

Book Notes

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Al-Rasheed, Madawi & Marat Shterin, eds (2009) *Dying for Faith: Religiously Motivated Violence in the Contemporary World*. London and New York: I B Tauris. xxx + 222 pp. ISBN 9781845116873.

The real essence of religious violence is of course not dying for faith but killing for faith, as Abdelwahab El-Affendi notes in one of the contributions to this new anthology. Dying for faith has no meaning unless you ‘take someone along’, either as victim or audience. The mildly misnamed volume predictably emphasizes martyrs and suicide bombers, especially Islamic ones: of the 16 chapters, all but five focus significantly or exclusively on Muslim terrorist violence. Surely this territory is important, but the best and most promising contributions to the book explore other and wider issues. The selections are organized into three parts, ‘Understanding religiously motivated violence’, ‘Religiously motivated violence in specific contexts’ (of which five of the seven contexts are Islamic), and ‘Reporting religiously motivated violence’. As in any edited collection, the offerings are uneven, not so much here in quality as in length: some are as short as six pages. The outstanding chapters include John Hall’s phenomenological treatment of apocalypse and temporality, Stuart Wright’s discussion of ‘war framing’ and religious violence, El-Affendi’s chapter on the ‘calculus of salvation’, Neil Whitehead’s chapter on ‘sacral violence’, and especially Ian Reader’s chapter on bodily punishment and ‘the spiritually transcendent dimensions of violence’ in Zen Buddhism, which is so effective because it is so unexpected. While all of the essays in the anthology add incrementally to the study of religious violence, these five pieces, and particularly Reader’s, show what the analysis of religious violence can accomplish when we go beyond the usual terrorism cases to ask deeper questions and take a more inclusive approach to religious violence.

Jack David Eller

Bayley, David H & Robert M Perito (2010) *The Police in War: Fighting Insurgency, Terrorism, and Violent Crime*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. 195 pp. ISBN 9781588267054.

David H Bayley and Robert M Perito have written an interesting book about what went wrong with policing and security sector reform in post-intervention Iraq and Afghanistan and how it *should* have been done. The two interventions shared several major flaws: There was no plan for law enforcement in the aftermath of intervention. Training of local police – when it first started – suffered from lack of skilled personnel and insufficient length (8–10 weeks courses). Moreover, the role of the police was wrongly conceived, according to the authors. Rather than being trained for and tasked with providing security and intelligence in relatively secure areas, the police were largely seen as ‘little soldiers’ to be used in offensive operations alongside the military. The authors summarize six previous US interventions to show what should have been, but was not, learned. They also draw out recommendations for policing from the vast counterinsurgency, counterterrorism and general crime prevention literatures. Interestingly, they argue that there is great consistency in what the police should do to prevent insurgency, terrorism and crime. The most important is to serve and protect ‘ordinary’ people. This will win the public’s hearts and minds and thereby secure their cooperation, which will greatly assist the government in fighting insurgents, terrorists and criminals alike. This book provides much concrete and useful policy advice, but some difficult questions are insufficiently answered. For example, why do so many counterinsurgent efforts – despite much advice to the contrary – focus on ‘search and destroy’ rather than ‘clear, hold, build’? Why did the USA not plan for post-intervention law enforcement despite the experiences from previous interventions? Such questions call for further social science study.

Helge Holtermann

Bercovitch, Jacob & Richard Jackson (2009) *Conflict Resolution in the Twenty-First Century: Principles, Methods, and Approaches*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. xi + 226 pp. ISBN 9780472050628.

