

Contents

Review Articles

Democracy Assistance: Motives, Impacts, and Limitations

by Edward Newman

Ethnic Conflicts and U.S. National Interests

by Thomas Ambrosio

Kosovo: Were International Responses to Ethnic Conflict Adequate?

by Thomas J. Hegarty

Portraits of the Troubles

by Richard English

Reviews

Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism

Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*

reviewed by Roger Mac Ginty

Francisco Letamendia, *Game of Mirrors: Centre-Periphery National Conflicts*

reviewed by Arnim Langer

Jeff Chinn and Robert Kaiser, *Russians as the New Minority: Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Soviet Successor States*

reviewed by Stephen L. Pellathy

Ethnography

Erik Mueggler, *The Age of Wild Ghosts: Memory, Violence and Place in Southwest China*

reviewed by Alan Hunter

Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds (eds.), *Remaking A World: Violence, Social Suffering, And Recovery*

reviewed by Robyn Lui

Conflict Transformation

Accord: an International Review of Peace Initiatives

reviewed by John Darby,

Christine Bell, *Peace Agreements and Human Rights*

reviewed by Sue Williams

I. William Zartman (ed.), *Preventive Negotiation: Avoiding Conflict Escalation*

reviewed by Hesta Groenewald

Mohammed Abu-Nimer, *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*

reviewed by Sarah Alldred

Simon Fisher, Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, Jawed Ludin, Richard Smith, Steve Williams, Sue Williams, *Working With Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action*
reviewed by Carol Rank

Migration

Biko Agozino (ed.), *Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Migration Research: Interdisciplinary, intergenerational and international perspectives*
reviewed by Martin Baldwin-Edwards

Bimal Ghosh (ed.), *Managing Migration: Time for a New International Regime?*
reviewed by Gabriel S. Pellathy

Ruth Rubio-Marín, *Immigration as a Democratic Challenge: Citizenship and Inclusion in Germany and the United States*
reviewed by Marina Arlati

Pal Nyiri, *New Chinese Migrants in Europe: the case of the Chinese Community in Hungary*
reviewed by Gabriel S. Pellathy

Nicholas G. Procter, *Serbian Australians in the Shadow of the Balkan War*
reviewed by Josette A. Baer

Refugee Issues

Joe Thomas, *Ethnocide: A Cultural Narrative of Refugee Detention in Hong Kong*
reviewed by F. S. Jenkins

Robert F. Barsky, *Arguing and Justifying: Assessing the Convention refugees' choice of moment, motive and host country*
reviewed by Jeff Handmaker

International Society

Nicholas J. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*
reviewed by Dr. Oliver Richmond,

Robert Jackson, *The Global Covenant: Human Conduct in a World of States*
reviewed by Samuel M. Makinda

Humanitarian Studies Unit (eds.), *Reflections on Humanitarian Action: Principles, Ethics and Contradictions*
reviewed by Liam O'Hagan

Development

Keekok Lee, Alan Holland and Desmond McNeill (eds.), *Global Sustainable Development in the 21st Century*
reviewed by Ross Fakiolas

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*
reviewed by Su-ming Khoo

Irish Politics

Michael Cox, Adrian Guelke, and Fiona Stephen (eds.), *A Farewell to Arms? From 'long war' to long peace in Northern Ireland*
reviewed by Helen Morris

Paul Arthur, *Special Relationships: Britain, Ireland and the Northern Ireland Problem*
reviewed by Elizabeth Meehan

Roy Garland, *Gusty Spence*
reviewed by Andy White

John Killen, *The Unkindest Cut: A Cartoon History of Ulster, 1900-2000*
reviewed by Linda McLean Harned

John W. Blake, *Northern Ireland in the Second World War*
reviewed by Helen Morris

The Middle East

Yoram Peri (ed.), *The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin*
reviewed by Andrew Rigby

Rex Brynen, *A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza*
reviewed by Gordon Peake

Miscellaneous

Hussein Solomon and Ian Liebenberg (eds.), *Consolidation of Democracy in Africa: A view from the South*
reviewed by Steve Williams

Michael Griffin, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Taliban Movement in Afghanistan*
reviewed by Rose Hankey

Raymond Montemayor, Gerald Adams and Thomas Gullotta (eds.), *Adolescent Diversity in Ethnic, Economic, and Cultural Contexts*
reviewed by Arthur Cassidy

Yash Ghai, *Public Participation and Minorities*
reviewed by Romanita Elena Iordache

Letters to the Editor

***The Ethnic Conflict Research Digest
Volume 4, Number 2; Editorial***

Welcome to Volume 4 Issue 2 of the Ethnic Conflict Research Digest. Once again we have been able to review a wide range of books in the field of ethnic conflict and conflict resolution and the reviews are structured thematically. This edition contains the usual new material on various aspects of ethnic conflict and nationalism. We also review a number of books that explore different aspects of conflict transformation. These include studies of peace processes and peace accords as well as a number of books that focus on the difficult questions surrounding issues of reconciliation and justice. The continued importance of migration in international politics is reflected in the number of new books on the topic. Related to this, a number of books explore the problems facing refugees. Closer to home for those of us at INCORE, a range of books dealing with various aspects of Irish politics come under review.

This issue also contains a number of longer review articles. In the first of these, Edward Newman asks a series of questions with regard to the issue of democracy promotion. Much of this work focuses on the role of the United States and Thomas Ambrosio further examines American foreign policy in the post-Cold War era as he explores the relationship between their perspective of national interest and involvement in ethnic conflicts around the world. The issue of intervention is also central to our third article as Thomas J. Hegarty examines some recently published material on the Kosovo conflict and asks the question, 'Were International Responses to Ethnic Conflict Adequate?' Finally, Richard English reviews a number of recent publications that deal with the 'Troubles' and the move to a peace settlement in Northern Ireland.

I am grateful to all the reviewers who are ever willing to contribute to the Digest. Thanks also to Lyn Moffett for her work on the production of the Digest. Let me also thank the publishers who provide the material for review and particularly those who have supported us through advertisement. Anyone who is interested in advertising in future issues should contact us at the address below.

As always your comments, on any aspect of the Digest, are most welcome. Those wishing to review for the Digest are encouraged to get in touch, specifying your area(s) of interest.

The Digest on the INCORE website

Finally let me draw your attention again to the INCORE website. Individual reviews are available on the site and this section is continually updated. Therefore reviews are available here before the hardcopy edition is published. In addition, full copies of the Digest can be downloaded at this address in pdf format. The Digest can be accessed at <http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/ecrd/index.html>

You may also be interested in perusing our Conflict Data Service. The CDS is an information provider on ethnic conflict and conflict resolution. The CDS includes 43 Country Guides, a series of Thematic Guides, an Information Bank and a section on Peace Agreements that includes the original texts of over 200 agreements. The CDS can be found at <http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/cds/index.html>

Liam O'Hagan, Editor

INCORE

Aberfoyle House

Northland Road

Derry/Londonderry

N Ireland, UK

BT48 7JA

Tel: +44 (0) 28 71 375500

liam@incore.ulst.ac.uk

Democracy Assistance: Motives, Impacts, and Limitations

by Edward Newman
Peace and Governance Programme
United Nations University

REVIEWING: Peter BURNELL (ed.), *Democracy Assistance: International Co-operation for Democratization* (London: Frank Cass, 2001) 384pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: \$42.50; ISBN 0-7146-5106-0. Pb.: £18.50; ISBN 0-7146-8144-X.; and Michael COX, G. John IKENBERRY and Takashi INOBUCHI (eds.), *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies and Impacts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 354pp. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-19-829678-9.

Democracy may well be the “fundamental standard of political legitimacy in the current era” (Held, 1996: p.xi). It is also evolving in parallel with the changing socio-political environments found within political communities and internationally. One of the most interesting characteristics of this evolution is that the promise and limitations of democracy are no longer – if they ever were – issues confined to territorially enclosed communities. International actors and forces play a wide variety of roles in the substance and procedures of democracy within societies. Huntington’s study of ‘third wave’ democracies found that by the late 1980s external observers had become a “familiar and indispensable presence” in almost all transitional elections (Huntington, 1991: p.184). But the range of activities associated with democracy promotion is much broader and deeper than this. This gives rise to a number of important theoretical, ethical and practical questions (Newman, 2001). To what extent is democratization conditioned by ‘internal’ and ‘external’ processes, and is the balance shifting in the context of transnational economic and political forces? Are such processes altering the nature of political community and legitimacy? Can ‘external’ international actors – such as hegemonic states, global organizations, regional organizations, financial institutions, and NGOs – have a decisive, substantial and enduring impact upon domestic transition and democratization? In other words, can external actors bring democracy where there had been no democracy? Is it *right* that an external actor should have such an impact? Alternatively, can assistance programmes only have a positive impact where the society in question is already moving towards democracy anyway? Are top-down government-assistance programmes the most effective, or those that work with civil society and non-governmental groups? What are the motives and interests of the actors that assist or promote democracy? Has the promotion of democracy in post-conflict and divided societies had a significant role in conflict settlement and reconciliation? Or can electoral processes exacerbate ethnic/religious differences, and even encourage new outbreaks of conflict? What values or models of democracy do external agents such as the UN or the US bring with them to the democratization process – are there implications for sovereignty? Practically, how successful have democracy assistance activities been in terms of consolidating democracy in transitional societies - what is the record? To what extent are international actors such as the UN ‘staying the course’ from transition to consolidation, by going beyond electoral assistance to political reconstruction and indigenous capacity building? Does this represent an external actor ‘imposing’ notions of democracy? Are ‘international standards’ of democracy and democratization sensitive to indigenous traditions and authority structures? The two volumes under review move this debate forward in a very meaningful sense, albeit from quite different approaches.

Why promote democracy?

There is an emerging consensus – albeit not one that has gone unchallenged – that ‘democratic’ forms of governance are conducive to certain ‘public goods’ related to human rights, economic development, and peace. Boutros-Ghali stated (1996: p.6) that “democracy contributes to preserving peace and security, securing justice and human rights, and promoting economic and social development.” A further reason why it is legitimate and sensible to promote democracy is because states actually often request such democracy assistance; for example, since the creation of the electoral Assistance Division of the UN Department of Political Affairs some 71 states have applied for assistance. Of course democracy is a deeply contested concept both in theory in practice, and the gap between the rhetoric and the reality of democracy is often wide. Nevertheless, the proliferation of democratic societies has underscored an emerging consensus in the legitimacy of democratic forms of governance, however ‘democratic’ is defined. Moreover, the emergence of international norms, laws and organizations that promote democratic governance has contributed to a transnational norm of – perhaps even an entitlement to – democracy.

US democracy promotion – a liberal grand strategy or cloak for hegemony?

