

■ Aruri, Naseer Hasan, 2003. *Dishonest Broker: The US Role in Israel and Palestine*. Cambridge: South End Press. 288 pp. ISBN 0896086879.

The main argument in this thorough analysis of US Middle East policy since 1967 is that the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel has ruled out the role of honest brokering for the United States. The USA's insistence on being the sole arbiter in the conflict has, according to Aruri, not only had the effect of excluding a role for the UN and other more neutral mediators. Reviewing the policy of every US administration since 1967, Aruri finds that they all thwarted international approaches for settlement, protected Israel from international scrutiny and promoted the marginalization of the UN. This was the case in the aftermath of the Six Day War, when the USA promoted separate, bilateral Egyptian–Israeli talks at the expense of a UN approach. Furthermore, during the 1990s, the Oslo process allowed Israel and the USA to formally nullify the entire international framework of law related to Palestinian rights. Palestinian negotiators' reference to international law and UN resolutions was repeatedly condemned as signs of 'intransigence and obstructionism'. Aruri argues that the US diplomatic monopoly has served as 'the single most effective means to accomplish Israel's goals', including retaining most of the occupied territories, preventing the emergence of a Palestinian state and marginalizing the Palestinian refugee issue. Following the Palestinian uprising of 2000 and the events of 11 September 2001, the United States has completely accepted the Israeli portrayal of Palestinian violence as part of international, Islamic terror and thus provided cover and support for Israel's war to crush the Palestinians. By pointing out the main obstacles for a balanced arbitrary role for the United States, this well-written book offers a way forward and advice for future policymakers in Washington.

*Are Hovdenak*

■ Basu, Kaushik, 2000. *Prelude to Political Economy: A Study of the Social and Political Foundations of Economics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. xv + 288 pp. ISBN 0199261857.

Basu motivates his book as a critique of the use of economic methodology in other social sciences, particularly in positive political economy. After a brief overview of the fundamentals of game theory, he provides a critical discussion of rationality, with emphasis on unintuitive outcomes of dynamic models and assumptions on knowledge. He then explains and justifies his principal claim, that all social norms and institutions should be seen as focal points in games of multiple equilibria. Instead of the conventional view that norms change the rules and payoffs of the game, he understands them as changing the focal point, and hence equilibrium outcome, within a larger game. One application is that a law is sustained because the players believe that some of the other players, the law enforcers, will punish them if they break the law. Further, these enforcers believe that they will be punished for not punishing. Another application is a justification for the existence of the state. The reasoning may also be applied to power relations. Dictatorships may be sustained by rulers with little direct access to coercion, and a person may be 'well connected' as a consequence of an equilibrium where everybody believes she is. Overall, the book is well written and both interesting and convincing, but it is somewhat lacking as a critique of positive political economy. It argues for taking a broad view and using an encompassing model. Other approaches in the literature may be seen as merely studying a partition of this game. In some cases, only analyses of the grand game are satisfactory, but in others, an analysis of a partial game will be more illuminating.

*Jo Thori Lind*

■ Birdsall, Nancy; Allen C. Kelley & Steven W. Sinding, eds, 2001. *Population Matters: Demographic Change, Economic Growth, and Poverty in the Developing World*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press. xvi + 440 pp. ISBN 0199261865.

This book is one of the most important contributions in the past few years to the debate about the macro consequences of population change. Following an initiative by UNFPA Director-General Nafis Sadik, a group of very prominent demographers and economists came together to review these questions: Has population growth been good or bad for the economies of developing countries? And if it has been bad, what policies are to be pursued? While the 1970s witnessed a great concern among development economists over population growth, the 1980s brought about several empirical studies concluding that population growth was not an important determinant of per capita economic growth. This volume advances that debate significantly by decomposing the different aspects of demographic change. And indeed, the contributions show clearly that population *does* matter. High fertility and strong population growth generally affect economic growth negatively. However, where countries are well under way in their demographic transitions, the relative stronger growth in the working age population represents a potential for a 'demographic dividend'. Whether this potential is realized depends on level of development and economic policy. The major achievements of this volume are on the effects of population change on economic growth and poverty, but it also discusses influences on inequality and renewable resource management. The contributions by Bongaarts, Kelley & Schmidt and Williamson are particularly illuminating on the significance of age composition. Unlike many anthologies, the chapters complement each other very nicely, and the introductory chapter is a major success in laying out the issues, tying all the contributions together and summarizing the most important results.

*Henrik Urdal*

■ Boulden, Jane, ed., 2003. *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 325 pp. ISBN 1403960801.