In this timely and well structured book, Bercovitch and Jackson analyze the evolution of conflict resolution methods by examining and presenting a detailed survey of its various applications: conflict management; resolution; prevention; mediation; negotiation; bargaining; arbitration; peacekeeping; and track II diplomacy, along with other – traditional and emerging – diplomatic approaches. The authors argue that the nature of conflicts, in the post-Cold War world, has changed drastically. Hence, modern approaches are required rather than traditional – state centric; status quoist; and one-dimensional – approaches which operate within the Westphalian rationale. They insist that modern/second-generation techniques are multidimensional, ‘more comprehensive, more all-embracing, and more focused on the basic issues and structures of a conflict’, because, in terms of resolution, their emphasis is more on human security than state security (p. 1). Therefore, the authors argue for non-traditional conflict resolution techniques – which allow many voices, concerns and issues to be aired in order to bring credible and durable peace – to manage modern violent inter- and intra-state conflicts. This book makes an important attempt to demystify the dynamics of two different systems – interstate and intrastate – of conflict resolution in international relations. A state-based interstate conflict management system, according to the authors, is generally well suited to sovereign states which operate within international anarchy. But, unlike the state-based system, the intrastate system is in an embryonic stage and is not fully developed – legally and conceptually. That’s why the majority of intrastate conflicts receive negligible response from the international community, unless they turn grave and/or intersect with the latter’s interests, as happened in Bosnia, Somalia, Sudan and Rwanda. This authoritative book is a must-read for practitioners, scholars and students of conflict resolution, mediation and security studies.

Surinder Mohan

Milton-Edwards, Beverley & Stephen Farrell (2010) *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*. Cambridge: Polity. xiii + 353 pp. ISBN 9780745642956.

The book is on the modern political history of Palestine, seen through one of its most influential players, Hamas, the

Islamic Resistance Movement. The chapters are organized according to key moments in recent Palestinian politics: the intifadas, the peace process, the election victory of Hamas in 2006 and the subsequent Palestinian power struggle. The book also contains chapters on Hamas and women, on the military branch of Hamas, and on Hamas’s historical roots. An exceptional quality of the book is the impressive number of interviews with relevant key players referred to. The interviews with people from Hamas and Fatah, and also various Israelis among others, have been conducted by the authors throughout all the years that Hamas has existed. Does the book say anything new? Maybe not. This is not a theorizing book. The authors do not have an explicit argument on how the phenomenon of Hamas should be understood. Nevertheless, the book may be highly valuable for the expert on Hamas and Palestinian politics as well as for the non-expert. For the expert, the study presents unique sources through the interviews referred to. For the non-expert, it is an accessible, engaging and well-documented political history of Hamas and the Middle East conflict. The authors are far from apologetic for Hamas. But it emerges that how Hamas evolves is largely connected to how it is treated, and also to how the Palestinians are treated. At the end of the book, a Hamas leader states that there is no solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict if it does not include Hamas. The logic of this dictum is one of the key lessons learnt from the book.

Dag Tuastad

Brewer, John D (2010) *Peace Processes: A Sociological Approach*. Cambridge & Malden, MA: Polity. x + 237 pp. ISBN 9780745647777.

This book focuses on the sociological perspective of communal violence, war and peace processes. After two chapters dedicated to analyzing different typologies of post-violence society and to conceptualizing peace processes, a specific chapter contributes to the debate on the role of civil society in peace dynamics without romanticizing it. Moving through the sociological tradition, the author devotes three chapters to specific issues where the sociological contribution may be particularly relevant: gender, emotions and memory. The overarching question of all chapters is how the sociological approach adds value to the knowledge of peace processes. The book is therefore centred around a theoretical debate within sociology, even though references to other disciplines and regional case studies are present in all the chapters. This is not necessarily negative, but it makes the reading useful mainly for

scholars in peace studies who do not have a strong sociological background and for sociologists willing to improve their knowledge on peace processes. Stimulating quotations and insights are also found in the text. However, some conclusions may appear quite obvious for scholars in peace studies, for instance the assertion that political and social peace processes are mutually reinforcing.

Bernardo Venturi

Cordell, Karl & Stefan Wolff (2009) *Ethnic Conflict: Causes, Consequences, and Responses*. Cambridge & Malden, MA: Polity. 232 pp. ISBN 9780745639314.

