

# GLOBAL NEWSSTAND

[ ESSAYS, ARGUMENTS, AND OPINIONS FROM AROUND THE WORLD ]

## Unearthing Grave Offenses

By Douglas McGray

■ Historical Archaeology, Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring 2001, Tucson

Two years ago, forensic archaeologists from a dozen countries excavated mass graves in Kosovo where massacres reportedly took thousands of civilian lives. Ousted Serb despot Slobodan Milosevic will face the evidence those investigators collected when he stands trial for war crimes next year. Indeed, dozens of governments and international organizations have taken to the courts to deal out penance for past war crimes and abuses of power. At least 21 new democracies have launched truth commissions in the last 15 years, and international criminal tribunals, such as the one Milosevic must face, have prosecuted atrocities committed in the Balkans and Rwanda.

Much of the evidence needed to try

such crimes lies in mass graves. Investigators in Guatemala, for instance, used clothing, sex, or the angles of bullet and machete wounds to determine whether unmarked graves contained guerilla soldiers or summarily executed civilians. Demand for that kind of archaeological expertise has boomed. Forensic pros from Argentina, for example, have taken the sophisticated excavation techniques they used to uncover their country's past and applied them in

Haiti, the Balkans, Brazil, El Salvador, Colombia, Peru, Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Kurdish Iraq.

Because the field is so new, however, forensic archaeologists have few precedents to follow, particularly when it comes to recording evidence for trial. Writing in the quarterly journal *Historical Archaeology*, Physicians for Human Rights (phr) investigator William Haglund and colleagues Melissa Connor and Douglas Scott draw on their experiences in Bosnia and Rwanda to offer a kind

The pate of a politician? Forensic doctor William Haglund examines a clandestine grave in Honduras in April 1999.



VICTOR R. CAVANOH/AP

Douglas McGray is a Foreign Policy contributing writer.

of instruction manual for exhuming a mass grave properly.

"The most successful method of locating graves is through witness testimony," Haglund explains—a luxury for archaeologists, whose witnesses are usually hundreds or thousands of years since deceased. "Given a general location for a grave site, a trained archaeological eye can determine differences in vegetation, soil, and microtopography that indicate a ground disturbance." Sometimes they use a simple ice pick or screwdriver to test how compacted the soil is; other times they may use an odor-detecting probe, sonar, or radar.

Once investigators have marked a likely grave site, backhoes move in, digging a cross-shaped trench to determine the size of the grave and the depth of the remains. Backhoe operators can remove soil in layers just 5 centimeters deep, and monitors watch for signs of bones or clothing. Once they strike human remains, workers mark the outline of the grave site, cover the bodies in

protective plastic, and fill the trenches back in to keep the evidence from decomposing.

Next, backhoe operators dig a deep trench around the perimeter of the grave. In contrast to old school digs, forensic archaeologists work from the outside of a site to the center, rather than from the surface down. That way, it is easier to extricate the fragile bodies without damaging them. Bamboo tools and brushes help, Haglund says, but when bodies are packed together, excavators must work primarily with their hands. Once extricated, corpses are counted by cranium, photographed, numbered, and transported in bags to an on-site morgue. All evidence is similarly bagged, labeled, and logged according to U.S. rules of evidence and U.N. guidelines. "The value of the procedures outlined here," Haglund explains, "lies in that they are a standard accepted by two international courts."

Not all forensic teams choose to include professional archaeolo-

gists, Haglund notes. But Connor and Scott, in a separate article, argue that full-time forensic archaeologists have excavation skills that forensic anthropologists—trained first to interpret evidence—may not. The authors recall their work at a site about two hours south of Zagreb, Croatia, at a mass grave they exhumed as part of a phr forensic team. They decided to map the site electronically, rather than laying down a traditional string grid. That caused a minor furor among the anthropologists on-site, for whom "professional archaeology was equated with string grids and square holes." Eventually, they chose an arbitrary string grid to end the argument, although they never used it.

