Dambisa Moyo, *How the West Was Lost: Fifty Years of Economic Folly and the Stark Choices Ahead* (London: Allen Lane, 2011, pp. 197, end-notes to each chapter).

Reviewed by Sheila Pelizzon

The world financial crisis beginning in 2008 has given rise to a spate of books by various authors explaining the phenomenon. This contribution by a Harvard-and-Oxford-educated economist explains the origins of the current crisis and its implication for western economies. Yet perhaps more accurately it describes the likelihood of at least relative decline of the United States, with other western countries playing, at best, supporting roles in the picture. This is a highly readable book written in journalistic -rather than academic- style. For the non-specialist it offers considerable insight into the current economic troubles of the US, and by extension, the West.

The author blames the increasingly parlous economic situation of the US on several things which can be summarized as a mis-allocation of capital and labor. Specifically the author maintains that increased guarantees of banks debts have led to increased willingness on the part of banks to undertake risky investments. This in turn has led to the phenomenon of sub-prime mortgage lending, artificially high prices and ultimately the housing bubble. At the same time it has contributing to unmanageable credit card debt and a "credit-card culture" throughout the West.

Under mis-allocation of labor the author includes government –sponsored pension plans (ponzi schemes in her view), which today are underfunded and therefore unsustainable; the overpayment of those "...whose societal benefit seems relatively narrow (sportsmen, CEOs, hedge fund managers)"; and difficulties on migrating to the US. Added to this the de-industrialization of the West plus a lack of investment in creating scientists and engineers has resulted in the loss of a technological edge in the West in the fields of automobiles, electronics and aerospace. Additionally, the consumption boom in the US and UK (fuelled it should be said by credit-card culture) while not in itself bad, according to Miss Moyo was detrimental to western economies because a large part of the profits went abroad -to China, for example. At the same time infrastructure was allowed to deteriorate, while investment tended to be non-productive-namely, in housing. Ms. Moyo's largest concern throughout the book is that all of this will add to the potential supremacy of China. Perish the thought!!!

All this is well and good as far as it goes. The author even includes solutions to the issue of American decline. One such solution is greater state control over the economy. Here-in begin some problems, for she does not actually address in any details solutions to the problems she has outlined. Rather she *appears* to fall back on stock neoliberal nostrums for most among which is the need to cut back on welfare spending:

> ". ..the government's tax base is shrinking, but public expenditure is rapidly increasing with healthcare, pension, unemployment and poverty spending all on the rise" (p.193).

All this seems to be saying is the relatively poor should pay for the follies of the elite. Meanwhile, she fails to mention that one of the biggest government expenditures in the US today is military expenditure. A disinterested observer should note that the military is giving poor value for money. Without the bloated military budget the US could afford to rebuild its industrial infrastructure, revamp its educational system, provides social services, including pensions, pay its foreign debts and most probably still have money to spare. An interesting theme she could have considered, but does not, is whether the militarization of the US is a kind of compensation for its loss of economic supremacy. What she also fails to mention is the fact that many people who are wealthy pay little or no income taxes at all. Indeed they often send money abroad to tax havens. This is revenue lost to the government. On top of this unemployment has risen and those jobs that have been available have tended to be relatively low-paying ones, on the incomes of which, relatively lower taxes are paid.

The major problem with the book as it stands appears to this reviewer to be two-fold. One is, that although the author correctly decries the short-term political motivations that lie behind many economic decisions which have long-term consequences, she ignores the political process through which some of the decisions leading to this situation in the US and elsewhere in the West have come about. If, part of the current economic woes of the US (or "the West"?) are due to de-industrialization as the author implies, then might it not be useful to know how, why, and by whose decision such a situation was allowed to happen thirty years ago when the process began? This *could* be a first step in reversing the process. The closely-related second problem is that the book lacks historical depth or indeed accuracy. The issue of de-industrialization, de-regulation of banks, and the turn to the free market economics which Miss Moyo correctly sees as problematical had at its roots a reaction against declining rates of profit under the Fordist/Keynesian Demand Management on the one hand, and the stagflation of the 1970s on the other. These both gave rise to a desire to "discipline" labor. The result was neoliberalism under Reagan in the US and Thatcher in the UK and increasingly adopted by western governments. This has led to the current crisis in the capitalist world–economy today. As for accuracy the last fifty years have only been a "...the longest period in the history of man "without a major world conflict..."(p.192), if you ignore Vietnam, Iraq 1 and 2, Afghanistan, the former Yugoslavia, and even the Cold War.

