, such as the frequent desire by contributing nations to extract troops as early as possible. The self-imposed limitation on US military engineers not to engage in projects beyond specific military needs such as nation-building is questioned, given that the military are in the best position – and best equipped – to undertake those tasks. Williams then outlines three case studies, Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan, which serve to illustrate the existence of a lag time in commitment which, the author contends, retards economic rejuvenation and leaves the newly secured peace vulnerable to regression into violence. Using copious examples, Williams builds a strong case in arguing that the early reconstruction of infrastructure can create a markedly improved context for removing the threat of a return to violence by warring factions. US military experience in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan, while differing on specifics, demonstrates that civilian agencies presently appear to lack the capacity to deploy rapidly into a ceasefire zone in order to repair and rebuild civil infrastructure – and thereby jump start post-war economies. Drawing on these examples, Williams offers a template to reduce this through better coordinated inter-agency organisation generally and, in particular, the pro-active use of military engineering assets ordinarily employed to facilitate only the military aspect of the peace-building mission. In terms of operational control, he proposes that the military would assume this role in the initial stages after the cessation of hostilities with a phased-in lead role for civilian agencies, and latterly its transference to local agents as reconstruction gathers pace.

The three case studies are replete with salient examples of military engineering projects, which were ostensibly undertaken solely for military purposes, but which also contributed significantly, if inadvertently, toward the normalisation of localities within the host country. They bear testimony to the central importance of intervening forces and how they are utilised, as well as the need to plan their use properly.

Engineering Peace has certainly identified a practical problem and has gone a considerable distance toward offering a viable solution. While having no illusions that the measures he proposes amount to a silver bullet, Williams is persuasive in asserting that:

> '[T]he absence of a viable infrastructure places a burden upon a fledgling government and people that cannot be internally overcome, and it will prevent any chance of long term peace from developing to its full potential' (268).

Throughout, Williams is at pains to point out the need for local agencies and municipal leaders to be integrated into the reconstruction process at the earliest stage, and their need to claim – and be allowed to claim – ownership of it, and this is a laudable point.

Though *Engineering Peace* is primarily aimed at policy formulators who are responsible for post-conflict reconstruction, it is also a useful insight into the *practical* problems faced by both the affected populations and intervention/inter-positional forces deployed to begin the process of normalisation. Students can augment their analysis of ethnic conflict by gaining an insight into the aftermath of such events, and the effects on the populace of a devastated physical infrastructure. The template offered in chapter five is certainly worthy of consideration, even by those not involved in policy formulation, if only to gain an insight into the complexities of coordinating a multi-agency response to a conflict environment.

While Col. Williams' book is normative in perspective and though it identifies the need to coordinate the ability of various international and non-governmental agencies in responding constructively, the premise of US superiority in strategic lift and engineering capability inadvertently opens the question of US willingness to assume a vanguard role in this regard. Although beyond the scope of this book, an extended discussion and analysis on this, particularly from the view point of US military leaders, is warranted. The absence of this discussion, however, does not detract from a worthy contribution to the subject.

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Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform
Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov

Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004, Price £18.00, PB, ISBN 0870032062

This book suggests that it will define the identity of the Russian state. Is Russia a democracy? Will Russia be a democracy in ten years? Was Russia ever a democracy?

The introduction neatly outlines the rules of engagement. Effectively, it describes the benchmark-definition of democracy to be used in the ensuing chapters, as well as defining the parameters of what is to be discussed. Electoral and liberal democracy are the democratic benchmarks for determining the political identity of Russia. Whilst electoral democracy is the 'minimal definition of democracy' (3), liberal democracy is the 'higher model or ideal type' (3). Larry Diamond's breakdown of the higher model definition creates the parameters of this research. Ten points discussed in the introduction become the basis of the chapters. For example, the importance of the freedom of the press in a liberal democracy becomes Chapter Seven on the 'Mass Media', and the importance of protecting the individual's rights becomes Chapter Eight on 'The rule of Law', and so on.

Given the size of this book, it has an inescapable design-flaw. Its ability to explain the intricacies that abound within fifteen years of particularly intense political and societal change is necessarily limited. However this flaw is somewhat marginalised by the writers' ability to summarise clearly and effectively. This has been achieved by soliciting only the major paradigms and their shifts during the post-Soviet time frame. For example, in Chapter Two on elections they concentrate on explaining why Russia, unlike other post-Communist states, did not return to the former Communist leaders in the second round of democratic elections. As a consequence, a more in-depth discussion of particular events or acts during elections is missing.

Another criticism is in the examples they use to prove that Russia does not compare favourably to the 'ideal type' of democracy. Despite the fact that Chapter Two engages in the probability that US Senatorial incumbents will retain office, the nature of Russian democracy is too rarely contextualised by comparison with other liberal democracies. By omitting examples of established liberal democracies' infractions to this ideal, they weaken their argument.

For example, in Chapter Seven on the mass media, Andrei Ryabov talks of the importance of the media in a liberal democracy being independent so as to provide a critical eye to political proceedings. In cataloguing and explaining the mass media's development since the late nineteen eighties he has provided an invaluable insight into the country's comparable level of free media as requisite for a liberal democracy. I do not dispute the veracity of his findings, but it remains that similar occurrences of elite control over the media, or the creation of new 'virtual' parties are capable of happening in the developed western liberal democracies as well.

When discussing the support the mass media gave President Yeltsin in 1996 in order to create a 'parallel political reality that had little in common with the actual political

process' (184), Ryabov rightly suggests that this practice is not commensurate with a liberal democracy. However, the influence elite media magnates, including Rupert Murdoch of News International have on citizen voting behaviours in liberal democratic states including the US and the UK is impressive. Impressive enough for Tony Blair to arrange a memorandum of understanding with Murdoch to support the Labour party in the 1997 UK general election. His media empire played a vital role in ensuring that the UK public identified with the Labour party. This does not stop us from identifying the US and the UK as liberal democracies.

Another example of the lack of independent action in the mass media in a developed liberal democracy is the nominal level of criticism by the mainstream US media of the US government's decision to act militarily in the run up to its invasion of Iraq in March 2003. If you, quite rightly, judge Russia to this ideal model of liberal democracy, then placing your criticism in context with the types of defaults that occur in established democracies is necessary.

If a 'virtual' political party becomes 'real' in that it holds seats then what is 'virtual' about it? This may sound supercilious but clamping down on transitions between one and the other is important. The authors note that these 'virtual' Russian political parties were established with the permission of the President. Where is the evidence for this statement? Is this fundamentally anti- liberal democratic? Do established liberal democracies behave in this manner? When they do it are they being anti- liberal democratic? These questions have to be raised and answered.

In sum, bearing these two observations in mind, this book is a thought provoking insight into contemporary Russian politics. The identity of the Russian state is explored. With each chapter capable of standing alone this book is a great resource for professionals, and formal and informal students of politics to dip into when the need arises, although I suggest reading the introduction first.

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Reconciliation After Violent Conflict: A Handbook.
David Bloomfield, Teresa Barnes, & Luc Huyse (eds.)