"Working in the forensic-science field as an archaeologist is working between two fields," the authors admit. Yet, "the continuing excavation of mass graves and individual graves seems a virtual certainty." That means a greater need than ever for experts who can dig up the past. ■■

## A Wider Atlantic?

By Gebhard Schweigler

■ Internationale Politik (International Politics), June 2001, Berlin

**I**s the Atlantic becoming wider?" asks a recent issue of the monthly journal *Internationale Politik*, Germany's leading international-affairs publication. Yes, argues the journal's editor and publisher, Werner Weidenfeld, in

*Gebhard Schweigler is professor of international relations and national security at the National Defense University. The views expressed are his own.*

his article "Only Cool Interests Remain." Mixing his metaphors somewhat unfelicitously, Weidenfeld sees "non-eruptive tectonic shifts" creeping up on "quiet soles." The former coordinator for German-American cultural relations under the government of Helmut Kohl, Weidenfeld, now a professor at the University of Munich, warns of the dangers of a "culture break" between the United States and Europe. He argues that the trans-Atlantic stock of goodwill, trust, and understanding is nearly depleted and must be replenished.

When he is not writing about

tectonic shifts and the fossilization of trans-Atlantic ties, Weidenfeld refers to heat differentials and gaps in sobriety to explain the evolution of U.S.-European affairs. During the era of superpower conflict, everything was warm and fuzzy. Now, Weidenfeld maintains, trans-Atlantic relations are cool, unemotional, sober. Domestic interests prevail, translating into foreign policies based on strict calculations of national interests. The United States enjoys its status as a lone superpower, tries to push some of its burdens onto Europe, and is otherwise focused on the emerging Chinese threat. Europe, meanwhile, is caught in an "emancipation trap," seeking to free itself from American domi-

nation without first learning to walk alone in world politics. As a result, Europe can no longer simply drift in America's slipstream (Weidenfeld's mixed metaphor) but—absent strategic concepts and competence of its own—remains unable to maintain a steady course without American guidance. The consequence of these developments: “a sober relationship of limited durability” and a growing distance between erstwhile partners who struggle to develop a “partnership of problem solvers.”

This assessment of trans-Atlantic malaise has some merit. European-American relations have entered a distinct phase over the last decade, and the arrival of a new administration in Washington always results in new foreign-policy interpretations. Yet Weidenfeld's analysis suffers from some internal contradictions. For instance, his own descriptions of the state of mutual perceptions during the Cold War make clear that relations were not always so cozy. During the Viet-

nam-dominated 1960s, Europeans dramatized everything negative in the United States, while in the 1980s, when U.S. President Ronald Reagan seemed bent on confrontation rather than détente, they developed a “sober sense for the possibilities and limitations of trans-Atlantic cooperation.” Indeed, political and cultural ambivalence were always present. A new and sudden “culture break” seems less likely than Weidenfeld believes.

The author does not examine specific political-cultural changes in the United States that could lead to a break with Europe (such as the influx of Latin American immigrants, who represent different traditions than did the European inflows of yesteryear). Instead, he argues that the United States became engaged in Europe so that Americans could “defend their own dreams of themselves” by protecting Europeans against the dangers of totalitarianism. With such dangers now defeated, and Berlin a mere

geographic location rather than a political symbol, “what American dreams can now be realized in Europe?” None, claims Weidenfeld, which is why he believes times have changed so dramatically.

But have they? Weidenfeld makes no reference to the professed post-Cold War American dream of making Europe whole and free. Another contributor to this issue of *Internationale Politik* takes up that slack. Volker Rühle, who as Germany's defense minister in 1993 was the first Western official publicly to propose nato enlargement to the east, writes about the need to overcome the division of Yalta and reunify Europe. While he is careful in his recommendations—Rühle counsels against including the Baltic states in the next round of enlargement—he leaves no doubt that this task of “historic dimensions” requires close trans-Atlantic cooperation. In the end, it may not be the Atlantic that is becoming wider, but rather the Atlantic community. 📖

## Reinventing Latin Economies

By Carlos Gervasoni

■ *Contribuciones* (Contributions), October-December 2000, Buenos Aires

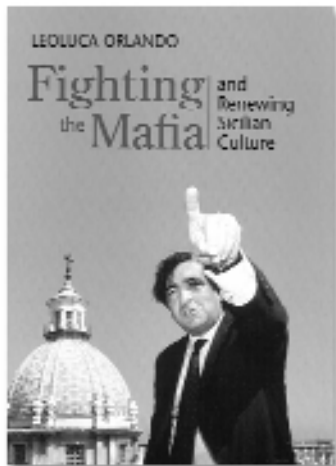
No sooner had the market-oriented policies of economic reform known as the “Washington Consensus” brought stability to Latin America in the early 1990s than critics

*Carlos Gervasoni is a professor of Latin American politics at the Universidad Católica Argentina and of social science research methods at the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella in Buenos Aires.*

began noting that things were not going as well as expected. Although many countries had defeated the scourge of hyperinflation, the region's traditional problems of poverty, unemployment, and income inequality had persisted or even become worse. Left-leaning thinkers argued that “neoliberal” policies—including trade opening, privatization, deregulation, and exchange-rate stabilization—had failed and that the region should revert to state-led strategies. Other scholars and policymakers, however, acknowledged the shortcomings of orthodox economic reforms but maintained that the solution was a

“second generation” of reforms that would complement, not subvert, the first. The new reform proposals covered a host of complex institutional issues, including an overhaul of federal bureaucracies, strengthening of judiciaries, and reforms in the banking system and other newly privatized sectors.

