

## BOOK REVIEWS

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Antony Adolf. *Peace: A World History*. Malden, MA: Polity, 2009. ISBN: 978-0-7456-4126-3 (pb). Pp. 285.

This history of peace argues that it is not war, but peace and peacemaking, that stands at the base of human history. Adolf seeks not only to identify instances when peace was made or describe exceptional historical figures who won the peace. He seeks nothing less than “a comprehensive re-interpretation of them outside the shadow in which they have previously been cast” (3). He argues that it is myriad and perpetual peace efforts of the vast majority of human subjects, and their leaders, that have allowed for any civilization or society to exist in the first instance. Social Darwinists may bemoan that it is the competitive who have survived, but Adolf argues on the contrary, that history is about the “survival of the peaceful” (6). He draws on a variety of historical schools to make this point throughout history; the Annales School, for example, highlighted “long term structural change” as more important than warfare in shaping long range history (21).

And not only is war less consequential to social innovation and shaping cultural values, it may well be a fleeting human phenomenon. Adolf suggests, without a Rousseauesque romanticizing, that warfare was learned relatively recently (only between five thousand and ten thousand years ago) and that the ancient societies that rose typically were not the fittest, but the most collaborative and communicative, indeed traits “necessary for human survival”(17). Ironically, military activity began only after peaceful trade relations created wealth that caused greed.

Even when warfare began it was always a much less significant force for change than was peace. The emphasis on warfare and conflict, argues Adolf, is one made by historians, not by the collective record of human activity. It is only “an inaccurate reduction of history,” writes Adolf, to suggest that “Islam was spread and Muslims ruled solely by the sword” (102); the fact is that the Qur’an’s “core communication is one of peaceful unity . . .” (95). Similarly, “the social significance of Luther’s non-violent form of protest is

for the most part ignored” (115); indeed, one of its consequences was the rise of the Swiss Brethren and the Mennonites (listed here inaccurately as two distinctive Anabaptist groups).

And typical war-centred interpretations of the significance of historic events can easily be turned on their heads. The consequence of the 1648 Peace of Westphalia is not that it marked the end to one of the most savage wars of all time, but that it “began new eras of peace and peacemaking” (119), one marked by the Enlightenment and ideas of equality among nation-states. Even Catherine the Great, noted for having expanded Russian territory southward, “pioneered the practice of . . . ‘armed neutrality’” (132), even though it crashed rather spectacularly with the advent of World War I. Even within the age of the Empires there was much that depended on peace and a series of legal apparatuses that stressed peace: perhaps Spain plundered the gold of aboriginal groups and Brazil built a nation on slaves, but Spain and Portugal allowed a Pope to divide the territories and Spain itself created supervisory bodies to rein in the conquistadors (151). While there is violence enough in British Imperial history, it is also remarkable how (outside of the US and Ireland) the British Commonwealth evolved peacefully. Even the “Cold War” was by its very definition peaceful, “among the most effective peace strategies ever invented” (197), albeit based on the threat of mutual destruction.

If war came lately to human species, peace strengthened over time. Since the Enlightenment, philosophical discourse has made peace a natural objective and the idea of supra-national organizations has taken off. In fact, in the century before World War I peace organizations evolved into an international movement, richly endowed by private money and supported by the intellectual community which emphasized both external and inner peace. With Tolstoy, the Mennonite idea that “non-resistance can end cycles of violence” was expanded with the idea that “only non-violence can prevent it” (141). With the Baha’i and many other turn-of-the-century movements came the post-nationalist idea that it was more noble to love the “whole world” than to love one’s “own country” (141). Over time mercantilism (with an “innate bellicosity” [164]) was replaced with capitalism and socialism, both of which require peace, collaboration, and interdependency, and create mutual benefit. While communism was predicated on class struggle, it promised peace, and trade unionism, meant to remove the threat of communism, introduced collective bargaining. World War I cannot be understood

without also knowing that it occurred after the Geneva Conventions and Hague Peace Conferences, and rising waves of conscientious objection (especially among women's groups). The great debates on globalization at the end of the twentieth century were heartening in that both its supporters and its opponents used the language of peace and democracy to make their arguments. Adolf takes comfort in the fact that the recent "acts of terror have not yet triggered a third world war . . ." (238).

