

***Ethnic Conflict Research Digest***  
***2005, Volume 5, Number 1***

**Editorial**

Welcome to this Volume 5, Number 1 of the *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest*. Once again we have been able to review a wide range of books in the field of ethnic conflict, conflict resolution and peace studies. Volume 4 was released in 2001, and so it is important that this edition of Volume 5 is available after such a gap in time.

Global politics and the nature of conflict continue to change at pace, and ideas and practices change accordingly. All of these changes have complex ramifications for understanding international relations and the quest for peace, security and justice often seems elusive. As researchers, policy-makers, community practitioners and concerned citizens, the obligations to remain informed are strong, as is the motivation to work to alleviate insecurity, injustice and conflict whenever possible. Some of us have the time or can make the time for in-depth reading. For others of us, the opportunity to read book reviews is always important. Reviews give us an overview of current trends, new ideas and resources and provide a new awareness of those books that overlap with our current research or interests.

I am grateful to the publishers for providing INCORE with the books to review and to the reviewers for their contributions.

Individual reviews are available on the INCORE website ([www.incore.ulster.ac.uk/services/ecrd/new/search.html](http://www.incore.ulster.ac.uk/services/ecrd/new/search.html)). The website has new search tools that allow you to search by subject, year of publication, author, title, keyword, reviewer or volume. Please feel free to contact us if you would like to become a reviewer of books.

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***Elusive Equity, Education Reform in Post-apartheid South Africa***  
**Fiske, Edward B., Ladd, Helen F.**

Brookings Institution Press, Washington, 2004  
288 pp £24.00 HB ISBN: 0815728409

Under the apartheid regime almost all aspects of education in South Africa were run in ways which supported blatant state-sponsored inequity. By contrast, the post-1994 constitution guarantees equity for all South Africans in all areas of life. It is difficult to overestimate the central importance of educational equity to the future of South Africa, for as Fiske and Ladd point out:

*'Just as a racially delimited educational system had been central to the maintenance of apartheid, a completely new education system that eliminated all vestiges of racial inequality would be essential for the creation and functioning of a democratic South Africa.'* (p. 3)

This book explores the development of this crucial dimension of transition in post-apartheid South Africa. It begins with a clear historical contextualisation and moves on to examine the current realities. Salient challenges (governance and access to schools, finance, balancing public and private resources, outcomes based education, educational outcomes and equity in higher education) are identified and explored in a book which allows the voices of those involved with key facets of education to be heard and draws upon a wealth of statistical data. The crucial role of teacher education is discussed *inter alia* but might usefully inform more of the work, perhaps meriting inclusion as a separate chapter.

Fiske and Ladd conclude that whilst remarkable progress has been made in reducing inequity in many areas of life, equity in education has proved to be elusive thus far. They suggest that the reform of education in South Africa offers some key insights which might inform change in other countries. In particular, they advocate 'aggressive actions' (p.248) to tackle the practical complexities of issues related to resources and implementation. The legacy of South Africa's unique historical context will continue to ensure that 'equal treatment is not sufficient as a guiding principle of equity' (p.248).

*Linda Clarke, Lecturer in Education, University of Ulster*

*Contending Theories on Development Aid: Post-Cold War Evidence from Africa*

**Leslie O. Omoruji**

Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001  
223 pp HB £55 ISBN 0-7546-1878-1

This book uses an international relations perspective to look at how and why official aid flows to sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have changed since the Cold War, focusing on motivations for giving aid.

The book begins by setting out the central theoretical debate, how far realist/neorealist and liberal theories can help explain patterns of aid flows now that Cold War-related motivations can no longer apply. The book then goes on to outline a useful quantitative methodology to explore the problem, drawing on measures of possible determinants of donor decision-making on aid (from those of strategic self-interest, such as exploitable mineral resources in recipient countries, to more humanitarian-related variables, such as economic need). The association between these variables and various nations' actual aid disbursements is then explored in order to tease out likely reasons for donation (as sometimes distinct from reasons stated in policy pronouncements). Time-series regression is used. The book offers useful case studies of the motivations of a number of key donors, with a separate chapter each devoted to a detailed discussion of the cases of France (the largest single donor to SSA), Japan, Norway and the USA. The book discusses the implications of the motivations for Africa and concludes by suggesting how aid can be rethought in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Whilst there are many diverse factors associated with individual donors' aid-giving, Omoruji shows that overall patterns can be teased out and better understood through applying elements of realist/neorealist and liberal theory. Some of Omoruji's substantive findings are also interesting in that they tend to support the explosion of certain myths (such as that Swedish aid is disinterested) and they suggest how things have changed for SSA since the Cold War (including the impact of extent of the withdrawal of aid-giving by donors in SSA in favour of other regions).

Why would this book be of interest to students of ethnic conflict and peace studies? Whilst no direct reference is made to peace and conflict in Africa, aid disbursement as a key economic force in SSA undoubtedly influences peace and conflict. This is perhaps most directly so in terms of patterns of aid-giving which are made in relation to the factors of foreign military presence in recipient states, recipient states' defence spending and to democratisation, about which useful information is provided. But it is also undoubtedly true in relation to other factors which appear to influence donors' aid-giving, from a desire to alleviate poverty to donors' trade interests. Overall, the shifting of aid to other regions away from SSA, a region which is least able to attract investment from other sectors, is also likely to have destabilising consequences. Thus this book will be useful reading for those researching the influence of such variables on peace and conflict and good background reading for others looking at peace and conflict in SSA.

There is little to criticise in this work. As a 2001 publication, the book will date quickly in terms of its substantive findings, although researchers may well find it useful to replicate the methodology used to gauge up-to-date trends. Figure/chart quality and page layout are occasionally disappointing.

**Dr Rachel Naylor, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Ulster at Magee**



*The African Human Rights System - Its Laws, Practice, and Institutions*

**Orlu Nmehielle, Vincent O**

The Hague, The Netherlands: Kluwer Law Publications, 2001

443 pp HB £115 ISBN 90-411-1731-8.

This book analyses the African system of human rights from the unique perspectives of its laws, practice and the institutions of the system, with an added focus and assessment of the effectiveness of the work of the African Commission on Human Rights. It is carefully pieced together into seven chapters, which is very beneficial as it meticulously knitted together to explain the operation of the African human rights system in a very coherent format. First, the book introduces the background and history of the human rights project in Africa, detailing the impact of the colonial influences in the region with additional analysis of other regional human rights instruments. Chapter discusses the different constituent parts of the African human rights system which are analysed usefully in terms of the nature of the rights, e.g. civil, political and economic. Chapter three seeks to investigate the institutional structure of the African system for human rights. Chapter four outlines the procedures of the African Commission, examining state reporting procedures, communication procedures and remedy procedures under the Charter. Chapter five seeks to critique the reform of the African human rights system, specifically focusing on the basis for reform by analysing the gaps in the system. It also analyses the debates from a spectrum of viewpoints, finally focusing on the establishment of the African Court of Human and People's Rights. The author carefully follows this chapter with a focus on the institution of the African Court of Human and People's Rights, the provisions of the protocol establishing it and its relations with the African Commission. The final chapter is dedicated to the impact of NGOs and the future of the African human rights project.

Particularly positive aspects of the book include the way the author has carefully constructed each of the chapters. There is a coherent beginning, middle and end resulting in a comprehensive review of the African human rights system from a number of different perspectives. This book would appeal to students, academics, human rights practitioners and readers of a general interest in human rights and its development.

The development of the African human rights system is more interesting than the development of other regional human rights instruments due to a number of factors, particularly given that the impact of colonialism on African states has produced the effect that many states are not willing to concede to human rights developments as it is viewed a challenge to sovereignty. Additionally, the African continent has seen war and genocide on a mass scale and the overbearing power of dictatorships. Therefore, this book encapsulates and expands on the lead up to the development of human rights norms, its practice, critiques its current system and provides a basis for further discussion with a look to the future of the human rights project in the African continent. Additionally, it provides a comprehensive reference section in appendices, which allows the reader to access easily the main reference documents referred to in the text.

*Noel Mc Guirk, PhD Candidate, School of Law, UU Magee*

## **Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict, The Berghof Handbook**

**Austin, A., Fischer, M., Ropers, N. (eds.)**

Wiesbaden: VS Verlag fuer Sozialwissenschaften, 2004

473pp PB €39.90 ISBN 3-8100-3940-3

The first edition of the Berghof Handbook offers both practitioners and scholars a systematic overview of the state-of-the-art of conflict transformation. In response to the contemporary challenges of violent conflict and to recent developments in the field of conflict transformation, the Berghof Handbook summarises and promotes dialogue about the "state of the art" in theory and practice of crisis prevention and non-violence, peace consolidation and the civil management of inter-group conflicts. The Berghof Handbook is designed primarily for practitioners seeking ideas and information for their own work and wishing to draw on the wealth of experience amassed by their colleagues in a range of regions and contexts. It is also intended for experts in politics, research and journalism.

The Berghof Handbook gives an excellent overview of core issues in the field of conflict transformation. The book is outlined clearly and starts off with a conceptualization of cross-cutting challenges in conflict transformation and provides an outline of core dimensions for intervention in conflict. This is followed by a review of tools to analyse and predict conflict, which is then followed by a discussion on the impact assessment of conflict intervention.

The next part of the book is about the enhancement of capacity-building to deal with conflicts on a personal level. The book then turns to the need of structural reforms and institution-building and ends with an outlook on conflict transformation as a challenge for reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation, towards a just peace.

The authors of the Berghof Handbook are clear and precise in their approach, as the concept of conflict transformation in all its complexity moves like a thread through the volume.

The book weaves together a thoroughly developed theoretical framework that provides investigative explanations for the 'hows' and 'whys' of conflict transformation in protracted ethnic conflicts. In this light, the authors step beyond contemporary literature with regard to a comprehensive, holistic approach to transforming ethno-political conflict.

There is no concluding chapter; there is, however, a concluding paragraph by Clements (p. 460), which summarises the main idea of conflict transformation in terms of 'our' vision of a desirable future, the visions of parties to conflict and where these visions intersect. The reader is left to contemplate pertinent questions. How sensitive are we to visions that we have difficulty accepting but which might be very salient for others? How do 'we' let go of our own visions so that 'we' might enable the realisations of others and in that process discover some deeper meaning for ourselves?

The book is an invaluable contribution to ethnic conflict and peace studies literature. For the next edition, however, it is recommended to add an index.

*Helga Pieper, INCORE Associate, PhD student with the School of International Affairs, Faculty of Arts, University of Ulster.*

## **NGOs at the Table: Strategies for Influencing Policies in Areas of Conflict**

**Fitzduff M. and C. Church (eds.)**

Lanham, NH: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004

185 pp PB \$26.95 ISBN 0-7425-2849-9

In his forward to the book under review, United States Ambassador John W. McDonald remarks how the role of NGOs in conflict management and resolution processes worldwide has grown from a complete absence to one where they are a pervasive and accepted part of the furniture.

The publication of the book reflects this growing salience of NGOs in conflict management and the editors note that a motivating factor was a felt need in the field for material that would both reflect on NGO influence and provide pointers for NGOs to increase their effectiveness in influencing policy processes. The core of the book (and its most interesting feature) is a series of case studies of NGO participation in achieving policy change in conflict situations. These vary from changing the public administration response to crisis in Northern Ireland to reconfiguring Kurdish/Turkish relations in Turkey. There are also chapters on Burundi, Georgia/South Ossetia, South Africa and on increasing the influence of women in the United Nations.