These second-generation reforms are the subject of a recent issue of *Contribuciones*, a quarterly journal published by the Buenos Aires-based Interdisciplinary Center for Studies on Latin American Development, a think tank created by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, a German foundation with Christian



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Democratic leanings. Generally sympathetic toward the new proposals, the authors in this issue nonetheless caution that these reforms will succeed only through political consensus-building and regional decentralization.

In his article titled “Crisis and Governability: Perspectives for Second-Generation Reforms,” Jorge Castro, an Argentine journalist and onetime advisor to former President Carlos Menem, argues that the crisis conditions of the 1980s—when much of Latin America suffered high inflation and little or even negative economic growth—helped newly elected administrations take on extraordinary powers during the 1990s. Heads of state such as Menem in Argentina, Carlos Salinas in Mexico, and Alberto Fujimori in Peru were able to push through privatizations or stabilization policies because many political groups renounced their own narrow interests in order to restore macroeconomic order. But this logic began to fall apart with the relative economic stability of the mid-1990s. Now citizens and legislators are reluctant to delegate excessive powers to the executive. The second-generation proposals can only be implemented through consensus, not imposition.

Moreover, as part of the second-generation reforms, the functional and regional scope of the central government must be curtailed. That is the theme of the articles by Colombian political scientist Gabriel Murillo Castaño (and his coauthors) and Mikel de Viana, a professor of social sciences at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello in Venezuela. While the first-generation reforms required a strong state, the follow-up policies generally involve a weaker executive and a more horizontal style of administration. Murillo Castaño emphasizes that the “new” Latin American state should trans-

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fer some of its agencies to non-governmental organizations and outsource services to private operators. At the same time, local and regional authorities must take on more of the central government's traditional responsibilities.

Of course, it is hard to argue against decentralization, long the rallying cry for Latin American reformers. Unfortunately, the authors fail to note that in countries such as Argentina and Brazil, where federal-provincial tax-sharing regimes are already in place, local governments often display fiscal irresponsibility, waste, and corruption. Indeed, local authorities are often even more ineffectual than their national counterparts.

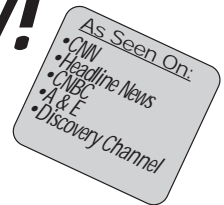
Even more important, the authors disregard the possibility that the Washington Consensus policies failed to improve social welfare significantly because they were never fully implemented. As de Viana points out, “countries with the poorer performance during the last decade are precisely those that delayed ... or simply

avoided the reforms.” Indeed, after a decade of reforms, several Latin nations still display chronic fiscal deficits (consider Brazil), trade restrictions (Mercosur has some clearly protectionist rules), fixed or overvalued exchange rates (as in Argentina), state-owned companies (notably in Venezuela), as well as monopolistic markets and barriers to competition. In many cases, the implementation of first-generation reforms was simply flawed. For instance, in what sense is it a liberal reform to grant a 10-year monopoly to a private telecommunications firm, as the Argentine state did when it privatized its phone company in 1990?

The debate over second-generation reforms is crucial for Latin America's economic future. But it should not obscure the continued relevance of first-generation reforms. Unless these original policies are consolidated, the region likely will stumble on to second-, third-, or even fourth-generation reforms without ever reaping the benefits of the first. ■

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# Economistes Sans Frontières

By Carlos Lozada

■ Post-Autistic Economics  
Newsletter, No. 7, July 10, 2001,  
[www.paecon.net](http://www.paecon.net)

Debates over globalization have reenergized campus activism in the United States, with college students from California to the Carolinas staging well-publicized campaigns against sweatshop labor and environmental degradation. Some of their fellow students across the Atlantic have

the economics profession, decry the discipline's dogmatic teaching style that "leaves no place for critical and reflective thought," and insist that their discipline become engaged with the "empirical and concrete economic realities" of the day. They advocate new approaches—including deeper study of the history of economic thought, as opposed to merely economic theory—and call on their colleagues to rescue economics from its "autistic and socially irresponsible state."