One can of course fault Adolf for Pollyanna history, one that always sees the bright side. How significant was the 1967 Outer Space Treaty that prohibited the weaponization of the moon or outer space? How significant was the Nobel Peace Prize of Lester Pearson, the "father of modern peace-keeping" (215) and future Canadian prime minister, when Canada has so rapidly moved away from the program in the last decade? What does one make of statements throughout the book, such as the one relating to the ANC and Nelson Mandela's turn to violence—some "social justice movements . . . show that non-violence has its limits" (216)? The book's central weakness is that the prose makes it less than accessible. Too often, sentences tend to be lengthy and convoluted, making their meaning abstruse.

The book's strength is its scope and documentation, and the author's acumen and insight. The fact is that the book is a veritable encyclopedia of myriad peace movements.

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Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett. *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better*. London: Allen Lane, 2009. ISBN-10: 1608190366 (hc); ISBN-13: 978-1608190362 (pb). Pp. 352.

In this groundbreaking work, Wilkinson and Pickett demonstrate with substantial documentation that among the world's richest and most democratic societies, those who are relatively unequal suffer significantly more from a wide range of social ills including mental health problems and drug abuse, poorer physical health and shorter life expectancy, obesity, lower educational performance, more violence, and higher rates of imprisonment. While these findings are not new, the authors take the issue a step further by bringing

all of this data together in one place, and by demonstrating along the way that the causal relationship begins with inequality rather than the other way around. In addition, the authors contribute to the development of a comprehensive explanation of these findings.

The authors' explanation of the negative effects of inequality in what are already relatively wealthy societies begins with the finding that experienced anxiety rises substantially as inequality increases. For example, anxiety levels of college students in the United States rose consistently with inequality between the 1950s and the 1990s. Higher anxiety levels combine with proportional increases in distrust to produce generally greater levels of insecurity at the interpersonal level. People have heightened awareness of status competition and worry more about their social status. Anxiety and insecurity generate stress, and stress has a negative effect on health and life expectancy. This is why these factors are so strongly associated with the degree of equality or inequality in societies. The more the stress, the greater the likelihood of illness and mortality. Furthermore, although these effects are more severe for the least well off who are also the most insecure, they in turn affect all levels of society.

Inequality leads to distrust because greater social differences lead to divisive class and ethnic prejudices, thus further weakening community life and increasing the occurrence of violence. Wilkinson and Pickett argue that in some way violence always results from perceived threats to pride and efforts to ward off or eliminate feelings of shame and humiliation. Violence is thus most commonly the resort of lower class men, who are the most susceptible to shame and humiliation in an unequal society. However, the tendency to violence is not limited to this class, and in any case the harmful effects of increasing violence are certainly not limited to this class. As a result, fear, anxiety, and distrust become greater in society as a whole.

How is all this relevant to those interested in peace and conflict studies? First of all, I think it supports the intuitive understanding most of us share that inequality in societies is a divisive force in and of itself and thus needs to be addressed as such a destructive force. Second, the authors' theory shows how inequality works to affect the quality of social life and relationships throughout a society. This in turn can help us see how "micro" and "macro" levels of analysis are inextricably linked, how we need to develop strategies to respond to harmful and destructive conflicts that address all levels of society from personal relationships to the level of community and to society

as a whole, and where we need to advocate for policies that will bring about greater equality.

One criticism of this work has been that the authors fail to identify clearly enough how the harmful effects of inequality are pervasive throughout society, rather than just affecting primarily the humiliated poor. However, this critique may derive from ideological perspectives, particularly common in unequal societies, that view human nature in terms of narrow self-interest and greed, rather than in terms of a sense of shared humanity and common cause. This may be a shortcoming of Wilkinson and Pickett's work, not to have addressed the link between inequality and ideology. For instance, the ideological directions taken in the United States in the last fifty years have arguably helped to bring about escalating inequality in that country. That said, however, I laud the very broad scope already covered in this important work.