All these cases reflect action initiated by NGOs that impacted on either conflict management or resolution. In their introduction the editors note that the growth in the numbers and influence of NGOs in this field has left many feeling uncomfortable and ill-equipped, has generated problems over role and legitimacy and has engendered resistance among other policy actors. The book is primarily aimed at addressing the first of these issues and as well as the case studies, contains chapters on the nature of the policy process and a round-up chapter by the editors on the do's and don'ts.

The book is thus a welcome and perhaps belated acknowledgement of a significant change in the policy process in evidence since the early 1990s. The editors argue the changing policy environment has left NGOs with little choice but to engage, notwithstanding any reservations they may have. Implicit in their argument is the view that NGO influence is generally for the good and that better practice should be encouraged.

But the utility of the book for the practitioners to whom it is primarily aimed is reduced by the lack of reference to what has become a large and vibrant literature on the astonishing growth of NGO action across the world in diverse fields, of which conflict management and resolution is but one. One effect of this is that there is hardly any area of governance where NGO influence has not increased enormously. The editors might have strengthened their arguments considerably by placing the developing role of NGOs in conflict management and resolution in this wider context. It would have enabled them to draw on research in other fields to show how states and international governmental organizations shape the environment in ways that influence both which NGOs play in a particular policy field, but also what they are able to do, and to show that not all NGO activity is beneficial or uncontroversial.

While the publication of this book must be welcome as opening up an important aspect of conflict management and resolution work to scrutiny, it nevertheless, in

failing to make useful connections with research in other cognate fields, remains something of a missed opportunity.

*Dr Nicholas Acheson, Research Fellow, Centre for Voluntary Action Studies and INCORE associate, University of Ulster.*

## **Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones**

**Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman (eds.)**

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004  
pp1-361, £15.99, pb, ISBN 0520237919.

This edited volume is the result of collaboration with a group of international feminist researchers within the Women in Conflict Zones Network, hosted by York University in Canada. As the title of the network suggests, the book presents original research illustrating feminist analyses grounded in particular conflict zones around the world. From Iraq and Afghanistan to Guatemala and Somalia, the book notes how the rules of war are changing as the distinctions between battlefield and home, soldier and civilian, state security and home security break down. In essays on nationalism, the political economy of conflict, and the politics of asylum, the authors investigate what happens when the body, household, nation, state and economy becomes sites at which violence is invoked against women, men and children.

The authors' starting point is that conflict resolution, reconciliation and prevention cannot begin until we understand the gendered politics that perpetrate and perpetuate violence. To advance this understanding, the book divides into four parts: 'Feminist Approaches to Gender and Conflict'; 'Making Feminist Sense of Violence Against Women in War and Post-War Times'; 'Feminist Analyses of International Organisations and Asylum'; and 'Feminist Futures: Negotiation Globalisation, Security and Human Displacement'. The success of this book is that it moves beyond an analysis of gendered politics in sites of violence to extending a feminist understanding of transversal politics. Transversal politics, now adopted by a range of feminist researchers working on collaborative projects, recognizes the specific positioning of political actors and the situated nature (and limits) of knowledge claims. Transversal politics emphasises empathy and openness to other positionings rather than differences from them. Both Nira Yuval Davis and Cynthia Cockburn have used this approach to show how women can build feminist coalitions based on strategies of resistance, despite the diversity of their cultural backgrounds. Both have chapters in this book, but it is Cynthia Cockburn's that best explains this approach. Cathy Blacklock and Alison Crosby's chapter on undertaking research by 'outsiders' with 'insiders' in the Guatemalan post-war environment is particularly significant in this context. They note that feminist researchers should be sensitive to the demands they make of women's groups and pose pointed questions about who are the beneficiaries of 'conflict' research.

Since making links between these different sites of violence is a theme running throughout the book, Cockburn develops the concept of 'a continuum of violence' to illustrate these links. Her chapter draws on examples to show the links between the gender violence of everyday life, to the structural violence of economic systems that sustain inequalities and the repressive policing of dictatorial regimes, to the armed conflict of open warfare. Audrey Macklin's chapter is also particularly useful in that it develops links between the abusive power of multinational companies in conflict zones and the abuse of power within intimate relationships. Macklin uses the example of a Canadian oil company in Southern Sudan to show the impact of global capital investment on human displacement. She discusses how security has been redefined,

not as the protection of human rights, but as the protection of oil company stock prices. She links the way women who have been displaced by the oil company, in collusion with the Sudanese military, move north to escape rape and enslavement only to be arrested for selling illegal alcohol on the streets of Khartoum. The members of the Canadian task force, of which Macklin was one, were sent to investigate the potential abuse of human rights by the Canadian oil company (Talisman Energy Inc.), but they met with little success when their report was produced. Her chapter raises serious questions about the complicity of the Canadian state in the war in Sudan.

The themes of globalisation, ethnic nationalism, and militarisation are pursued in other chapters which show how women's lives are effected by political and gender violence. Shahrzad Mojab connects war and honor killings in Iraqi Kurdistan whilst Morokvasic-Muller highlights the way in which women in mixed marriages became the first targets of ethnic cleansing and remain in the position of 'other' in the post-Yugoslav states. Preston and Wong link the legacy of British colonialism and structural adjustment policies to recent militarised conflict in Ghana and show how this has contributed to women's increasing social and economic marginality, as well as their vulnerability to various forms of gendered violence. The chapters on the role of international organisations in refugee camps, using case studies from Kenya and Sri Lanka, conclude that for women in particular, 'place matters'. De Alwis's chapter on the relocation of Muslim women in Sri Lanka turns the concept of 'no man's land' on its head. She shows how those organising the refugee camps did not consider the 'spatial' importance of privacy, placing toilets where women felt they had to parade past groups of men and categorising them as 'loose' women. The loss of cooking utensils takes on a particular significance in such camps and needs to be better understood by those tasked with helping women to reconstruct their lives. The concept of women's space is also well explained in Asha Hans' chapter on Afghan women's flight, first from the Taliban and then from the war. In these chapters, and those on Kosova and Serbia, women's displacement is reinforced in the exclusionary process of nation-building.

The innovative theoretical, methodological and empirical approaches to gender politics, and the ways they are employed to incite and exacerbate violence, make this an excellent textbook for students of ethnic conflict and peace studies. The book will also be essential reading for those researching in the field of globalisation, human security and human rights. The strengths of this book are in its interrogation of new concepts such as 'human security' and the overlapping civilian and military spaces that constitute sites of violence. Both of these are approached from a feminist perspective and help to broaden the analysis of what constitutes a conflict zone. In 'Sites Of Violence', Giles and Hyndman have produced an excellent book that succeeds in discerning common patterns of waging war and forging links among those who resist or refuse to participate in fuelling violent conflict. This book should help us to think about the ways in which power is negotiated so as to prevent further zones of conflict escalating in the future.

*Monica McWilliams, Professor of Women's Studies and Social Policy, University of Ulster*

## **The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590 – 1800**

**Brett L. Walker**

Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2001

344 pp HB \$40.00 / £26.95 ISBN 0-520-22736-0.

On the 8 May 1997 the *Asahi Evening Times* reported that Japan's parliament had taken 'its first giant step' towards ending racial discrimination against the Ainu, a minority indigenous to northern Japan. Parliamentarians in the Diet voted into law a bill guaranteeing promotion of Ainu culture and traditions. This development from the Japanese government came five years after the United Nations had passed a resolution that recognised the Ainu as Japan's aboriginal nation. The implementation of these measures were some of the first moves, in recent years, towards a acknowledgment of the cultural, political and human rights of a people who, for over 2000 years, have dwelled in Japan's northern islands.

The modern Ainu are descendants of an ethnic culture that traditionally sustained itself through fishing, hunting and food gathering. Historically, the Ainu are indigenous to Hokkaido, the northern part of Honshu, the Kurile Islands and much of Sakhalin and south of Kamchatka peninsula. Early contact with Japanese expansionists was resisted but trade relationships did develop and through these interactions the Japanese came to dominate the Ainu. The Ainu continued to resist Japanese settlements in their territory, and they engaged in a number of unsuccessful wars in 1457, 1669 and in 1789.

Walker's impressive study examines the transformation of the Ainu's relationships with the Japanese between 1590 and 1800, focusing on the cultural and ecological worlds of this indigenous people before and after two centuries of sustained contact. The Japanese were not solely responsible for the influence that shaped Ainu culture and destroyed much of their traditional way of life. Contacts with the expanding cultures of China and Russia and with other indigenous Japanese societies contributed to the reshaping of Ainu political and social structure.

Walker provides an interesting account of how the Japanese exploited the Ainu through the manipulation of the Ainu ritualized gift giving ceremony, and in a chapter on disease and medicine he discusses traditional Ainu medicines and the epidemic diseases that spread among the Ainu from contact with their colonizers. The spread of epidemic diseases such as smallpox, measles and syphilis was a direct outcome of Ainu contact with other cultures. The spread of syphilis amongst the Ainu, in particular, not only increased infant mortality rates and birth defects, it also crippled the Ainu ability to reproduce and to resist their Japanese conquerors.

Walker's book is a skilful scholarly attempt at explaining the mechanisms and logic of Japanese expansionism into Ainu lands between 1590 and 1800. He charts how an indigenous culture through exploitation and military suppression was transformed into a society solely dependent on its colonizers. Walker's methodology is derived from



the approach of New Western history that centres the frontier as a place rather than merely a point of contact.

In recent decades, much like the Amerindian and other indigenous populations, the Ainu have found that positive change can occur through political activism. Today, the Ainu are active in political campaigning to preserve their native lands and to achieve racial equality. Walker's volume helps us to understand, from an indigenous perspective, how culture and ecology is transformed through colonial expansionism.

*George Sweeney, NICEC, INCORE, University of Ulster*

**Burundi on the Brink 1993-95**  
**A UN Special Envoy Reflects on Preventive Diplomacy**

**Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah**

Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000  
169 pp PB \$8.95 ISBN 1-929223-00-5

This book is a memoir by the author, who worked in Burundi from 1993 – 1995 and tells the story of his efforts as a special representative of the UN Secretary General to prevent a serious domestic crisis from exploding into a devastating, genocide conflict. According to the author (p. 3), the story is worth telling for at least two reasons. First, it enhances the understanding of the nature and dynamics of conflict in Burundi, a country whose postcolonial experience of political turmoil and ethnic strife is sadly all too typical for many African nations. Second, it stands as an example of the possibilities – and limitations – of preventive diplomacy, which, in the author's opinion, looks for ways to respond to, and to contain, the tide of intrastate conflict.

The book starts off with an overview of Burundi, its geography, demography, its politics and culture and looks at the role of women. The author then continues with a discussion on his mandate for Burundi, from looking, listening and learning to restoring confidence and rebuilding political stability. Other chapters examine the return of the country from the brink, followed by a debate of the peace process and ending with suggested guidelines for preventive diplomacy.

This book reads like a thriller. It is a passionate and very insightful study of not only politically complex, but explosive situations amongst the different clans in Burundi and the factors, which gave rise to conflict.

The writer's brilliant analytical and negotiation skills, together with his expertise of civil conflict, meld nicely into an excellent source of information with regard to preventive diplomacy in a conflict-stricken country.