The pae movement is drawing

role of transnational corporations (tncs) into traditional economic theory. In her essay "Economics and Multinationals," Ietto-Gillies argues that when macroeconomists examine the international economy, they focus mainly on trade and balance-of-payments issues; microeconomists, meanwhile, highlight theories of the firm with little consideration for geography or national origin. Multinationals are relegated to a lecture or two in classes on industrial economics or, worse yet, to business schools. "The activities of transnational companies should be an integral part of micro and macro theory because they shape both micro and macro realities.... We economists do not seem to have awoken fully to this fact."

Ietto-Gillies maintains that the blinders of traditional economics result in too little systematic thinking by economic theorists on how multinational firms exploit regulatory differences in labor laws, play investment-hungry governments off one another, and manipulate prices across countries. "So far, transnational companies are the only economic actors who can truly plan, organise, [and] control activities internationally," she concludes. "Other actors such as labour, national governments, multinational companies, and consumers are as yet unable to do so. This puts tncs in a very special and privileged position."

Of course, Ietto-Gillies fails to mention another group that is managing to organize across borders—the pae movement itself. A different article in the same issue reprints an anonymous letter from 27 Ph.D. candidates in economics

**In June 2000, a small group of French economics students published a petition on the World Wide Web declaring war on neoclassical economics.**

taken a more intellectual approach. In June 2000, a small group of French economics students published a petition on the World Wide Web, declaring war not simply on the impact of globalization, but rather on what some consider its root cause: neoclassical economics.

The petition sparked what is now known as the "post-autistic economics" (pae) movement, an academic backlash against traditional economics that is rapidly gaining adherents among disaffected practitioners of the dismal science in developing and advanced economies. In their initial petition, pae proponents lament the use of mathematics "as an end in itself" in

praise from antiglobalization activists and thinkers. Writing in *The Independent*, Andrew Simms of the United Kingdom-based New Economics Foundation hails the pae movement as part of an effort to make "the mandarins of the global economy experience a reality check" and protect the environment. The movement's Web site and its e-journal, the *Post-Autistic Economics Newsletter* (published every one or two months), showcase pae's specific critiques of mainstream economics as well as the movement's growing influence.

In the July 10, 2001, issue of the newsletter, Professor of Applied Economics Grazia Ietto-Gillies of South Bank University in London deplors the inability of the economics profession to incorporate the unique

*Carlos Lozada is the associate editor of Foreign Policy magazine.*



## Modern Hatreds

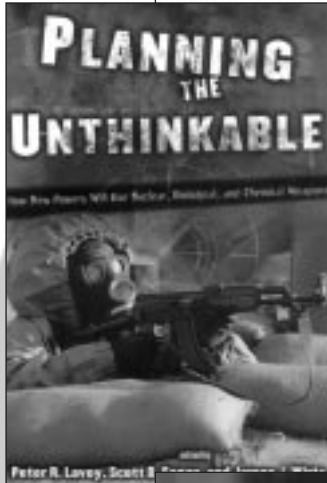
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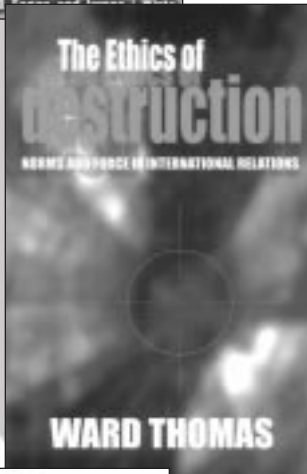
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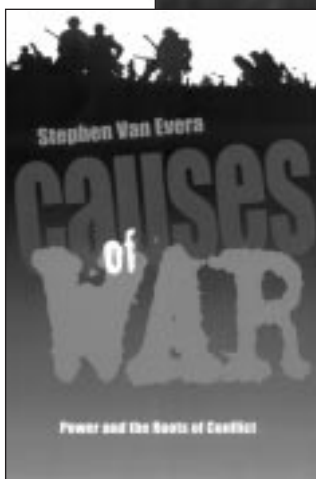
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at Cambridge University, written after a meeting with pae representatives. The Cambridge students called for the “opening up” of the economics profession, proposing that the foundations of mainstream economics be widely debated and that competing approaches receive the same degree of critical scrutiny. “Economics is a social science with enormous potential for making a

difference through its impact on policy debates .... [P]rogress towards a deeper understanding of many aspects of economic life is being held back.”