I recommend this book to all who are interested in peace and conflict studies, and more broadly to anyone concerned to do something about harmful social problems related to health, and issues such as drug abuse and violence, identified by the authors to be associated with inequality.

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Vern Neufeld Redekop and Shirley Paré. *Beyond Control: A Mutual Respect Approach to Protest Crowd-Police Relations*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010. ISBN: 978-1-8496-6004-4 (hc). Pp. 257.

The media reports accompanying the 2010 G20 summit in Toronto were dominated by scenes of multiple squad cars set ablaze by masked protestors, including one burning in the centre of Bay Street that had been spray-painted with the words "die pigs." These scenes represent the latest significant example of a breakdown in police-protest crowd relations on Canadian soil. In *Beyond Control*, published just before the Toronto summit, Vern Neufeld Redekop and Shirley Paré of Saint Paul University in Ottawa offer a framework for fostering mimetic structures of blessing, characterized

by mutual respect, which they assert can prevent the type of violence that overtook downtown Toronto in June 2010.

Conceptually, their framework is influenced by René Girard's anthropological theory concerning imitation, contagion, and violence. Building upon Girard's analysis, Redekop and Paré argue that positive forms of mimesis can mark police-protest crowd relationships to the ultimate benefit of healthy democratic processes. Key here for the purposes of positive imitation and social growth is the presence of persons who model respectful and non-violent interaction between police and protest crowds. Such an orientation, further informed by the principles of community-based conflict resolution, has the potential to effect a paradigmatic shift beyond crowd control, or even crowd management, to an orientation based on mutual respect. Within Redekop and Paré's mutual respect paradigm, mimetic structures of blessing facilitate the type of dialogue that prevents deep-rooted identity-based conflicts. Applied to police-protest crowd relations, this paradigm holds out hope for creative manifestations of conflict and higher levels of consciousness emerging out of demonstrations that highlight injustice and oppression.

Redekop and Paré ground their theoretical constructions in practical conflict resolution work they did with members of the protest community, the police establishment, and other stakeholders in a series of seminars at Saint Paul University, notably those held around the time of the April 2001 Summit of the Americas protests in Quebec City and George Bush's fall 2004 visit to Ottawa. Based on those experiences, they recommend a series of trust building and perspective sharing activities centring on a relational model as a method to channel conflict creatively. These activities are to be held over a minimum of three days and include the simple act of people from different identity groups eating together.

Readers of this journal may appreciate the invocation of additional Canadian examples in *Beyond Control*, from the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, where the local police joined the protesters; to the Oka Crisis during the summer of 1990, which formed the major case study in Redekop's earlier book *From Violence to Blessing* (2002); to the infamous scenes of RCMP officers liberally using pepper spray against demonstrators on the UBC campus during the 1997 APEC summit in Vancouver. The latter incident was dismissed at the press conference later that day when former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien joked about pepper being something he put on his plate at dinner.

As a result of these examples, many Canadian conflict resolution practitioners, police officers, activists, students, and educators will find points of resonance in *Beyond Control*. However, tensions remain within the book. The language of blessing is problematic for some constituencies. There is the substantive issue of whether mutual respect between police and protestors can ever be achieved without sublimating vital aspects of the identities of the actors who contribute to protest crowd dynamics. Even if specific groups of police and protestors have all their identity needs met within a structure of mutual blessing, different stakeholders, including protestors worried about losing the authenticity of their voice when choreographing too closely with police, journalists weary of staged events, and politicians at major summits who prefer crowd control over public accommodation toward protestors, may still feel they cannot accept a mutual respect approach.

Nonetheless, to Redekop and Paré's credit, these concerns are at least partly acknowledged in their monograph. Furthermore, from a peace research perspective, it should be emphasized that something akin to structures of mutual blessing are worth striving for within the various relational systems that shape our societies. In fact, the effort to achieve a paradigm of mutual respect between protestors and police officers (two groups who have been known to define their identities in opposition to each other) is representative of a difficult, but necessary, aspect of the work of community peacebuilding in today's world. Redekop and Paré's description of their practical initiatives and theoretical reflection in this regard makes *Beyond Control* worthwhile reading for conflict resolution scholars and peace activists.