American Democracy Promotion is less concerned with exploring theoretical propositions about the promotion of democracy and more an analysis of this facet of US foreign policy. Such an idea is bound to arouse strongly argued positions, and that is the case in this excellent volume. The contributors are leading international experts and the chapters are very well written. The book explores the historical, strategic and political impulses that lie behind the US promotion of democracy. As the introduction observes, this idea has been received in a number of different ways: adventurism that risks involving the US in dangerous overseas entanglements with little or no national benefit; a practical and sincere policy that reflects the US domestic historical commitment to democracy and liberalism; a façade designed to mask US hegemony; a manifestation of Western cultural imperialism; and basically of no significance. More or less all of these positions are represented in this book. In terms of motives, the democratic peace theory is central: participatory societies are not likely to go to war with other liberal democratic countries. As Madeleine Albright asserted, the promotion of human rights and good governance is “not only the right thing to do, it is the smart thing to do”: US security and prosperity are served better by a world of democratic rather than undemocratic states. Perhaps there is also a sense of mission, a projection of self-image that is unique to US exceptionalism and the contribution to freedom that de Tocqueville observed. John Ikenberry and Tony Smith present this as a ‘grand strategy’, a defining characteristic of American foreign policy in the twentieth century. Tony Smith’s argument begins with the observation that the promotion of American self-interest and the promotion of a foreign policy that supports human rights and democracy are not mutually exclusive or necessarily in tension. The promotion of democracy reflects a “long-standing, but widely misunderstood, tradition in American foreign policy”. (p.85). John Ikenberry (‘America’s Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-war Era’) follows similar lines. This “reflects a pragmatic, evolving, and sophisticated understanding of how to create a stable international political order and a congenial security environment” (p.103). The motivation is simple: “the United States is better able to pursue its interests, reduce security threats in its environment, and foster a stable political order when other states – particularly the major great powers – are democracies rather than non-democracies” (p.103). Thus, again, we have the combination of a liberal missionary vision and a pragmatic, sensible view of national interest – a “distinctive grand strategy” (p.104).

The opposing argument is well represented in this volume. William Robinson is quite devastating. He argues that US democracy promotion is in reality a project to preempt more radical forms of governance taking root in developing countries whilst extending US hegemony and economic interests. As he puts it, in the Gramscian sense, this is “signaling new forms of transnational control accompanying the rise of global capitalism” – albeit consensual means of control rather than coercive ones (p.308.). Thus, “what US policymakers mean by ‘democracy promotion’ is the promotion of polyarchy. Polyarchy refers to a system in which a small group actually rules and mass participation in decision-making is confined to leadership choice in elections carefully managed by competing elites” (p.310). Latin America, he argue, provides a good illustration of this. The coercive social control of dictators came under siege from forces from below; the replacement of this authoritarianism by ‘polyarchy’ – that is, limited elite democracy – has simply shifted the form of control and preempted more popular, participatory forms of government: “making the world safe for capitalism” (p.309). It is an interesting critique of US democracy promotion, but it certainly dispenses with democracy in Latin America with some pretty broad sweeps!

Similarly, for Steve Smith, the form of democracy being promoted is “particularly narrow and thereby suitable for supporting US economic interests.” (p.63). Moreover, he argues that for many parts of the world, the “US has not historically stood for the promotion of democracy but instead for resistance to it” (p.65). Latin America and the Middle East are obviously examples, where experience flies in the face of the idea of the US as a promoter of democracy: “democracy promotion has not been a goal, let alone *the* goal, of US foreign policy in the twentieth century (p.66). His conclusion is that the US may be prepared to promote or assist democracy – albeit of a shallow, institutional, top-down variety – when it is in the economic interests of the US, but it is equally prepared to deny human rights and democracy when in turn that is in the perceived interest. Whilst coercive methods were more prevalent during the cold war, the motive is the same for Smith today; the constant is the US interest. Barry Gills makes some similar points: “formal electoral democracy is promoted, but the transformatory capacity of democracy is limited in order to facilitate economic policies” (p.326, ‘American Power, Neo-liberal Economic Globalization, and Low-Intensity Democracy: An Unstable Trinity’). Likewise, Jason G. Ralph (‘High Stakes’ and ‘Low-Intensity Democracy’: Understanding America’s Policy of Promoting Democracy’) focuses on the gap between the rhetorical and the practice of promoting democracy. Again, Georg Sorensen, (‘Africa and Third World Democratization’) argues that the West’s assistance has not helped societies to move beyond the “shallow waters of ‘electoral democracy’”.

Democracy Assistance – global perspectives

The volume by Cox, Ikenberry and Inoguchi is fairly theoretical, and is essentially oriented around US foreign policy debates rather than the concept of democracy promotion *per se*. Whilst there is some common ground, the Burnell volume is more technical, and not so much oriented around a clear debate. It examines the record of democracy assistance over the last decade, considering what forms of democracy tend to be promoted and with what effect, and what are the intentions and motives of the promoters. Burnell concludes that “generally speaking democracy assistance is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for a democratic opening or for building democracy, although it could come close to being essential in some countries... Outsiders lend support to a process that is locally driven.” (p.5). This can involve a very wide range of activities. In the immediate realm of democracy assistance, this can be help with organizing and maintaining the institutions of democracy – such as the organization of elections and issues of transparency. But in a broader sense, in terms of supporting the conditions of democracy – such as civil society, an educated public, certain standards of economic and infrastructural development – the range of things that could fall within the scope of ‘democracy assistance’ is almost endless. Burnell thus tries to focus the debate, asking some key questions – how to define democracy assistance? Is it a form of political intervention? What is the nature of consent? What is the relationship between democracy, governance and human rights? What are the potential tensions between the different types of assistance?

His two substantial opening chapters comprise some 60 pages, giving a broad and useful survey of the modalities and debates around both positive and negative ways of democracy promotion, including conditionality. Burnell divides activities into two broad areas: assisting and promoting the foundations of democracy; and supporting the institutional and operations forms. He explores the background of democracy assistance – historically and conceptually – and the variety of actors that have been involved, regionally and globally. In terms of the motivation of democracy promoters, Burnell’s ideas are similar to those considered in the Cox/Ikenberry/Inoguchi volume, but he argues that we can expect to find a mixture of motives. In terms of actors, he identifies UNDP, the Electoral Assistance Division of the UN Department of Political Affairs, the EU, the OECD, the US, NGOs such as the NED and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, and the OSCE.

The rest of the volume is divided into two sections – on institutions; and strategic issues, countries and cases – and a conclusion. The institutions essays are thorough, well written and substantive: the United Nations by Nigel White, the EU by Gordon Crawford, Germany’s Stiftungen by Stefan Mair, and Multilateral Development Banks by Carlos Santiso. The following section is a little less coherent but again contains important essays on post-conflict elections by Krishna Kumar, a general piece by Thomas Carothers, USAID by Harry Blair, civil society and Africa by Julie Hearn and Mark Robinson, south east Asia by Kevin Quigley, Russia by Richard Sakwa, and Latin America by John McEldowney. Kumar’s chapter is especially important for those interested in post-conflict peace building. He describes the sensitivities and peculiarities of post-conflict elections – in terms of pre-poll preparation, voting and election monitoring, and transfer of power – and argues that “international assistance is essential not only to hold post-conflict elections but also to make them credible and legitimate.” (p.201). He focuses on the extent to which elections can further peace, political reconciliation and democratization – goals that are by no means always complementary. His brief survey of cases includes Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Liberia. With the notable exception of Angola he is fairly positive, “but the progress has been slow and not always linear,” (p.202), and “if one used the standards that are followed in western democracies, practically all post-conflict elections would get failing grades.” (p.200). The main problems and challenges are high costs, unrealistic time frames, insufficient focus on the political requisites and necessary conditions, limited attention to the appropriate electoral systems, and the difficulties of sustaining the electoral infrastructure. Carothers, something of a political realist, concludes that “the role of outsiders in political transitions is inevitably limited, uncertain and complicated, even where democracy is advancing and external involvement is welcomed.” (p.213)

This book brings a great deal to the table and advances the debate in a number of ways, yet the conclusion, perhaps inevitably, is that democracy assistance is not a science; there is no grand strategy, it is ill-defined and elastic, and there are often internal tensions and contradictions. It is difficult to assess democracy assistance, both the tangible and intangible results. I am not sure if I agree that it is quite so amorphous as Burnell suggests. Nevertheless, both volumes point to the need for further work in developing methodologies for evaluating the impact of democracy assistance, and for identifying the variables which have a bearing upon the nature of the impact – the success or otherwise – of democracy assistance programmes.

Bibliography

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, ‘An Agenda for Democratization’, New York, United Nations, 1996.

David Held, *Models of Democracy*, second edition, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996.

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Edward Newman, '(Re)building Political Society: the UN in Democratization', in Edward Newman and Oliver P. Richmond eds., *The United Nations and Human Security*, London, Palgrave, 2001, forthcoming.

Ethnic Conflicts and U.S. National Interests

by Thomas Ambrosio
Assistant Professor of Political Science
North Dakota State University

REVIEWING: Donald NUECHTERLEIN, *America Recommitted: A Superpower Reassesses Its Role in a Turbulent World* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000. Second Edition) 326 pp. Index. Pb.: \$19.00; ISBN 0-8131-9005-3; and Thomas W. LIPPMAN, *Madeleine Albright and the New American Diplomacy* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 2000) 372pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: £16.50; ISBN 0-8133-9767-7.

American policymakers may well rue the day that the Cold War ended. When confronted with the complexity of ethnic conflicts, the difficult questions of whether, when, and how to intervene in communal wars makes the confrontation against the Soviet Union seem almost simple by comparison. As the possibility of an apocalyptic nuclear war recedes into the background, the fracture of states along national lines has come as a largely unforeseen consequence of the end of Cold War stability. The very breadth of cases where ethnicity has become politicized, spanning every continent and type of state, has left many foreign policy decision makers with little to guide them but gut instinct, antiquated foreign policy concepts, and a desperation to do something.

Nuechterlein's *America Recommitted* and Lippman's *Madeleine Albright and the New American Diplomacy* address these difficult issues. While the scope of both of these works is broad, this review essay will primarily focus on what they have to tell us about U.S. foreign policy toward ethnic conflicts. In doing so, it addresses two central questions. Do traditional conceptions of national interests (as expressed by Nuechterlein) apply in the post-Cold War era, especially in regard to communal violence? How did Madeleine Albright's foreign policy reflect (or fail to reflect) a well-conceived notion of America's national interest in preventing or halting ethnic conflicts?

America Committed is a tour-de-force through U.S. foreign policy throughout the Cold War and beyond. In some 300 pages, Nuechterlein addresses an impressive number of issues including U.S.-Soviet relations, provides three chapters which are region specific (North and South America, East Asia, Europe and USSR), and includes two chapters on the post-Cold War period. Nuechterlein's book is hampered, however, by the fact that it is a second edition in which the post-1990 world appears tacked on and the regional case studies almost exclusively address the security environment of 1990. Nevertheless, he provides some useful insights into the definition of national interests and its application by the United States. Moreover, his chapters on the post-Cold War period are excellent.

Nuechterlein begins by admitting that the very concept of national interests is ambiguous, with different policymakers and international relations thinkers debating over definitions, applications, and even whether or not the entire concept should be thrown out altogether. The author has faith in the applicability of the concept and identifies four unchanging or long-term U.S. national interests: (a) defense of the United States and its constitutional system; (b) enhancement of the country's economic well-being and the promotion of trade; (c) establishing a world order favorable to U.S. interests; and (d) the promotion of American democratic values and the free market system. These 'national interests' are vague enough to allow for flexibility, but specific enough to be useful in understanding policy and changes in policy. For example, during the Cold War, interests (a) and (c) were the most important, whereas the importance of (a) has largely been replaced by (b), given the changes in America's international environment. In order to understand how national interests intersects with a particular dispute or issue, it is necessary to determine its 'intensity' or 'stake' for each of America's four fundamental interests. (17) The results are placed in what Nuechterlein calls a 'national interest matrix'. This may sound too mechanical, but it is not. Instead, it aims at focusing the thinking of policymakers (and scholars) and forcing them to identify levels of interest before advocating a specific foreign policy. It is meant as a tool (and is quite useful in that regard), not a machine.