The newsletter editors encourage concerned economists to e-mail their names and academic affiliations in a show of support. As of July 19, 2001, more than 250 economists from at least 26 countries had writ-

ten in—a testimony to the pae movement’s effective public-relations efforts. Indeed, the stated purpose of the group’s Web site is to “facilitate the spread of the post-autistic economics movement to other countries and its eventual globalization.” No small irony that a movement linked to antiglobalist thought would be so eager to disseminate its message across national borders. ☐

## Europe’s Fake ID

By Alexandre Stutzmann

■ International Politics, Vol. 38, No. 2, June 2001, Miami (Ohio)

From Maastricht to Nice to the imminent introduction of the euro next year, Europe’s economic and political integration has boomed over the past decade. Yet one unifying element remains elusive: a common identity, a sense of shared cultural “we-ness” among European citizens. Even as eurocrats proceed blithely onward, drafting the institutional architecture of the European project, a series of popular votes—such as Ireland’s vote against eu expansion and Denmark’s rejection of the euro—reflect underlying unease with the pace and scope of eu integration, expansion, and various regional defense or economic arrangements. If Europe’s policy elites hope to overcome mistrust and opposition to further integration, they must move beyond mere commercial and material union and address the question of a common European cultural identity.

Alexandre Stutzmann is a researcher at the European University Institute in Florence.

Peter van Ham, a senior research fellow at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations (also known as “Clingendael”), bravely tackles the fuzzy question of European culture in his article “Europe’s Postmodern Identity: A Critical Appraisal,” appearing in a recent issue of *International Politics*,

tion. However, the author believes that because of Europe’s significant cultural pluralism, any regional identity must be based on a politics of cultural openness, rather than on some homogenous or exclusive form of territorial identity.

Van Ham begins with the traditional sociological notions of *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society). The former relates to an ethnic conception of

If Europe’s policy elites hope to overcome opposition to further integration, they must move beyond mere commercial and material union and address the question of a common European cultural identity.

a quarterly journal with the self-described mandate of exploring “matters that affect the political condition of peoples and states regardless of geography or ideology.” Building on French statesman Jean Monnet’s appraisal that “if we were beginning the European Community all over again, we should begin with culture,” van Ham argues that a European cultural identity is a prerequisite for further political and social integra-

a nation, including a common language as well as shared history and culture; the latter implies a sociopolitical entity rooted in neither geography nor ethnicity. In which category does Europe fall? How compatible is the progressive formation of a supranational “Brussels Man” identity with the persistence of local and national identities?

The author concludes that the European project need not mirror

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**Forging a new identity?** A protester burns the EU flag at a demonstration in England in May 1996.

historical fluctuations between ethnic and civic conceptions of identity. Instead, the EU might fall in a middle ground where “the nation would allow scope for the maintenance of cultural and ethnic differences.” This “marble cake” model—in which distinct local or national cultural identities are harmoniously embedded in a broader European identity—underscores the principle of devolution that already has emerged in various EU states, including federal or regional countries such as Belgium, Germany, and Spain, but also more unitarian states such as France, Italy, and the United Kingdom.

Cultural identity, though linked to the past, remains a work in progress. Therefore, according to van Ham, European identity must be forward-looking, rooted in the future, using concrete Euro-

pean symbols that would engrave “Europeanness” in the EU’s daily landscape. The existence of a European flag and a European anthem, the physical use of the euro, the consolidation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy—these are all essential steps toward fostering awareness of and allegiance to a European identity.

Although rightly noting that cultural pluralism and European identity are not incompatible, van Ham stops short of offering a miraculous formula for European cultural identity. But perhaps no formula is required. A diffuse feeling of European identity already may be coalescing. While no European demos exists as such, the EU today displays a considerable constitutional apparatus, ranging from fundamental rights and freedoms to a specifically European model

of society, which embodies and conveys numerous common norms and values. Consider the widespread European commitment to the abolition of the death penalty or the priority given to reforming—as opposed to abandoning—the traditional European welfare state.

Rather than fall back into some abstract or ethnically driven identity debate, the European Union must become more tangible and visible in the eyes of its constituents. Ongoing integration efforts must include representatives from European civil society in a more open and collective forum rather than the closed-door inter-governmental efforts that have taken place thus far. Otherwise, the grassroots reluctance to expand and deepen European integration could become the norm rather than the exception. ■

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