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: Sweden, 2003, 178pp, £20, pb, ISBN 91-89098-91-9

'A merely fallen enemy may rise again, but the reconciled one is truly vanquished.' (Friedrich Schiller)

Violent ethnopolitical conflict has been identified as one of the most important threats to global security (Boutros Ghali, 1992) and, consequently, there has been increasing interest in the subject of reconciliation (Worthington, 2005). This handbook aims to enable those involved in the process of reconciliation to consider a range of possible strategies, to select appropriate tools and to adapt them to their particular social, political and economic context. Lederach's (1997 Or 1995) paradoxes of peacemaking, including the contradictions between personal and systemic change, justice and mercy, and process and outcome, are fully reflected in the book.

The handbook begins by providing the reader with a definition of reconciliation as a 'process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future' (12). It thereby contextualises reconciliation in a framework, which considers the historical roots of the conflict and its participants and which assumes the establishment of a functioning democracy as the most useful structure to peacefully deal with conflict in the future and to guarantee equality between groups. Careful attention is paid to the role of the victim and the offender in the reconciliation process, the various perceptions that perpetrators and victims may have about themselves and the other group and the dangers of re-traumatising victims and excluding offenders from society. Although the impact of conflict on women has often been ignored in the literature in the past, more recently their contribution to conflict and peace has been acknowledged (McWilliams, 1997), gender differences and the impact of conflict on children and families are noted and the effect that these have on reconciliation are amply discussed.

The emphasis of this handbook is clearly on the political and psychological processes of reconciliation, involving victims, perpetrators, politicians and peacemakers. There is notably less prominence given to the social processes of reconciliation and the challenges of overcoming the divide between and beyond perpetrator and victim to include communities as a whole. Awareness raising and education are often considered the main vehicles for achieving reconciliation at this broad societal level and to reduce the reoccurrence of violence in future (Andreopoulos, 1997). While the chapter on truth-telling touches on the effect that truth commissions may have on social constructions of history and community relations, differing perceptions of peace processes by various sections of society and how these can be dealt with are only briefly addressed. This shortcoming becomes particularly apparent when the use of retributive justice is debated as a means to deal with past human rights violations, without explicit reference to the fact that state bodies only, but not other organisations, such as paramilitary groups, could be dealt with under such provisions. This uncertainty might result in divided support for such commissions in the society.

The case study of a truth commission in Guatemala (which dealt with both state and non-state acts of violence) implicitly draws attention to the challenge that such provisions may pose. However, since a truth commission may result in divided support from the communities, further discussion is needed as to how this can be overcome, with relation to state bodies, and other organisations such as paramilitary groups. To illustrate strengths and weaknesses as well as the applicability of the reconciliation strategies explored in this handbook, a number of case studies are included from Cambodia, Guatemala, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This applied focus using real-life examples will certainly make the book appeal to a broad range of audiences, including policy-makers, peacemakers and other people with a vested interest in an agenda for reconciliation and peace. The Bloomfield, Barnes and Huyse handbook on reconciliation provides an excellent and comprehensive overview of issues involved in political reconciliation processes after violent political conflicts.

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Muslim Britain: Communities Under Pressure

Tahir Abbas

London: Zed Books, 2005, 288 pp. £17.95, ISBN 1-84277-449-2

Muslim Britain: Communities Under Pressure is set in the context of post 9/11 Britain and highlights what this has meant for members of the South Asian community, especially Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities. It is a very timely book as it provides thought provoking material on a variety of issues relevant to Muslims living in Britain today and Islam at large, issues that are used and misused by the media, some political parties and thinkers. Confusion about these issues can lead to Islamophobia, misconceptions and fear of the other, and thus can be invoked to give implausible ground to Huntington's 'Clash of Civilisations' thesis.

The book brings together 16 contributions from a variety of authors, disciplines and contexts and is organised under the four following sections: From Islam to British Muslims…, 'Islamophobia'; Identity Politics and Multiculturalism; Media Representation; and Gender and Racial Islam and Temporal and Spatial Ethnic and Religious Identities.

In the first Chapter, Modood gives a general yet useful presentation of the foundation and history of Islam and the context in which the book is set. This allows readers who are unfamiliar with Islam to better understand Islamic principles and the challenges faced by 'multicultural Britain' in a post 9/11 context. The other chapters of this first part illustrate the socio-economic situation of Muslims in Britain today.

Part II reaches to the heart of the realities of Muslim Britain by discussing issues of race, discrimination and identity. Allen in particular offers an interesting discussion of the blur of the distinction between religion and race in anti-discrimination laws, which offer Jews and Sikhs protection under the Race Relation Acts, while it excludes Muslims. He goes on to explain how this loophole can potentially be exploited resulting in the discrimination and victimisation of Muslims. Part II also offers a presentation of the emergence of the notion of Islamophobia and discusses it in the context of post 9/11, with reference to current British National Party (BNP) and other political parties' politics.

Part III takes on some of the debates that have been more commonly offered since 9/11 on the foundations and principles of Islam and the way they have been used by the media and interpreted in a broad variety of ways by Muslims themselves. Throughout the four chapters of this part, readers are introduced to the various understandings of gender in Islam, terrorism or Jihad and in doing so, sensitised to the complexity of any debate on the values and content of Islamic faith as it is lived in today's Britain. It touches upon the influence that the 'war on terror' and the *Satanic Verses* have had on shaping the face of Islam as it is lived by some and perceived by others.

In Part IV, the book offers case studies of the situation of Muslims in London's East End, the north of England and Northern Ireland. Bagguley and Hussain's reference to popular, cross cultural and religious support for the English team at the last football World cup illustrates in a very straight forward manner the way identities can be complex, pulled in opposite directions and used in various ways.

Published in 2005, *Muslim Britain* reaches to the heart of current debates on Islam, multiculturalism and racism in today's Britain, with all the changes that 9/11, the Madrid bombings and the war in Iraq have brought. Interestingly, the book was published before the London bombings and consequently does not integrate the consequences that they most certainly have had on all the elements and patterns analysed in the book.

By offering a variety of contributions, substantial testimonies, political as well as socio-economic analysis, this book is useful for researchers and individuals at large seeking a better understanding of the challenges faced by British politics on diversity and multiculturalism and the difficulties faced by Muslims living in Britain today. The book also offers an analysis that has relevance that reaches beyond Britain. For example, Bagguley and Hussain's conclusions on the Bradford riots of 2001 could be transposed to the French *banlieues* riots of 2005 and this, despite the fact that the two regimes are commonly described as ideologically opposed. This leads us to conclude that general lessons have to be learnt on the situation of Muslims in today's Europe, both from within and outside their community.

However, one could perhaps have wished for a more in-depth theoretical analysis of the meaning, consequences, and origins of 'British multiculturalism', since it is referred to throughout the book and put forward and idealised as a governance model in itself, by many researchers and policy makers.