For example, U.S. interest toward the Bosnian conflict was not one of state survival or economic well-being, but rather the promotion of a specific type of world order and American values. However, his examination of the Clinton administration's policy toward Bosnia identifies a number of problems with not only Nuechterlein's framework, but the very notion of national interests: any vagueness in the notion of national interests will be exploited in order to justify any policy position. While this criticism has been made in the past, it is especially relevant when relatively straightforward geopolitical conflict is replaced by a fluid international system and

complex ethnic conflicts. What constitutes a 'favorable world order'? One could make a perfectly reasonable argument, as the administration did, that a world in which ethnic partition is illegitimate is the best. If all ethnic groups are allowed to become independent (especially through force), no state would be immune from fracture and the world would likely descend into chaos. However, the opposite case could be made equally well: ethnic conflicts will merely fester if the international community forces ethnic groups to live together when they would feel more secure (and therefore less prone to violence) in their own states. The resolution of the 'German Question' after World War II, though brutal and responsible for upwards of two million deaths, appears to have worked for Central Europe. While not advocating one position or the other, both could be justified under the rubric of a favorable world order. Even as cogently as Nuechterlein identifies America's core national interests, there is so much room to maneuver that they could become vacuous in the hands of skilled politicians.

This problem is notably acute because ethnic conflicts only very rarely have a *direct* impact on U.S. national interests. All the arguments about U.S. intervention in Bosnia and Kosovo (two examples that Nuechterlein explores) involved multiple steps before they directly affected even the amorphous 'favorable world order' interest. For example, if the Serbs were allowed to conduct human rights abuses in Kosovo, this could spill over in Macedonia, which could drag surrounding countries (such as NATO-member Greece) into the conflict, and then could threaten the stability of NATO. Even the most parsimonious argument -- that NATO's credibility (or even its very existence) could be threatened by not actively stopping ethnic conflicts and human rights abuses, which in turn affects U.S. national interests -- relies on an assumed chain reaction. While this argument may be valid, it appears to harken back to America's misguided belief in the domino effect in Southeast Asia. Without a coherent notion of U.S. national interests and an understanding of the dynamics of ethnic conflicts, America may find itself stumbling blindly from one conflict to another as it did during the Cold War.

Regardless of the abuses that policymakers inflict on the notion of national interest, Lippman (a reporter for the *Washington Post* who spent some two and a half years traveling with Albright) illustrates the dangers of when even a vague notion of national interests is jettisoned. In this wonderfully balanced and insightful work, Lippman makes a significant contribution to our understanding of American foreign policy during the Clinton years. He seamlessly shifts from interesting anecdotes about the media swirl surrounding Albright and the relationship between the press and government officials, to a cogent analysis of both Albright's world view and her application of foreign policy.

What strikes one the most when reading this book is how little a coherent notion of America's strategic national interests played a role in the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy under Clinton. NATO's intervention in Kosovo was called 'Madeleine's War' for good reason: she tirelessly built a coalition that military force against Milosevic was necessary, she took that consensus to war, and dealt with the strains of fighting the war. However, the reasons for U.S. intervention were largely divorced from American national interests: "More than anyone else in the administration, Madeleine is driven by her own biography. Time and again she raises the sights to the moral and historic issues. ... In practice, this view of the world has inclined Albright to inject the United States into problem areas around the globe even when there has been no demonstrable U.S. security interest, commitments she has sought to validate by expanding the definition of national security." (97)

International relations scholars have long debated the causes of foreign policy, but it is very clear from Lippman's account of the Albright years (as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and later, Secretary of State) that her personal experiences as a refugee (first from the Nazis and later from the Soviets) and as an immigrant to America, drove her foreign policy. As she had often said, and Lippman recalls prominently, "My mindset is Munich, not Vietnam." (89) Moreover, like many immigrants to the United States, a fierce devotion to the ideals of her adopted homeland became part of her world view. Albright strongly believed that the world was fundamentally torn between the forces of good and evil and that the United States had not only an obligation to intervene against evil, but the unique moral standing to impose its own values upon the rest of the world. A number of assumptions were including in this mindset: (a) American foreign policy is inherently altruistic and morally good; (b) the American experience (i.e., its form of government and economic system) is universally applicable and morally good; and (c) doing good things, and promoting American values, were more important than balance-of-power diplomacy. While her views were not totally a negation of Nuechterlein's national interest framework (the 'promotion of values' was clearly Albright's primary concern), these preconceptions made U.S. intervention in ethnic conflicts more difficult and less successful than a more balanced approach would have.

For example, the notion of good versus evil may not apply to all ethnic conflicts. As a scholar who studies ethnic conflicts, I have run into my fair share of partisans (either by birth or choice) who believe that their side

could do no wrong and their opponents were genocidal nationalists. While sometime this characterization may apply, other cases are more complex. For example, Lippman cites Albright's seeming inability or unwillingness to understand the depths of Palestinian despair. Her lecture to Palestinian schoolchildren about the distinction between (Arab) terrorists and (Israeli) police actions illustrates Albright's tortured attempt to make the world fit with her preconceptions. Likewise, her Balkan policy was consistently filtered through the lens of Munich. By painting Milosevic with the Hitlerian brush, any legitimate interests the Serbs may have had were subsumed by the Western need to atone for its inaction against Germany. While the notion that 'aggression must be resisted' might make good foreign policy sense, how does this apply to actions *within* one's own country (i.e., Kosovo)? And this does not even address the inconsistency of bombing Yugoslavia but permitting Turkey and Russia to use military force against their respective minority populations. There may be good reasons for acting in one case and not acting in another, but the disconnect between foreign policy and strategic national interests made explaining it to the American people and the international community more difficult.

Moreover, Albright's belief in the universal applicability of the American system of multiethnic democracy (which many would criticize as hypocritical given the racial problems in the United States) caused additional problems for U.S. foreign policy in the Balkans. The plans for the reconstruction of postwar Bosnia and Kosovo appear to be stymied by intractable problems of rebuilding a multiethnic community. By simply assuming that these war torn regions could become multiethnic democracies 'just like the United States', ignored the issues of whether this was possible and, even if it were possible, how the international community would achieve its goals. Moreover, Albright showed little comprehension of how multiethnic democracy could be the *cause* of conflict, not its cure. Her repeated lectures to Kosovar Albanians about the need to allow the Serbs to return would appear laughable if it were not the U.S. Secretary of State making the comments. The spread of violence from Kosovo to Macedonia (the very violence NATO's intervention was meant to prevent) and the deterioration of U.S. relations with China and Russia on account of U.S. intervention in Kosovo (though not altogether the administration's fault) further illustrates the mismatch between means and ends when one's preconceptions clouds one's perceptions. As Lippman writes, "The problem...is that such an approach often seems divorced from reality." (121)

In short, these two books are highly recommended by anyone attempting to make sense of U.S. foreign policy in the post-Cold War period.

Kosovo: Were International Responses to Ethnic Conflict Adequate?

**by Thomas J. Hegarty
Professor of History**

The University of Tampa, Florida, USA.

REVIEWING: Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 380pp. Index. Hb.: £30.00; ISBN 0-19-924308-5. Pb.: £9.99; ISBN 0-19-924309-3; and Ken BOOTH (ed.), *The Kosovo Tragedy: The Human Rights Dimension* (London: Frank Cass, 2001) 390pp. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-7146-5085-4. Pb.: £17.50; ISBN 0-7146-8126-1.

The recent history of Kosovo cogently raises questions regarding the obligations of other countries to take action when ethnic conflict and serious and prolonged abuses of human rights take place within another country's borders. The questions involve the meaning and limits of national sovereignty, concerns for area and international security as well as realizations of the political and military constraints and limitations inherent in intervening for humanitarian reasons.

The Kosovo Report ... of the Independent International Commission is well worth reading for its treatment of the lessons from the Kosovo conflict. Though the entire report merits attention, for those short on time there is an excellent executive summary. In it, the Commission succinctly covers the topics of early prevention of ethnic strife; armed ethnic conflict; the belated diplomatic effort to head it off; the NATO air campaign that followed diplomatic failure; the various responses to the humanitarian crisis that began when the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia stepped up its efforts to expel Albanians; the role of the media before, during and after the conflict; the shaky rule by the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo [UNMIK] since peace was reestablished; the effects of all the events on the surrounding Balkan region; and the future status of Kosovo and humanitarian intervention elsewhere. These are more fully developed in the body of the report.

Immediately after the text of an address to the Commission by Nelson Mandela, a formal introduction explains how the Commission was established, was staffed and organized its business. It came about as an idea of Prime Minister Goran Persson of Sweden who quickly received encouragement from the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Swedish government then invited Justice Richard Goldstone of South Africa and Carl Tham, Secretary-General of the Olof Palme International Center at Stockholm to act as chairman and co-chairman. They invited the additional eleven members to serve in their private, rather than official, capacities. Selection was based on established expertise in international relations and conflict resolution but also with attention to gender and geographical concerns. Though the resulting report was to be submitted to the U.N. Secretary-General, it was a broader audience of interested people all across the world that was to be its primary focus. The Commission worked over a twelve month period with plenary meetings in Stockholm, New York, Budapest, Florence, and Johannesburg, with seminars and expert briefings held for the members throughout the year. Documentary material and position papers were solicited widely. The members did not tap any secret sources of information but worked through the voluminous if uneven documents and commentaries that are available in the public domain. During the course of its work the Commission asked the American Bar Association Central European Law Initiative [ABA/CELI] to establish a team of experts to compile data on violations of human rights and humanitarian law before, during and after the NATO campaign. One part of the ABA/CELI effort is the lengthy and interesting document which is appended as Annex I.

The Commission's report itself is divided into three sections: narratives, analyses and conclusions. Despite some inevitable overlap, the structure works well. A high degree of clarity and readability – almost unknown to the reviewer in reports of other commissions -- has been achieved. Part I, "What Happened", documents the facts of the Kosovo crisis, beginning with its remote ethnic origins. The war and its outcome in Kosovo are presented in three subsections, the first treating the long developing spiral of repression and resistance, the second covering the NATO intervention up to the peace agreement of June 1999; and the third providing a picture of Kosovo in 1999-2000, as administered by the United Nations under Security Council Resolution 1244.

Part II provides analyses of aspects of the intervention which are the most disputed and problematic: two of them are the omissions and failure of diplomacy over many years but especially at Rambouillet, just prior to the NATO action, and the existence of possible effective alternatives to intervention over the years. The next issues are an assessment of the provisions of international law with respect to humanitarian intervention and a review of the mixed impacts of organizations providing humanitarian assistance and the world media. The section also

explores the largely unexpected flight of hundreds of thousands of Albanian refugees as a result of and during the intervention, and considers their impact on the several countries and territories that received them. Analyses are also offered of the broader political and economic impacts of the Kosovo crisis on the Balkan region and, in particular, on FRY and Serbia. The section closes with attention to the promising efforts at reconstruction and regional cooperation available through the European Stability Pact.