Of course these complaints may simply stem from the fact that this reviewer has a background in political-economy and economic history rather than economics. This book could be usefully used in an undergraduate class dealing with the decline of US hegemony, but it should not be used alone.

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Peter Bergen, *The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict Between America and Al-Qaeda* (New York: Free Press, 2011, pp. 475)

Reviewed by Richard Dietrich

Although the United States is currently completing its withdrawal from Iraq and just beginning its withdrawal from Afghanistan, the impact of the events that have occurred there in the past decade will continue to affect the Middle East, Central Asia and the surrounding for many more years. As one era is drawing to a close in the post-9/11 era it is worthwhile to review what led the world to this point, and while there is no shortage of books on almost every aspect of the conflict between America and Al-Qaeda, Peter Bergen's *The Longest War* is one of the most useful for a number of reasons.

To begin with, *The Longest War* is an exceptionally good overview of a very complex subject. Bergen himself has become an authority on Al-Qaeda, beginning with his 1997 interview with Osama bin Laden and continuing with numerous articles and two earlier books, *The Osama bin Laden I Know* and *Holy War, Inc.* In addition to his own knowledge of the subject, the work of other journalists, as well as numerous interviews with experts in counterterrorism, members and ex-members of the Taliban and other terrorist groups, friends and relatives of top Al-Qaeda leaders, and American military officers are also used to fill out his narrative.

Secondly, Bergen approaches the conflict between the United States and Al-Qaeda from three main points of view, the American, Al-Qaeda, and ordinary Muslims across the world. By doing so he is able to show how each group perceived the actions of the others and why it chose the course of action it did. What often becomes clear from this approach is the degree to which each group often failed to understand the others.

Another excellent feature of *The Longest War* is its assessment of each side's successes and failures in the struggle that has taken place since the September 11th attacks. For Bergen Al-Qaeda's most serious miscalculation was the decision to attack the United States. Bin Laden had misjudged how the Americans would respond and Al-Qaeda lost its most secure base as a result. As for the Americans, Bergen sees the decision to invade Iraq as their most serious blunder; it diverted resources from operations against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan and revived the global jihadist struggle just when it was beginning to decline. In both cases Bergen provides detailed background information on how and why the leaders involved decided on the course of action that they did.

Another positive feature of the book is Bergen's writing. He has a clear, logical style that is educated, but never boring. He succeeds in making the often complex subject matter easy to follow and a genuine pleasure to read.

The Longest War came to print shortly after two major events in relation to the conflict between America and Al-Qaeda: the beginning of the series of uprisings in the Arab world known as "the Arab Spring", and the killing of Osama bin Laden by U.S. special forces. Bergen sees the Arab Spring and the death of bin Laden as "nails in the coffin" of Al-Qaeda – the Arab Spring to its ideology and bin Laden's death to its organization.

In summary, for anyone looking for a comprehensive overview of the conflict between the United States and Al-Qaeda and its supporters, *The Longest War* is an excellent choice. Even for those who have read many of the numerous books and articles related to this subject *The Longest War* is still worth reading as it summarizes much of what has been published as of mid-2011 and provides well-reasoned, thought-provoking analysis written by an acknowledged expert in the field. In addition, the extensive notes and bibliography that follow the text provide numerous sources for further individual research. However, the bibliography does make clear the one shortcoming of *The Longest War* – Bergen's exclusive reliance on English-language sources. Despite a very long list of books, articles, interviews, court documents and other media none are in any language other than English, making Bergen reliant on translations of statements and publications from Al-Qaeda members. Nonetheless, *The Longest War* is worth reading and an important contribution to understanding the events of the past ten years that have played a major role in shaping the world of today.

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Noriko Kawamura, Yoichiro Murakami, and Shin Chiba (eds.), *Building New Pathways to Peace* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011, pp.262)

Reviewed by Barış Parkan

The book has arisen out of a collaborative project undertaken by the International Christian University in Tokyo and Washington State University in Pullman and sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of Education and Science, 21st century Center of Excellence Program. Undertaken in a multidisciplinary approach, it consists of 12 articles that explore the topic of peace from viewpoints as diverse as the philosophical or theological on the one hand, and the practical and strategic, on the other. It is a study that makes a much-needed contribution to contemporary peace studies in meeting the challenge set before it by the growing complexity of both the nature of and the actors involved in issues concerning peace, violence and conflict in the 21st century.