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a trend towards a regional approach to prevent, manage and resolve violent conflicts in Africa. This trend has been stimulated by an increasing burden on the UN to deal with violent conflicts around the world, as well as an assumption that regional organizations have advantages over the UN flowing from regional expertise and closeness to the crisis. So what role is there for regional organizations to promote peace and security? What should be the division of labour between the UN and regional organizations in dealing with violent conflicts? This book looks into how various regional organizations in Africa have dealt with violent conflicts over the past decade. On the background of the UN debate on the role of regional organizations, and six cases of conflict involving regional peace efforts (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Sudan, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo), the authors especially address the nature and context of the interaction between the UN and the regional organizations in dealing with conflict. An interesting general finding is that while regional organizations have increasingly been involved in peace efforts and are strengthened as institutions in the process, there is a strong need and desire for UN leadership. The UN may compensate for weak regional capacities as well as preventing dominant regional powers from pursuing their own political goals. If the UN does not engage in a leadership role, it runs a high risk of undermining both its legitimacy and its ability to promote international peace and security.

*Jostein F. Tellnes*

■ Byman, Daniel L., 2002. *Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflict*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 280 pp. ISBN 0801868041.

Daniel L. Byman introduces this book with a reminder: ethnic wars are often seen as inevitable or impossible to resolve – and yet history is full of examples of communal conflicts that have been resolved and forgotten. How, then, to end ethnic conflict? Ethnicity is indeed a particularly difficult cleavage to address, and conflicts with an

ethnic dimension will tend to make ethnicity even more salient. But methods for solving ethnic conflict do exist, and Byman, drawing mainly on his expertise on the Middle East, demonstrates how each may – or may not – work. In a survey that is dense with insights but still a remarkably effortless read, Byman discusses five approaches to ethnic conflict: control policies (coercion); co-optation; the manipulation of ethnic identities; participatory systems; and partition. Under the right circumstances, Byman finds, all of these can help create peace. On the other hand, there is no easy answer to the question of which method will work best at what time. And, we may add: some of the methods would seem less morally acceptable than others. Byman points out the trade-offs that follow each approach: the level of control needed to prevent ethnic violence may imply substantial regime brutality; if identity manipulation works, it results in reduced cultural diversity; 'affirmative' group rights balance against individualistic meritocracy. Ethics also enter into the equation when Byman expands his argument into external military intervention in ethnic conflict. In the light of US experience ('short-term difficulties and long-term failures are the rule'), Byman suggests a rethinking of intervention in communal civil war and considers a range of new types of missions. Here, realism mixes with Byman's fundamental optimism.

*Sven Gunnar Simonsen*

■ Chan, Steve & James R. Scarritt, eds, 2002. *Coping with Globalization: Cross-National Patterns in Domestic Governance and Policy Performance*. London: Frank Cass. ISBN 0714683124.

It seems that a growing number of people love to hate globalization. Chan & Scarritt's edited volume on *Coping with Globalization* is a unique addition to the vast literature on globalization and its effects. The volume offers original, comparative research by junior scholars and engages a very important question head-on. Under what conditions can globalization lead to improvements in human well-being? To be sure, the authors' proposition that countries are equipped with different comparative advantages to respond to the world economic order is hardly new. Few scholars today argue wholeheartedly for a view of globalization as universalizing and homogenous. The real contribution of this volume lies in its

focus on the systematic ways in which global economic transactions can and sometimes do influence social policies and behaviours, including human development, human rights, democratization and public spending, as well as how domestic social policies can influence the viability of participation in the global economy. These issues are of tremendous importance and are almost completely ignored by the standard academic treatment of globalization. Yet the volume prompts as many questions as it answers. The authors' understandings and measurements of globalization are as broad as their variations across social policies. The intended focus on 'which actors initiate, promote, and benefit from such forces, and which actors are on the receiving end of these forces' is sometimes obscured by their concentration on macroeconomic indicators without drawing clear links between how those indicators related to real people (p. 20). All the same, the volume is a clear contribution to an emerging research area that promises to be of great importance in the years to come.

*Emilie Hafner-Burton*

■ Cincotta, Richard P; Robert Engelman & Daniele Anastasion, 2003. *The Security Demographic: Population and Civil Conflict After the Cold War*. Washington, DC: Population Action International. 104 pp. ISBN 1889735485.