Audrey Guichon, University of Ulster, INCORE grant-writer

Traditional Roots: Towards an Appropriate Relationship between the Church of Ireland and the Orange Order
Earl Storey

Dublin: The Columba Press, 2002,
144 pp, PB $8.99. ISBN 1-85607-364-5

The main questions that Earl Storey seeks answers to in this book are twofold:
Is the Orange Order compatible with the ethos of the Church of Ireland and should any link exist between the two institutions today? Storey successfully casts light on these clearly sensitive issues and provides the reader with an easily accessible account of the 'interlinkage' that has existed between the two institutions, past and present, as well as providing a detailed evaluation and analysis of the essence of the two organizations and how compatible they really are.

Given that a large part of the subject matter of the book is whether or not the ethos and actions of the Orange Order are compatible with the theological ethos of the Church of Ireland, a theological analysis is an obvious necessity for Storey's argumentation. In the author's view, 'The Church of Ireland must respond as a Christian church to this matter (…) [and] it is wise that any response should have a solid theological foundation (14). In his analysis, Storey does acknowledge the strong theological ethos of the Orange Order, yet he criticizes how this is combined with an anti-Catholic sentiment as well as the connection made between religion and a specific political viewpoint and constitutional arrangement – 'A particular political loyalty becomes an article of religious faith!' (37) Indeed, Storey finds that the two institutions are doctrinally compatible but that certain 'sectarian' aspects of Orangeism are not compatible with the ethos of the Church of Ireland: 'It is essentially the theologisation of a political context, and is done in a way that perpetuates the myth that Protestant security is dependent on separation from and protection against Roman Catholics on the island of Ireland. It is this aspect of Orangeism that is profoundly sectarian and one that the Church of Ireland cannot be in agreement with or identify with' (71).

In addition to using mainly theological criteria in his analysis, Storey also relates the issues above to the bigger context of the Northern Ireland conflict throughout the book. In other words, the author not only contributes to the debate within the Church of Ireland regarding what, if any, relationship the institution should have with the Orange Order; he also offers detailed discussions of topics such as Orangeism and the Protestant community in Northern Ireland. For instance, Storey provides an in-depth analysis of Orangeism as an expression of identity and culture, its political aims and objectives as well as its role in defending Protestant religion. Although the book was published three years ago, the contemporary relevance of it is obvious. In light of recent rioting and expressions of feelings of insecurity and alienation within parts of the Protestant community, Storey's analysis of Orangeism and Unionism and discussion of the current state of Protestant communities in Northern Ireland is still clearly relevant.

All in all, this is a uncomplicated and openhearted book which shows that the issue of how the Church of Ireland should relate to the Orange Order is not a straightforward one. Storey also indirectly gives the reader a hint of the complexities of Northern Irish society and the many unresolved issues that still exist within it. Indeed, one of the book's

strengths is that regardless of whether the readers' interest is in the Northern Ireland conflict generally, the essence of the Orange Order and/or its parades, the state of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland today or the actual relationship between the Church and the Order, Storey is likely to have something to offer them. Extra credibility and a personal touch are also added early on in the book when Storey shares his own personal experiences of the Orange Order and the fact that he is a Protestant clergyman. The book's small scope – a mere seven chapters and an epilogue – makes it easily 'digested' and, despite sometimes detailed references to the Bible and theological 'discussions', the text is easily accessible and definitely worth a read.

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In the Shadow of 'Just Wars': Violence, Politics and Humanitarian Action

Fabrice Weissman (ed.) in collaboration with Medecins Sans Frontieres

London: Hurst and Company, 2004, 372 pp, PB, ISBN 1-85065-737-8

In the introduction to this volume, Jean-Herve Bradol invokes the 'logic of a culinary recipe – you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs' (5). Here Bradol is making reference to the callous disregard to the human cost of conflict throughout the world.

The 'breaking of eggs' is the metaphor for 'the premature extinction of part of humanity' (5). The making of the 'omelette', i.e. the production of order, the construction of a better world, the continuation of the existing order or the development of a new political order, is the justification for 'breaking eggs'. This quest 'demands its quota of victims' whether it is in Chechnya or the Congo, Ethiopia or East Timor (4). The 'inevitable' death of part of humanity, whether 'spectacularly violent' or 'slow extinction', Bradol argues become 'so perfectly integrated into the social landscape that it becomes invisible' (5).

This edited volume is written by a number of international experts in collaboration with members of *Medicins Sans Frontieres*. The book is sub-divided between 'Situations' (Chapters 1 to 11) and 'Points of View' (Chapters 12 to 17).

The 'Situations' section is a series of case studies in which NGOs and *Medicins Sans Frontieres* have been actively involved, from Afghanistan and Angola through to Sudan and Sierra Leone. This section moves from the 'particular' to the 'general' in it's analysis of eleven major conflicts and international reaction to these 'Just Wars'. The book focuses on a five-year period spanning the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century.

International reaction is seen as taking three forms according to the 'situation', *Intervention, Involvement & Abstention.*

Intervention takes the form of armed force followed by international stewardship of the 'liberated territories', with 'collective security' and 'universal morality' being the justification (10). The 'intense humanitarian performance' legitimises the war while overlooking 'crimes committed during its prosecution' (10). East Timor, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan are the examples used in this context.

Involvement is seen as both diplomatic and humanitarian but with the expressed intention to address the latter. Aid, however, tends to be subjected to a mainly partisan political agenda. North Korea, Angola and Sudan are the case studies referred to in this respect.

Abstention is characterised by 'international indifference' to the extreme brutality of certain conflicts, 'this equates to issuing the principal belligerents with a licence to kill' as in the case of Liberia, Chechnya, Democratic Republic of Congo, Columbia and Algeria.

The second part of this book deals with 'Points of View' and raises some 'thematic' issues affecting humanitarian action. Based on practical experiences, this section

examines both the successes and 'tragic failures' of international responses to crisis and the humanitarian consequences. It deals with a range of issues regarding the role of NGOs and the delivery of humanitarian aid.

One of the central issues addressed by this book questions the relationship between humanitarian actors and political power and whether that relationship may at times compromise the quality of aid. It also urges those organisations and actors to rethink the meaning of a humanitarian approach and to reflect upon their current and changing position (4). Reference is made to those NGOs who had previously been asked to join 'just wars' initiated by Western powers.

This further raises the question as to the stance of NGOs in relation to the 'proliferation' of 'just wars' and to their position vis-à-vis government funding of humanitarian aid and the increasing role of public and private companies in the work previously the 'domain' of NGOs, Iraq being the case in point.

'This tendency has been exacerbated in Iraq by the US government's increased use of private profit-making companies to undertake functions that were formerly the exclusive preserve of NGOs. Many NGOs fear that they will lose out to private companies, which are already claiming larger amounts of the NGO "market" and hence prefer to play the role requested of them to preserve their "market share"' (271).

In the Shadow of 'Just Wars' argues that the ubiquitous question of the 'neutrality' of the NGO's must be reassessed in the context of the 'proliferation' of 'just wars' and the discourse stemming from the 'right to intervene' and the 'war on Evil' (3). In many cases more powerful forces and the manner in which use of force is deployed have compromised their position. In such situations the principle of 'neutrality' has been severely tested.

'Although humanitarian action remains neutral with regards to the motives that compel protagonists to kill each other, it does not remain so when they decide to attack non-combatants. The conduct of military operations in Iraq raises a number of questions in this respect' (14).