Ethnic conflicts are both highly common and highly variable, and *Ethnic Conflict* attempts to impose some order on the diversity by developing an analytical framework or model (not a new theory, as the authors explicitly stress) that can integrate multiple theories and encompass the diversity of actual conflicts. The result is a highly conceptual treatment that does not commit to any particular theoretical perspective but instead organizes the variables that must be considered to make sense of any specific case of ethnic conflict. The framework operates at four levels of analysis – local, state, regional, and global. Additionally, the three essential components of the framework are the motive, means, and opportunity for each conflict. Most of the book, however, is dedicated not to the understanding but to the prevention, management, and settlement of such conflicts, including the negotiation, implementation, and operation stages of settlement. The single longest chapter discusses international intervention, with three brief case studies (Burma, Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo, and Sudan) and a more detailed description of Kosovo; the main point is that international intervention can take different forms and have different results. Finally, the book compares various institutional designs (consociationalism, centripetalism, and power dividing) and contrasts management and settlement of conflicts to the ‘alternatives’ like genocide, ethnic cleansing, forced assimilation, and such. The book is very much written by political scientists for political scientists, so the cases presented offer little in the way of pre-modern history or ethnographic description. However, the theoretically neutral approach and the thoughtful organization of concepts (often graphically depicted in tables) make *Ethnic Conflict* a useful contribution to the contemporary political understanding of identity-based struggles.

Jack David Eller

Erk, Jan & Lawrence M Anderson, eds (2010) *The Paradox of Federalism: Does Self-Rule Accommodate or Exacerbate Ethnic Divisions?* Abingdon: Routledge. x + 130 pp. ISBN 9780415564946.

Based on a special issue of *Regional and Federal Studies*, this edited volume explores the impact of federalism on ethnic divisions in heterogeneous societies. Whereas federalism is often seen as a conflict-mitigating instrument, it has also been argued that it strengthens ethnic divisions and provides ethnic groups with opportunities and resources for conflict and secession. However, the aim of this book is not to arrive at a final answer to that question; rather, it seeks to investigate the effects of federalism in different political and institutional environments. The chapters include both theoretical and empirical contributions, and overall this book fits neatly into the wider debate on power-sharing in heterogeneous societies. The empirical chapters look at both nonviolent cases such as Quebec in Canada and conflict-ridden societies like Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. One of the main advantages of this book is that it actually moves beyond the paradox of federalism; instead of taking sides, the contributing authors try to bring in more nuances to the picture and look into both conflict-inducing and mitigating aspects of federalism. Interestingly enough, one of the authors, David Cameron, suggests that the institutional structure of federalism might not matter that much at all (p. 116); other factors are much more decisive. Anyhow, this is a recommended read for both scholars and practitioners who want to get an overview of the theoretical arguments on how federalism impacts ethnic divisions and conflict, and see them applied to real-world examples.

Johan Dittrich Hallberg

Gates, Scott & Simon Reich, eds (2009) *Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. 352 pp. ISBN 9780822960294.

Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States is an edited volume that results from two workshops aimed at bridging the gap between academic research and policymaking in this field. While the volume only reflects one aspect of the rich dialogue established in these workshops, it goes a long way towards improving our understanding of the issue of child soldiers in the context of fractured states. Contributors examine child soldiers beyond children using guns and include child

spies, servants and cooks in armed groups. The volume considers critically some key measures taken by the international community to address child soldiering and explores new avenues to mitigate the problem. Case studies are drawn from Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, covering concerns such as: the number of child soldiers; child recruitment; the agency of child soldiers; the implementation of international treaties and conventions; the impact of technological advances in small arms on child soldiering; and the strategies of military organizations. Contributors to this volume show that issues such as protection against recruitment of under-aged children through deterrence, monitoring and reporting, and criminalization of child recruiters have, so far, borne little fruit. Similarly, ending poverty is a solution with serious limitations given the time span required for generating such change. The volume suggests, among other prescriptions, that sound education policies and enhanced security in camps of refugees and displaced people can help curb this phenomenon. This volume covers a wide range of pertinent issues concerning child soldiers and is certainly useful to scholars, policymakers and practitioners working in this important field.