The author critically, but cogently and open-mindedly, points out problem areas within preventive diplomacy, but, in turn, gives profound advice as to how it may be possible for the UN system and the international community to overcome those shortcomings. This, indeed, is very useful. About a quarter of the book is on those 'guidelines for preventive diplomacy'.

This edition is a valuable source of information not only for NGO - and UN workers, but scholars and practitioners working in this field, who are interested in getting to know how matters work – or may not work – in international relations and within the UN's conflict resolution approach, here in particular through preventive diplomacy.

For those interested in these issues, this book is indispensable as the book is an invaluable contribution to ethnic conflict and peace studies literature.

It may be stated, however, that the book seems like a bitter criticism of the UN, in particular, the Secretary General of the time, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, but also the UN system itself, which gives this otherwise fascinating book a sour undertone.

*Helga Pieper, INCORE Associate, PhD student with the School of International Affairs, Faculty of Arts, University of Ulster*

## **Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Towards a New Realism**

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**Andreas Wimmer, Richard Goldstone, Donald Horowitz, Ulrike Joras and Conrad Schetter (eds.)**

Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004

384 pp PB \$32.95 ISBN: 0742535851

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The central aim of this collective book is to provide an overview of how to understand and prevent ethnic conflicts. With more than twenty different authors of very various backgrounds, including policy-makers and academics, the book manages to cover a very wide variety of extremely relevant topics. At the outset Andreas Wimmer establishes that a central purpose of the book is to promote a dialogue between policy-makers, academics and scholars working on ethnic conflicts. In this regard, his introduction to the book provides an excellent review of the different research approaches to ethnic conflicts from many different angles (history, sociology, political science, etc.). The book is constructed around four main questions: why ethnic conflicts escalate, what are the possibilities to prevent them, what are the dynamics surrounding external intervention; and what role institutional reform could play in resolving ethnic conflicts.

In the part dedicated to the understanding of the escalation of ethnic conflicts, Connor goes into the debates regarding the notion of ethnicity and nationalism and speaks of an 'ethnically filtrated reality' that enclose all the reasons that lead to conflicts. This chapter and the other chapters written by Brubaker and Bakwesegha bring an enlightened understanding of the escalation that lead to conflicts between different ethnic groups. A few chapters are dedicated to analysing the role of so-called ethnic entrepreneurs in the escalation towards ethnic conflicts. For example, Waldman's chapter analysis the dynamics of violence and the dynamics of peace; in the exercise this author examines how ethnic entrepreneurs use a discourse that militates for ethnic groups to maintain a dynamic of violence.

The part dedicated to the politics of intervention offers a good map of the different roads used by the international community in recent ethnic conflicts. For example, Max van der Stoel chapter's argues that the regime of minority rights could play a crucial role in avoiding the escalation that leads towards a conflict. Two chapters are particularly interesting as regards the negotiation of peace agreements and the development of a peace process in cases of ethnic conflicts. Zartman concentrates on the difficulty of negotiations when territorial issues are involved in the outcomes of the conflict whereas Miall highlights that negotiations could lead to peace only if they truly and fully address the structural causes of the conflict. This examination of the dynamic involved in peace negotiations are completed with Ropers's assessment on the practical impact of mediation projects and Goldstone's focus on the potential role of international criminal law in resolving ethnic conflicts. Finally, Part 3 of the book addresses a much needed debate on the interaction between the establishment of democratic institutions and their role in re-establishing peace. This includes a very rich debate on the international community's involvement in designing electoral processes and also a fascinating discussion on the different possible constitutional arrangement for the devolution of power from autonomy regulations to decentralisation.

On the whole, this book certainly should be read and used by any person working in the field of ethnic conflict, while bearing in mind that there are a few gaps in this book. First, even though the book should be praised for avoiding focusing on specific cases of ethnic conflict and providing instead a more global understanding, there is nonetheless a large emphasis on situations that always receive large coverage (Great Lakes region, Chechnya, etc.). Thus one can regret that the book does not try to focus on the situation of ethnic conflicts in regions that receive minimal attention from the rest of the world. For example, despite the welcome analysis from Bakwesegha whose chapter explores how colonialism sowed the seeds of ethnic tensions in Africa, there is no mention of ethnic conflicts in Asia despite the several ethnic conflict situations still unresolved following the decolonisation process. Second, despite the presence of eminent international lawyers such as Judge Goldstone or Hurst Hannum, there is a lack of focus on the large developments that have taken place in terms of international law and ethnic conflicts which does not meet the goal of interdisciplinarity of the book. Nonetheless, despite these minor points, overall this book manages to systematically summarise the research on ethnic conflicts from different academic and practical political perspectives, while also proposing new ways, or a 'new realism', to understand and help resolving ethnic conflicts.

*Jérémie Gilbert, Lecturer, Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster*

***The Kurds in Iraq. The Past, Present and Future***

***Kerim Yildiz***

London: Pluto Press, 2004  
248pp PB £14.99 ISBN 0-7453-2228-x

Even though Iraq and Ba'ath regimes have been covered by mass-media since 9/11, the role played by Iraqi Kurdistan before, during and after the outbreak of the Second Gulf War could barely enter the agenda and exit the shadow minority groups usually find themselves in. Connecting past to present, history to current issues, the author provides a brief exploration of Kurds *Odyssey* over the last century, stressing what standing at the crossroads of powerful countries implies.

Not enjoying any kind of autonomy nor self-determination, Kurds continuously have been subjected to long-term practices of violence and oppression, due to their inhabiting a key political and economic region. Had an autonomous Kurdish state been envisaged already in 1920 (Treaty of Sèvres), neither the end of the colonial era nor the wave of optimism following the collapse of Communism could prevent Kurds from being denied their rights.

Outlining main events of Iraqi Kurdistan, from the emergence of leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani, to the Ba'ath party seizing power in Iraq (1963); from the Iran-Iraq war (1983-1988) fought under the eye of the international community, split in balanced coalitions according to the logic of the Cold War, to the appalling Anfal Campaigns under Saddam Hussein's regime, Kurds current situation emerge as deeply rooted in the background of a historically troubled area.

In Kerim's opinion, the recent defeat of Ba'athist rule and the early management of the aftermath by the US/UK led coalition let some core issues concerning Iraqi Kurdistan remained unresolved, despite some significant goals Kurds have achieved in securing their rights and proceeding on their own way towards democracy. Victims of human rights abuses committed in the late 80's and internally displaced people make strong claims for justice and improvement in life conditions. Autonomy, even if accepted as a political option, has not been implemented. Reconstruction and managing oil properties are only some of the great economic challenges that need to be faced urgently.

The author – the Executive Director of Kurdish Human Rights Project – is able to clearly detect and briefly explore current key issues dealing with the Kurd minority in Iraq, firstly raising unanswered questions on the near future of Iraq and secondly highlighting international policies possible to enhance democracy and social development in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Impartial description of historical events and a scholarly analysis guarantee *The Kurds in Iraq* a scientific approach which is useful both to project officers starting to develop programmes in the region and to students interested in human rights, ethnic minorities, peace-management and related issues.

*Alessia Montanari, INCORE intern*

## **Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America**

**Rumbaut, Ruben G., and Portes, Alejandro (eds.)**

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001

353 pp £12.50 PB ISBN 0-520-23012-4

The book offers an extensive consideration of the major ethnicities within the American population, including discussion of the experiences of first and latter generations of immigrants and their amalgamation into American society. Key issues covered include education, career, health and social concerns facing immigrant groups and the evolving challenges to their position and status as 'Americans'.

The excellent use of statistics and illustrations enhance the reader's understanding of the issues covered in the volume. Furthermore, the inclusion of testimonies from immigrants and their families enriches the more theoretical aspects of the book. A consistent theme within the volume is the struggle for acceptance and equality. Once established in America, immigrant groups continued to remain on the periphery of the 'American dream' until educational or professional achievement enabled individuals or families to avail of the benefits of living in a wealthy democratic nation.

Regarding potential readers, this volume provides an insight for undergraduate students whose degree programmes include a focus on: labour and economic development in America; the impact of ethnicity on family, education and career opportunities of immigrants and their children; and social change in America or social policy in multi-ethnic nations. In addition, this book is an invaluable source of data for research students engaged in projects related to American Social History, the Sociology of immigrant peoples, and the development of government services and non-governmental care and support for immigrant groups.

A constructive criticism would be that the heavy reliance on statistical data may discourage potential readers from non-academic spheres – especially since the market for works on American issues is vast.

*Patricia Connolly, PhD Student, School of Communication, University of Ulster*

## **Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

**Benjamin A. Valentino**

Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004

317 pp HB £17.95 ISBN 0-8014-3965-5

Now that the twentieth century is safely behind us there has been an upsurge in studies of the horrendous crimes committed during the last hundred years. This monograph has an advantage over some of these in that it seeks to present an original and coherent thesis that wants to revise our understanding of mass killings. The core of the book is a claim that we should focus on the strategic choices of a small number of leaders rather than on the structural factors (regime type, degree of polarization, insecurities caused by war and revolution) which have attracted the interest of many previous studies. The problem with these studies, Valentino contends, is that there are many societies that possess these structural factors yet do not experience mass killings or genocide. Of course, in response, it could also be pointed out that there are probably a large number of potential mass murderers who never get to fulfil their fantasies because structural factors do not allow them to gain leadership positions in the first place.

In developing his arguments, Valentino claims that mass murder does not need the active support of the vast majority of people and so he does not feel the need to focus on the social, cultural and economic forces that might affect their attitudes. All that a homicidal leadership needs is the passive acquiescence of the majority and the active support of a relatively small number of perpetrators who are attracted to drastic solutions because of their sadistic characters, their willingness to follow orders or their fanatical commitment to murderous ideologies. The analysis goes on to provide a comprehensive typology of mass killing that identifies six types of strategic motives. They are communist revolutionary engineering, racial or ethnic cleansing, territorial expansion, counter guerrilla wars, the terrorising of groups by states (allied bombings of Germany and Japan) or sub-state actors, and imperialist conquest. However, the book only offers a comprehensive analysis of three of these: communist, ethnic, and counter guerrilla. As a result, the evidence comes from eight short case studies: The Soviet Union, China, Cambodia, Armenia, the Holocaust, Rwanda, Guatemala and Soviet actions in Afghanistan. The book concludes with some suggestions about anticipating and preventing mass killings.

This book is an important contribution to the rapidly growing literature on mass killings and genocide. The claim, in the conclusion, that the downplaying of deep structural explanations should lead to a realization that effective action against mass murder does not require the transformation of societies but rather effective interventions to remove homicidal leaders, deserves serious consideration. So does the claim, not directly linked to the central thesis, that more attention should be given to providing escape routes for potential victims of genocide. Nonetheless, some doubts remain. Is the category 'mass killing' a useful one for comparative analysis, or is it too broad ranging, dragging in everything from anti-guerrilla warfare in Guatemala to the Holocaust? Can one clearly separate the strategic and structural dimensions of mass killing? This reviewer would also have liked more on the legal prosecution of



mass murderers, because one of the factors influencing strategic choice by perpetrators might be an assessment of whether they can get away with it.

*Stephen Ryan, Senior Lecturer in Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Ulster*

## **Towards an International Criminal Procedure**

**Christopher Safferling**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 395 pages, Hardback, £73, 0-19-9244350-6.