In the Shadow of 'Just Wars' is written and presented in a very informative and detailed manner. The case studies and issues raised make this book compelling reading and intensely thought provoking. At the heart of the book are issues that pose many political, philosophical, moral and above all humane questions. While it is also a very accessible book, at times it makes 'essentially uncomfortable' reading. In doing so, it challenges the conscience of the reader and, hopefully, those in positions of power who happen to open its pages. This is indeed, one of its strengths!

The only 'draw back' is that it does not deal with two of the most important contemporary issues, Iraq and the Israel-Palestinian conflicts. While the book acknowledges the omission of the latter and deals with aspects of the former, I feel that some detailed discussion of both should have been included. Nevertheless this is an important book that will appeal to a wide and diverse readership. It will be an essential book for academics, researchers and students in the areas of peace and conflict studies, politics, social sciences, international relations and legal studies. It will also appeal to

NGO activists and to the 'lay person' concerned with injustice and suffering brought about by conflict and war. Above all it will appeal to those who care!

> 'Humanitarian action can still oppose the elimination of part of humanity by exemplifying an *art of living* founded on the pleasure of unconditionally offering people at risk of death the assistance that will allow them to survive. Doing so makes victories over the most lethal forms of politics possible' (22).

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Global Responses to Terrorism: 9/11, Afghanistan and Beyond
Mary Buckley and Rick Fawn (eds.)

London: Routledge, 2003, 334pp. £ 22.99 Paperback, ISBN 0415314305

Mary Buckley and Rick Fawn have compiled an excellent volume of short but precise analyses written by acknowleged experts in their particular field. The book contains 26 papers and reflects an impressively wide variety of perspectives on the responses to the attacks of al Qaeda of September 11, 2001 in the United States.

The states selected for discussion include those central to the action in the war against terrorism but in different parts of the world and in different ways, namely the USA, Britain, France, Pakistan, Russia, the Central Asian states and Canada. Inclusion of Germany and Italy also highlights contrasts in linkages between domestic and foreign policy in two member states of the EU and NATO. The situation in the Middle East is more complicated. States here supported a condemnation of terrorism to differing degrees and for varying reasons. The focus is on Iran, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and the Israel-Palestine peace process. In the periphery of key decision-making, but nonetheless seriously affected by international developments, albeit in very different ways and with various regional consequences, are states in Southeast Asia and Africa and also China and India. Mary Buckley stresses that geopolitics is crucial to our discussion since recent developments in Pakistan and Central Asia – such as US aid to Pakistan and the provision of bases for US troops in three states of Central Asia – would not have occured without proximity to the war in Afghanistan. Unfortunately it is not possible in a book review to give a brief description of all articles included, therefore I will confine myself to discuss some of the highlights, and recommend the reader to have a deeper examination of the other papers as well.

In his detailed account of the history of al Qaeda, Rohan Gunaratna offers valuable insights about the emergence and development of the group, from recruitment in the Afghan war to the expansion of today's network after the take over by Osama bin Laden. Al Qaeda's present structure was created when the organization had headquarters in Khartoum (1991-1996) then relocated from Sudan to Afghanistan, and moved its basis for European and North American operations to Turkey. In preparation to wage his global campaign, Bin Laden established links with two-dozen Islamist terrorist groups and political parties. As the west was perceived as assisting the opponents of these groups, the trajectory of their guerilla and terrorist campaigns turned towards the Muslim regimes and Western countries, especially the USA. For describing the tactics of the 9/11 attack, Gunaratna cites an al Qaeda member: 'it was like me tightly holding your finger, turning it towards you and poking it into your own eye.' (43). After this introduction to the background of the trigger event, the articles describe the particular responses in the chosen countries. While most articles offer detailed descriptions of different reactions, Singh's paper on the US focus seems a bit too narrow examining mainly the political sphere, while in the country most affected by the dreadful attacks, society has gone through all different kinds of traumatic reactions. Readers would also expect more details on the military responses and its consequences. For the United Kingdom, 9/11 meant a deep involvement into the military responses following the attack, and a new legislation, especially the return of imprisonment without trial. But the attacks had also an unexpected impact upon the peace process within Northern Ireland. Sinn Féin saw its

support within America crumble in the days that followed the attack and has sought to address this by the permanent decommissioning of the weaponry of the Irish Republican Army.

Whereas Europe was in shock after 9/11, the Middle East became under an immediate world spotlight. Roland Dannreuther examines reactions in Iran and Iraq, noting that these states had histories of *Anti-Americanism* and were potential suspects for the attacks. He also explains why the USA labeled Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as an *axis of evil* and what affect this had in these countries. By contrast, Syrian leaders, as Raymond Hinnebusch outlines, were willing to cooperate with the international coalition against terrorism, but the situation was complicated by its rapprochement with Iraq, and by Syria's dissatisfaction with Israel's continued occupation of the Golan Heights. David Newman notes how Israel was omitted by the Bush administration from its coalition against terrorism in preference to having Arab states on board. Prime Minister Sharon had expected to be a key ally of the USA in its battle and also to see Palestinian organizations, such as Hamas, on the hit list, but they were not.

Samina Yasmeen shows precisely how Pakistan –an important ally in the coalition - experienced serious domestic cross-pressures after 9/11. Bordering Afghanistan, Pakistan unexpectedly found itself at center-stage in a global attack on terrorism. According to Yasmeen, General Musharraf adopted a liberal approach to domestic and foreign policy whilst Islamists viewed the situation in terms of a clash of civilizations.

Looking at the people in the direct crossfire, Joanne van Selm argues that public attention did not think of Afghan refugees as people in need of large-scale protection, as had been the case for Kosovo's refugees, but rather as those needing technical help in form of food, blankets and tents. The Taliban's destruction of Buddha statues had hit the headlines more than thousands of desperate refugees. These reasons added to the harsh criticism of US foreign policy that was common in the developing world. It is assumed that such criticism is fundamental to *the root cause* of the problem that then triggers terrorism. Views varied on the African continent but as David Kenda Adaka Kikaya argues, everywhere there was a deep-seated concern that 9/11 meant that donor countries would marginalize Africa even more, as funds were channeled into the fight against terrorism.

Focusing on reactions in the UN Security Council and General Assembly to 9/11, Joanne Wright argues that the UN's lack of a prominent public role in the war against Afghanistan is due to the fact that the USA responded with an independent initiative. Member states however are keen for the UN to adopt a long-term strategy. Also NATO's reaction to 9/11 was mere symbolic with a minimal military contribution. In contrast to that, the EU seems to be well placed to assist in countering terrorism outside its own borders. Even if it does not have a full range of effective military instruments, it does have a number of political and economic 'weapons' at its disposal.

In sum, this is a worthwhile collection that contains a good overview of the far-reaching consequences that terrorist attacks - as part of a provocative strategy - are able to trigger. Fortunately the editors did not neglect to relate the analysis of the perpetrator, al Qaeda, and a conceptual analysis of terrorism to the studies of more visible consequences of and responses to the attacks. Although the contributions vary in their theoretical depth, practical insight and writing style, together they make a coherent and interesting book.