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Nigel Dower. *The Ethics of War and Peace: Cosmopolitan and Other Perspectives*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0-7456-4167-6 (hc); 978-0-7456-4168-3 (pb). Pp. x + 220.

Nigel Dower has written extensively about our obligations as world citizens, and this book may be included in that topical category. Dower notes that his *The Ethics of War and Peace* (there are others with the same title) is meant to be a textbook, but it can be read profitably by anyone interested in gaining

a solid foundation in this subject. One key virtue of the book is that he summarizes and takes account of much of the recent literature, which places his arguments at the cutting edge of scholarship. What sort of course(s) would best be served by this textbook? While Dower's aim is to be accessible, this work is for more advanced students of international affairs, politics, philosophy, and peace studies because it is fairly challenging. Furthermore, some parts (notably and unfortunately the introductory chapter) get into fine details and analytical distinctions-within-distinctions that may alienate beginners and leave them behind. But on the whole, the discussions, which cover a wide range of topics, are balanced and easy enough to follow, offer helpful critical perspectives, and develop the author's point of view in a consistent and persuasive manner.

Dower's book is structured around three major distinctions: (1) realism in regard to war, just war theory, and pacifism; (2) realism in international relations, internationalism, and cosmopolitanism; and (3) militarism and pacificism. Much effort is directed to exploring the complex relationships among them. The first two sets of distinctions (i.e., [1] and [2]), he argues, "are neither identical nor parallel" (189). Further, the contrast of militarism and pacificism "cuts right across the other sets of distinctions" (189). For Dower this shows that realism and militarism are discernibly different positions, as are pacifism and pacificism. For those unfamiliar with the term, "pacificism" signifies a commitment and an obligation to build and promote peace, and not necessarily to abstain from or refuse to participate in war. "Cosmopolitanism" asserts that all humans belong to a single moral community, defined by universal values that everyone is bound to observe and uphold. (We may differ on other subsidiary values, but we are united more than we are divided.) Dower advances both pacificism and cosmopolitanism, which, he suggests, require each other in a pragmatic sense. Indeed, this is the main business of the book, and it is a refreshing and optimistic approach.

Though mostly sympathetic to pacifism and critical of just war theory, Dower does not absolutely rule out the use of armed force on all occasions, or the existence of standing armies (in the short term, at any rate). But he is very cautious even with regard to what the UN has labeled the "responsibility to protect" citizens in countries where systematic abuse of human rights is taking place, suggesting that non-military strategies may almost always be more effective and ethically less objectionable catalysts for change.



The weakest spot in the book is Dower's explanation of what peace is (chapter 6). The usual vocabulary of "positive" and "negative" peace is rehearsed and the ideas that peace is a process and that it has great value are nicely underlined. But an understanding that peace depends crucially on inner mental states, compassion, self-discipline, courage, and the development of virtuous behaviours in people is passed over rather lightly, to say the least. On other matters, Dower alludes to "ways of marking the ethical difference between combatants and non-combatants" that respond to "definitional difficulties" he has raised (p. 96), but these are never stated. The probability that those who possess weapons of mass destruction would likely use them as a last resort if defeat in battle loomed, could usefully have been factored into the critique of just war doctrine. Finally, in spite of his methodical care and dedication to the techniques of analytic philosophy, Dower slips into defining an important concept self-referentially: "Humanitarian intervention can be thought of in very broad terms as any form of intervention in another country for humanitarian reasons" (178).

These criticisms aside, *The Ethics of War and Peace* is a thoroughgoing and incisive contemporary examination of one of the basic survival issues faced by our species: war or peace? Dower leaves the reader with hope that we are inching toward a more peaceful world, if ever so slowly, and that rationality and goodwill in human affairs may some day prevail—provided that enough people come to think and act globally.

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