Part III presents the Commission's conclusions, which are offered not only in the hope of ensuring lasting peace and security for Kosovo and the Balkan region, but also of identifying the lessons that may assist in dealing with ethnic strife and humanitarian intervention elsewhere in the world. The report does not shrink from leveling its most sweeping criticisms at FRY and Serbian actions but makes plain that acts of omission and commission on the part of other countries and organizations deepened and extended the fray and postponed the finding of a solution. Now that Kosovo is under international control, the Commission strongly exhorts that Kosovo be put on the path toward conditional independence. The conditions are to be imposed to ensure that there will not be the replacement of one oppressed people by another and that the conflict of Kosovo not be transferred to a neighbor's territory. The Commission urges that the people of Kosovo reject revanchism and build on the framework of peace and freedom that has been extended to them, that they develop tolerance and a desire to live at peace with their neighbors. When the conditions are satisfied in the eyes of the international community, Kosovo, the report argues, should be granted its independence.

Though the Commission accepts as unavoidable the intervention in Kosovo after the failure at Rambouillet, it criticizes with great specificity the way in which the intervention was carried out. As presented, part of the problem, beyond differences of policy among participating countries and squabbling between the intervening civil and military authorities was the inadequate state of international law, which needs revision and augmentation to provide a process for intervention and provisions which outlaw ethnic cleansing. [Legal scholars quarrel over whether merely driving out an ethnic minority falls under the convention on genocide.] Seeing the Kosovo intervention as legitimate but not legal according to current international legal principles, the Commission offers its thoughts in sections entitled "Threshold Principles" and "Contextual Principles". The first states the conditions that would have to be satisfied in order to claim legitimacy for any future intervention while the second put forward conditions that would either enhance or diminish that legitimacy. The Commission views military force as only the last resort of humanitarian intervention and one which in Kosovo demonstrated its great limitations and inadequacies in achieving humanitarian aims. Some will regard the Commission as oblivious to the political realities of intervening powers who cannot, for reasons of domestic tranquillity, sustain large numbers of casualties in order to put more troops on the ground rather than planes in the air. The Commission members' answer would be their recommendation that all the necessary earlier steps be taken in a timelier manner so that no troops or planes would be required. Less controversial are the recommendations that international law and United Nations processes be updated, the former to bring definitional clarity and worldwide understanding of general principles, and the latter to escape from the current vagaries of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Until then, regional organs like NATO may have to carry the burden and act according to their own understandings.

Most of the essays in Ken Booth's edited work *The Kosovo Tragedy...* first appeared in a special issue of the *International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 4, nos. 3/4 (Autumn/Winter, 2000). They are worthy of reprinting in this book. Though the contributions, aimed as they are at specific issues and problems, do not present a comprehensive picture of Kosovo, they explore the most essential human rights aspects of the conflict and offer a number of perspectives on genocide, ethnic cleansing, and rape in war. The book also provides many of the human right lessons that can be drawn from the recent history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Essayists examine the human rights abuses which over time led to the outbreak of the fighting between NATO and Serbia, or outline the human rights dimensions of the war and the negotiations that took place just before and after it. Others inquire into the legality and legitimacy of NATO's actions and assess the part played by well-meaning outsiders who came to mitigate the refugee crisis but sometimes exacerbated it. The book also considers the human rights issues which have developed since June 1999 when Kosovo became an international protectorate.

In a brief review, it is difficult to give credit to the individual authors and their ideas. It must suffice to show the riches of the contents of *The Kosovo Tragedy*. Part One, entitled "Perspectives" offers the following crucial pieces; "Genocide: Knowing What It Is That We Want to Remember, or Forget, or Forgive"; "The History and Politics of Ethnic Cleansing"; and "Rape in War: Lessons of The Balkan Conflicts in the 1990s". Part Two, called "Prologue" provides a sense of history in "Warnings from Bosnia: The Dayton Agreement and the Implementation of Human Rights"; "Human Wrongs in Kosovo, 1974 – 99"; "OSCE Verification Experiences in Kosovo: November 1998 – June 1999."

Part Three, entitled "War" presents several aspects of the military intervention: "Reflections on the Legality and Legitimacy of NATO's Intervention in Kosovo"; "The Kosovo Refugee Crisis: NATO's Humanitarianism versus Human Rights"; "International Humanitarian Law and the Kosovo Crisis"; and "The Kosovo Indictment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia". Part Four, "Aftermath", offers "From Rambouillet to the Kosovo Accords: NATO's War against Serbia and Its Aftermath"; "The Ambiguities of Elections in Kosovo: Democratisation versus Human Rights?" and " 'Post-Conflict' Kosovo: An Anatomy Lesson in the Ethics/Politics of Human Rights."

Part Five, entitled "Forum", provides reactions to the question "Is Humanitarian War a Contradiction in Terms?" They are "A Qualified Defence of the Use of Force for 'Humanitarian' Reasons"; "Can There Be Such a Thing as a Just War?"; "The 1999 Kosovo War through a South African Lens"; "No Good Deed Shall Go Unpunished"; "Air Power and the Liberal Politics of War"; an essay by the editor Ken Booth, "Ten Flaws of Just Wars"; and " 'Humanitarian Wars', Realist Geopolitics and Genocidal Practices: 'Saving the Kosovars'". Coming from all over the spectrum, they provide much food for thought.

Part VI is a collection of important documents related to Kosovo which are in their own right deserving of publication. They include the current but dated United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Stemming from World War II experience, it may or may not cover the issue of ethnic cleansing. Also available are Security Council Resolutions 1160 and 1199 adopted in 1998; the interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo of February 1999; the proposal of the Parliament of Serbia for Self-Governance in Kosovo of March 1999; the Military Technical Agreement of June 1999 between the KFOR troops and the Governments of FRY and Serbia; and Security Council Resolution 1244, adopted in June 1999.

Kosovo offers a warning that (1) ethnic disharmony and strife exist or can be stirred up in many places; (2) that ruthless would-be leaders can exploit ethnic issues for their own gain; and (3) that regimes, drawing on the ethnic conflict, can commit the most brutal human rights abuses, unless somehow checked. The dilemmas of whether and how to intervene will therefore confront outsiders, including international bodies, regional alliances, national governments or individuals. Though the results of recent interventions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo are not yet known and the work of the international protectorate in Kosovo is ongoing, the issue of intervention cannot be left to leisurely study. Even as this review is being written, some ethnic conflicts are brewing while others have already erupted. It is vital that the complexities and contradictions of what we know of ethnic conflict and intervention not be lost sight of, but be taken into account in deciding on appropriate action. The Kosovo experience and the two works under review here will be helpful to that end.

Portraits of the Troubles

by Richard English
Professor of Politics, Queen's University, Belfast

REVIEWING: Sean FARREN and Robert F. MULVIHILL, *Paths To A Settlement in Northern Ireland* (Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe Limited Publishers, 2000) 252pp. Index. Pb.: £8.95; ISBN 0-86140-413-0; David McKITTRICK and David McVEA, *Making Sense of the Troubles* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2000) 354pp. Index. Hb.: £20.00; ISBN 0-85640-686-4; and Martyn TURNER, *Railings: Political Cartoons, 1998-2000* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press) 92pp. Pb.: £6.99; ISBN 0-85640-687-2.

'How can you exaggerate the extreme?' So asks political cartoonist Martyn Turner, in the Introduction (p2) to his collection of drawings from the years 1998-2000. He notes that during this period two main issues have dominated the news in Ireland, one from the north and one from the south. In the latter, questions of corruption and sleaze have been to the fore; in the north, the evolving, shaky peace process has been the unrivaled story. *Irish Times* readers know Turner's work very well, and the cartoons in this volume wittily depict a range of political topics, covering but not restricted to the two main issues identified by the artist in his Introduction. For those with an interest in ethnic conflict, it will be the sharp-sighted depictions of northern irony which will be of greatest relevance. An example is that on p23 showing a victim of a republican punishment beating, lying in his hospital bed reading a newspaper with his feet since his broken arms are in plaster. The newspaper headline (alluding to the question of republican non-decommissioning) reads: 'IRA putting arms beyond use'.

The shifting of Northern Irish paramilitaries away from brutal violence is the real subject of the other two books here under review. Sean Farren and Robert F Mulvihill between them combine the expertise of the politician (Social Democratic and Labour Party Minister, Farren) with that of the academic (political scientist Mulvihill), and they do so to useful effect, as in *Paths to a Settlement in Northern Ireland* they apply 'a segment of the conflict studies literature to the Northern Ireland conflict' (pix). There are lengthy historical passages tracing the post-partition development of two sectarian states in Ireland, the northern one divided in a deep and menacing way between unionist and nationalist communities. These historical sections valuably lay the foundations for the book; the material here is largely familiar and there are some significant omissions from the bibliography (Mulholland or Cochrane on O'Neill), but this is perhaps unavoidable in a shortish book covering such a wide subject.

Identity-related questions are given prominence in Farren and Mulvihill's analysis. This is helpful, but occasionally one wonders whether one needs to look through the lenses of those insistently attached to rigid theory in order to reach the eventual conclusion. In their chapter on 'Psychocultural Theories of Conflict', for example, the authors observe, 'In Ireland generally and in Northern Ireland in particular, the social categorization effects expected from a dichotomized and polarized society have produced strong attachments to one's social identity' (p108). But does one really require self-consciously psychocultural theories of conflict to tell you that? This doubt is reinforced some pages later (p119), when the authors comment in the conclusion to this chapter that, 'Psychocultural conflict theory argues that ... polarized mutually hostile images rooted in both historical experiences and cultural institutions and practices are powerful barriers preventing the parties from addressing their substantive interest differences.' Psychocultural conflict theory may indeed argue this, but then so too, in frequently more elegant language, does almost everyone else.

The authors' discussion of unionism could have been more nuanced, and unionist reactions to the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement in particular could have been drawn more accurately (again, reference to Feargal Cochrane's work might have helped). But if the book is perhaps weakest on unionism, it draws compensatory strength from the authors' insights into Irish nationalism. Farren and Mulvihill are very useful on the SDLP-Sinn Fein dialogue of the 1980s: 'While the 1988 series of SDLP-Sinn Fein contacts concluded without any apparent positive outcome, they did mark a significant change in the relationship of Sinn Fein to the overall political process. In signalling a desire by the Sinn Fein leadership to seek a political solution, these contacts had marked the beginning of a development the more positive fruits of which would become obvious in the early nineties' (p144). Indeed, the great value of this book is to establish the degree to which the roots of the 1990s Northern Irish process lie in the events of the 1980s, events such as the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement or the late-1980s SDLP-Sinn Fein dialogue. Key shifts in crucial political relationships occurred during this bloody decade, and this book helpfully outlines how and why.