The book sets out to establish a comparative analysis between the continental criminal procedures to that of the common law criminal procedures with Germany, one of the leading continental legal systems being compared against the UK and US common law legal systems. The comparisons are made to ascertain whether it may be possible to establish a single criminal law procedure made up jointly from both systems to hold perpetrators of serious crimes accountable that will fit satisfactorily within the two different legal systems, thereby creating a way that will allow advocates of human rights to strengthen the system for holding human rights violators accountable.

The book seeks to concentrate on many of the core constituent parts of the criminal trial and by dual analysis compares the differences that emerge between the two systems of law. It seeks to analyse how the two systems of law have developed historically and philosophically with an end focus of their current standing.

The book sets out in chapter one the common need for establishing a respect for the alleged offender, that any potential offender before the International Criminal Court will not be prejudiced before a presentation of the facts of the case. Chapter two seeks to address ways to deal with the 'Pre-Trial Inquiry' and analyses potential methods which could be employed between the discovery of a crime and the final formulation of an indictment. Chapter three seeks investigate the next part in the criminal trial, the confirming of the indictment or charges to be brought against the perpetrator. Chapter four investigates the trial procedures whilst chapter five deals with methods to handle the post conviction stage of the process. The penultimate chapter addresses the post trial stage with and a final chapter on a summary drawing together the previous chapters.

The book represents a coherent comparative analysis which highlights the various ways international human rights law could act as a basis for an international procedure order for criminal law. Throughout the book the relevant human rights documents are extracted from international agreements and bodies such as the European Court of Human Rights or the Human Rights Committee. The book will

appeal to those academics, students, practitioners who are either researching or practicing in the field of international criminal procedure.

*Noel McGuirk, PhD Candidate, School of Law, UU Magee.*

## **The Prevention of Human Rights Violations**

*Linos-Alexander Sicilianos*

The Hague, The Netherlands: Kluwer Law Publications, 2001

303 pp HB £70 ISBN 90-411-1672-9.

This is a classic collection of edited articles set out in six different parts covering a vast array of different mechanisms for achieving preventative action in human rights violations. Part I of the book contains a collection of essays on conventional regimes, particularly focusing on the Convention for the Prevention of Torture, the National Framework for minorities, a comprehensive review of UN Treaties, an analysis of the development of International Humanitarian Law with the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the International Criminal Court being the template for this analysis. A final essay in Part I is dedicated to the International Criminal Court examining the way in which the court came into being with a focus on its role in the twenty-first century in providing accountability in human rights violations.

Part II specifically focuses on Non-Conventional Monitoring Mechanisms, such as the UN Special Rapporteurs which outlines their origins, current uses and their role in being a tool as a preventative mechanism for human rights violations. Additionally, this section examines the role of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE) mission in creating an environment for action on human right violations. It also investigates the unique contribution that the European Commission for Democracy through Law makes to human rights through its advisory capacity, mediation, education role and promotion of European Standards. The final essay in Part II gives a good analysis of the monitoring mechanisms of the Council of Europe.

Part III analyses the unique role played by International Commissioners and Ombudsmen in the advancement of human rights. Part IV investigates the role National Ombudsmen and Human Rights Institutions play in advocating human rights principles. Part V concentrates on the emerging human rights culture with analysis geared towards the contribution of NGOs and the role education in human rights principles can play in advancing preventative action for human rights. Part VI is one final essay which seeks to address the fundamental challenge with the securement of human rights values.

The method used by the author in setting out the different parts has been useful in giving an over all investigation of the 'effectiveness' of normative standards in the human rights realm. The perspective taken in the book to analyse the 'effectiveness' of human rights has been from within the existing frameworks and mechanisms in order to assess how they can be used as a means to take preventative action for human rights violations in instilling a human rights conscience with governments and states. The need for such a conscience emanates from the persistence of human rights violations around the world demonstrating the need to focus more on preventative action. The book would appeal to the student or academic working in a general human rights field, the book provide a unique perspective on human rights.

*Noel McGuirk, PhD Candidate, School of Law, UU Magee.*

## **The Legitimacy of International Organizations**

**Edited by Jean-Marc Coicaud and Veijo Heiskanen**

United Nations University Press, Tokyo and New York, 2001, 578 pp.

ISBN 92-808-1053-7

The legitimacy and effectiveness of international organizations warrants constant and sustained scrutiny. In the wake of a recent unilateral military intervention, failed attempts to achieve peace and security in the early 1990s as envisioned in the UN Charter and the changing nature of international relations elicits the recognition of the need to reinvigorate international organizations to overcome what is referred to in this edited volume as a 'legitimacy deficit'. This edited volume offers a compendium of perspectives and reflections on the ability of international organizations to adapt to a new operating environment, characterized by all that globalization implies in a post Cold War environment, relying on institutions constructed, in some cases, sixty years ago. Many of the issues foreshadow the impending debate which will take place when the United Nations 60<sup>th</sup> General Assembly is convened in September 2005.

The comprehensive, interdisciplinary approach, by renowned experts in their respective fields (law, political science, economics, environmental studies) present a series of issues that international organizations must navigate and adapt to in a period of globalization, underlined by complex issues of collective security and a new international financial architecture, if they are going to remain legitimate. The authors are cognizant of the importance of international organizations, or at least the enduring nature of these inter-governmental bodies that make up the United Nations, World Trade Organization and World Bank, among others. They are however cautious but deliberate in efforts to alert the reader against equating the existence of international organizations to an implied legitimacy.

The conceptual underpinnings of legitimacy are rooted in the inner workings of the nation state and its relationship with civil society. On account of increased interdependence, inequality, need for political accountability and the continued formulation of principles and norms of international integration, international organizations must take measures to enhance their relevance. In contrast to organic political communities, international organizations are artificial creatures and serve as fora for international cooperation among states and to assist them in the management of international affairs. By design, 'international organizations perform functions that states and governments alone are incapable of performing' (p.5).

The authors set out to determine the impediments to performing these functions in attempt to have readers better understand the nature and function of international governance. The volume is divided into three sections. The first sets out the theoretical issues associated with the legitimacy of international organizations. Section two addresses the changing environment of international organizations and the final section reveals the socio-economic context of international organizations, including the trade regime, attempts to establish a new international financial architecture, distributive justice, the role of the World Bank and the shortcomings of over-reliance on under-regulated market forces, exposing the unsettled debates about the role and functions of the state in the market economy. Kerry Rittich powerfully integrates the distributional effects of market reform, particularly on gender equality.

Allot's article titled, *Intergovernmental societies and the idea of constitutionalism* reveals the intersections between the international political marketplace and international governance and the litany of informal social structures and institutions. The barricades erected and isolated locations selected for meetings of key decision-makers from G8 countries highlight the challenges and competing interests to anyone proposing a monopoly in the political marketplace.

In conclusion, the volume provides a thorough and well researched overview of the state of international governance. More importantly, it suggests an agenda for future research in this area. In practice, the legitimacy and effectiveness of international organizations rests in national ownership and the ability of states to transcend national interests, invigorate, shape and bring about a culture of mutually recognized values and rules which can subsequently be monitored and benchmarked against the ideals behind international organizations. Doing so can contribute to combating the legitimacy deficit, with the intended consequences of improving effectiveness.

*Jason Pronyk, UNDP, New York*

*Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law. Volume 5, 2001*

**Jochen A. Frowein and Rüdiger Wolfrum (eds)**

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The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2001

750 pp HB £126.00 ISBN 90-411-1723-7

The Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations law focuses on activities of the United Nations in the field of international law, thus by concentrating on issues connected with the United Nations and its initiatives, the Yearbook offers a good understanding of the role of the organisation in the field of ethnic conflicts. Several chapters of the 2001 Yearbook focus on different areas of the work of the United Nations of relevance to the study of ethnic conflicts. Carsten Stahn's chapter explores how the UN Transitional Administration in Kosovo and East Timor set up a new model of conflict management. The author provides an excellent overview of the historical precedents and explains how the UN missions in Kosovo and East Timor marked a new development in the UN practice for the maintenance of peace. Stahn then elaborates on the status of such territories where the UN is assuming all the classical powers of a State and explores the legal basis for the establishment of such transitional administration. This chapter provides all the necessary background to understand the novelty of UN missions in post-conflict situations. Ultimately, this chapter helps understand the legal personality of a UN mission in places where the UN assumes the exclusive administration of a territory.

In his chapter Manuel Fröhlich addresses the evolution of UN peacekeeping mandates. Despite the very large literature on the subject Fröhlich succeeds in offering a regenerating view on the evolution of peacekeeping operations and the debate on the so-called 'second generation of peacekeeping'. The author goes back to the 'classical' concept of peacekeeping using the example of the UN deployment in Suez in 1956 and compares such an approach to peacekeeping to the contemporary problems faced by peacekeepers. In times when the legal responsibility of the UN staff involved in peacekeeping operations have been making the headlines, this chapter brings a welcome analysis of the fundamental nature of peacekeeping operations.

Moving on to the importance of international criminal law in post-conflicts situations, Dagmar Stoh examines how states have cooperated with the International Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda and points out that overall, the success of these two ad hoc tribunals depends for the most part on the cooperation of states. The Yearbook also offers a very interesting analysis of UNESCO's contribution to the development of human rights. As Janusz Symonides points out in his chapter, it has to be kept in mind that one of the purposes of the organisation is to contribute to peace and security by promoting education, science and culture. This chapter is a welcome study on the involvement of UNESCO in the area of human rights as the work of the organisation seldom receives the credit it deserves in this area.

Overall, even though not all the chapters in the Yearbook will be relevant for researchers working on ethnic conflict, the aforementioned chapters still make its

contribution worthwhile in the field. One of the qualities of the yearbook is its ability to provide a deep and solid analysis of the work of different bodies of the United Nations on several issues relevant to the study of ethnic conflicts and to provide researchers and practitioners with a very sophisticated analysis of the role of the different branches of the United Nations.

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**J r mie Gilbert, Lecturer, Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster**



*Globalization, the Third World State and Poverty-Alleviation in the Twenty-First Century*

**B. Ikubolajeh Logan (ed)**

Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002  
204 pp HB £50.00 ISBN 0-7546-0923-5

This edited volume contains a collection of chapters by individual authors addressing various aspects of globalization. Several of the chapters open with ruminations regarding the definition of globalization, including the introduction, in which the editor introduces a central question of globalization literature: are the current observed trends that we collectively refer to as globalization simply an extension or stage of capitalism, or does globalization represent an entirely new process and experience? Although several authors offer thought-provoking responses to this question, in the introduction Logan offers perhaps the most compelling observation regarding the weak versus strong globalization hypotheses, namely that: 'The scholarly exercise of differentiating between weak versus strong globalization may not be so relevant for the Third World where the major concern is with the effects of the process on the poor' (p. 2). This observation notwithstanding, the bulk of the book is better characterized as scholarly exercise than as concrete analysis of the real world conditions and prospects facing the poor in the Third World.

The collection of chapters is grouped around three principal themes. The first of these revolves around the relationship between states and markets, as several contributors argue that markets and global capital have eroded sovereignty and room for policy-making on the part of national governments of developing countries. A second theme explores how the vacuum left by weakened states is filled by other forms of social organization, particularly civil society and emerging non-state regional networks, and thus also concerns the relationship between democratization and globalization. Finally, a third theme relates to the economic polarization caused by globalization, as Third World countries, particularly those in Africa, become further entrenched in their roles as suppliers of raw materials and natural resources while the rest of the world undergoes structural economic change based on information technology. In principle, each of these themes would be relevant to those interested in ethnic conflict and peace studies, but readers seeking much more than a variety of denunciations of globalization and global capitalism are likely to be disappointed.