The main virtue of the book is its broad outlook on these issues: not only the overt manifestations of violence and conflict, but also their covert existence in social and political structures are addressed. It is foreworded by Johan Galtung whose well-known definition of positive peace seems to have provided a guiding inspiration for the project.[1] While conceding to much of the positivist and postmodern critiques of grand narratives, the editors, in the Introduction, nevertheless declare their aim to be the formation of a grand narrative that avoids the pitfalls of those criticized. To this end, they maintain a deep sensitivity to context and culture, enjoining perspectives from the East and the West, while weaving together three key concepts: peace, security and *kyosei*. *Kyosei* is a central theme and end-in-view for the book. It is a Japanese word that is "hard to translate into English" but seems to capture what Galtung means by "positive peace": "people living together or coexisting peacefully with a positive, convivial feeling toward one another." (p.17, fn1)

The writers maintain a distance between their idea of peace and security and the traditional state security discourse. Instead, they undertake issues related to peace in the context of a lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*). Thus

[1] 'Negative peace' denotes "merely an absence of violence [...] which does little to resolve the underlying grievances of the parties involved." (p.vii) Positive peace, on the other hand, implies togetherness, mutuality and cooperation, "all the way into the spiritual and transcendental" (p.viii).

emerges one of the most refreshing and promising aspects of the book: the emphasis put on the personal and psychological dimensions of peace and conflict as well as their historical and political dimensions. *Anzen* (safety) and *anshin* (inner peace) are presented alongside one another so as to mutually shed light on each other.

The book is divided into three sections. The first four articles which comprise the first section are intended for "conceptual mapping from a philosophical, theological and theoretical" point of view (p.16) The second section contains articles from other disciplines such as political psychology and cultural studies. Finally, the last three articles are historical. They explore, through case studies such as Germany's memory of World War II and the U.S. and Japanese memories of the Pacific War, how collective memory relates to the burden and trauma of past wars.

The first article "On Tolerance" by Yoichiro Murakami develops a functional analysis and understanding of tolerance based on a psychological thesis that is later applied on a societal level. The writer centers his argument on the concepts of *nomos* and *chaos* as two basic motifs that allegedly underlie the psychology of every individual and defines tolerance in terms of how much *chaos* (unmolded by *nomos*) an individual or society can allow for. Even though this is a very interesting and fruitful formulation, the article does not sufficiently make clear how exactly it is supposed to provide support for an unfortunate statement that is hastily announced and glossed over towards the beginning of the article: that "one is almost automatically forced to accept the conception of humanitarian intervention. Again, the point is *when* and *how*." (p.22)

As its title ("To Forgive Is Human: A Theological Reflection on the Politics of Reconciliation") suggests, the second article by Anri Morimoto challenges the assumption that "to forgive is divine" and explores instead the possibilities of and the human capacity for forgiveness and reconciliation. Happily, the theological backdrop does not unsuitably impinge on the more humanistic vision that is presented in the essay.

The third article, titled "On Perspectives on Peace: The Hebraic Idea of *Shalom* and Prince Shotoki's Idea of *Wa*" by Shin Chiba, also has a theological bent, and delivers a resourceful, all-around discussion of the meaning of the Hebraic term "*shalom*" in comparison with the Confucian term "*wa*" (this concept was later also influenced by Buddhism). We learn that the word "*shalom*", the verb stem of which means "to make something complete or whole," denotes an "inner and necessary combination of peace and social justice." (pp.48-9) The presentation of the concept of *wa* in the article is weaker in comparison to that of *shalom*, but is nevertheless rich with historical details that trace its emergence to the birth of a state with

systems and regulations and the Seventeen Article Constitution of Prince Shotoku.

Like Morimoto, Chiba also challenges pessimistic assumptions about human beings. Against social contract thinkers such as Hobbes, who held the state of nature to be a state of war, Chiba explores and defends the plausibility of the alternative thesis underlying the concepts of *shalom* and *wa*, which is the view that "peace, not conflict, constitutes the proper state of human being, the norm of being human." (p.50)

The fourth article, "Decency, Equality and Peace: A Perspective on a Peaceful Multicultural Society" by Takashi Kibe is also a fine piece. It skillfully crafts a sense of decency in the reader's mind through a comparative discussion of the Israeli thinker Avishai Margalit's negative definition of decency as "non-humiliation" and Johan Galtung's definition of positive peace, claiming that the former corrects the distributive bias of the latter. The article makes excellent use of examples and case studies, such as the distribution of food "to those suffering from famine in Ethiopia by throwing the food from the truck "as if the recipients were dogs"[22″] (p.69), and the case of the Nikkeijin (a Japanese-Brazilian minority group in Japan). Kibe applies Margalit's conception of decency to address problems arising from living in multicultural societies. Multicultural societies "have a tendency to provoke conflicts," as Kibe observes, due to the paradoxical fact that politics of recognition and sensitivity to cultural difference seem to be inextricably associated with social conflict. Multicultural societies are also ill-equipped to "moderate and regulate" these problems since they do not "rely on a shared body of values." (Parekh, quoted on p.65) But it seems that Margalit's concept of decency can be accepted as a moral minimum for any culture or multicultural society even if the issue of decent peace remains no less paradoxical for that. .