Alcinda Honwana

Gayer, Laurent & Christophe Jaffrelot, eds (2010) *Armed Militias of South Asia: Fundamentalists, Maoists and Separatists*. London: Hurst. 276 pp. ISBN 9781850659778.

Armed conflict in the world has been on the wane since 2000 but is rising in South Asia, where every country has at least one ongoing militant movement. Leaning on fieldwork-heavy accounts from regional experts, Gayer and Jaffrelot's edited volume is a noble attempt to find similarities in these conflicts and explore the mechanisms by which militancy is so prolific. Indeed, this challenge is daunting: one critique is that the book lacks substance on conflicts in Northeast India that have left 15,000 dead over the past 50 years, but this can be as much attributed to the sheer number of conflicts in the region as to any editorial oversight. The case studies from Nepal, India, Burma, Pakistan and Sri Lanka excellently harness the extensive fieldwork done by all authors, highlighting the importance of on-the-ground research in understanding the local dynamics and complex narratives that drive conflict. However, the volume teases the reader with a promise of overarching analysis that the introduction and conclusion fail to satisfy. Lacking

are discussions of foundations of broken justice systems that go back to British colonial histories, resource war dynamics, and other structural elements of localized violence that bind conflict ties across the region. In addition, most of these conflicts are fought within democracies, harness the fluctuating and malleable militant ideologies of those left behind in the post-Cold War economic development boom, and are far more influenced by international aid and policies of Global North states than is illustrated here. A more thorough discussion of these elements would have cemented this edition's place in the growing regional literature, not just as a valuable compendium of cases, but as an essential reader for conflict in South Asia.

Jason Miklian

Haass, Richard N (2009) *War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 337 pp. ISBN 9781416549024.

Richard N Haass, president of the US-based Council of Foreign Relations (a non-partisan think-tank), was one of the key players behind the scenes in both Gulf Wars: as senior director on the staff of the National Security Council from 1989 to 1993, under President George H W Bush, and as director of policy planning and principal adviser to Secretary of State Colin Powell from 2001 to 2003. In his book comparing the two wars, he gives behind-the-scenes impressions from two dramatic buildups to war and portrays the deep contrasts between the approaches of the two presidents Bush and their understanding of the Gulf region and the use of armed force. Haass, a careful realist who voiced early yet guarded criticism within the George W Bush administration against a war in Iraq, gives fascinating accounts of personalities and processes in the two administrations. His conclusions are, admittedly, hardly original. As his title suggests, he views the First Gulf War as a justified 'war of necessity', and the Second as a 'war of choice' that could – and in hindsight should – have been avoided. Yet, while his conclusions do not differ from those of many other policy analysts and writers, his close-up personal relationship to politicians and policies makes his contribution fascinating and worthwhile. US involvement in the Persian Gulf over the last two decades has led to heated ideological debates. Haass does his best instead to give a nuanced, realistic assessment – and maybe his voice is all the clearer and more forceful for that.

Henrik Syse

Hazan, Pierre (2010) *Judging War, Judging History: Behind Truth and Reconciliation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 222 pp. ISBN 9780804769556.

Transitional justice is by no means a new concept. It can be argued that the origins of transitional justice can be traced back to the American Revolution when British loyalists and collaborators were tried and punished. What Hazan seeks to accomplish in his book is not to chronologically follow the development of transitional justice as a concept. Rather, Hazan critically examines the contemporary conceptualization of transitional justice in the post-Second World War period and its growing significance over the recent two decades with the end of several civil wars. The implementation of transitional justice became a crucial and obligatory process in the reconstruction of war-torn society. However, in practice, Hazan argues, transitional justice sits in 'the ambiguous gamble that the politics of punishment and pardon can curb violence' (p. 9). The author then moves on to identify the limits, contradictions, ambiguities and results of transitional justice by examining the cases of Morocco and Uganda, as well as the outcome of the Durban Conference. To conclude, Hazan provides four significant challenges that need to be addressed in order to strengthen transitional justice at a practical level: legal ambiguity, the competition for victimhood, justice perverted by politics and the technocrat illusion. The book is enlightening and fresh. Even for a person with no in-depth academic knowledge of transitional justice, the book is quite useful as its structure flows from providing the background of the concept, including the genealogy of transitional justice, to critically assessing the flaws in the implementation of transitional justice.