In between sets of chapters devoted to Africa, the book contains three seemingly out of place chapters that discuss science parks in Shanghai, importation of labor into Taiwan, and Mexico's experience with aggressive export-oriented trade and exchange rate policies. At first glance, these chapters appear to have little bearing on the predicaments facing poor populations and governments of Third World countries. However, each offers an example of pro-active policy responses to globalization, and the book as a whole would have benefited from use of such examples to inform concrete propositions as to how the Third World, and Africa in particular, might engage more effectively or respond to the challenges presented by globalization.

Instead, the balance of the chapters will appeal most to readers with an interest in discussions of poststructuralism, metanarratives, neo-institutionalism and the like.

*Eduard Niesten, Ph.D., Director, Conservation Economics Program, Conservation International*

## **Mine Action After Diana; Progress in the Struggle Against Landmines**

*Stuart Maslen*

London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2004

201 pp PB £15.99 ISBN 0-7453-2256-5.

The use of landmines as legitimate weapons of warfare has been greatly discredited in recent years. This is due in no small part to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and the multifaceted approach adopted to address the destructive effect of landmines, known as 'mine action'. This approach has included advocacy against the use of anti-personnel mines, humanitarian demining, mine risk education, victim assistance and the destruction of stockpiles. The efforts of Diana, Princess of Wales, in seeking an international ban on landmines, helped to raise public awareness for an important cause, one being pursued, as she herself put it, 'in the name of humanity'.

*Mine Action After Diana* provides much more for the reader than the title initially suggests. In addition to looking at anti-personnel mines, Stuart Maslen also considers the effects of unexploded ordinance, and gives an overview of the historical and contemporary threats to lives and livelihoods from landmines and unexploded ordinance in times of conflict and, moreover, long-after the war has ended (Chapter 1). Chapter 2 addresses several of the myths about mine action, while Chapter 3 provides a history of mine action, including the adoption of the International Mine Action Standards. Each of the major components of mine action, clearance, education, advocacy, victim assistance and stockpile destruction, are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Drawing on case studies, such as Afghanistan, Cambodia and Iraq, Chapter 5 looks at how some mine action programmes have improved in recent time through better management and coordination with national authorities. Chapter 6 looks at the challenge of integrating mine action into development. Chapter 7 provides a 'who's who of mine action', looking at the parts played by a wide range of actors, including the military, NGOs, governments (affected and donor), the United Nations and commercial companies.

Speaking to the book's sub-heading, the final chapter draws on its predecessors to provide an 'audit' of mine action thus far. Stuart Maslen notes the successes achieved: the destruction of millions of devices, the positive impact on the public conscience, the reduction globally in victim numbers and deminer casualties and the creation of an international treaty banning the use, production, transfer and stockpiling of anti-personnel mines, to name just a few. The hurdles to be overcome, in relation to management, planning, detection technology, education and community liaison, are acknowledged and faced up to, with the author outlining a series of concrete steps which need to be taken by states, the United Nations, donors and those more directly involved in mine action. The book concludes that the process 'has undoubtedly improved greatly during the 1990s', and that mine action continues 'to learn actively from its successes and failures'.

This book has a broad appeal. Its specific subject-matter of mine action involves discussion of a variety of topics, including conduct of warfare, the human cost of conflict, humanitarianism, development and international law. Although there remains significant work to be done in the struggle against landmines, these weapons have achieved an almost pariah status, even in some military and political circles. For

those interested in how the campaign against landmines should proceed from here, *Mine Action After Diana* is compulsory reading.

*Shane Darcy, Lecturer, Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster.*

**Memories of Violence: Civil Patrols and the Legacy of Conflict in Joyabaj, Guatemala,**

**Simone Remijnse**

Netherlands, Rozenberg, 2003, €22.50 pp. 336, ISBN 905170674X.

‘Guatemala’s “agents of terror” largely overlap with the actual target of violence. Civil patrollers were part of the population that was targeted by the military... They were, however, also the ones who had to carry out these acts of violence. The roles of victim, perpetrator and bystander were therefore constantly blurred’ (p. 26).

*Memories of Violence* will be of interest to scholars of peace and conflict studies for a number of different reasons. One reason is that the civil patrols, which form the focus of Remijnse’s study, were unusual perpetrators of pro-state violence. Unlike the case of other pro-state paramilitary organizations, participation in civil patrols was enforced by the state, rather than being a voluntary act of the patrollers. One consequence, as Remijnse points out in the quote which opens this review, is that issues of responsibility are obscured. Remijnse’s research monograph also displays sensitivity to the differences between processes at the national level and at the local level. She points out, for example, that there was considerable variation in the form and operation of civil patrols at the local level. Remijnse also indicates the complex ways in which experience of violence, participation in civil patrols and attitudes towards the political violence of the past were structured by a range of factors such as ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status and gender. She points out, for example, that some of the wealthier ladinos (decedents of European settlers) were able to pay someone to take over their shift and that this ‘money was a welcome addition to the meager household budget of many *Joyabateco* families’ (p. 161).

The civil patrols are the main *institution* which Remijnse focuses on. The main focus of the book, however, is the *memories* of the civil war. In this focus, the book joins an ever growing range of studies of memory and violent conflict. *Memories of Violence* adds to this literature through providing more evidence of the ways in which memories are influenced by experiences. The enforced nature of involvement was emphasized by many of those who Remijnse interviewed. This was particularly emphasized in relation to a particularly brutal massacre in the region. Remijnse notes that interviewees ‘did not deny that the massacre happened, nor denied their presence at it, but they did deny having actively participated in it’ (p. 156). They tended to narrate this event as observers in contrast ‘with the normal behaviour of putting oneself at the centre of a memory that is narrated’ (p. 156). The book also demonstrates how recall of memories is influenced by context so that, for example, the work of Guatemalan truth commissions not only gathered memories of the civil war, but also ‘influenced people’s memories of the past, what they wanted to tell and what they did not want to tell’ (p. 252). Finally, the inclusion of a useful historical background chapter makes the book accessible to those, including this reviewer, with no prior knowledge of the Guatemalan civil war.

*Chris Gilligan, University of Ulster, Lecturer, Sociology*

## **Shabra and Shatila, September 1982**

**al-Hout, Bayan Nuwayhed**

London: Pluto Press, 2004

225 pp PB £25.00 ISBN 0-7453-2302-2

Bayan Nuwayhed al-Hout provides five key objectives in writing *Sabra and Shatila September 1982*. They are 1) To ‘conclusively’ show what happened during September 16-18 1982, 2) To ‘conclusively’ show that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) did not renege on its promises by leaving 2,500 fighters in the Shatila district; 3) To ‘conclusively’ refute the reduced Israeli casualty list from both the secret Jermanos and Kahan reports; 4) To use primary sources to document the names of the murdered; and 5) To expose those militia and members involved in the murders.

*Sabra and Shatila* is the result of a twenty-year project that was designed, in the eyes of the author, to expose the truth about what happened during those three September days in 1982. These five objectives define how the book addresses this exposition. The key question for the reader is to assess how conclusively this is achieved.

This book is broken down into two parts; part one is comprised of six chapters that explore the demography of Sabra and Shatila and the events of the massacre predominantly from witnesses and survivors, and part two is comprised of two chapters and a conclusion that includes statistical data of the number and identity of the murdered that began with the field study carried out in spring 1984, as well as an analysis of culpability. Also included are four appendices that provide the raw data for part two and includes visual insight into the massacre.

The emotions driven by this massacre are the catalyst for this rational investigation. Further, Professor al-Hout is asking us how we can murder innocents, allow no full investigation, and expose who were responsible. This project reminds us of our responsibilities to humanity:

The principal aims are, first and last, linked to human conscience. Nor is this ‘conscience’ restricted to the citizens of one people; it extends to all human beings on the face of the earth, who will not tolerate the notion of killing children, pregnant women, the handicapped elderly, or even able-bodied adults with no weapons with which to defend themselves. (p. 246)

To be subjective is not a crime; to be openly honest of your position is a strength not a weakness, however this must be tempered with a rational logic. Former US Vice-President Spiro Agnew was correct when he suggested that truth is logically proved not revealed, and in this example, the truths of the massacres have been, in my view, logically proved.

The fact that I have used the term ‘massacre’ highlights how successful I accept this project is in providing the answers to the key objectives. Whether this is propaganda or not is a decision you will have to make in reading this book.

*Matthew Hill is a Ph.D. student at the School of History and International Affairs at the University of Ulster.*

## **Negotiating Outside the Law: Why Camp David Failed**

**Raymond G. Helmick, S.J.**

London: Pluto Press, 2004

342pp HB £19.95 ISBN: 0 7453 2219 0

This book gives a personalised account by American Jesuit priest and Professor of Conflict Resolution, Raymond Helmick, of his understanding of the Camp David negotiation in 2000. He does so by publishing much of the personal correspondence and position papers between himself and key players involved in that process. However, the title of this book does the content little justice, since the content offers the reader much more than a simple synopsis of why Camp David failed in 2000. Indeed, this book also presents a rather succinct and clearly articulated overview of earlier negotiations between the US, the Israelis and the Palestinians, beginning with early dialogue from 1985-88, and covering key and defining moments such as the Madrid Conference, the Oslo Accord, Oslo 2, and the Wye Memorandum and the Taba negotiations.

Ultimately, it seems that the purpose of the book is to illustrate the competing narratives of why Camp David failed. The Israeli narrative focused on Arafat turning down a generous Israeli offer at Camp David 'for no other reason that he had decided on staging a violent uprising instead' (p.253). The Palestinian narrative focused on the role of Ariel Sharon in the event and his provocations every time there had been any chance of calming the storm between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Helmick's own view is that the narrative which sees Arafat as having planned to launch a violent uprising as his alternative to a peace agreement with Israel, 'stands refuted by the history we have examined' (p.290). Despite taking a decisive stand on this issue, Helmick seems to treat the broader subject matter with an empathy and compassion for the positions of all of the parties involved in the process, with one glaring omission – that of Ariel Sharon. Helmick's view of Ariel Sharon was of a man who 'had manipulated the Israeli public all his public life, creating panic among them by the exercise or provocation of violence any time there was a threat of progress towards resolution of the conflict' (p.199).

This book will appeal particularly to readers who like the colour and insights that 'personal experience' accounts of peace processes and negotiations have to offer since Helmick's work takes the reader along with him on his own journey of discovery from his first meeting with Arafat in 1985 to his continuous correspondence (which he publishes in full) with many of the key players from the various American, Israeli and Palestinian administrations.

The published correspondence is surely one of the most appealing parts of the book. Helmick explains his reason for writing letters as 'it has always been my experience that, when you write a really serious letter to someone in authority', you get a serious response' (p.11). As the book illustrates, indeed he did.