We would recommend it as well to researchers as to students of peace and conflict studies as required reading. The deep-seated reluctance, if not outright refusal, throughout academia to recognize that studying terrorism is useful and necessary, might be easier to overcome if we begin by understanding its wider impact on social entities.

Matenia Sirseloudi, University of Augsburg, Germany, University of Ulster, INCORE Marie Curie Fellow, 2005

Terrorism: Volume I and II
Rosemary H. T. O'Kane (ed.)

Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2005, 984pp. £ 250.00, HB,
ISBN 1843760649

Since the attacks of 9/11 a flood of literature has been published on terrorism, often ignoring the fact that terrorism is not a new phenomenon. The selection criteria for the texts chosen by Rosemary O'Kane for her compilation are not always easy to comprehend, but the edition shows that systematic academic studies on terrorism have been conducted for several decades, taking regimes of terror into account, as also the more visible non-state terrorism. The concept of terrorism is often totally misused as a negative term for any insurgency campaign of which we disapprove of and also it is frequently used loosely and inconsistently – this is why we have to keep in mind that it is an objective analysis that helps to effectively counter terrorism instead of unnecessarily fuelling violent escalations.

The two-volume edition is organised into ten sections. Section one relates to 'The Concept of Terrorism' analysing the concept of terror in different contexts, well described by Paul Wilkinson as war terror, repressive terror, revolutionary terror, and sub-revolutionary terror. Section two is about 'Regimes of Terror' including Michael Stohl's excellent theoretical analysis of 'State Terrorism' which still causes thousands of unspectacular victims by using the strategy of intimidation and fear through indiscriminate violence. 'Terrorist Groups and Religion' follow it, with for example, David Rapoport's still very useful 'Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions' laying the foundation for a scientific discussion on the analysis of religious terrorism. In 'Terrorist Groups and their Underlying Causes' we find classics such as Martha Crenshaw's conceptual analysis and Ehud Sprinzak's comparative study of right wing terrorism. Section five and six turn to 'Terrorist Groups and the Dynamics of New Social Movements' with Donatella della Porta's analysis of European left-wing movements leading into terrorist campaigns, and 'Psychological Explanations for Terrorism'. Both fields are gaining new relevance today when we have to cope with religious radical movements and trans-national terrorist networks relating to them. Section Seven provides us with 'Rational Choice Explanations' of terrorism, a method widely used in recent strategic studies and attempting to adapt tools of economics in analysing terrorist behaviour and assessing alternative antiterrorism policies. The 'Terrorist Group Organization' is the subject of the next section, and again the Grande Dame of terrorism research, Martha Crenshaw paves the way for further research by developing a framework for analysing terrorist groups' dynamics, which strengthen or weaken a group as much as governments' counteractions do.

The focus shifts then to 'Strategy and Tactics' of terrorism including David Fromkin's article tracing the historical cases of Israeli and Algerian successful terrorist campaigns leading to the establishment of independent states and a precise and subtle paper on the tactic of hostage taking by Brian Jenkins, Janera Johnson and David Ronfeldt. The final section contains articles on 'Counteracting Terrorism' and we realize that scholars analysing problems of democratic response to terrorism have constantly warned against the twin perils of over-reaction, which undermines democracy and human rights, and under-reaction, which would allow the terrorists to threaten public security and the rule of

law (Wilkinson). As Martha Crenshaw elaborates '…the importance of governmental response to terrorism cannot be underestimated. If a revolutionary movement survives the regime's reaction, repression is likely to further revolutionary goals by alienating the civilian population from the government, and in the Algerian case from the Europeans' (21).

While in one case four articles by the same author under one section seem a bit imbalanced, we are missing articles like Brian Jenkins' pioneering article 'International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict' that influenced research on terrorism more than any other paper by stating that 'terrorists want a lot of people watching, not a lot of people dead'. Thus describing the key feature of terrorism on which most of the analytical approaches are based, that it is a violent message directed at a wider audience or target, than the immediate victims, even if groups like al Qaeda set out to kill as many civilians as possible.

But in summary, we agree that this edition should be on the book lists for all serious courses in terrorism studies. Especially today, when institutes and research centres are newly established to specialize in terrorism research, we should not neglect the knowledge that has already been elaborated and accumulated on this phenomenon. As we know, the view is better from the shoulders of giants (R. K. Merton).

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How America Gets Away With Murder: Illegal Wars, Collateral Damage and Crimes Against Humanity
Michael Mandel

Pluto Press: London, 320pp, pb £14.99, ISBN: 0–7453–2151–8

If you want a hard hitting book that tells it like it is and holds no punches, then Mandel's *How America Gets Away With Murder: Illegal Wars, Collateral Damage and Crimes Against Humanity* is a book for you. Written by Michael Mandel, a Professor of Law at York University, Canada, it takes a legalistic and moral approach to analysing America's illegal wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Kosovo.

Unlike some more academic books on the subject, Mandel does not mince words or leave the reader guessing where his own views lie: 'America's war on Iraq in 2003 was its third illegal war in just under four years. Each one was a bloody horror, but the Iraq war distinguished itself both for its bloodiness and for the flagrancy of its illegality' (3). This sets the tone for the book, with Mandel arguing that America is guilty of the 'supreme crime of aggressive war' (247) from which all the lesser war crimes flow.

Mandel begins the book by examining the illegality of America's acts of aggression in Afghanistan, Iraq and Kosovo (in Kosovo under the auspices of NATO). He does not examine civilian deaths in minute detail as other writers (such as Pilger) do, except to provide a few examples to illustrate his argument. The fact that there are civilian deaths ('collateral damage'), that America knows of them and continues its aggressions regardless, establishes a *prima facie* case of murder. Defences of so–called 'self–defence', 'regime change' and 'humanitarian intervention' soon lose credibility when examined in context rather than the hollow media rhetoric and sensationalist propaganda surrounding the wars at the time. Based on this understanding, he devotes the final two chapters of the book to analysing the international effort aimed at bringing America before the International Criminal Tribunal of the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and its failure to even get a hearing. Throughout this, he uses the actual trial of Milosevic as an example of the difficulty, but the absolute necessity, of prosecuting those responsible for war crimes. Fundamentally, Mandel does not argue against Milosevic's prosecution but is instead saying that an international prohibition on war crimes must be applied impartially and fairly on all countries, and not be subject to the old adage 'might is right'.

Essentially, this book reads as if it were the prosecution's argument before the International Criminal Court (ICC) attempting to bring the political leaders of America to account for the terror perpetrated against other nations. Essentially, it is Mandel's voicing of the prosecution's case that should rightly have been heard before the ICC, but was foisted by America's intimidation of prosecutor Carla Del Ponte. If the ICC is to be a court with real teeth, Mandel seems to say, it must not operate on political whim but must instead prosecute for crimes against humanity without fear or favour. The implication for Mandel is that leaving America, a nation with numerous military 'deployments' in foreign countries, free from the jurisdiction and watchful eye of the ICT is in itself a terrible crime.