Suk Chun

Hegghammer, Thomas (2010) *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hegghammer presents a carefully researched, clearly argued and well-structured study of jihadism in the Saudi kingdom and beyond. The book builds on fieldwork in Saudi Arabia, numerous interviews, online materials by jihadists, and the biographies of 539 Saudi militants. The result is a rich account providing new insights into recruitment and radicalization processes of violent jihadi individuals and groups. One of the most interesting contributions of this book is how Hegghammer puts ideology center-stage for explaining behavior. In line with this, the author

develops typologies of Sunni militants according to their rationales as (1) state-centered 'socio-revolutionaries' seeking to oust illegitimate Muslim regimes, (2) nation-oriented *irredentists* involved in separatist struggles against local non-Muslims, (3) Umma-oriented *pan-Islamists* fighting for the Muslim nation, (4) morality-oriented *vigilantists* struggling to correct fellow Muslims' moral misconduct, or (5) violent *sectarians* killing to intimidate the competing sect (Sunni/Shiite). The book then outlines the argument of how jihad in Saudi Arabia developed in three historical phases: the rise of classical jihadism (1979–95), the mobilization to al-Qaeda (1995–96), and finally the formation of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (QAP) in 2002 and 2003. The author develops the narrative focusing on micro, meso, and macro level factors, capturing important structural factors and global events (the historical context), but also, importantly, how this level affects the agents and subjects of recruitment to violence abroad. In addition, Hegghammer describes the tension between the Saudi regime and religious establishment on the one hand and ideologies underpinning global jihad on the other. This book should become essential reading for those interested in understanding Saudi and global jihadism, as well as mobilization to radical social movements more generally.

Ragnhild Nordås

Hensel, Howard M, ed. (2010) *The Prism of Just War: Asian and Western Perspectives on the Legitimate Use of Military Force*. Surrey: Ashgate. 283 pp. ISBN 9780754675105.

For centuries, jurists, theologians and philosophers have continually reflected upon ways to restrain the use of armed force as a means of resolving conflicts. It is due to this preoccupation that a just war tradition emerged, with its mainstay being the creation of normative criteria that would assist one to contemplate when it is appropriate to resort to the use of armed force (*ius ad bellum*), and how such force should be limited during armed conflict (*ius in bello*). This book makes a valuable contribution to the scholarly debate concerning the just war tradition by illustrating the ways that Western, Islamic, Hindu and East Asian traditions have addressed the ethical questions that are raised regarding the appropriate and legitimate use of military force. By means of an exploration of historical, philosophical and religious texts, *The Prism of Just War* presents a comparative analysis which effectively extends beyond the conventional Western-centred focus of scholarly works on the ethics of war. Concluding the volume,

the editor, Howard M Hensel, reflects that despite diversity in religious beliefs and cultural backgrounds, there are indeed commonalities among the analytical categories that have been used by both Western and non-Western thinkers to develop specific criteria for just war in each tradition. Although one could wish for a deeper analysis of the resulting criteria that have been found to overlap across the cultures considered, this is a thought-provoking and engaging volume which successfully broadens our awareness of the ways in which different civilizations have approached the moral reality of warfare.

Nicole Monique Apostol

Hirst, David (2010) *Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East*. New York: Nation Books. xv + 480 pp. ISBN 9781568584225.