*Cathy Gormley-Heenan, Lecturer, University of Ulster*

## **Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon. A History of the Internationalisation of Communal Conflict.**

**Samir Kahlaf**

New York: Columbia University Press, 2002  
224pp PB £12.00 ISBN 0-231-12477-5

In this book Kahlaf examines the complex and often violent history of Lebanon in order to demonstrate the strong association between both internal and external factors, which have been influential in Lebanese politics, and conflict. This connection is referred to by Kahlaf as 'inside-outside dialectics' and remains a constant argument throughout this book. Kahlaf states that the tension between inside and outside or internal and external can be viewed as destabilising forces when he states that 'two decades of bloody strife makes it abundantly clear that unless we consider alternative strategies for neutralizing external sources of instability and pacifying internal conflict, Lebanon's precarious polity will always be made more vulnerable to such pressures' (p.15).

Running parallel to this argument is an interconnected argument which views the conflicts overtime within Lebanon as an interplay between the 'internal dislocations and external pressures' (p.107). Kahlaf continually demonstrates that due to this juxtaposition between internal forces and external pressures civil unrest often escalates into uncivil violence that bear no relationship or direct connection to the original parties or grievances.

In order to demonstrate this thesis, Kahlaf refers to three specific periods in Lebanon's past that of 1820-1860, 1958 and finally from 1975 onwards. Also, the five pacts from 1843 to 1989 are examined in the context of internal and external factors, highlighting the fact that on each occasion there was a foreign broker. Although Kahlaf does not re-examine any of the violent periods in Lebanon's past to any great length, he does refer the reader to more than one source, in each period. For Kahlaf, the exhausting of already existing material is not a priority, what is of importance is understanding the effects upon society of extended violence, the consequences of such violence upon civilians, the geographical changes due to the number of displaced persons and the strengthening of communal and confessional ties within a new context and place.

The importance of this book lies in the comparative analysis of conflict over time by emphasising the interplay between the internal and external components, the dangers of not addressing the initial grievances of a given group and the devastating consequences of escalating violence on the greater society as a whole. This in-depth analysis broadens the appeal of the book beyond that of those whose interest is in Lebanon and the Middle East, to those who wish to gain a greater understanding of the effects of protracted violence upon civil society, and the potential opportunities within civil society for reconciliation and eventual stability.

*Bernie Parry MA, Phd Student at Magee Campus.*



## **Rethinking War and Peace**

**Diana Francis**

London: Pluto Press, 2004

192pp PB £11.99 ISBN 0-7453-2187-9

The message of this book is clear: war is an unnecessary evil and not a good or ethically valid solution in any situation. Indeed, Diana Francis argues that there are better ways to resolve conflict and create peace than through the use of military and violent means – these non-violent alternatives simply have not been given a fair chance in the past. The author hence clearly dismisses the ‘myths’ that wars are sometimes necessary, that they are fought for just causes, lead to desirable results and that social/political alternatives are generally exhausted beforehand.

Francis claims that the present system of war and power domination has proven to be dysfunctional and counterproductive, that is, it has increased rather than decreased the levels of insecurity, violence, polarisations and inequalities worldwide. Therefore, time is now ripe to try something else – to make a paradigm shift away from the system of war to a system of peace. It is Francis’ conviction that the aim should be ‘positive’ rather than ‘negative’ peace and, in other words, it is not only necessary to stop wars but also to create a system in which the actual causes of war are removed.

What makes this book particularly interesting and convincing is the fact that Francis does not stop at simply offering arguments against warfare (chapters 1-4), such as it being the cause of mayhem and suffering as well as an outright violation of human rights, but also suggests practical measures on how to achieve the paradigm shift and hence avoid the resort to violence and war in the first place (chapters 5-7). Drawing on the large-scale protests that have taken place worldwide against the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, along with other positive examples, Francis concludes that human agency is the key – indeed, people power and cooperation are the factors needed to break the patterns maintaining the structures/cultures of war and violence. The author hence advocates for a collective ethic that emphasises peace, equality and responsibility.

This is a well-argued and persuasive book that gives a hint of what a non-militarised world could look like and how it should be accomplished. In my opinion, it should be read by anyone with an interest in peace and conflict issues as well as in the future of humanity generally, be it practitioners, policymakers, academics/students or the world citizen. Although some might not agree with all Diana Francis’ claims and/or (interpretation of) evidence, her ethical discussions and arguments are still essential contributions to the debate on war and peace and are likely to be food for thought for anyone reading the book. Francis makes no claim that the paradigm shift will be an easy one. However, she remains confident in human nature and makes practical suggestions that do seem plausible in a longer time perspective.

*Jessica Blomqvist, INCORE Intern, MA in Peace and Conflict Studies (Uppsala University, Sweden)*

*Transcend and Transform: An introduction to conflict work*

**Johan Galtung**

London: Pluto Press, 2004

189 pp PB £15.99 ISBN 0-7453-2254-9

All those interested in peace and conflict studies should make space for this book in their libraries and offices, but might also find it useful to keep a copy handy in the car, on the coffee table or amongst any hidden piles of self-help guides. For this book wins the reader over to the intellectual technique employed by TRANSCEND - the mediation organisation Johan Galtung currently directs - and it is to be applied as much to how you live as to how you work.

The seven chapters of the book bear the names of the days of the week, mirroring the structure of a one week TRANSCEND course. This arrangement re-emphasizes that this is a book for living as well as reading and ensures it avoids the exhausting lists, systems and tables prevalent in many of Galtung's other works.

The book begins with the basics of conflict transformation, arguing that conflict is the existence of incompatible goals, is normal, and presents an opportunity for constructive change. In a conflict with two parties, the TRANSCEND method is to shun either-or solutions with one party realising their goal, the other not; neither-nor solutions with both parties withdrawing and neither achieving their goal; and compromise solutions with neither party being fully satisfied. Instead, the task is to create a both/and solution, or 'transcendence' (p. 13). This range of possible solutions is neatly mapped out in a graph.

Galtung then applies this technique to a vast array of conflicts including infidelity, integration of schools, private/state ownership, Israel/Palestine, North/South relations and Christianity/Islam to name a few. In doing so, the book collapses distinctions between conflict at different levels, that is, within and between persons, within society, among states and nations, and among regions and civilisations.

It is in this practice that the TRANSCEND theory comes alive and from it Galtung draws lessons about how to achieve both/and solutions. First, it is critical to 'escape from the tyranny of the number 2' (p. 76) by introducing more goals (or differentiating goals already there) and introducing more parties to whom the outcome of the conflict is important. Second, creativity must be fostered. The most interesting discussion here centres around the 'deep' culture, behaviour or structure that may drive parties without them being fully aware, for example, 'CGT syndrome' or 'we are a Chosen people with a Glorious past suffering from countless Trauma.' (p. 151). All of the above is to be achieved through a 'questioning' dialogue (p. 166) which Galtung contrasts sharply with the practice of negotiation – taking entertaining shots at Roger Fisher and William Ury, Edward de Bono, and Marshall Rosenberg along the way.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this book however, is that it suggests the TRANSCEND method can pass the acid test of any scientific theory, that is, it can not only explain and describe, but *predict*. In doing so, Galtung pushes the frontier of

peace and conflict studies forward. Yet the conclusion of this book is something of an anti-climax as Galtung leaves the reader with the slightly perplexing thought that perhaps, after all, not all incompatibilities or contradictions *need* to be transcended, and it is in the striving towards transcendence that we really overcome conflict.

*Helen Lewis*

*Local International Learning Project Coordinator*

*INCORE*

## *Interculturalism, Education and Inclusion*

**Jagdish Gundara**

London: Sage Publications, 2000  
214pp PB £19.99 ISBN:0761966234

Gundara's latest book on the contemporary dilemmas of interculturalism in education takes its inspiration from his personal experience and is based on an autobiographical framework starting from his early years as an Asian pupil in Kenya to his professional development as a teacher in secondary, community and higher education in the UK. The volume is also the result of the work undertaken at the International Centre for Intercultural Studies, Institute of Education, University of London where the author holds the posts of both Professor of Education and Head of the Intercultural Studies (p. x).

From the very preface, the author confesses not to be supportive of the editors' request to adopt this self-confessional approach. He explains, however, to have been persuaded to recount his personal history in order to illustrate how somebody, who has been brought up in a racially segregated environment and schooling, has come out of it thinking differently (p.14). This book reflects the achievements of a life-long dedication to the discovery of the role of education in fostering cohesive societies, where the encounter among different cultures may develop a shared and common value system and a sustainable multicultural polity.

Gundara's socio-historical investigation is underpinned by his theoretical postulation that multiculturalism is not triggered as a response to immigration, but has long existed in the complex legacy of the histories of nation states and Europe itself. In the case of the United Kingdom, Gundara argues that, after devolution, the British have to find 'new ways of replacing the previous exclusivities of the English nation' (p.21) out of the mutual antipathies between the English, the Welsh and the Scots. These traditional taxonomies have been camouflaged by the hegemonic state with a discourse that 'otherise' immigrants as aliens and prevents the original complex pattern of British identity to emerge distinctively. Gundara's historic revisionism sets out precisely to counter this hegemonic argument of an homogeneous identity in traditional societies.

Gundara specifically directs his critique to the 'Eurospeak of interculturalism' and British multiculturalism by deconstructing their modern character, their geographical circumscription to the nation state and their temporal contingency (p. 121).

Whilst Gundara's historical analysis needs to be complemented by an in-depth reading of the burgeoning literature in migration and race relations in Europe, its focus on the youth question is praiseworthy because of its bridging of the distance between education and the wider remit of social policies (that is, race/community relations and equality).

The book assumes no previous knowledge of intercultural education and appeals to a wider audience than students and practitioners in this field. It should actually raise the

interest of policy-makers and analysts towards education, whose predominant assumptions celebrate its impartiality. Gundara reminds us that the hidden curriculum is but one overt manifestation of institutionalised racism and that indoctrination survives in contemporary forms of knowledge and their shaping through both the curriculum and the school organisation.

*Silvia Mussano, PhD Candidate – University of Ulster*

## *Russia's Virtual Economy*

**Clifford G. Gaddy and Barry W. Ickes**

Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002

306 pp PB \$19.95. ISBN 0-8157-3111-6.

In 1996, Boris Yeltsin had just been reelected and inflation was under control. The economy, by all accepted indicators, seemed to be booming. However, the large proportion of unprofitable enterprises that survived despite economic restructuring suggested something was amiss in Russia's transition to a market economy. Indeed, in August 1998, the Russian economy descended into crisis.

In *Russia's Virtual Economy*, Clifford G. Gaddy and Barry W. Ickes offer a new model to explain Russia's economic morass since the fall of the Soviet Union. The 'virtual economy' refers to a complex system of nonmonetary payment schemes—including bartering of goods and services—that allows enterprises to survive despite losing money. The virtual economy results from three interrelated initial conditions: the illusory nature of value in the manufacturing sector, the social importance of major industrial enterprises and the Russian economy's continuing reliance on resource industries.

After explaining the economic paradoxes that appeared in 1996 and 1997, Gaddy and Ickes detail how the virtual economy is rooted in the centrally planned Soviet economic system. The authors use 'Igor' as an example of an enterprise director, whose underlying mantra is, 'Whatever you do, don't make a profit! The government takes it all in taxes.' (p. 66) Subsequent chapters compare Russia's economic 'shock therapy' to biological mutation; illustrate how a simplified four-sector virtual economy works; and explain the future implications of the virtual economy if allowed to continue unchecked.

Whether reforms were implemented properly is not what Gaddy and Ickes care to argue: enterprises used their Soviet instincts to adapt to reform policies with survival—not profitability—in mind. Further, the social importance of industrial giants, which provided jobs, health care and child care for much of the surrounding community, made it impermissible to shut them down. Although these social services became the responsibility of local government, paltry tax revenues meant these services could not be maintained, and enterprises remained the de facto administrators of such services.