The fifth article "Globalization, Culture and The Strategic Use of the Arts of Peacebuilding" by T. V. Reed explores the potential contained in cultural forms and representations for "harmonizing diverse constituencies" in a "globalized" world. To this end, the writer first explores the meaning and impact of the phenomenon of so-called "globalization." In a global world, cultural texts (written, visual or oral) can be useful in building intra-cultural understanding, enabling conflict resolution, raising awareness, and healing. However, as the article is framed from a materialist (Marxist) stance, the writer is careful to warn against potential abuses of the strategic use of cultural texts, as well as the questionable nature of trying to meld politics and aesthetics in the same pot.

The next two articles in this section address more specific topics. "Impediments to Human Security: Social Categories, Privilege, and Violence" by Martha Cottam delivers useful psychological insight concerning group psychology to shed light on questions concerning peace, and "The Lessons

for Peacebuilding for *Kyosei*" by Otwin Marenin talks about security sector reforms. In light of the fact that "the state seems to have lost its monopoly on legitimate force," Marenin tries to put forth workable suggestions to answer difficult practical questions concerning legitimacy and accountability.

In the eighth article, "Media Discourses of Peace: An Imperfect but Important Tool of Peace, Security and *Kyosei*," Susan Dente Ross questions whether the media is capable of functioning as a public space in the Habermasian sense. Like Reed in the fifth article, Ross is also sensitive to the ideological nature of culture and the domination of media texts by class interests. She more specifically focuses on war journalism and reveals the media's distortion of reality through a lengthy discussion of the way the Arab-Israeli conflict has been reported in the US and Canada. She contrasts this type of biased war journalism with the more even handed coverage of the Israel Lebanon war of 2006 and observes that more research needs to go into peace journalism.

The ninth article, "Establishing Credibility Under Globalization: The Role of Higher Education in Promoting Peace, Security and *Kyosei*" by Kano Yamamato does not seem to have much theoretical substance; it lists practical observations and advice in "powerpoint lecture" style.

Article 10 by Gregory Hooks, "Can Grand Theories of the State Help Us Envision a Grand Theory of Peace?" is an able article that convincingly identifies the state as the "biggest impediment to peace" and presents a history of its emergence from the rise of proto-states in the 14th century to the nation-states and globalization. The greatest merit of the article is the cognizance with which it builds its central argument around the inequality amongst states. After grouping states into three classes ("great powers," "semi-sovereign states" and "outlaw states"), Hooks judiciously observes how the "great powers" can resist international oversight and manipulate the rules for cooperation and debate. He thus declares the idea of a world-state to be a dangerous notion and is admittedly pessimistic about the potential of the UN to bring about peace.

"Remembering is not an Innocent Act: reflections on postwar German War Memory" is a sobering article by Raymond C. Sun, which discusses collective memory building and how it interacts with a society's attitude towards critically reflecting on its own past. Pointing out that "collective-memory making is a highly political process", Sun runs through examples of postwar German reconstruction, from movies that presented POW's as "tropes of victimization and transcendent suffering" (p.188) to the controversy surrounding the Wehrmacht exhibition which challenged this socially constructed "memory of victimization" of the German people .

"To Transnationalize War Memory for Peace and *Kyosei*: Reconciliation of Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima" by Noriko Kawamura is also concerned with revealing the selective and political nature of collective war memory through a discussion of U.S. and Japanese memories of the Pacific War, the Pearl Harbor attack and the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagazaki. While I thought the writer was too easy on the U.S., it is certainly an article that practices what it preaches in the intellectual maturity it displays.

I believe that this is a book that should interest not only academicians and politicians, but anyone interested in doing some soul-searching of their own as most of the essays in it are quite refreshing on account of the "attitude of reconciliation" that they encourage and inspire "in the midst of and despite adverse, conflicting and antagonistic situations" (Chiba, p.54).

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