Being primarily an advocacy group, Population Action International has published a thorough and balanced report on one of the major emerging security concerns. How demographic trends influence the risk of violent conflict and political instability is a much debated yet largely unsettled issue. While the neo-Malthusian claims from the early 1990s that high population growth rates are a major security concern in the post-Cold War era have been largely discredited, the new wave of literature focuses on more subtle forms of demographic change and on the interplay between demographic, social, economic and political factors. This report is a useful guide to both academic and policy-oriented work in the field. Furthermore, it provides some research material to underscore its general claims. The authors find that outbreak of civil conflict is statistically associated with different phases of the 'demographic transition', and that 'youth bulges' (large proportions of young adults, 15–29 years) and urbanization rates are the demographic

factors that are most closely associated with conflict. One could easily argue that the bivariate relationships presented should be controlled for possibly confounding variables, the most obvious being level of development, one of the strongest relationships identified in quantitative studies of civil conflict and also highly correlated with central demographic trends. However, the authors are careful not to make conclusive causal claims, making the report a rich source of suggestions for more systematic academic investigation into the possible relationships between demography and violent conflict.

*Henrik Urdal*

■ Clarke, Richard A., 2004. *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror*. New York: Free Press. xiii + 305 pp. ISBN 0743260244 (hardback).

Those who watched Clarke's congressional testimony, or his numerous media appearances, and are expecting (yet another) 300-page polemic against the Bush II administration may be disappointed. Instead, the majority of the book covers his decades as one of the United States' few, and by extension most important, counter-terrorism specialists. Such a timely biography can at best produce only 'the first draft of history'. However, it does offer a fascinating insight into the decisionmaking processes inside numerous US administrations. Clarke offers a very sobering antidote to conspiracy theorists who assert that intelligence agencies play the world like a game of chess. Instead, he describes an environment in which counter-terrorism work was under-resourced, inept and haphazard, and in which progress was often reliant on serendipity. During the early years of the Clinton administration, it was Clarke, the special adviser to the president, who had to read hundreds of news reports every day (or saved them up for a weekend news binge) and started to map the activities of an organization that would later become known as Al-Qaeda. FBI assertions that there were no domestic groups soliciting funds for terrorists, or using *hawala* financial transfers, were quickly refuted via Internet searches. Orders to take action against Al-Qaeda were rendered ineffective by bureaucratic inertia and turf wars between departments. Above all, Clarke offers numerous examples in which decisionmaking, in security as much as any other part of government, is mostly

concerned with the perceptions, prejudices and relationships of a few powerful people. Clarke's book reminds us what students of decision-making have long maintained, that the state can rarely be described as being a rational actor.

*Nicholas Marsh*

■ Cragin, Kim & Bruce Hoffman, 2003. *Arms Trafficking and Colombia*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND. xxvi + 81 pp. ISBN 0833031449 (paperback).

This report was prepared for the US Defense Intelligence Agency by RAND and has subsequently been approved for public release and published. The book starts by sketching out *la violencia*, the current maelstrom of political, narco and criminal violence in Colombia. The bulk of the book contains a description of the trafficking routes into, and within Colombia. Last, the authors present their conclusions on the impact of trafficking on Colombia. The authors' central thesis is that arms trafficking empowers non-state actors to 'directly challenge state authority and power at every possible level'. They take this assertion to its conclusion by stating that this reliance upon arms trafficking is a weakness and that successful efforts to disrupt the flow of weapons would degrade such groups' overall capabilities. Furthermore, they find that many of the arms finding their way to Colombia were originally transferred by the USA to Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador during the Cold War; and that another main source of black market weapons are those similarly supplied by the USA to the Colombian military (then lost through capture, theft or corruption). The authors constructed a database of more than 500 articles and conducted field research. Methodologically, then, this is one of the soundest of the growing number of research reports on arms trafficking. As interesting as the content is, the identity of the publisher is noteworthy. The RAND report endorses the view that a diffusion of small arms can be destabilizing, and that large-scale (small) arms transfers to conflicts may not be wise in the long run. Such views are controversial, but are perhaps becoming more orthodox.

*Nicholas Marsh*

■ Daalder, Ivo H. & James M. Lindsay, 2003. *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. vii + 246 pp. ISBN 0815716885.

This book's main thesis is that the presidency of George W. Bush has brought about a sea change in US foreign policy, which concerns not *whether* but *how* the United States should engage the world. Whereas his immediate predecessors sought 'a continuation of the traditional Wilsonian approach of building a world order based on the rule of law' (p. 12), the incoming Bush administration advanced in a much different direction, characterized by two key beliefs that predated (yet were reinforced by) the events of 11 September: (1) Maximizing the United States' freedom of action was essential to achieving its ends, hence formal, multilateral arrangements should be downplayed; (2) 'America unbound should use its strength to change the status quo in the world' (p. 13). Each belief had its proponents within the administration. The first was represented by 'assertive nationalists' such as Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, while the 'democratic imperialists', championed by Paul Wolfowitz, took up the banner of the second. The authors maintain, however, that President Bush was far from being a passive instrument in the hands of his advisers; the revolution which carries his name reflects his own political instincts and was carried out very much at his own initiative. This revolution led, as we now know, to a decided preference for unilateral military action, used preemptively in order to effect regime change. After charting the progress of this revolution, from the pre-history of the new administration to the invasion and occupation of Iraq, this book concludes that a very different path could have been followed, one which would have strengthened the security of the United States and its moral standing in the world.