The 'Roots of the Virtual Economy' chapter, in which the authors explain their framework for understanding the behavior of Russian enterprises, is especially thought-provoking. Not only do enterprises operate at a certain distance from market viability, but they are also endowed with 'relational capital,' which refers to an enterprise's ability, by virtue of connections to other enterprises or the government, to 'get away with' barter, tax offsets or delayed payments: 'informal activity that can aid the operation of an enterprise.' (p. 56) According to the model, the greater an enterprise's relational capital, the longer it can survive without turning a profit.

Russia remains an important geopolitical player, and its stability has implications for ethnic conflict and peace studies, especially in the context of global terrorism,

although Gaddy and Ickes tend to focus on its economic situation. Russia's ethnic diversity is both a blessing and a curse, as recent conflicts in Chechnya and Ossetia have shown.

*Russia's Virtual Economy*, written in 2002, is slightly outdated, and the authors have a tendency to use complex formulas to illustrate their ideas, which can be off-putting to readers with only a rudimentary knowledge of economics. But for those interested in Russia or in Russia's place in the global economy, Gaddy and Ickes provide a satisfying explanation of how decades of central Soviet planning continue to affect Russian enterprises and why average Russians are worse off even though economic indicators seem to show progress.

*Michael J. Harrison, Associate Editor, InterMedia Survey Institute, Washington, D.C.*

## **Russia's Restless Frontier; The Chechnya Factor in Post-Soviet Russia**

**Dmitri V. Trenin and Aleksei V. Malashenko, with Anatol Lieven**

Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004

264 pp PB \$24.85 ISBN 0-87003-203-8.

In a departure from most other works on the Chechen conflict, *Russia's Restless Frontier* seeks to examine the wider ramifications, both within Russia itself and internationally, of the ongoing unrest in Chechnya. From the outset the authors, one a former Russian army officer, the other an expert on Islam, and both affiliated to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, stake out their particular hard-line take on the causes and progression of the Chechen conflict. Chapter 2 provides a chronicle of the 'unfinished conflict', while chapters 3-6 look at respectively the appreciation of the conflict in Russian society, the so-called 'Islamic factor', the military's approach to the conflict and its international ramifications. Trenin and Malashenko are quite statist and security-orientated in their outlook and are keen to place much blame on Islamic terrorism, for example, while being much less emphatic in their criticism of any wrongdoing by Russia. The result is a sometimes unbalanced look at the relevant issues.

Chapter 7, 'Chechnya and the Laws of War', is particularly disappointing from the perspective of this author. The chapter is a contribution by Anatol Lieven, a senior associate for foreign and security policy at the Carnegie Endowment and a former *Times* correspondent. Although Lieven does not condone the suffering endured by the Chechen population at the hands of the Russian Forces, he suggests that such is often 'unavoidable' given military realities. Much Western criticism of Russian misconduct is motivated, in his view, 'only by malignant hatred of Russia', and he repeatedly points to historic and contemporary examples of similar abuses by other states. After an examination of 'Russia's Legal Right to War against Chechnya', the author then turns to the laws of war and the issue of war crimes. Lieven's discussion of war crimes makes little reference to the *law* of war crimes, such as the detailed codification in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, but rather involves his own appreciation of different categories of such crimes, with predictable results. The bombing of Grozny, for example, comes within his category of 'actions that have been widely described as war crimes but that cannot, in fact, be so described'. His discussion of antipartisan warfare is keen to stress the difficulty of respecting civilian life that this entails.

Lieven favours a veiled apologia for Russian conduct in Chechnya, over the potentially beneficial application of the laws of war to the conflict. Reference is made to only one actual treaty and there is no attempt to discuss the laws of internal conflict as laid down in the Geneva Conventions or the 1977 Additional Protocol II, rules, incidentally, that apply to *both sides* of the Chechen conflict. These laws prohibit inhumane acts, such as torture, disappearances, hostage-taking and murder, and currently form the basis of the criminal charges being pursued against former rebel leaders in Sierra Leone. The chapter could also have benefited from looking at the implications of Russia's status as a party to the European Convention on Human Rights. Recent judgments of the Strasbourg Court, issued after this book's



publication, have affirmed Russia's human rights obligations, and failings, in Chechnya.

In a way this book has merit in that it exposes readers to the often uncompromising establishment and military attitude which exists towards the separatist conflict in Chechnya. That said, readers seeking a more comprehensive and balanced analysis of the Chechen conflict and its considerable ramifications would be advised to look further than *Russia's Restless Frontier*.

**Shane Darcy, Lecturer, Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster**

## **Racism and Anti-Racism in Europe**

**Alana Lentin**

Pluto Press: London 2004  
338 pp, £16.99, ISBN: 07453 2220 4.

*Racism and Anti-Racism in Europe* provides us with a very in-depth study of the phenomenon of anti-racism. Lentin notes that there has been a considerable lack of analysis of anti-racism, within the social science literature. The author critiques the notion that anti-racism is the mere opposite of racism and provides us with the view that anti-racism is a variety of discourses that are central to the understanding of the politics of modern states. She sees anti-racist discourses and the practices of anti-racist organizations as 'existing along a continuum of proximity-to-distance from the public political culture of the nation-state'. (p. 1)

Chapters 1 and 2 are somewhat in-depth and quite intense, (my only criticism of the book) but Chapter 3 is particularly informative. The author provides us with a detailed comparison of anti-racist activism in Britain, France, Ireland and Italy. The author accomplishes the goal 'of setting the scene in order to provide the reader with a more tangible sense of what could be thought of as the political, social and cultural opportunity structure.....in which anti-racism intervenes' (p. 114). This chapter provides us with a deep insight into anti-racist discourse and practice as it has evolved and developed over time in each of the four countries. This section makes for very interesting reading, and highlights the fact that each of the four national settings, 'harbours its own diversity of anti-racist discourses and practices' (p.178).

Chapter 4 provides us with a discussion of the identification of a crisis in anti-racism in the early 1990s. The author makes many references to the work of Pierre-Andre Taguieff and Paul Gilroy, who made the claim that anti-racism was in crisis, and highlights the differences in their approach. In the concluding chapters, Lentin focuses on the challenges facing anti-racism in the future, which proves to be a very apt closure to her book.

The author includes quotes from interviews she carried out with anti-racist activists, throughout the book. This is an added benefit as it helps to put everything into context, and provides us with an 'empirically grounded account' that supports the author's theorisation of anti-racism.

This book clearly adds value to the literature on racism and anti-racism, and will prove particularly useful to students and those interested in increasing their knowledge of the history of racism and anti-racism. As Lentin tells us the work of anti-racism is 'ultimately a much spoken-about but little studied phenomenon' (p. 306). In my opinion, her book has made a significant contribution to this work.

*Roisin O'Hagan, INCORE, Project Worker, Local International Learning Project*

**Bearing Witness. Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in  
South Africa**

**Fiona C. Ross**

London and Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 2003  
206 pp £16.99 HB ISBN 0-7453-1892-4, PB ISBN 0-7453-1891-6

This is the first book to examine the gendered dimensions of bearing witness to the truth of past violence from an anthropological and ethnographic viewpoint. Its context is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa. Fiona Ross explores how the TRC's emphasis on apartheid's spectacular dimensions effectively silenced women's political activities, framing women as victims. The book offers insights into both the achievements and limitations of testimony and human rights discourse as measures of suffering and recovery.

In the Introduction, Ross reiterates the aims of Truth Commissions to link history, suffering, justice, human rights, accountability and witnessing. Her emphasis differs, it is on giving voice to suffering and she questions conventional tendencies to homogenise suffering and recovery. Instead, she pays enormous respect to the testimonies, experiences and actual words of women activists, drawing on the particularity of the 'politics of intimacy' (p2). Her methodology is based on careful attentiveness and empathetic listening. She interrogates rigorously the assumption that truth always heals suggesting rather, that individual experiences of violence were reduced 'from narratives of pain into "data" about human rights violations' (p14).

This prompts Ross to scrutinise the fact that while men and women made roughly equal numbers of statements, '79 percent of women testified about violence committed against men' (p17). Women refrained from speaking of the harms inflicted on them, particularly about sexual violations in the context of political violence. Special hearings on women were instituted. However, Ross suggests that in making women a category, the Commission essentialised gendered suffering. Hence Ross is motivated to understand how the subject is constituted in its manifold differences. Also, she wondered why those women who had actively opposed the apartheid state rarely gave testimony.

In her outline of testimonial practices, Ross shows how women testified to layers of experience like family life, domesticity, the disruptions of time and place, silence and secrecy (including not being allowed to ask husbands for information) and the horror of not being able to verbalize all experiences. In these testimonies, the voice of the self is clear. Yet, Ross warns that the Commission's assumption that all experiences can be articulated misses the meanings of silence and the gaps between fragile words.

The women members of liberation and anti-apartheid organisations testified differently to those women who were not activists, shedding light on deep pain during detention, including the vicious violation of sexual tortures and rapes. Rape Crisis give startling statistics that 'one woman is raped every 36 seconds in South Africa,

usually by men they know' (p 63). Ross talks of the haunting shame of the activists who had been sexually assaulted as prisoners and intricately analyses the constitution of self-identity. Yet, in a chapter titled 'In Pursuit of the Ordinary' Ross gives humorous accounts of women political activists' innovative struggle to resist the damage caused to social institutions by apartheid and to continue as community activists, seeking recuperative spaces.

Ross concludes by warning of the limitations of testimony and voice in models of transitional justice. Her findings 'suggest the need for a new language of social suffering, one that permits the expression of the full range of experiences, admits the integrity of silence, recognises the fragmented and unfinished nature of social recovery, and does not presume closure' (p165). All readers interested in the methodological problems of narrative, testimony, truth, dealing with violence and pain, establishing relationships of trust, gauging harm will find this book useful. There is a richness of stories, disturbing accounts of human rights abuses and a moving sensitivity to the absences and inclusions of women's experiences of apartheid. I strongly recommend this very readable book to a wide audience.

*Dr Elisabeth Porter, INCORE Research Director*

## **Changing Women, Changing Worlds: Evangelical Women in Church, Community and Politics**

**Fran Porter**

Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2002  
254 pp PB £9.90 ISBN 0-85640-717-8.

The book is based on extensive interviews with 70 women and 10 men from evangelical Protestantism who are active in Northern Ireland church, community and politics. It explores the question of women and women's participation, inclusion, difference, authority, domestic challenges and priority. It examines these questions and considers their implications for women themselves, for men, churches, evangelicalism and civic society, and incorporates the voices of the interviewees by way of illustration and argument. Indeed, 'in a country where Christian faith has had such enormous influence' it remains to be seen if women will be able to nudge the church out of the 'museum culture' (Elaine Storkey, forward) and 'evangelical cocoon' (p.203).

Unfortunately the current status quo within evangelicalism towards the question of women is 'almost a hush-hush thing, and women are very much still in the background' (female respondent, p.209) and this is one of the main reasons why this book is of such importance – to bring these matters to light. Another female respondent states that 'a lot of the objections to women taking up positions ... in the church are not theological, they are psychological' (p.151). This indeed does place a damper on the potential difference that women may bring, including an attitude of care, in the peace process and community conflict (pp.1, 8, 92, 94, 97).