If Farren and Mulvihill's book can join on the shelf those of other double acts writing on the Northern Irish troubles (Paul Bew and Henry Patterson, Brendan O'Leary and John McGarry, Tom Hadden and Kevin Boyle), then in David McKittrick and David McVea there is another two-author combination to reckon with. McKittrick is one of the most experienced and respected of journalists writing on the north, and McVea is an experienced, highly knowledgeable politics teacher. Together they aim, in *Making Sense of the Troubles*, to produce a concise history of that 'lethal but fascinating time' (pix). McKittrick and McVea feel a need 'for a review of what happened so that the mistakes of the past can be examined and learnt from' (pix). As the authors acknowledge, a vast number of books has already been produced on the subject, but theirs is a helpful single-volume introduction to this ghastly episode in Irish life. The style is lucid and accessible, and the book's chronology and tables provide relevant data.

The authors plausibly enough portray the thirty years' war as 'a more violent expression of existing animosities and unresolved issues of nationality, religion, power and territorial rivalry' (p1). National rather than ethnic definition is to the fore in their reading of the conflict: 'The heart of the Northern Ireland problem lies in [the] clash between two competing national aspirations' (p2). McKittrick and McVea's book traces the familiar story: a state born in violence in the 1920s, a pivotal period under Terence O'Neill in the 1960s, the depressing descent into violence at the end of the 1960s and the start of the 1970s, Mrs Thatcher's 'Pyrrhic victory' (p146) over the republican hunger-strikers in 1981, the mould-breaking 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, the 1987 IRA Enniskillen bombing and so on.

There are points with which one might take issue. The authors refer to Ulster Protestants' 'almost genetic' (p32) insecurity regarding London's intentions and actions. But would such a remark be made in describing other UK minority populations? Would people really accept a depiction of 'almost genetic' political tendencies on the part of, for example, British Pakistanis – or, for that matter, the Irish in Britain? Of course not, and rightly so. The book is not especially original in structure, material or argument. But its great value is that, in dealing with the extremes highlighted by Martyn Turner, McKittrick and McVea show admirable balance and calmness. And they end on a hopeful note: 'Whether the new government system succeeds or fails ... there is a widespread sense that a corner has been decisively turned ... it can be forecast with some confidence that the future will bring much improvement on the last three turbulent decades' (p242).

Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism

Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001) 268pp. Hb.: £29.50; ISBN 0-8014-3802-0. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN 0-8014-8736-6.

This is an ambitious book. Kaufman aims to construct a 'systematic general theory' for ethnic war. (p. 10) He begins by reviewing common explanations for ethnic conflict (ancient hatreds, manipulative leaders, economic rivalry and a spiral of insecurity) and finds that none of them offer wholly reliable explanations for the escalation of ethnic war.

He is by no means dismissive of each of the theories, but points to occasions when the tinder did not catch fire despite the best intentions of leaders playing the ethnic card, or communities competing for the same scarce resources. Indeed, a useful lesson from Kaufman's work is that ethnic wars are difficult to start.

His search for a general theory leads to the identification of a variable that can energise the other explanatory factors for ethnic wars, and indeed link them together: symbolic politics. Kaufman acknowledges that a focus on symbolic politics is unfashionable and has been derided as being 'vague and unscientific' (p. 204) but constructs a convincing argument. He notes that '...ethnic symbolism combines the logic of ancient hatreds, manipulative elites, and economic rivalry...' (p. 12).

One criticism is that Kaufman's unpacking of the notion of symbols and symbolism is relatively slight. He assumes a very broad definition of symbols and symbolism, encompassing everything from myths and rituals to flags and poetry. Their role in the construction and maintenance of identity is important and perhaps deserves a deeper conceptual discussion. A much tighter definition of what the author means by symbols and symbolism, and indeed reference to some of the key works on this topic, would have aided the overall piece.

But this criticism does not detract from the overall strength of the book. Detailed case studies from Karabagh, Georgia, Moldova and the former Yugoslavia are used to good effect and examples from other regions are drawn upon. A key factor linking all of the cases he reviews is the drive for dominance over a specific territory by one group.

This is a tightly argued and accessible work. While polemical, it is convincing and the author is impressively rigorous in testing his claims. Chapters one and two are particularly useful and offer patient critiques of common explanations for the causes of conflict. I will be recommending that my postgraduate students make use of Kaufman's views.

Roger Mac Ginty
Department of Politics
University of York

Francisco Letamendia, *Game of Mirrors: Centre-Periphery National Conflicts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 370pp. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-7546-1361-5.

Letamendia's book is noteworthy for its insightful analysis of nationalism and the nationalist question. The starting point for his analysis stems from Rokkan's theory of the four cleavages in Western societies: class, church-state, tradition-modernity and centre-periphery. The author focuses on the latter of these cleavages. Further, the theme running throughout this book is the mirror-game nature of peripheral and centralist nationalisms. More specifically, while non-violent nationalisms only mirror-image the national community and/or society, violent nationalisms mirror-image the state's monopoly of the use of force.

The book is organised into two parts. The first part discusses in great detail the nature and characteristics of the peripheral and centralist nationalisms. Most of the argument is devoted to the peripheral national movements that "emerged as a reaction to state processes of political integration and national acculturation". These nationalist movements are distinguished by the fact that they pass from an ethnic and selective identity-based phase to a rational instrumental phase. The former phase is characterised by the mirror-imaging of the community and the latter phase by "the construction of society and demands for institutionalisation that are inclusive of all inhabitants of the territory and not just the members of the ethnic group". However, whilst Letamendia's model fits well into the "geopolitical area of Western Europe, its application on a global scale is

uncertain". Other nationalisms that are more important on a global scale, like e.g. break up of states, pan-nationalisms, non-territorial and a-national ethnic movements are also dealt with, however, in less detail. The second part discusses the relationship between nationalism and violence. Both the violence exerted by the peripheral nationalist movements and the state-centre response to it are thoroughly analysed and again interesting mirror-images are pointed out. In addition, a set of eight case studies (Macedonia, Palestine, Kurdistan, Punjab Sikhs, Tamils in Sri-Lanka, Corsica, Southern Basques, Northern Ireland) substantiates the theoretical reasoning.

The book provides a very interesting theoretical exploration of the nationalist phenomenon, firmly underpinned by a range of facts, examples and case studies. However, occasionally, the style of writing demands quite some stamina from the reader.

Arnim Langer
University of Leuven

Jeff Chinn and Robert Kaiser, *Russians as the New Minority: Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Soviet Successor States* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1996) 308pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: £16.50; ISBN 0-8133-2248-0.

The interaction of Russians and titular indigenes in the non-Russian states of the former Soviet Union encompasses a broad spectrum. For example, a May 20, 2001, article in the *New York Times* titled "Latvians Can't Escape Cold War's Divisive Legacy" quoted some Latvians calling Russians occupiers, while Russians spoke of outrageous discrimination at the hands of Estonian nationalists. The issues loom large: the twenty five million Russians outside of Russia's borders are the largest minority in Europe.

This book uses the interactive nationalism model to frame the relationship of Russians and titular nationals in the Newly Independent States (NIS). The model "contends that inter-national tensions and conflicts are less the result of ancient, tribal hatreds than the consequence of an interactive process initiated by the majority, titular or dominant nation seeking hegemony in the state. This approach, in contrast to a more primordialist view, implies that inter-national conflicts are amenable to management, because the majority nation can adopt policies to include members of all nations as full and equal participants in the socio-cultural, economic, and political life of the state" (p. 33). The first part of the book provides the theoretical framework and historical background for the analysis, which occurs in the second part of the book.

One wonders why the first part of the book spends so much time on the history of the republics, given the claim made above. The history goes well beyond establishing exactly how the NIS arrived at having Russian minorities. One enlightening section deals with Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, which were based, according to the authors, on the assumption that a "loyal Soviet people" (p.75) existed. Clearly no such sovietized people existed, as Gorbachev's reforms led to the splintering of the USSR instead of a renewed sense of unity and purpose.

The second half of the book gives individual attention to fourteen NIS. Extensively footnoted, these sections provide a wealth of statistics and information in a concise manner. Broadly speaking, the interactive nationalism model provides an explanation for the current conditions of the Russian minority in the different republics, in as much as the relationship between the Russian minorities and titular indigenes varies greatly from republic to republic, depending significantly on current policies of the NIS. For the detailed individual arguments which claim to demonstrate that the ethnic conflict can be managed, and historical differences overcome, one must read the book.

Stephen L. Pellathy
University of Pittsburgh

Ethnography

Erik Muegler, *The Age of Wild Ghosts: Memory, Violence and Place in Southwest China* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2001) 360pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: \$19.95/£12.95; ISBN 0-520-22631-3.

This book is an extremely vivid and thoroughly researched ethnographic study of a rural community in southwest China. The community's members speak a Tibeto-Burmese language, and fall in the category of "national minority" for official purposes. Han Chinese comprise about 95% of China's population and dominate its institutions; some fifty-six other ethnic groups are recognised as minorities. Among them, Han supremacy is contested by many Tibetans and Muslims of the northwest. In southwest China, most minority groups, like the one described in this book, are poor, poorly educated, dispersed, and outnumbered.

The study illuminates the relationship between state and ethnic group; and it tells a devastatingly sad story in many respects. The book is especially valuable since its author learned the local language, resided among the community, and brings his anthropological training to bear on its present and recent past.

Much of the book offers detailed reporting and analysis of customs and rituals of village life: dreams and their interpretation; land-use; funerals; exorcisms; courtship; healing. It is all especially valuable because, as far as I know, there is very little material available in English of comparable density. The ethnography is interlaced with accounts of the power of the state in the communist era, which impacted and often overwhelmed the villagers' lives: purges, famine, and social disruption in the 1950s, compulsory birth control in the 1990s.

On the latter topic, Muegler is absolutely justified in reporting, and by implication condemning, the clumsiness bordering on brutality with which much of the population control has been imposed: for example mass sterilization campaigns that "spayed women like sows" (p.305). At the same time it is worth remembering that after twenty-five years of state-promoted birth control, by the late 1990s, China's 1.2 billion population was growing at a rate of around one per cent per year. Most demographers believe that this is a sustainable level, at which China has good prospects of providing basic necessities for the vast majority of the population into future generations. Terrible injustices have been inflicted in the process; but the irremediable problems of uncontrolled population growth have been avoided.

Altogether, I would strongly recommend this book to anyone concerned to understand the "bitter ocean" of China's rural communities and its ethnic minorities.

Alan Hunter
Centre for the Study of Forgiveness and Reconciliation,
Coventry University, UK

Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds (eds.), *Remaking A World: Violence, Social Suffering, And Recovery* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2001) 302pp. Pb.: \$19.95/£12.95; ISBN 0-520-22330-6.

Remaking A World is the third and final volume on social suffering, violence, and recovery. The first volume *Social Suffering* (1997) focuses on political violence. The second volume *Violence and Subjectivity* (2000) explores how collective violence can transform individual subjectivity. This third volume seeks 'to describe the processes through which communities cope with various forms of social suffering' and to analyze 'the societal consequences of violence, in both its spectacular and everyday forms, at the level of local worlds, interpersonal relations, and individual lives' (p.3).