Gregory Reichberg

■ Davis, Diane E. & Anthony W. Pereira, eds, 2003. *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 419 pp. ISBN 0521812771.

The ambition of the book is to re-examine and reconstruct the nexus between war-making and state-making, thoroughly analysed in the

academic literature, by shifting the focus to 'irregular' (in a very broad sense) agents of militarized coercion. It grows out of a year-long seminar at the New School of Social Research (1997–98) and was perhaps a bit slow in coming, but its richness in original research and sharpness in revisionist historical perspectives more than compensate for that. The key point of reference for most of the contributions is established by the long essay by Charles Tilly, a major theorist on this topic, which opens the volume. Most other chapters present case studies of particular countries or regions, going back in history or relatively current, which explore various and – one may suspect – too varied angles of the topic. Pereira, nevertheless, brings them together convincingly and precisely in the concluding chapter. His point that 'the complexity of the state's efforts to monopolize coercive force has been underappreciated' (p. 388) might now appear self-evident, but it takes sustained attention to see that the experiences of northwestern European states in centralizing coercive control and separating external warfare from internal policing, conceptualized so powerfully by Tilly, were in fact quite unique and only temporary. Irregular forces, increasingly claiming the pivotal role and pushing the regular armies to political margins, make a qualitatively different impact on state-building – and thus generate a sharp challenge for those who dare to insist that political science is indeed science.

Pavel Baev

■ Donini, Antonio; Norah Niland & Karin Wermeister, eds, 2004. *Nation-Building Unravelling? Aid, Peace and Justice in Afghanistan*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian. 246 pp. ISBN 1565491807 (paperback); 1565491815 (hardback).

This edited book is a first attempt to analyse the joint recovery effort in post-9/11 Afghanistan. It contains 11 contributions, framed in a discussion about global political change and its impact on humanitarian conduct. A brief introduction by the editors sets the scene, followed by Nicholas Stockton who fundamentally questions the role and impact of assistance in the new global security architecture. J. Alexander Thier examines the Bonn Agreement from December 2001, including the first year of implementation. Norah Niland focuses on human rights, contrasting their

central role during the Taliban to their marginalization post-Bonn. Next, Kate Clark looks at the military struggle for 'hearts and minds', including reconstruction engagements as well as use of the media. Sippi Azarbaijani-Moghaddam looks at the roles of women. The subordination of humanitarian aid to larger political agendas throughout 25 years of war in Afghanistan is Antonio Donini's topic in Chapter 7. Alexander Costy examines fundamental humanitarian dilemmas after the fall of the Taliban, problematizing the role of the state, as well as the humanitarian role of international militaries. Nicholas Leader and Mohammad Haneef Atmar look at aid as an instrument in state-building, whereas Paul O'Brien discusses changing roles for non-governmental organizations. In conclusion, and with the United Nations as his primary referent, Bruce D. Jones sums up the dilemmas on an Afghan scene that has emerged as a test ground for new approaches to post-conflict recovery. This is a timely book, with analysis solidly rooted in the realities of humanitarian action, almost all authors being practitioners, and should interest all who want to understand the changing politicization of aid.

*Kristian Berg Harpviken*

■ Dwan, Renata, ed., 2002. *Executive Policing: Enforcing the Law in Peace Operations* (SIPRI Research Report No. 16). Oxford: Oxford University Press. ix + 144 pp. ISBN 0199258244.

It is perhaps an overstatement to claim, as Renata Dwan does, that executive policing has put the final nail in the coffin of the old form of multi-lateral civilian police involvement in peace operations – largely restricted to monitoring and training. Undoubtedly, the Security Council will continue to issue timid one-line mandates for CivPols that ignore the often glaring need for the UN itself to take control of law and order in post-conflict situations or that minimize the challenge of rebuilding the local police from the ground up. But Dwan's edited volume makes a powerful case both for why international executive policing is an essential component in all future efforts aimed at rebuilding failed states and why such endeavours should be approached with due humility, along with careful planning, preparation and resources. The two case studies the book examines, Kosovo and East Timor, are the only complete examples that we have to date.