In just over 400 pages, Middle East journalist David Hirst manages to trace 150 years of Lebanese history, intertwining it with pieces of Israeli, Syrian, Iranian and Palestinian history when necessary. The author has set himself an extremely difficult task as Lebanon is arguably the most complex and confusing of all the Middle East states, owing to its social mosaic of ethno-religious groups and its history riddled with internal conflict and external meddling. Both the book's strength and its weakness lie in its ambitiousness. As a masterful narrator, David Hirst manages to guide the reader through the massive amounts of material with great elegance, and for those readers seeking the one book that can serve as an introduction to the history of Lebanon and its many conflicts, this is a good contender. The fluidity of the narrative is not, however, matched by depth. I was often left wondering when the narrative would slow down to allow for deeper analysis. Although some events are given more space than others, the deeper analysis never really takes place. For established Middle East academics, therefore, the book is little less than a highly enjoyable summary of events. The one thing that sets the book apart from most similar works is its use of Bakunin's thesis on small states – they are vulnerable to the larger states that surround them, but in this they are also a source of trouble for the very same large states as they become trapped as tormentors. This thesis follows through the whole narrative and gives structure to the otherwise chaotic story that is the tragedy of Lebanon.

Jørgen Jensehaugen

Leuprecht, Christian, ed. (2010) *Defending Democracy and Securing Diversity*. London: Routledge. 248 pp. ISBN 9780415576499.

This timely edited volume deals broadly with challenges pertaining to diversity – including gender, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation – in the defense and security sector. It argues persuasively that not only is the security sector there to protect and defend democracy, but that it should also practice what it preaches and become more representative of the population at large. As Leuprecht demonstrates in the final chapter, advocating diversity is not a matter of normative position only. Diversity should also be considered a strategic asset, particularly as the traditional recruitment pool is shrinking and as operations become more complex. Although it is recognized that diversity has its limits, the concern that diversity adversely affects operational effectiveness is often exaggerated. The volume is pleasantly coherent. Two introductory chapters, by Alan Okros and David Last, provide a very useful framework for understanding and discussing diversity issues in the security sector. Okros calls for the sector to embrace diversity as an internal philosophy and discusses the premises for achieving this. Last discusses the implications for diversity of the long-term evolution of the security sector. A series of relevant country case studies follow, of the UK, Canada, the Netherlands, Guyana, and South Africa, as well as studies of Dutch peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo and Canadian forces in Afghanistan. While much focus is on large demographic groups like women and visible minorities, the volume also addresses inclusion of sexual minorities as well as diversity within what we often consider to be homogenous groups. The case studies illustrate an impressive breadth in approaches, ranging from surveys of ethnic minority youth to anthropological studies, thus providing a very useful guide to the multifaceted study of diversity and security.

Henrik Urdal

North, Douglass C; John Joseph Wallis & Barry R Weingast (2009) *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. New York: Cambridge. 308 pp. ISBN 9780521761734.

Stating that social science 'provides no explanation' for the peace and democracy enjoyed in 'developed societies', or for how a government 'creates the rule of law necessary for markets' (p. 110–111), the authors claim to introduce a 'new research agenda' based on their categorization of two

kinds of societies in history: 'open' orders characterized by markets, democracy, rule of law, and beliefs in universalism and equality; and 'natural' orders characterized by patronage, rent-seeking, and beliefs in ideology, identity, and hierarchy. They assert several ground-breaking implications of these orders: markets and democracy go together; violence in natural states is contained by dominant coalitions of groups linked with patronage and corruption; the importation of open institutions to natural states can be destabilizing; open orders require larger governments to sustain impersonal exchange and are better at producing public goods; and social scientists have overlooked all this because they tend to take open orders as given. But there is little new here: the two orders are indistinguishable from my own 'marketplace' and 'patron-clientelist' systems, which I have described in great detail, including the core distinction of personal-clientelist from impersonal-contractual exchange, the peaceful nature of the latter, and all of the above ground-breaking implications. The authors are explicit that they lack theory and depart from previous work mainly with their speculations and case histories. They assume the propensity to barter and that institutional change is path-dependent and elite-driven, suggesting that markets are unleashed in 'mature' states when elites free them by converting their privileges to rights. Their cases are useful but Eurocentric; there is no recognition of established explanations – such as my own rise of markets and feedback loops – and their conclusions are drawn too easily, given the lack of comparative analyses.