The 'Introduction' outlines the theoretical issues of narration, experience, collective and individual memories, and community and individual healing. The six ethnographic accounts ground these theoretical concerns in local settings. The Kui - an indigenous group - in Thailand creates 'counterhegemonic' networks and alternative discursive spaces that challenge the systemic violence of state power (Chuengsatiansup). The Cree Nation of northern Québec reimagines the meaning of aboriginality as a response to centuries of marginalization and internal colonization (Adelson). The female hibakusha (atom-bombed persons) in Japan create a space for political agency that counters the public representations of them as 'atomic maidens', and 'bad wives and unwise mothers' (Todeschini). In Sri Lanka, victims of the state's counterinsurgency campaign respond to the failure of secular mechanisms of justice by invoking narratives of 'spiritual possessions and avenging ghosts' (Perera). After the 'communal' riots in Dharavi (central Bombay), the fractured muslim and non-muslim

communities seek to restore the conditions of coexistence and individual voices through relief work (Mehta and Chatterji, p.229). The women who gave testimonies in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission - an institution and process intended to 'forge a common memory' in post-apartheid South Africa - enunciate their suffering through the paradoxical act of speaking about the suffering of others while remaining largely silent about their own experiences (Ross).

Two striking features emerge from these ethnographies of suffering and healing. The first is the tension between public and private 'truths' and related to this, the limitations of state-sponsored institutional responses to trauma. Clearly the contradictory roles of the state as a perpetrator of violence and facilitator of healing have something to do with the competing representations of social suffering in the public sphere. The second feature is the non-linear experience of time. The present is mediated through remembering and forgetting the past and projecting hopes and fears towards the future. Initiatives for conflict transformation must, therefore, recognize these dimensions of violence, social suffering and recovery.

This volume is a timely meditation on the diverse forms of violence, the culturally acceptable expressions of suffering, and the coping strategies of various social groups that challenges the current dominance of judicial and western reflections on violence and justice. To the credit of the contributors, the suffering experienced by communities and individuals are not reduced to a sentimental victimology. Instead they illustrate the human desire and capacity to reclaim their agency and participate in their own healing processes. Furthermore, their experiences alert us to the importance of addressing multiple levels of healing in post-conflict reconstruction.

Dr Robyn Lui
Australian National University
Canberra

Conflict Transformation

Accord: an International Review of Peace Initiatives (London: Conciliation Resources, 1996-2001). Ten volumes by various authors. £15.00/\$25.00 for a single issue; £125.00/\$210.00 for a complete set of back issues, from Conciliation Resources, 173 Upper Street, London N1 1RG.

Conciliation Resources published its first volume of Accord, dedicated to the Liberian peace process, in 1996, and its most recent, on the peace process in Tajikistan, in 2001. The other peace processes covered in the series are: Guatemala (1997); Mozambique (1998); Sri Lanka (1998); Cambodia (1998); Mindanao (1999); Georgia-Abkhazia (1999); Northern Ireland (1999); and Sierra Leone (2000). Further issues are planned on Bougainville and Northern Uganda (Acholi land). Each volume is a self-contained 'narrative and analysis on specific war and peace processes in an accessible format'.

They are certainly accessible. Without exception the ten issues provide excellent and practical guides to those engaged in peacemaking. The more recent issues in particular are written by an informative mix of academics and practitioners, including some of the key political actors in the peace processes. Each issue includes an historical background to the conflict, maps, chronologies, an analysis of the peace process and profiles of key actors.

Two recent reports illustrate the Accord approach. 'Striking a Balance: The Northern Ireland peace process', edited by Clem McCartney, includes an introductory essay on the conflict, but moves on to deal with the peace process itself. Martin Mansergh, one of the key advisers to successive Irish prime ministers, outlines the early stages. Three different perspectives are provided on the framework for negotiations, including one from Nigel Dodds of the Democratic Unionist Party, the strongest party opposing the Agreement. Finally there are three chapters on the negotiations in practice, civil society and an assessment of the Agreement. The contributors have been carefully selected to provide a broad perspective, and there is a thoughtful piece on the problems of implementation by two members of the Women's Coalition. All in all, this is an excellent review of the process suitable for a variety of readers including senior negotiators, practitioners, general readers and students of the process. Only the international perspective is treated in a rather cursory fashion, which is perhaps defensible in light of the general tendency to exaggerate the role of external actors in the Northern Ireland process.

'Politics of Compromise: the Tajikistan peace process', edited by Kamoludin Abdullaev and Catherine Barnes, is equally impressive and perhaps even more useful, in that Tajikistan lacks the mass of written material

available on Northern Ireland. The outline is somewhat similar, with excellent sections on the background of the conflict, and a strong emphasis on the mechanics of the negotiations. There are good chapters on both international involvement and on inter-regional dynamics, and again an interesting discussion of civil society and peacebuilding.

Both issues have excellent sections on civil society, an element in peace processes often underrated by political scientists, and each has a section on key points in agreements, a useful innovation since the earlier issues in the series.

So individually the standard of the *Accord* series is high. Collectively the ten issues amount to a valuable teaching resource at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, and would also work as an overview for serious pre-university students - not an easy task to pull off. Many of them feature full texts of key documents and peace accords, again a useful teaching tool. If this is Conciliation Resource's main target readership, they might consider a few additions to future issues. First, although all ten issues include guides to further reading, there are almost no references in the main texts, clearly a decision made in order to attract general readers, but one which should be modified to include a few key guidelines for researchers. Second, there is an understandable emphasis on actual negotiations, but some other elements essential to successful peace processes are neglected. One of these is the role of economic factors in peace processes, although the chapter by Alex Vines in the Mozambique issue is both a notable exception and a possible model for future issues. It would also have been interesting to read more about post-accord law-and-order problems, especially in Guatemala. Finally, the issues would be even more valuable if Conciliation Resources drew on its substantial body of comparative knowledge and experience to include a section in all future issues on lessons learned from each peace process. This might include both lessons accrued from the benefit of hindsight, and those that would be useful to peacemakers working in other places.

This is an admirable series of publications. Conciliation Resources is to be praised for having the foresight to start this series five years ago, for hitting on a successful formula almost from the start and for creating a cumulative body of impressive and useful materials.

John Darby,

The Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame

**Christine Bell, *Peace Agreements and Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 416pp.
Biblio. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-19-829889-7.**

Christine Bell's excellent study sets out to analyse the human rights component of peace agreements in four conflicts with "ethnic dimensions": South Africa, Northern Ireland, Bosnia Herzegovina, and Israel-Palestine. She looks at the bargaining which produces peace agreements, and the human rights contents, particularly in terms of how each has developed in these impacted ethnic conflicts. The result is a really useful dialogue between the points of view of universal norms of human rights and *realpolitik* bargainers in violent conflicts, which is respectful of both viewpoints and helps them to understand better how their interaction assists societies in transition.

Bell uses the term "meta-conflict" to describe the ongoing disagreement between the sides as to what the conflict itself is about. In situations in which everything is contested, a peace process is, in part, an attempt to begin to resolve this meta-conflict, to begin to agree what the conflict has been about. "Until there is substantial agreement about the causes of the conflict, it is almost impossible to reach agreement on how the divided society can account for the past, because the parties are essentially still waging the conflict." (p.301) For practitioners working in ethnic conflict, it is particularly interesting that she reaches different conclusions about the four cases, which end up in pairs, illustrating opposite points. Her reading of the agreements in South Africa and Northern Ireland is that these were largely internally-motivated agreements, mediated by considerable international attention on the contents and outcomes. "...[T]he application of international law created conditions which both limited the conflict and provided a normative framework, so that when the parties came to negotiate, the legitimate parameters of any solution were relatively clear." (p.116) In the cases of Israel/Palestine and Bosnia Herzegovina, the impetus was largely external, and "the international community's inability to agree on the parameters of the solution hampered attempts to limit the conflict by enforcing human rights provisions and preventing ethnic population shifts. Conversely, the inability of the international community to enforce basic human rights and humanitarian law protections created a fluid numbers game in which parties to the conflict could further their self-determination claims through illegitimate 'fact-creation' on

the ground.” (Ibid.) The effect, then, is to emphasise the responsibility of the international community in understanding (and perhaps strategising within itself) the role of human rights as norms in ethnic conflict.

This same distinction between internally- and externally-motivated agreements reinforces the responsibility of internal actors to work seriously together, both on a shared understanding of the conflict, and on a negotiation which will produce a better future society. What seems in one context to be creative ambiguity and inventive development of new possibilities, may be seen in another to be cynical manipulation of the language of international law. Bell reaches the sad conclusion that, in some ways, the influence of human rights and international rhetoric and provisions has been to use the words to legitimise or continue violations of human rights. The Dayton Peace Agreement, for example, “illustrates the danger of broad blueprints for ethnic conflict. Although the DPA seems to comply formally with international law and build on its evolutionary trends, the devil is hidden in the detail. That detail reveals deep tensions between individual and group rights and an ongoing failure to resolve a bitter self-determination dispute.” (p.180) The parties to the actual conflict have the capacity to engage in meaningful searches for peace, or to manipulate the process as the continuation of war by other means.

A third crucial factor in the human rights outcome of peace agreements is the role played by civic society. “The peace agreements with the most hopeful human rights regimes are ones where civic society was involved in the peace process, and where civic society is given a structural place in the negotiations and/or the deal. [...] Internationally-mediated deals, for different reasons, often exclude civic society from the process of deal-making. In contrast, in more domestically based processes civic society often finds a way of claiming a place in the process. In a divided community civic society plays a crucial role in mediating the positions of political elites. It provides a space for creative thinking. It provides a link with other conflicts and with international institutions [...] It provides an agenda which goes beyond the traditional political divisions, and so enables those traditions to be reconceived. Civic society can supplement an impoverished political sector with a narrow focus.” (pp.315-6)

Another key concept is the “jurisprudence of transition,” the understanding that “human rights provisions are included in peace agreements precisely because without them peace cannot be achieved or has no content.” (p.303) This is not to discount the importance of human rights and international law in upholding more universal standards, for even transitional arrangements may be influenced by and evaluated against norms. Bell looks at the peace agreements terms of how they deal with the future (bills of rights, courts, policing), the suffering as a result of past abuses (issues such as refugees and dispossession of land), and dealing with the past in terms of justice and impunity (prisoners, accountability, truth.)

Peace agreements include certain human rights provisions rather than others, and address or do not address accountability in the ways that they do, for reasons which represent a complex interplay between factors of the particular history and context, estimations of current power balances, and expectations to move in future toward greater integration, the consociational balancing of group interests, or greater separation. If the parties to the conflict aim to continue the conflict by means of the agreement, then they will try to use the language and structures of the agreement to win the war and disadvantage the enemy. It is incumbent upon all of us to become more sophisticated in understanding the nuances and the consequences of these arrangements, and not be lulled by familiar concepts and provisions.

Sue Williams

[Sue Williams is an independent consultant on conflict, based in Derry, Northern Ireland.]

I. William Zartman (ed.), *Preventive Negotiation: Avoiding Conflict Escalation* (Lanham, MD and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001) 352pp. Index. Hb.: \$69.00; ISBN 0-8476-9894-7. Pb.: \$28.95; ISBN 0-8476-9895-5.

Zartman is a prominent author in the literature on conflict prevention and resolution and in this work he brings together research on preventive negotiation done under the umbrella of the Process of International Negotiation (PIN) Programme of the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA).