Nonetheless, they amply demonstrate the pitfalls, the various types and elements of executive policing that might be applied and the fateful consequences of decisions made lightly about how the inevitable transition back to national policing 'sovereignty' should occur. All the contributors exhibit impressive expertise and provide thoughtful analyses, tinged with realism about what can be achieved when, starting virtually from scratch, the international community attempts to construct a modern, democratically accountable, professional and (itself) law-abiding police force. The recent flare-up of violence in Kosovo reinforces the book's message: that executive policing is excruciatingly difficult but indispensable, so we had better get it right.

*Trevor Findlay*

■ El Fadl, Khaled Abou; Joshua Cohen & Ian Lague, eds, 2002. *The Place of Tolerance in Islam*. Boston, MA: Beacon. 113 pp. ISBN 0807002291.

■ Baker, Raymond William, 2003. *Islam Without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 309 pp. ISBN 0674012038.

Although fundamentally different in form and size, both books address the important but often inadequately exposed subject of moderate Islam. El Fadl, a Muslim by confession, a prominent theorist of Islamic law and a professor at UCLA, has written a short essay on tolerance in Islam in which he criticizes Islamic puritanism and explains how extreme versions of Islam throughout history have been marginalized by Islamic civilization. El Fadl relies on contextual and historical interpretations of the Holy sources, portraying a tolerant Islam with emphasis on justice, kindness and call for mercy in its relation to non-believers. Then follow critical comments by 11 respondents of various academic and confessional backgrounds, and the book is wrapped up by El Fadl's subsequent reply. With few exceptions, the contributors either originate from or operate within Western academic contexts, thus making it primarily a dialogue between Western academics. Yet, the book provides both the islamologue and the unacquainted reader with a clear-cut universalistic and humanistic Islam, modified with comments by scholars of different opinions and perspectives. It is a short but comprehensive

book, giving a sophisticated illustration of the major dilemmas facing present-day Islam, exposing one particular moderate branch and unveiling a wide range of attitudes to moderate Islam, primarily from Western perspectives.

Baker, on the other hand, a Professor of International Politics at Trinity College and an Adjunct Professor at the American University in Cairo, has penetrated the internal Egyptian discourse of moderate political Islam, providing a rare and balanced portrait of a discourse normally inaccessible to Western readers. Relying on a large collection of public Egyptian sources, Baker thoroughly examines the arguments and positions taken by the *New Islamists*: scholars, authors and movements associated with the *Was-sattiyye* ('the middle way'). He highlights the New Islamists' attitudes to education, arts, community, economics, politics, democracy and non-Muslims, thus providing a systematic, in-depth analysis of a whole Islamist ideology, not merely confined to controversial fragments such as corporal punishment and heresy. Throughout the book, Baker compares the positions of the New Islamists with those of extremists, uncovering their differences and exposing the extremists through the lenses of the moderate New Islamists, suggesting that the New Islamists might offer a very important base in marginalizing violent Islam. Divergences with traditionalists are similarly presented, and Baker identifies the gradualist approach of the New Islamists as the most distinctive feature separating them from related groups like the Muslim Brotherhood. Consequently, the book provides a comprehensive insight into the major differences between Islamist trends of contemporary Egypt. It highlights the possibilities for the New Islamists of the 'middle way' to represent a 'third way' – a truly centrist Islamic political force, with potential significance way beyond the borders of Egypt. *Islam Without Fear* is an excellent and groundbreaking exposé of the ideology and discourse of the New Islamists, profound and non-judgemental. It is an indispensable read for anyone involved with political Islam. Both books have the very admirable quality of being easily accessible for readers not thoroughly acquainted with the Muslim discourse. They share the rejection of a simplistic dichotomy of clash of civilizations, and have in common an underlying premise that moderate (political) Islam is crucial in marginalizing intolerant and violent Islam – claims that could hardly be better substantiated

than precisely through the work presented in the books in question.

*Cecilie Hellestveit*

■ Enderlin, Charles, 2003. *Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1995–2002*. New York: Other Press. 458 pp. ISBN 1590510607.