Michael Mousseau

Saideman, Stephen M & Marie-Joëlle Zahar, eds (2008) *Intra-State Conflict, Governments and Security: Dilemmas of Deterrence and Assurance*. New York: Routledge. 252 pp. ISBN 9780415460507.

Why intra-state conflict breaks out, how it can be prevented and terminated continues to be explored by a wide range of research. Saideman & Zahar contribute to this debate by focusing on the role of the state. They explore the characteristics and dynamics of the dual, and often contradictory, role of the state: it must deter violence to protect its citizens, and it must assure its people, opponents and potential rebels that it does not pose a threat to them. All chapters evaluate different aspects of this dual role. For example, Murshed explores how inequalities and commitment problems constrain states' ability to deter violence. Aydin & Gates show how institutional characteristics shape the risk of government mass killings. Their findings, including the positive link between political participation and mass killings, should

fuel more research into the linkages between regime characteristics and conflict. Petersen & Staniland explore how constellations between the government, the military and ethnic groups affect the state's ability to deter and assure. Two chapters focus on the role of external actors; one evaluates the case of Basques in Spain. The contributions provide a convincing argument that we need to develop a better understanding of a state's ability to deter and assure to further uncover the dynamics of intra-state conflict. Although it would have been interesting to explore how deterrence and assurance connect to other explanations of intra-state conflict, this book makes a highly valuable contribution. The evaluation of specific institutions and characteristics of states should be of interest to policymakers, while the theoretical focus and results of the empirical analyses should inspire further research into causes of intra-state conflict.

Sabine C Carey

Stavrianakis, Anna (2010) *Taking Aim at the Arms Trade: NGOs, Global Civil Society and the World Military Order*. London: Zed. 214 pp. ISBN 9781848132696.

Conventionally, NGOs are given significant credit for the advances of arms trade control measures seen on domestic, regional and global levels over the last few decades. The development of these mechanisms, often referencing human rights and international humanitarian law, development concerns and the impact of the arms trade on stability and conflict, are interpreted as progressive and supported by a wide range of organizations with mandates related to the above mentioned policy spheres. With this book, Stavrianakis attempts to challenge this dominant perspective on arms trade control by critically assessing the actions of key NGOs, primarily in the UK, through a Marxist lens. Most significantly, she addresses the way in which the NGOs have interacted with the UK government and the strategies they have chosen to gain influence over international and UK arms transfer laws and policies. Her main argument and criticism concerns how the arms transfer control strategies championed by the NGOs maintain the global South as 'an area of intervention', understood primarily in terms of how the North acts to influence realities in the South. Through focusing on the responsibility of arms-exporting states in the global North not to facilitate human rights violations or indirectly harm economic development, the NGOs fail to address the underlying structure of the arms trade and its part in a global military order that she claims reproduces hierarchical North-South relations and is part of a wider structure of global capitalist relations. Stavrianakis' argument is an

interesting corrective, but not all of her criticisms are sufficiently backed up by empirical evidence, so the book falls short of providing the all-encompassing criticism the author seemingly strives for.

Hilde Wallacher

Stein, Leslie (2009) *The Making of Modern Israel 1948–1967*. Cambridge: Polity. xii + 412 pp. ISBN 9780745644660.

The Making of Modern Israel is an account of the nascent years of Israel. Far from being a neutral storyteller, the author has chosen to produce an astoundingly out of date book. Leslie Stein has clearly attempted to rewrite the history of Israel, in the style that was used prior to the opening of the Israeli archives. In so doing, the author uncritically cites the Israeli leaderships' own accounts of events, ignores most recent historiography and draws politically dubious, deterministic analogies to the present. When discussing Israeli domestic policy, the author is able to provide an account with a certain depth, even managing, once in a while, to take a critical stance. When it comes to foreign policy, particularly relating to Arabs, be it the neighboring Arab states or the Palestinians, Leslie Stein is shockingly biased. While Israelis, in Stein's account, are able to have diverging views within both their society and government, the Arab states and people are seemingly unable to be complex. Stein has very consciously chosen to take all the extreme Arab statements at absolute face value, yet discusses none of the moderate stances. Stein also avoids explaining why the Arab views came about and rather resorts to ethnic stereotypes. By demonizing the Arabs, ignoring recent historical research and praising Israel, Stein has managed to create a historical account that has no academic credence. The fact that the author has not done any original research of his own adds to this unfortunate result. The only real value of the book is that it gives a certain insight into how staunch pro-Israeli academics wish history had been.