My dilemma with any book like this is that those who read it are already in favour of the author's views, and just wish to solidify their own knowledge on the matter. I must admit

I fall into this category. Unfortunately the people who will read this are unlikely to be those who were in *favour* of America's aggressive wars – the Rumsfelds, Cheneys and Rices of the world. Therefore for me, this was a book already 'preaching to the converted' – a book whose readership will be decided by its very provocative title alone. Therefore, not withstanding these comments, this book would be most valuable to lawyers and academics interested in international law's treatment of wars and human rights interventions. More importantly though, this book should be essential reading for anyone who thought America's attacks on Iraq, Afghanistan or the former Yugoslavia were justified. Fundamentally though, readers should read this book if they believe 'collective solutions to human rights problems are always more successful than violent, unilateral ones'(251). In a time when rogue states are operating outside the directives and ethos of the United Nations, and America exhibits rogue-behaviour, such a book is essential reading.

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Vulnerable Bodies: Gender, the UN and the Global Refugee Crisis
Erin K. Baines

Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, £49.95, HB, ISBN 0-7546-3734-4

This book weaves theoretical enquiry with practical experience from global through to local perspectives to analyse initiatives towards gender equality within United Nations High Commission for Refugees' (UNHCR) policies. In the first part of the book, Erin Baines charts the troubled instigation and development of gender-orientated policies and actors within UNHCR in parallel with the equally turbulent history and development of UNHCR itself, as it has been buffeted by geo-political forces and has assumed an expanding and increasingly political mandate in complex contemporary crises. The second part reflects on how these global challenges have been enacted in UNHCR practice by presenting gendered analyses of the conflict and displacement in Guatemala, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda. Baines' melding of theoretical concepts and approaches with many perspectives and experiences, including her own, is deft, accessible and refreshing.

Baines illustrates the bold attempts of diverse actors to raise the profile of women in conflict and displacement and to ease the burdens they carry. Her central and concluding argument, however, is that the implementation of UNHCR gender programming has largely tended to homogenise and stereotype women as vulnerable and apolitical beings and has appended their needs onto or after existing priorities in programming. This has conflated 'women' with 'gender' and often entirely missed the transformative potential of mainstreaming. Baines does not argue that global policies and local endeavours have not created benefits for refugee women, communities and international actors including UNHCR, in fact there are positives in each case study she presents, but these policies have failed to challenge the existing UN humanitarian system. In so doing, they have at times enabled harmful gender roles and relationships to be reinforced and perpetuated within refugee communities and UNHRC practice.

One of the most interesting contributions of Baines' analysis is her exploration of the horizontal and hierarchical relationships within UNHCR and the external relationships with donor communities and theoretical movements above and refugees and conflict zones below. Relationships among UNHCR peers appear strong and nurturing, yet vertical relationships, both internal and external can be fraught and frayed, limiting the transfer of global policies to each of the conflict case studies. Whilst establishing her professional respect for UNHCR staff, Baines' insights into their attitudes are nonetheless enlightening and at times acerbic. She acknowledges the genuine quagmires they face without granting concessions to those expecting gender to play second fiddle to more pressing concerns.

Perhaps not unwittingly, Baines' analysis reflects recurring themes from the feminist agenda. There is a need to raise awareness of and challenge the pervasive of gendered inequalities (within institutional and societal dynamics of power and culture) that manifest themselves in intense and gendered forms of violence and vulnerability faced by women. But how is this to be achieved without focusing on women's particular needs in their roles as the innocent, the oppressed, the mothers and the victims, thereby essentialising women, stripping them of their agency, and stripping gender of politics?

Baines illustrates that well intentioned initiatives to help 'vulnerable women' are not merely insufficient, they can be dangerously counterproductive. She studies this dilemma in the context of violent conflict and displacement but there are clear parallels with debates on other 'women's issues', such as trafficking, rape and domestic violence. For example, media attention to the trafficking of women and girls into sexual slavery catapulted the issue into public consciousness, but contributed to the idealisation of victims of trafficking. Much as Baines illustrates the 'authentic' (read vulnerable) and 'bogus' (read political) female refugee, good or 'authentic' victims of trafficking – young, innocent, stolen from their poverty-stricken homes with violence – are distinguished from bad or 'inauthentic' ones, who take a calculated risk, who have been involved in sex work in the past or who are trafficked into less shocking and titillating industries. Her contestation that gender concerns are 'added on' is familiar also; how do feminists move from establishing a place for gender within the system to transforming the system?

In approaching these issues, familiarly gendered dichotomies spill out of Baines' work: victims and aggressors, political and apolitical, local and global, public and private. Baines urges us to reject these polarities, but does not attempt to delineate or reduce the resultant complexity. Rather, she suggests we start to look not at the poles but at the intersections; to join up the different spheres and better understand the links between everyday experiences, politics, conflict and violence to better understand the gender puzzle.

The broad geographical scope and theoretical and practical application of this book makes it of relevance to scholars and students of many fields including conflict and peace studies, feminist theory and humanitarian law. Its easy style and concise analysis will appeal to the interested layperson and it may also provide a bitter-sweet looking glass for UNHCR staff and others involved in the protection of 'vulnerable women'.

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Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action,
International Alert and Women Waging Peace

International Alert: London; Women Waging Peace; Washington D. C., 2004, 204pp, £25, ISBN: 1 – 898702 – 5 9 – 4.

Gender Equality. Striving for Justice in an Unequal World,
UNRISD

UNRISD: Geneva, 2005, 303pp, $US32, ISBN 92-9085-052-3.

Women in an Insecure World. Violence against Women. Facts, Figures and Analysis,
Marie Vlachová and Lea Biason (eds.)

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces: Geneva, 2005, 335pp, 25 Swiss francs, ISBN 92-9222-028-4.

In October 2000, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security. This Resolution is of great importance. It is the first time the Security Council acknowledged women's key role in peacebuilding. UNSCR 1325 calls for participation of women in peace processes, gender training in peacekeeping operations, protection of women and girls and respect for their rights; and gender mainstreaming in reporting and implementation systems of the United Nations, relating to conflict, peace and security. UNSCR 1325 is being used by women's organisations and peace groups around the world as an advocacy tool to work to hold governments accountable for their commitments to this resolution. There is an urgency to recognise the active yet often informal peacebuilding work many women do as mediators, trauma-healing counsellors, bridge-builders across ethnic, religious and cultural divisions or as prime carers, struggling to maintain peaceful community bonds. In consultation with women peace actors from different conflict-affected regions and as a response to UNSCR 1325, significant books and toolkits have emerged and I am reviewing three.