On 13 September 1993, the leaders of the PLO and the State of Israel signed the Oslo agreement. However, in July 2000, the world was a witness to its breakdown, with the subsequent outbreak of the al Aqsa *intifada*. In January 2001, the failure of the peace process in the Middle East was a fact. The French journalist Charles Enderlin offers a unique and close behind-the-scenes look at what happened. Through his mission as a journalist, he managed to achieve extraordinarily close contacts with Israelis, Palestinians and Americans alike. Enderlin managed to get several of the top-level negotiators to agree to speak in front of his camera as soon as possible after each meeting, but he had to agree to not publish anything before the end of 2001. The result, *Shattered Dreams*, gives the most detailed description of what happened at Camp David and Taba so far. Enderlin does not provide any sensations. However, in a detailed and convincing way, he describes how Arafat was made scapegoat for the breakdown of the Camp David negotiations. Enderlin shows how the United States, in spite of all good intentions, was forced to take sides. When the summit broke down, Arafat was blamed. The myth of Barak's generous offers, flatly turned down by Arafat who resorted to violence, was created. Again, as was the case during the negotiations in Norway in 1993, the negotiations were conducted on the premises of Israel and according to the Israeli rules of the game. As a consequence of the power asymmetry between the two parties, this gave room for manoeuvre even to a strong negotiator like the United States.

*Hilde Henriksen Waage*

■ Gellately, Robert & Ben Kiernan, eds, 2003. *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. x + 396 pp. ISBN 0521527503.

The 18 essays of this edition provide a broad introduction to the field of genocide studies. Part

one of the book offers a theoretical discussion of the relationship between genocide and modernity, one of the most thoroughly debated issues in this field. Parts two to four focus empirically on a wide range of cases. As the title indicates, the scope of this edition is broader than the 'prime examples' of genocide in the 20th century, namely the Young Turk massacre of Armenians, the Holocaust, Cambodia and Rwanda (p. 335). It also covers the colonial powers' abuses of indigenous peoples, politically motivated mass murders in Stalin's USSR and in Indonesia in 1965, the crimes committed by imperial Japan, and the ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia. Can the notion of genocide be meaningfully applied to this extensive list of cases? This question, which relates to the debate concerning the definition of genocide in the 1948 Genocide Convention, is addressed in several chapters. Another question addressed is the relationship between war, revolution and genocide. Throughout this edition, theoretical debate is nicely presented within the frame of the empirical cases. One of the most interesting analytical contributions is given by Kiernan in his chapter on underlying themes of 20th-century genocides. He finds that racism, religious prejudice, territorial expansionism and idealization of cultivation are repeatedly present in cases from Armenia to East Timor (pp. 50–51). Unfortunately, the other contributors hardly scrutinize his conclusions. An examination of the validity of Kiernan's findings would be a highly interesting topic for future debate in this field.

*Ellen Stensrud*

■ GICHD, 2003. *A Guide to Mine Action*. Geneva: Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining. 207 pp. ISBN 2884870121 (paperback).

This brief guide is written for the outsider who needs to understand how the mine action sector works. Mine action refers to the bundle of activities that aims at removing – or at ameliorating the effects of – landmines and unexploded ordnance. Following a first chapter on the history of landmines, the book moves on with a brief history of mine action. Next, the reader is taken through the five components that are included in the standard definition of mine action. Chapters 3–5 address the 'advocacy' component, with an overview of the evolution in international law, as well as specific chapters on the Mine Ban Treaty and the

Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons. The following four chapters are dedicated respectively to demining, mine risk education, victim assistance and stockpile destruction. The final three chapters focus on aspect of the organization of mine action: coordination, socio-economic analysis and information management. As a first introduction, the wide range of topics covered by the book is its primary strength. Most readers, however, are likely to miss more critical perspectives, including an indication of future challenges. More thorough editing would also greatly have strengthened the book. In sum, this is a straightforward and encompassing, albeit somewhat dull, introduction to a theme that has figured prominently on the political and international assistance agendas over the past 15 years.

*Kristian Berg Harpviken*

■ Goldgeier, James M. & Michael McFaul, 2003. *Power and Purpose: US Policy Toward Russia After the Cold War*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. viii + 467 pp. ISBN 0815731744.

The book offers probably the most penetrating and elaborate analysis of US policymaking toward Russia during Bill Clinton's presidency, giving also serious attention to the crucial choices made by the first President Bush, but dealing only briefly with the changing attitudes of the second. The authors concentrate on the works of the presidential teams and cover three broad policy areas: democracy promotion, economic assistance and security cooperation. Conducting extensive interviews with just about every US and Russian politician who had a role in developing any of these areas, they aim at more than just setting straight the records of consecutive initiatives and top-level exchanges. They tell only as much of the story as necessary for their evaluation, which has a clear goal: to establish whether every opportunity was indeed exploited for assisting the advancement of Russia's transformation. That assistance, as they confidently assert, was neither charity nor an act of goodwill; it quite definitively 'was a US national security interest' (p. 365). In the solid chapter on lessons (which could serve as a guide for the next administration), indicating the limits of US influence, they take perhaps a rather too defensive stance, emphasizing that 'there is no basis for commentators or columnists to blame the Clinton administration for Russian



lawlessness, economic depression, or the Chechen war' (p. 353). There is indeed no point in replaying that blame-game, but – reflecting on President Putin's progressively restrictive control over Russian society – one can still remember the 1990s as the time of lost opportunities.