Areas of activity for 26 of the women interviewed centres around responding to the needs of victims of the conflict and involvement with schools (p.25). For those readers 'who envision a community of women and men in the church and society that is both a critique and positive alternative to the current state of affairs' (p. 223) this book may be disappointing. The research in this book shows a picture and response that is fractured, confused in places, and hostile in others. I agree with Fran that it 'is not a revolution; it is not conscious or self-aware enough... It has the potential to be disruptive of evangelical norms and practices, but due to its fractured nature and hesitant demeanour, it is highly doubtful that it will be' (p.223, also see p.5).

A contributory factor to the above is that the 'emerging women's movement in Northern Ireland was hindered by ongoing sectarian conflict with its violence and divisive nature' (p.17). Therefore, it shows that even though several women support feminist ideas, 'they distance themselves from the term itself because the negative perception of feminism is so pervasive' (p.9). Finally, I support Fran's hope that this book 'will be of interest and value not only for the evangelical community both in Northern Ireland and elsewhere, but for all who seek a better understanding of gender relations operating in society and church' (acknowledgements).

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## *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*

**Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky**

London: Pluto Press, 2004

176 pp PB £14.99 ISBN 0-7453-2090-2

In their book *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*, Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky focus on the dramatic growth of this phenomenon in recent years by providing a thorough assessment of its history and development, examining the various strains and identifying the messianic tendency which they believe to be the most dangerous. The authors focus on the total contempt which Jewish fundamentalists show toward non-Jews, especially Palestinians, and the great ignorance of, or indifference to this phenomenon in the outside world.

The book investigates the various Jewish sects which seem to differ on various issues but agree on one basic eschatological truth by which the Jewish Kingdom will arise upon the coming of the Messiah and the reconstruction of the Temple on the site of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosques in the Old City of Jerusalem. One radical stream of Jewish fundamentalists is represented by the National Religious Party, and its progeny, the settlers of the Gush Emunim. Rabbi Shlomo Aviner, a Gush leader rationalizes that God's requirement to abide by abstract codes of 'justice and righteousness' do not necessarily apply to Jews. He further states that 'messianic realism' which dictates that Israel has been instructed to be holy do not bind the people of Israel, for whom chosen nature overrides all else. Consequently, the Gush reject any peaceful settlement with Arabs. For them, the Oslo Accords, and the prospect of the 're-division' of the 'Land of Israel' was a profound, existential shock. The murder of Yitzhak Rabin in 1996 by Yigal Amir, a religious fanatic that claimed to be acting in accordance with dictates in Judaism, is one in a long line of murders of Jews who followed a path different from that ordained by rabbinic authorities since the Middle Ages, as the authors explain. This is also manifested in their belief of force as the only way to deal with the Palestinians who will always be 'resident aliens' in the land of Israel and must be forced to leave either by enforced emigration or elimination. The killing of 29 Palestinians while kneeling during prayer in Hebron by Doctor Baruch Goldstein in 1994 is just one example. This American-born fundamentalist was subsequently celebrated as a hero in many spheres of the Israeli society.

Israel was always a highly ideological society; it is also a vastly outsized military power. This combination of extreme ideology and power poses a threat to any stability or future peaceful settlement in the Middle East. This book is important in providing an astonishing insight into the dynamics of politics and religion in Israel and in uncovering an invisible phenomenon: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel.

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***Business and Security, Public-Private Sector Relationships in a New Security Environment***

**Alyson J.K. Bailes and Isabel Frommelt (eds.)**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004

328 pp HB £40.00 ISBN: 0-19-927450-9

*Business and Security*, which grew out of a 2003 conference sponsored by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the Liechtenstein Institut, is a collection of essays exploring the 'shared vulnerability' of business and governments to security threats (i). This rubric creates a framework for a more robust political assessment of international issues in the context of any business decision. The diversity of the collected essays is intentional: security matters to a broad range of concerns, and in turn, while massive events like the 11 September attacks raise awareness in the private sector, the actual process of understanding the threat environment concerning any business is more complex than worrying about one form of event.

An essay by Niall Burgess and David Spence on European Union reactions to emerging threats is an explicit exploration of the systemic and coordinating limitations affecting governments' ability to react nimbly in assessing and responding to threats. While the European Union – given the still unwieldy and limited purview of much of its security policy – is perhaps a unique example, problems of intergovernmental coordination have also been a significant impediment in the United States. Indeed, the establishment of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security required an enormous organizational undertaking. The private sector enters this policy area as an alternative source of entrepreneurial strategy; while government must deal with implementation, the ability of private firms – for example database integrators, explosives detection device makers and so on – are able to serve as intellectual security laboratories. In turn, these firms seek to develop the kind of security and public policy expertise that has often been the realm of government and academia. In short, the functions of government and the private sector begin to converge. Eric Belfrage (p. 33) touches on this phenomenon in his brief piece on public-private sector cooperation. While highlighting the economic risk to business, and touching upon integrative roles the private sector can play, there is clearly more space for discussion. From a somewhat different perspective, George Baur (p. 104) discusses governmental efforts – often undertaken through multilateral structures – to influence private sector compliance – vital in, for instance, the battle against money laundering.

As John Maresca points out, the private sector remains the world's largest allocator of funds (p. 121). Maresca argues for a creative alignment of business objectives with humanitarian needs. Interestingly, the renewed attention paid to the risk of failed states in the context of security planning – as opposed to primarily humanitarian motivations – has expanded governmental attention to humanitarian issues. The challenge Maresca poses is to complete this circle, with government acting as advocate for greater private sector involvement in humanitarian planning. Maresca's work on the 'business-humanitarian relationship' feeds well into Andrew Bone's (p. 135) study of the Kimberly Process, bringing public participation in home countries into the assessment. The editorial placement of the two pieces together reinforces the connection between all key players. This case-specific model, in Bone's view,

provides a more effective alternative to established institutional structures. This conclusion, while a theoretical advance, is enabled by the heightened awareness of security issues in the private sector, and the growing perception in government and non-governmental organizations of how this awareness can be leveraged.

*Jon Levy, The Eurasia Group, New York*



## **Military Intervention: Cases in Context for the Twenty-First Century**

**William J Lahneman**

Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2004

224 pp PB £26.95 ISBN: 0-7425-2951-7

*Military Intervention: Cases in Context for the Twenty-First Century* is a book on the very topical and important issue of military intervention. Although not compiled in time to include any case studies specifically addressing the Afghanistan and Iraq invasions, some of the authors who contributed did make reference to such events, therefore giving the volume contemporary relevance.

Rather than being a volume written by a single author, the book is instead a collection of nine essays on the topic of military intervention, with seven of these acting as specific case studies addressing intervention in conflicts involving Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda, Cambodia, Haiti, Sierra Leone and East Timor. The authors of these case studies were commissioned by the US National Intelligence Council to write such analyses in response to a set of prepared questions in order to provide a volume of case studies which were suitable for comparative analysis. The result is a collection of well described and detailed case studies that discuss with expertise intervention issues such as goal attainment, exit strategies, terms of reference and the success of such operations. Such a collection is highly suited to those involved in peacekeeping operations, as well as policy-makers and academics who are interested in the task of military intervention.

It should be noted that the book is not an argument aimed to convince readers to favour military intervention in times of conflict. Instead, it is one that accepts already that intervention is necessary for differing reasons, these not always being altruistic ones. The book instead shows the successes and failures of specific interventions and how they could have been improved. It also tacitly demonstrates how conflicts could be lessened or avoided altogether via early pro-active diplomatic intervention.

Somewhat ironically the most appealing part of the book for me was Lahneman's introduction and his concluding chapter – 'Military Intervention: Lessons For the Twenty-First Century'. This is because he made clear that military intervention is not always conducted for altruistic reasons; that it is not always the correct or only choice of action; and that an *intervention* can also be an *invasion*, citing the recent Afghanistan conflict as an example. This sets a more critical tone towards military intervention rather than blindly accepting such action as always desirable and necessary.

The diversity of authors and case studies helped to maintain interest in the compilation, although the very academic and 'neutral' language of the authors did not always maintain my interest. The volume is therefore more suited to readers who have a keen interest in only a few of the case studies or for those readers undertaking a comparative study of different intervention operations. Nevertheless, the book is a well executed compilation and one which makes a worthy contribution to the field of military intervention studies.

*Adam Guise is a non-affiliated and recent Law, Arts and Education graduate from Southern Cross University, Australia who maintains a keen interest in social justice and ecological sustainability.*

## **Where is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him?: America's Search For a Postconflict Stability Force**

**Robert M Perito**

Washington, United States Institute of Peace  
400 pages  
ISBN: 1-929223-51-X

Perito's *Where is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him?* provides a timely analysis of the necessity for constabulary forces in (post)conflict situations. His central argument is that the US requires a (post)conflict stability force 'composed of constabulary, police, and judicial specialists who would provide the capacity to establish postconflict security' (p 4) in conflict situations such as Afghanistan and Iraq. His thesis is clear, well-argued and includes compelling examples that justify his argument, such as the aftermath of Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq where simple military intervention without ongoing post-conflict strategies created tragic outcomes. Essentially his view is that '[t]he response to the "failed state syndrome" – to intervene militarily, leave behind anarchy, and call it peace – is not the solution.' (p 4) His book therefore urges the US to adopt a force that fulfils the role of an international constabulary in a similar vein to that which existed in the form of the Texas Rangers in the early 1800s. Such forces, he argues, are better equipped and trained to fulfil the necessary duties required of them which the military and civilian nation-builders are ill-equipped to undertake. To illustrate this, Perito outlines the different peace-keeping forces that have existed throughout history and their relevance to contemporary peace operations.

Things to note about this book is that it is very US centred. This is probably because Perito himself was a long-term US Foreign Service officer with expertise in the field of constabulary forces. This experience does give credibility to his work. However, the book may be US-centred in an attempt to convince the world's only major superpower to take up the role of post-conflict peacekeeping, especially when the US is responsible for so many foreign military operations. Nevertheless, the book does draw on a number of non-US examples of constabulary forces and peace operations which gives it relevance to non-US readers.

Additionally, because of the US focus, I did feel that Perito was non-critical of US military intervention in places such as Afghanistan and Iraq. His seeming neutrality and impartial attitude irked me because a person in his position should be speaking out against such atrocities. Nevertheless, such 'neutrality' may be intentional in order to persuade those within the US government to take a more 'rehabilitative' attitude when conducting foreign military operations.

Perito also somewhat ignored the role of the United Nation's role in post-conflict peacekeeping. As a person who supports an international and unified approach to peace-keeping, I felt his ignorance of the UN in favour of a single-country approach was unfortunate.

Lastly, I felt that Perito ignored other factors which contribute to continued conflict in nations after military intervention, the most pertinent factor being the so-called

'peace-keeping' force being seen as an invasion force itself! Obviously when the constabulary itself is not looked upon favourably by the local population, establishing peace and the rule of law will be near impossible regardless of the peace-keeping force's training.

All in all I found the book easy to digest and informative, although it is more suited to an academic or policy context than pleasure. This book would therefore appeal to those involved in peace-keeping operations, policy makers, and scholars interested in the field of peacekeeping in conflict situations.

*Adam Guise is a non-affiliated and recent Law, Arts and Education graduate from Southern Cross University, Australia who maintains a keen interest in social justice and ecological sustainability.*