Jørgen Jensehaugen

Tronvoll, Kjetil (2009) *War and the Politics of Identity in Ethiopia: The Making of Enemies and Allies in the Horn of Africa*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey. xiv + 239 pp. ISBN 9781847016126.

Nationalism, ethnicity and the notion of horizontal inequalities figure frequently as assumed causes of both inter- and intra-state wars. A small, against-the-current

field of conflict studies focus on the *interaction* between these identity dimensions and war, where the latter often have a strong influence over the former. Kjetil Tronvoll's superb case study, *War and the Politics of Identity in Ethiopia*, belongs within this field. Combining in-depth empirical study with a thorough theoretical anchoring, Tronvoll investigates consequences of the Ethiopia–Eritrea war of 1998–2000. This was one of the most violent wars since WWII and was fought between two regimes headed by formerly allied rebel leaders. The Ethiopian leaders needed to explain to ex-rebel fighters and civilian supporters in the northern province of Tigray that they were now to be allied with their former enemy, the Amhara, and to mobilize against their former comrades in Eritrea. Tronvoll utilizes this tableau to investigate how political elites manipulate identities, both ethnicity and nationalism, and he also demonstrates the different ways in which ordinary people perceive and deal with these attempts at manipulation. Two important points emerge from the book: people's identities are malleable, but malleable to different degrees, and some identity alterations are easier to sell than others. Previous studies have already demonstrated fundamental problems in the search for a mechanical relationship or statistical correlation between group identity and war, but such approaches have rarely been criticized more convincingly and thoroughly than in *War and the Politics of Identity in Ethiopia*, and the book should be read by anyone attempting research on these complicated questions.

Øystein H Rolandsen

Wertheimer, Roger, ed. (2010) *Empowering Our Military Conscience*. Farnham: Ashgate. xvii + 207 pp. ISBN 9780754678946.

The number of books addressing the ethics and laws of war is ever growing, and it is hard to imagine that new points could still be raised. Yet, with the ever-changing landscape of war, and the new challenges arising therewith, the normative debate must also develop, and new perspectives are needed. This book is one of the most important and worthwhile recent contributions to this field. It takes the following two premises as its starting-point: first, that there are weaknesses or ambiguities in traditional understandings of just war theory that need to be addressed in the face of such phenomena as humanitarian intervention, preventive war, and warfare against terror; and second, that the contents and ideology of military ethics education must be addressed, thoroughly and seriously, in order to face up to these new challenges.

With the aid of leading thinkers within military ethics, including Michael Walzer and George Lucas, some of the hardest questions of military ethics are asked, often quite critically. The authors do not all agree among themselves: the moral distinction between *ius ad bellum* and *ius in bello* and the role of intentions and motivations are examples of issues where diverging views are presented. But the authors manage truly to address the core difficulties of military ethics and the ethics of war, and they also manage to present the issues in a way that will be of help to students as well as trained scholars.

Henrik Syse

Authors of Book Notes in this issue:

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Sabine C Carey - University of Mannheim

Suk Chun - PRIO

Jack David Eller - Community College of Denver

Johan Dittrich Hallberg - PRIO

Helge Holtermann - PRIO

Alcinda Honwana - The Open University

Jørgen Jensehaugen - University of Oslo

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Michael Mousseau - Koç University

Ragnhild Nordås - University of Notre Dame

Øystein H Rolandsen - PRIO

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Dag Tuastad - PRIO

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