*Pavel Baev*

■ Harris, Ian M. & Mary Lee Morrison, 2003. *Peace Education*, 2nd edn. Jefferson, NC & London: McFarland. 296 pp. ISBN 0786414871.

The first edition of *Peace Education* by Ian Harris appeared in 1988, the second in 2003. The latter includes the contributions of a second author, Mary Lee Morrison. The tone of the book is given already in the introduction where the authors claim: 'The world has dramatically changed since the original publication in 1988. The very notion of what we mean by peace has been deeply affected by the events of September 11, 2001.' The first sentence is certainly true. Many of us would think of the growing inequalities in the world, both domestically and internationally, and would think of the spread of capital driven market economy and the increase in structural violence. The second sentence is, however, less true for those of us who are not US citizens. Included in the new edition are contributions by feminist theorists that enhance our understanding of peacemaking, which forms a valuable addition. Discussions on nonviolence appear in several chapters. The final chapter on creating visions and hope is also new. There is also a new section on the role of the family in educating for peace, describing the family and the relational skills of mothers in a too uncritical light. The family is certainly no peaceful institution – it is an institution where women are beaten and mutilated by men, and children are often beaten by women. If the family as an institution is dealt with in a peace education book, domestic violence ought to be discussed. But the book gives a solid overview of what goes under the label 'peace education' in the United States.

*Birgit Brock-Utne*

■ Heradstveit, Daniel & Helge Hveem, eds, 2004. *Oil in the Gulf: Obstacles to Democracy and Development*. Aldershot: Ashgate. viii + 180 pp. ISBN 0754639681.

This slim volume is quite ambitious in its aim 'to offer an original analysis, based on new research, of the relationship between domestic political forces, religion, culture and identity, the role of the petroleum industry, economic development, and geopolitics in the core region of the global oil industry' (p. 1). It betrays too easily, however, the shortcomings of an effort at putting together the products of different research projects: a short essay stands next to a lengthy economic model; some chapters have footnotes and references, while some only have one or the other; the longest chapter offers a particular perspective on federalism in post-Saddam Iraq; and the previous one deals with statistics of pre-9/11 terrorism. The editorial effort to invent an organizing theme does not look very convincing. Nevertheless, the authors do supply plenty of useful food for thought. Noreng's analysis of the prospects of 'rentier' states that have no need for collecting taxes and concentrate on distributing revenues certainly deserves the reader's attention, as does the comparative examination of the phenomenon of corruption in Azerbaijan and Iran by Heradstveit & Bonham. Hveem's thoughtful conclusion ties many of the topics together, even if briefly and, conceding that 'the prospects for economic development and democracy in the short and medium term appear bleak' (p. 173), identifies also a more positive agenda for the region.

*Pavel Baev*

■ Kivimäki, Timo, ed., 2003. *Development Cooperation as an Instrument in the Prevention of Terrorism*. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Nordic Institute of Asia Studies. 133 pp. ISBN 8779647863.

This report adds to a literature that is now growing by the month, driven by the question of 'what to do'; what long-term strategies can be used to counter terrorism? While it has been repeated many times that Osama bin Laden grew up in a rich family, does that lay dead arguments that factors such as unemployment and poverty feed recruitment to extremist organizations? This report, commissioned by the Danish Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, explores common claims about causal links between terrorism, on the one hand, and poverty, lack of democracy and governance, on the other. Kivimäki hits right into the critical issues in his introductory chapters, on definitions, the global context and (with Jakob Trane Ibsen) existing development cooperation for terrorism prevention. In the main documentary section, a panel of authors examine six regions of the developing world, for their current state and potential with regard to fundamentalism and terrorism. The last chapters return to the broad issues of causes of terrorism and extreme fundamentalism, and policy recommendations. The report is crystal clear in concluding that development cooperation might contribute to prevent violent fundamentalism and terrorism, and also reduce the risk of counter-terrorism causing violence in the developing world. Reflecting different causal chains of terrorism, development interventions may take place on several levels: poverty reduction aimed at grievances; democratization for peaceful management of conflict; internationally 'inclusive globalization'; local efforts targeting in particular young, educated men; and many more. For its accessible overviews and no-nonsense discussion, this report is a good reminder that valuable and timely research is not only published in journal or book format.