Inclusive Security can be downloaded at www.womenwagingpeace.net/toolkit.asp. For practitioners or trainers it is available in a glossy hardback file with six separate booklets, each written by separate authors. Contributors to the writing of this report include Ancil Adrian-Paul, Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Camille Pampell Conaway, Judy El-Bushra, Kelly Fish, Nicola Johnston, Lisa Kays, Gillian Lobo, Sarah Maguire, Elizabeth Powley, Jolynn Shoemaker, Guillermo Suarez Sebastian, Victoria Stanski and Mebrak Tareke who gained from insights from an extensive range of individuals and groups. Each section explains concepts clearly, utilises practical examples from a wide variety of global trouble spots, highlights boxed case studies, keeps explaining why it is necessary to examine issues specifically in terms of women and gender and is written in clear, accessible language. There is an excellent balance between attention to general issues, specific countries and international conventions. Each section of the booklet ends by asking, 'what can women peace builders do?' and provides extremely useful questions that are practical and have enough flexibility for cross-cultural comparative adaptability. Each section includes a short bibliography and endnotes.

The Introduction states the target audience as women peace actors, advocates and practitioners in conflict-affected and transitional countries. Policy-makers and NGOs also would find it valuable. The policy framework for the toolkit is one of human security, sustainable peace, accountability to prevent and resolve conflict, and the protection of human rights. Relevant international conventions are explained in their useful boxes and applied to practical case stories.

The second booklet is on 'Conflict Prevention, Resolution and Reconstruction' and looks also at peace negotiations and agreements, peace support operations and post-conflict reconstruction. Useful gender-based indicators of violence are given, and this is useful given that these are largely absent in conflict early warning efforts. Booklet three is on 'Security Issues', particularly disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR), small arms, light weapons and landmines and security sector reform. Few women enter security debates; hence it is important for women to increase their engagement with issues of security, whether in security forces, government or civil society, particularly to broaden understandings beyond national security to include human security and welfare.

Booklet four focuses on 'Justice, Governments and Civil Society'. It examines the concepts and practices of transitional justice and reconciliation, reparations, amnesty, witnesses and perpetrators. It also looks at women's contribution to Constitution-making and the importance of equal rights for men and women, like key legislative issues of family law, property in succession law, citizenship and nationalism, violence against women and equal rights. Issues of governance and democratic decision-making are outlined, as is the importance of an active civil society in promoting sustainable peace.

Booklet five examines 'Protecting Vulnerable Groups' like refugees and internally displaced persons. It also explores women's sexual and reproductive health rights, gender-based violence, sufferers of HIV/AIDS and children's security. The appendix ends with listing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and UNSCR 1325. This is an excellent toolkit. As a feminist academic researcher, I've referred to it frequently to clarify concepts and gain examples. However, its real benefit lies in being a wonderful guide for capacity-building workshops. There is enormous potential in this toolkit.

The background research for the UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) Report on *Gender Equality* was carried out by 70 different feminist scholars from diverse regions, particularly in the South. Chapters were written by Urvashi Butalia, Anne Marie Goetz, Maxine Molyneux, Donna Pankhurst, Nicola Piper, Shahra Razavi, Stephanie Seguinu and Ann Zammit. The report can be downloaded at www.unrisd.org.

The impetus for this report is the recognition that mainstream international policy debates on 'economic liberalisation, democratisation and government reforms, and identity and conflict - are not being systematically informed by the knowledge that is being generated through gender research and scholarship' (xv). The UNRISD is an autonomous research Institute within the United Nations, well-placed to evaluate gender equality and the challenges that remain ten years after the significant Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995). The Introductory chapter asks relevant questions as to the indicators for evaluating progress in gender equality in terms of income and well-being given that 'what counts as progress is often a contested field in which there are competing visions of "the good society", and of women's place within' (1). There have

been significant, positive changes in women's status, education and rights, but persistent gender inequality is a real concern. The report provides very useful factual figures of regional country-specific comparisons of equality indicators on issues like educational enrolment, economic activity and presence in national parliament.

Section 1 addresses 'Macroeconomics, Well-being and Gender Equality'. Economic policies, inspired by neoliberal market thinking and the influence of the World Trade Organisation and International Financial Institutions reflect the surge for expansive globalisation. This report poses crucial questions as to how women fare in such a context and what sort of economic changes might improve women's well-being and promote gender equality. Accordingly, the first chapter in this section provides background to the growth of the neoliberal agenda and questions whether neoliberal policies can generate social development in terms of health, education and human security. Women have differing starting points in their ability to generate income and privatisation of services may appear to promote economic efficiency, but result in user fees for essential goods like water, power, health and education that affect women as the main managers of household budgets. The authors strive for a method of evaluating gendered well-being to include fertility, secondary school enrolment, share of labour force, share of non-agricultural employment and the ratio of unemployment. The conclusion is that orthodox neoliberal approaches of tight monetary and fiscal policies along with free trade and capital flows have not encouraged widespread development or created gender equality. There is more need of development and social goals that contribute to equality.

Section 2 examines 'Women, Work and Social Policy' and builds on the critique of neoliberal economic policies. Women are more visible in the economic domain but employment has to accommodate prime nurturing 'in the unpaid domestic and care economy' (67). The first chapter in this section addresses the significant 'informal economy' that many women are involved in, where there is no security, contracts, worker benefits or legal protection. Collective action, with transnational alliances between trade unions and NGOs has been valuable in having a ripple effect on increasing workers' rights, particularly in the clothing, textile and footwear industries. For the vast majority of rural women, there is a need to earn non-farm incomes to survive, and this often leads to family conflict where men's loss of breadwinning roles leads to increased domestic violence. Some families migrate in search of work. Typically, people's livelihoods are subject to insecurities. There are gender-differentiated impacts on household resource allocation, market stratification and involvement in the unpaid care economy. Liberalisation policies leave little room for broad debates on what constitutes a healthy society and what are the state's obligations to vulnerable citizens.

Section 3 focuses on 'Women in Politics and Public Life'. It begins with the rising tide of women in public office, even though in 2004, the average proportion of women in national assemblies is only 16%, with 16 countries having greater than 30%, with Rwanda in 2003 achieving a world record with 48.8% (147). The first chapter in this section looks at why women are absent from formal electoral politics, quotas and affirmative action. We should remember that many women understand political participation far more broadly than formal politics and many are active in political and civic associations. Women's movements and explicitly feminist groups are crucial in mobilising women (and men) to reshape democracy in addressing women's rights. For gender equality to be tackled strategically, it needs to be central to governance, policy reform, legal reforms and budgets. 'There is a long way to go before meeting the needs of

women citizens is universally accepted as a measure against which the performance of leaders and officials is assessed' (191).

Finally, section four examines the similar area to the toolkit discussed above, namely 'Gender, Armed Conflict and the Search for Peace'. It begins by looking at the impact of conflict on women, particularly as victims of war where rape is used as a strategy of war to subvert community bonds and where young girls are forced into sexual slavery for soldiers. It looks also at women's involvement in informal peace initiatives and in formal peace negotiations. A chapter looks at women's involvement in peacebuilding once the guns seem to be quiet and notes the importance of being involved in land reform, economic activity, trauma counsel and seeking justice for war rape.

This report is a substantial, thorough and extremely useful document. Its statistics are very up-to-date, its analysis is insightful and it offers a much-needed critical perspective on the dangers of neoliberal markets and state reforms in eroding social cohesion and in avoiding issues of inequality. The report is of great interest to students, academics, policy-makers and practitioners interested in equality, justice, development and gender.