This book presents an interesting theoretical framework for comparing negotiation strategies as played out in different issue areas. It succeeds in its stated aim of focusing on the negotiation process itself and further limits the definition of "conflict prevention" to a more manageable "preventing escalation" of conflicts (cf. Chapter 1). Eleven issue areas are treated: boundary problems, territorial claims, ethnic conflict management, divided state

unification, state disintegration, co-operation disputes, trade wars, transboundary environmental disputes, global natural disasters, global security disasters (armaments and alliances) and labour disputes.

In all the issue area analyses, specific attention is paid to the stakes of the conflict, the attitudes of the parties to the conflict and the tactics employed in negotiation. While these issue areas present a wide scope for testing the theories of preventive negotiation discussed in this book, the conclusion synthesises the common conditions and processes required for successful preventive action. Zartman concludes that preventive negotiation rests on an awareness of impending conflict and the willingness to act before it becomes reality. Therefore the negotiation process stands or falls by the ability of negotiators to change the stakes involved in the conflict, by e.g. reframing the problem or adding new benefits to co-operation, thus enabling a change in the attitudes of the parties towards the conflict. Only then can negotiation tactics be utilised efficiently to mobilise the parties in an integrative manner.

Chapter 4 broaches the topic of preventive negotiation in ethnic conflicts by citing the examples of the conflicts in South Africa and Sri Lanka. The main argument here is that preventive action should be applied in a much broader way by becoming involved during various stages in such situations, not only at the very beginning, but throughout peace-building processes when old animosities threaten to re-ignite. In this way, an inclusive regime of some kind can be constructed to motivate and remind the parties that repeated preventive negotiation remains preferable to a return to violent conflict.

Although it refrains from making normative judgements on the analysed issues or the power relations involved, this work makes a valuable contribution to concretising the theory on preventing conflict escalation.

Hesta Groenewald

Mohammed Abu-Nimer, *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice* (Lanham, MD and Oxford: Lexington Books, 2001) 368pp. Pb.: \$29.95; ISBN 0-7391-0268-0.

In the under researched field of post settlement peace-building in intra-state conflicts, Abu-Nimer offers the reader a book full of rich and in-depth exploration around the complex themes of peace, justice, reconciliation and co-existence.

Emerging out of the 1999 international conference 'Promoting Justice and Peace through Reconciliation and Co-existence Alternatives' at the American University, Abu-Nimer provides a book divided into two parts: 'Theoretical Frameworks for Reconciliation in Peace-building'; 'Practice in Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Selective Case Studies', with all contributions coming from respected activists and academics in the peace research field.

As an overview, this book moves skilfully beyond the hard politics of 'law and order', and suggests that for peace to be deep and sustainable we need to look at the individual hurts caused by violent conflict. How can 'fear' be transformed to trust? The 'Enemy' transformed to 'neighbour'? Thankfully no one contributor attempts to define the complex words of reconciliation, justice and co-existence, rather they explore their meanings in relationship to individuals and communities. Words such as culture, relationships, communication, dialogue and symbolism are common throughout, along with an open acknowledgement that gradual long-term reconciliation processes are the only way to deal with deeply divided and scarred communities.

To offer an example from Part One, Joseph Montville's chapter on 'Justice and the Burdens of History' (p129), is indicative of the quality of the contributors. Montville explores the notion of restorative justice and trauma from the perspective of 'human needs' and highlights an emerging theme of the whole book with the statement: 'As with individual victims of trauma, peoples and nations require complex healing processes to get beyond their psychological and physiological symptoms to become full partners in reconciliation and peace-building' (p132). Among many things Montville addresses 'public acts of healing' and 'private acts of healing' and indicates, what for me is the key factor in all reconciliation processes, the essential role of STORY in trust and relationship building. Storytelling as public testimony and storytelling as catharsis.

The second part of the book is presented as a series of case studies, grounding the theory in practice. As with most books of this nature the case studies hold different levels of interest according to the regional appeal of the reader, so here it is very much up to the individual to choose a chapter that strikes a chord for them. However, whatever is chosen the reader is guaranteed a deep and comprehensive analysis, along with the insight that there

is no one clear formula of reconciliation. Communities can adopt strategies from other conflicting regions, but ultimately it lies with the insight and imagination of people living in their own community to find healing mechanisms suitable to them.

Completing the gesture, Abu-Nimer's book concludes with a series of 'Common Lessons' to act as a guide to both practitioners and scholars in their work in the field of post-settlement peace-building, and ends by including an eloquent speech given by Abdul Aziz Said who says:

'Preparation for the journey toward a world community begins with irrelevant dreams. Dreams are imperfect and subject to contextual, cultural, and historical biases, yet they open the way for a future where we can shield ourselves from the disaster of chaos...Utopias are useful tools to design intermediate steps, to know what is our hope, but utopias cannot be used to divert the energy of the world from the intermediate, small steps that are possible' (p348).

Sarah Alldred

*Centre for the Study of Forgiveness and Reconciliation
Coventry University*

Simon Fisher, Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, Jawed Ludin, Richard Smith, Steve Williams, Sue Williams, Working With Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action (London: Zed Books, 2000) 208pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 1-85649-837-9.

The organisation Responding to Conflict, based in Birmingham, which produced this excellent resource guide, recently had its tenth anniversary celebration. This book is based on what all the people coming to their courses over the years have learned. As described by Simon Fisher, founder and director of Responding to Conflict, the aim of the organisation and of this book is to help people solve their own problems, and in that it succeeds very well.

It is mainly oriented toward people working in 'middle-level' organisations – people in such work as human rights, development, education and health. Thinking in terms of a 'peacemaking pyramid', they reach the middle level, but aim to make links with the tip of the pyramid (government policy-makers) as well as the broad base of grassroots peacemakers. Growing as it does out of the actual experiences of people working in these kinds of organisations in 70 countries around the world, it grounds conflict transformation theory in actual practice. Case studies illustrate how to use the analytical tools and activities presented in the book, and other sections give overviews of such topics as 'intervening directly in conflict'; 'influencing policy; post-war reconstruction' and 'working on the social fabric.'

The term 'conflict transformation' reflects the shift in thinking about 'conflict resolution' in recent years. There is now a heightened sense that conflict must be 'transformed' rather than 'resolved' – transformed by addressing fundamental underlying issues of social, political, and economic justice, rather than 'resolved' by outsiders imposing a particular model on societies in conflict. This book comes from that orientation of 'conflict transformation' and because much of it is drawn from experiences of people from the South, can be of great value not only to practitioners, but also to Peace Studies faculty and students who are looking to deepen their understanding of peacemaking as it is being practiced today.

Carol Rank

*International Centre for Reconciliation
Coventry*

Migration

Biko Agozino (ed.), Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Migration Research: Interdisciplinary, intergenerational and international perspectives (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 268pp. Biblio. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 1-84014-557-9

If book titles were to be subject to the UK Trades Descriptions Act, then this book would have some serious legal problems. Whereas its wide-ranging chapter topics do indeed span multiple perspectives, one looks in vain

for substantive theoretical and methodological issues. One also struggles to find any unifying features other than the fact that most of the papers were given at a Summer School on Hydra, Greece and financed by the European Commission's TMR programme.

The book has ten chapters divided into four sections – **Epistemological and Conceptual Issues; The Family and Migration Research; Socio-Legal Studies; and International Relations**. The first consists of a chapter by the editor on 'Data Reception' and by Andreas Demuth on conceptual issues. That by Agozino is remarkable for its claim that "the experience of going to prison is very much like that of migration" – a remark which is neither developed nor justified, but simply left as a self-evident truth which baffled this reviewer. The social science methodology of data collection is, of course, central to the empirical testing of theory. Agozino spends much energy on anecdotal explanation of why the term 'reception' is more appropriate, but fails to deal with the major issues of state manipulation of data, the implicit power relations in not only statistical data but also the vocabulary of migration. The categorisation into 'illegal immigrant', 'asylum-seeker', 'refugee', 'economic migrant', *et al.* is a central part of socio-political discourse, and seems to be 'received' (to use Agozino's term) uncritically by rather too many 'migration experts'. Thus a whole area of rich possibilities is simply ignored in this opening chapter. In the succeeding chapter, Demuth attempts to deal with these and other issues, but his approach is rather too formulaic and didactic to offer any new insights.

Section Two, on the Family, consists of three chapters. The first, by Baldassar and Baldock, is an interesting foray on migration and the care of elderly parents, but is largely descriptive and lacking any theoretical innovation. The following chapter by Breckner looks at the phenomenon of East European refugees returning to the East after 1990; this research uses a biographical approach, the advantages and problems of which methodology are mentioned nowhere in the book. The third chapter in this section, by Ribas Mateos, adopts a labour market and welfare state regime approach. Although more promising theoretically, this is not adequately developed and leaves the reader floundering on the last two pages, with their cryptic listing of variables for a possible comparative analytic framework.

The third section has three papers. The first, by Agozino, is a reasonable account of 'strangers' (mainly black) and imprisonment policies, but is really confined to the UK and USA. The chapter by Moore is an ethnographic approach to the study of German policy toward Russian emigrants, and again has no linkage with any other part of this book. That by Apap, 'Legal Labour Migration from the Maghreb in the 1990s', starts out as a latter-day European social citizenship approach to Maghrebi, but rapidly mutates into a baffling *pot-pourri* of almost every aspect of migration.

Finally, the concluding section has two chapters □ by Conway on transnationalism and US □ Caribbean migration, and by Demuth on Russians in Estonia. The former is an erudite essay based on secondary literature, but fits ill with the rest of the book; the latter is a somewhat unfocused account of recent developments in the collapsed USSR region.

Overall, this book is a testament to the EU TMR programme: funding for young researchers is readily given, but those over 35 are expected to have achieved their position in the global clientelist networks of funding. Whilst these tenets of funding policy remain, the participation of experienced researchers is very limited, leaving unreconstructed papers by younger academics as the major output of most contemporary conference programmes.

Martin Baldwin-Edwards
Mediterranean Migration Observatory
Panteion University, Athens

Bimal Ghosh (ed.), *Managing Migration: Time for a New International Regime?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 260pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-19-829764-5.

Edited by Bimal Ghosh, the director of the NIROMP project (New International Regime for Orderly Movement of People), supported by the IOM (International Organization for Migration), Managing Migration, is a collection of nine essays written by prominent specialists. The various authors argue for an international regime to manage population movements, often characterized by unpredictable flows, difficulties of return, discrimination and mounting migration pressures due to poverty and wars. Individual states resent infringements of their sovereignty, while often unable to cope with migrant problems.