*Sven Gunnar Simonsen*

■ Lang, Anthony F., Jr., ed., 2003. *Just Intervention*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 231 pp. ISBN 0878403418.

In the preface of this book, the editor, Anthony Lang, poses the question: Why another book on humanitarian intervention? In fact, it could be argued that the war on terror has superseded humanitarian intervention on the international agenda or that the already impressive amount of published research would make any new book seem repetitive and superfluous. The 11 contributing authors, however, succeed in dispelling any doubt about the continuing relevance of discussing the problems of humanitarian intervention in the present world order. Tackling different aspects of intervention, this book offers the reader fresh insights and new perspectives on this well-researched field. Next to the ethical dilemmas facing military humanitarian intervention, questions of how best to intervene with non-military means are raised. Julie Mertus and

Michael Barnett take a more detailed look at the intervention in Kosovo in 1999 and at the failed crisis management in Rwanda in 1994. Both case studies remind the reader of the many actual quandaries of intervention. Nicholas Wheeler ends the book with an assessment of humanitarian intervention after 9/11 and suggests that an intervention should be judged by its outcome rather than by supposed intentions of the intervening powers. Thus, the war against terror and humanitarian intervention might go hand in hand. Although the respective articles make for interesting and at times thought-provoking reading, the book lacks a bold proposal on how to achieve a workable implementation of a right or duty to intervene for humanitarian purposes. It seems that while the debate in academic circles gets more and more sophisticated, little changes on the ground.

*Dieter Janssen*

■ Lincoln, Bruce, 2002. *Holy Terrors: Thinking About Religion After September 11*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. xi + 174 pp. ISBN 0226481956.

Do the 9/11 attacks prove that Islam was misused for political aims? Or could the attacks of 9/11 be called religious? Based on primary sources, Bruce Lincoln challenges our perception of religion and argues the latter. Divided into six chapters, the book falls thematically into two major parts. The first offers close-up readings of the text read by the hijackers before the attacks, the 7 October speeches made by Bush and bin Laden, and responses from US Christian conservatives. Lincoln's reading of the hijackers' instructions show that they acted out in a ritualized and *religious* manner. Further, in spite of their many differences, Lincoln reaches the provocative conclusion that these Islamists, together with Christian conservatives in the US, share what Lincoln terms a 'maximalist' view on religion, namely that religion should be the central domain of culture. This term, being a useful alternative to the problematic 'fundamentalism', is opposed to 'minimalist' views on religion, which counts for the Western, secularized traditions where religion is confined to the private sphere. These issues are analysed in the second part of the book, where the author discusses religion's historically changing relationship to other aspects of culture and the state. Importantly, the result is a work that forces

us to rethink entirely what religion is in an increasingly global and conflictual world, and one of the noteworthy contributions to this debate is its emphasis on (ritual) practice and community, challenging substantive, faith-oriented definitions of religion. The work as a whole is particularly admirable for combining focused analysis of the narrow, but highly important, texts of 9/11 with large-scale discussions on religion and conflict from a cross-culturally historical perspective.

*Iselin Frydenlund*

■ Mackinlay, John & Peter Cross, eds, 2003. *Regional Peacekeepers: The Paradox of Russian Peacekeeping*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press. ix + 224 pp. ISBN 9280810790.

In the early 1990s, Russia intervened forcefully in several violent conflicts in the former Soviet space and contributed to international peace operations in the Balkans. The motivations for and methods of these interventions were problematic, and the successes that Moscow had achieved in terminating hostilities were overshadowed by its brutal war in Chechnya. The applicability of the term 'peacekeeping' to these Russian interventions, most of which – in a transformed shape and reduced scale – are still continuing, has been questionable from the very start. John Mackinlay, the leading British expert on the military side of modern peacekeeping, is exactly the person who could provide an authoritative answer to this question. In this book, he presents a paradox instead of an answer, focusing on 'the difference between the intent of the intervention and the

reality of its outcome on the ground' (p. 211). The authors examine these differences across a range of cases, from Bosnia and Herzegovina (based, perhaps, on the most solid research) to Tajikistan. These cases are maybe not sufficiently tightly integrated, and some of the analysis appears dated; the chapter on the shifts in Russian peacekeeping policies at the start of Putin's presidency is probably the weakest in the book. Nevertheless, this re-examination of the unique experiences in forceful management of various conflicts accumulated in Moscow is worth the attention of every reader who is looking for clues to the problems of peacekeeping.

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