The third book under review, *Women in an Insecure World* is also an important publication. A 32pp executive summary of this handbook-type volume is available at www.dcaf.ch/women/pb_women_ex_sum.pdf. The volume is targeted at donors, policy-makers, academics, journalists, activists and practitioners and aims to provide insight into both the scope and magnitude of violent experiences by women in conflict and post-accord situations and also the active role of women in peace-making and post-conflict reconstruction. Again, this is a wonderful collaborative production of at least 44 experts from intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations, research institutes and academia. Again, the context of this production is UNSCR 1325. The context also is one where regardless of the evil - missing persons, persons forced into prostitution, victims of anti-personnel mines, victims of male violence and rape, a disproportionate number of victims are women and children, what Theodore Winkler, the Director of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces calls 'the slaughter of Eve, a systematic gendercide of tragic proportions' (viii). Underlying the descriptive, analytical and illustrative elements of gender-based violence are three extensive agendas: human rights, development and peace studies.

Part one examines 'Violence Against Women in Daily Life' given that 'most of the violence against women is committed in everyday life, often in the private sphere of households' (13). This part examines seven issues. First, gendercidal institutions against women and girls include female infanticide, selective abortions, rape of girl infants and children and domestic killings. Second, community-based violence against women includes female genital mutilation, honour killings, acid attacks, dowry-killings and Sharia penalties. Third, with regard to gender-based violence and poverty (including issues addressed in the above report), the persistent gender inequalities and the statistics are startling. Hence, this volume addresses the importance of empowerment, of self-transformation of women's agency. Fourth, it examines domestic violence and violation of women's rights by their partners, a violation that often remains hidden. Fifth, prostitution as a violation of human dignity, and for some women as an act of desperation in search of survival is explored. Sixth, trafficking and the sexual exploitation of girls and women are examined. Successful approaches to combating trafficking will need to

address the 'trafficking-poverty nexus' (88). Seventh, violence against women in custody is analysed.

Part two focuses on 'Women in War and Armed Conflicts', a common theme in each publication under review. It begins by noting the particular vulnerability of women in armed conflicts and examines the horrors of rape and sexual violence 'as methods of warfare' (113) and pays attention to the United Nations peacekeepers code of conduct, given the complicity of some peacekeepers in the sexual exploitation of local women. The torture of women in armed conflict is also examined. Some women are combatants in opposition groups or in regular forces. There is a picture of the United States military policewoman taken in 2004 assaulting Iraqi detainees in the prison of Abu Ghraib. The statistics of women living with HIV/AIDS, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, South and South-East Asia and Latin America are startling.

Part three looks at 'Women in Post-Conflict Situations'. It explores what enables resilience in the face of the horrors of war and the impact of psycho-social trauma. 'Women and children comprise approximately 80% of the world's 34.8 million uprooted people - refugees and internally displaced persons' (169). Strategies to provide meaningful protection and assistance are urgently needed. The impact of mourning given the loss of family members is addressed, as many women become widows through war. Landmines have appalling humanitarian costs. Disarmament, demobilisation and integration processes are normally agreed on during formal peace talks when women are absent or marginalised. Women in receiving communities may be harsh judges of women combatants returning. Other women are active in peace movements and reconciliation processes. Again, the significance of the Beijing Platform for Action, Beijing +5 and +10, the Women Building Peace Campaign and UNSCR 1325 are noted with divergent optimistic and critical views on women in post-war Iraq and Afghanistan.

Part four concludes usefully with 'Strategies and Solutions' looking specifically at UNSCR 1325 through the lens of human rights, feminist approaches to gender-based violence, gender mainstreaming of peace support operations, and legal protection of women. It concludes with the UNSCR 1325 as a watershed in the history of women's defence of peace. The conclusions and recommendations relate to prevention, protection and empowerment. There are extensive reading lists after each section and lists of organisations dealing with women's rights. The book is beautifully illustrated and includes many deeply disturbing harrowing pictures that provoke conscience and the need for further action.

I recommend these three publications extremely highly. They are of enormous use, in a scholarly sense to academics and students, but perhaps in this instance more importantly to policy-makers and practitioners, people who are consciously working toward encouraging the empowerment of women's lives and struggling to facilitate capacities of local women peacebuilders to understand more of what might be possible in a world where there is gender equality, gender justice, equal human rights and sustainable peace. It is important that donors understand that their contributions have been put to meaningful use in the production of these three outstanding publications.

Dr Elisabeth Porter, INCORE Research Director, University of Ulster, Editor, 'Ethnic Conflict Research Digest'

Naming security – constructing identity: 'Mayan-women' in Guatemala on the eve of 'peace'
Maria Stern

Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005
223pp, HB £55, ISBN 0 7190 7116 X

This book in the 'New Approaches to Conflict Analysis' series presents a fascinating account of the connections between security, subjectivity and identity and a valuable insight into the lives of a very marginalised group, Mayan women in Guatemala. Maria Stern draws from the narratives of Mayan women to focus our attention on what security, and the corresponding insecurity, means to these women and presents a core argument that challenges dominant understandings about insecurity. Through a powerful analysis, she reminds us that these women, who describe themselves as accordingly: 'We are women, poor, indigenous; we are …triply discriminated against' (3), struggle to resist the violence they experience and to improve their security. The book does not provide definitive answers, but rather seeks to encourage others to rethink the connections between security and identity and to be more inclusive in our analysis.

The book is beautifully written and structured and begins with an analytical section on rethinking security studies that addresses two issues: first the fact that marginalised groups are rarely included in the security studies literature and second that security presents a conundrum or paradox. I particularly liked the very valuable section (Chapter 3) that describes the innovative methodology used by Maria Stern. Eighteen interviews were conducted with women who were members of the most widely known and influential nationally based organisations as well as internationally. The common denominator in all of the interviews was that the narrators explicitly identified themselves, and acted politically as Mayan women. The narrators were asked to tell the researcher about their 'struggles as Mayan women' and to tell their partial life history around this theme. Initial interviews were followed in some cases with a second interview and where possible, the women received a transcription of the texts. The author is upfront about the quandaries she faced in this study 'informed by feminist theorising with the theoretical and methodological tool of a discipline IR [International Relations] that has paid little attention to questions of gender or to the multiple violences implicated in practices of security' (12).

The second section is entitled 'Reading Mayan women's narratives' and this is divided into spatio-temporal context: family/community; *Ladino*- Mayan relations; organisations/movements; political economy; and Mayan women as citizens. Each context is sensitively presented and through the often harrowing individual accounts, the reader gains a valuable insight into the detail of these women's lives, what motivates them and supports them and their deep desire to be included and valued in their society.

'The violence leaves you with memories, fears. The people of my *pueblo* had to choose: leave all of this and try to change it or stay, more because of fear than because of conviction. The ability to leave my house, to work and to value myself for myself permitted me to construct in some way my own identity […] The moment arrived when I said, "well OK, I'll work for this, because I believe contributing to changing the conditions of life of the people"' (Manuela) (94).

This book is an important contribution to the security debate and will be of interest to scholars of security, identity politics, feminist theory, Latin American studies and those interested in methodological and ethical issues.

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