All nine essayists agree that the issues of migration need an international regime to integrate human rights concerns, economic development, peace and national security issues into a coherent international policy, while differing on the means. Miller argues for both bilateral and multilateral cooperation between states, and hopes that "regional regimes... (may) lead to transformation from a system dominated by sovereign national states to a gradual transcendence of the old system." (p 39) A plethora of international organizations, many of them facilitating socio-economic cooperation, can work towards an international migration regime. Other essayists point to globalization, with migration, and increased movement of transnational capital and workers, as components. Globalization blurs the concept of traditional state sovereignty and new methods of regulation become necessary. Hollifield calls the lack of an international migration policy the " 'missing regime' in a new international order." (p 101) However, he sees no central organizing principles and no working strategy for cooperation in this area. Furthermore globalization as a rationale does not present adequate solutions. Straubhaar echoes other commentators in arguing that "global games need global rules"(p 111), as more than 130 million people live outside the country of their birth, and many countries experience a "brain drain" (p 122). However the self-interest of states, seen as clubs competing for members (p 125), raises a number of economic and security issues, and at present having a universal right to migrate anywhere seems unthinkable. Straubhaar proposes a General Agreement on Movement of People (GAMP) to complement agreements such as GATT in the area of trade (pp. 130-31). Loescher also endorses a comprehensive approach, and stresses the urgency of solutions to go beyond problems such as asylum, refugee status, *refoulement* and migrant workers. Commentators point out the clash between the liberal "open gates" and the restrictive "fortress" approaches to migration, while arguing that a consistent international policy can be achieved.

Gabriel S. Pellathy
Associate Professor of Political Science
St. Vincent College, Latrobe PA

Ruth Rubio-Marín, *Immigration as a Democratic Challenge: Citizenship and Inclusion in Germany and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 270pp. Index. Biblio. Pb.: £13.95; ISBN 0-521-77770-4. Hb.: £37.50; ISBN 0-521-77152-8.

This book puts forward a well-argued and strong claim in favour of the incorporation of immigrants into the political community of their host countries. The normative grounds for such a claim rest within the notion that states committed to a liberal democratic order ought to regard as full members of their political community all those who reside in their territory on a permanent basis. The concept of a liberal democratic order is conceived here as a system which is not simply democratic to its own demos (Dahl's first option) but is above all democratic in relation to everyone who is subject to its rules (Dahl's second option). Direct subjection to the laws justifies the need for long term residents to participate in the democratic process.

The modalities for automatic incorporation of permanent resident aliens follow the path of full inclusion and the path of automatic membership. The main claim argues for full inclusion, that is, the enjoyment of equal rights and duties for all subjects to the law (path of full inclusion). If it is proven that such an enjoyment is best fulfilled through the recognition of the status of national membership (this might not be necessarily the case) then the secondary claim provides that such a status ought to be granted automatically to all of those who, according to the main claim, deserve full equality in the enjoyment of rights (path of automatic membership). The valid application of automatic membership is subject to two conditions: that there are strongly sufficient reasons to prove the necessity of keeping the full enjoyment of rights and duties attached to the status of nationality and that nationality is granted unconditionally.

Having put forward a strong normative case for the inclusion of permanent resident aliens and having analysed the main objections raised against inclusion, the author goes on to compare two case studies to analyse the constitutional implementation of the normative claim: the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America. Such case studies present strong similarities given that these countries have a large immigrant population and are both committed to a liberal democratic order sanctioned in their constitutions and also strong differences given that they incorporate different immigration traditions and conceptions of citizenship and nationality. Germany has never regarded itself as an immigration country and the resistance to accept the immigration phenomenon has been connected to the particular development of nationhood in Germany, where linguistic and cultural nationalism has preceded the territorial consolidation of the German state: nationality rather than residence has therefore become crucial as the essential criterion to define the political community. Such an experience is in strong contrast with that of United States where immigration has historically been perceived as integral to the formation of the state.

In the United States residence, rather than national citizenship, allows for the enjoyment of constitutional status, with the significant exception of core political rights such as suffrage. In particular, the federal structure of the US has allowed for a schism to develop between political and societal membership in the law. At a federal level a concern with the political dimension of the national community has prevailed whereas at state level the societal dimension has been more relevant. The perception of the United States as an immigration country is connected to the relatively straight provisions for naturalisation and the concept of *ius soli* citizenship, which has enabled the automatic granting of citizenship to children of immigrants born in the territory. However, the naturalisation option has often meant that one common justification for the exclusion of aliens from the enjoyment of equal rights and freedoms has been that 'alienage' in the US is far from an immutable status. The presence of such provisions might explain why the lack of full residential or political rights by settled immigrants has not been viewed as worrisome. However, occurrences such as California's Proposition 187 (a measure approved by popular referendum in the state of California declaring aliens' ineligibility for public services and benefits including access to state schools and health care) has underscored the vulnerable status of immigrants in times of perceived economic uncertainty.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the schism between the societal and political sphere of membership has materialised around the separation in the law between personal and social freedom and equality, central to Germany's commitment to a social state based on the rule of law, and the effort to grant resident aliens some protection that has been connected to it, and political freedom and equality, which have applied exclusively to citizens as such. Germany's traditionally restrictive laws on access to citizenship, whereby the system of birthright citizenship or *ius sanguinis* has meant that citizenship has been granted exclusively on the basis of descent and that naturalisation has been the exception rather than the rule, meant that resident aliens and their successive generations have been disenfranchised and increasingly alienated in their country of residence. However, the 1990 Aliens Act and the 1992 Asylum Compromise are trends towards the reformation of a system which has lost its reason d'être with the unification process in 1990. Of particular relevance, and subsequent to the publication of this book, is the reform of citizenship regulations which has come into force in January 2000 and has introduced elements of *ius soli* citizenship by allowing persons born in Germany of foreign long-term residents to gain citizenship at birth (although it is required to renounce previous citizenship at the age of 23 years old). Moreover, within the framework of the IT specialists relief programme, special provisions have been initiated in 2001 to allow special residence and work permits for highly qualified experts in the field of communication and information technology (although it must be said that such provisions are still far from generous). At the supranational level, mention could also be made of European Union provisions to allow suffrage in local elections by making all European Union residents eligible to vote. As the author correctly points out, at stake is the sanctioning of two competing visions of Germany: the first focusing on the German nation-state as the foundational political community and the ultimate locus of democratic sovereignty and the second focusing on a state committed to a liberal and pluralistic democracy and to an open form of statehood sanctioned in the Basic Law and which demands the redefinition of German citizenship in more inclusive terms. Notwithstanding the political difficulties encountered in passing such reforms, most notably in the form of opposition for the Christian Democratic opposition party, the trends are indeed encouraging.

Marina Arlati
IAS/UNU Alumni Association

Pal Nyiri, *New Chinese Migrants in Europe: the case of the Chinese Community in Hungary* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 144pp. Bibl. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-7546-1154-X

Nyiri's monograph, originally a doctoral thesis at Moscow State University, offers a comprehensive, descriptive summary of the background, motivation, socio-demographic characteristics, occupations and status of Chinese migrants in Hungary, from 1989 on. Based on original fieldwork done from 1992 to 1998, the study narrates the results of nearly a thousand interviews, and summarizes information from a variety of other sources, such as the Hungarian Chinese Association (HCA), newspapers, and publications from both Hungary and the People's Republic of China (PCR). Since Nyiri conducted his interviews without a fixed or structured questionnaire, there are no statistical findings, a possible weakness in the methodology, since comparisons and generalizations are hard to make. Also, there are few direct quotes from respondents. The thorough bibliography is useful, but an index would also be helpful.

The study indicates that after the Tiananmen Square repression of 1989, China experienced a "Hungary fever" (p29) that fed on Chinese insecurities at home and the drive for better business opportunities and living

conditions abroad. Psychological factors, such as the possible Asian roots of Hungarians, made Hungary into "treasure land" (p31) where Chinese migrants in 1992 exceeded 30,000 persons. The number today stands at about 10,000. In contrast to "traditional" (qiaoxiang) (p118) immigration into Europe, the new migrants emerge as an educated, ambitious, financially viable and aggressive group who do not desire to blend in, become Hungarian citizens, or marry Hungarians, and who have not formed an integrated ethnic community within Hungary. Rather they take advantage of financial, business and educational opportunities in Hungary while maintaining close ties to the PCR. Many "shuttle traders" go back and forth, with Chinese government encouragement and support. Some have acquired factories, hotels, and shops with PCR state subsidies. In 1992 a total of 1400 Chinese companies operated in Hungary; "Chinese Shop" signs proliferated. Hungary has also become a Chinese distribution center for East Central Europe. A quasi-political network, economic ties, and links to the PCR's state enterprises, financing and government agencies are also maintained.

The new migrants keep a low political profile and neither the author nor the respondents discuss the comparative merits of various political systems. The feelings of Hungarians *vis a vis* the Chinese migrants has not been probed, although in general the Chinese seem to be accommodated with minimal ethnic conflict. The study provides an excellent model of a migrant population that has coped successfully with its new environment.

Gabriel S. Pellathy
Associate Professor of Political Science
St. Vincent College, Latrobe PA

Nicholas G. Procter, *Serbian Australians in the Shadow of the Balkan War*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 204pp. Hb.: £ 37.50, ISBN: 0-7546-1247-3.

Which impact do wars have on culture, health and social life of emigrant communities abroad? Procter, a mental health professional of the University of South Australia, investigates how the Serbian community in Australia coped with the tragic events in the Balkans. The author develops two concepts of individuals' affections by global (Yugoslavia) and local (Australia) events: the concepts of 'Long Distance Devastation' and 'Local and Global Hurts'. Health effects constituting these concepts included sleeplessness; inability to concentrate; loneliness; physical pain; anxiety. As particularly distressful since lacking reliable information people felt their continuous preoccupation with the fate of family members living in the conflict area (127). The study covers the period of time from July 1991 until early 1996. Based on Gadamer's Philosophy of hermeneutics (1) and Marcus' contemporary ethnography (2), the research unfolds through 8 chapters. Quotes of Serbian Australians describe how the Australian government's support of the UN-boycott against Serbia and Montenegro resulted in the ethnic divide of the former Yugoslav community. The emotional descriptions on how the Balkan events affected their social relations with Australians and former Yugoslav friends reveal an appalling insight to psychological damages caused by war. Of particular interest for students and scholars working on issues related to nationalism, ethnicity, ethnic conflict research and multiculturalism, are chaps. 5 'Towards a New Blood and Belonging' and 6 'The Experience of Long Distance Devastation: Globalisation of Worry'.

Serbian Australians created new bonds of belonging: they revitalised their ethno-cultural identity. Their ancestors' customs and traditions represented a kind of 'mental home' supportive to manage the distressful changes of their social environment. The global news broadcast was perceived as strongly biased against the Serbs; Serbian Australians hence exclusively kept to themselves increasing their cultural and religious activities. The support provided by the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian National Federation in Australia helped some individuals to cope with the daily atrocities reported. Others tried to come to terms with their feelings of worry, anxiety and anger with personal withdrawal from public interaction.

This a-political study shows appallingly how the war's 'shadow' immediately affected the Serbian community's health. In a globalised world, immigrant / ethnic communities cannot exit; they are forced to cope with the events in their homelands. The investigation reveals one option: the dynamics of re-nationalisation. As a political result, violent conflicts do not resolve problems of nationalism, but plug nationalism – not patriotism - into the following generations.

(1). Gadamer, Hans-Georg, *Truth and Method*, London: Sheed and Ward, 1975.

(2). Marcus, Györgi, 'Contemporary problems of ethnography in the modern world system', in: J. Clifford and G. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, pp. 165 - 193;

— ‘The redesign of ethnography after the critique of its rhetoric’, in R.F.Goodman and W.R.Fisher (eds.), *Rethinking Knowledge: Reflections Across the Disciplines*, Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 103 – 122.

Dr. Josette A. Baer
REECAS, The Jackson School of International Studies
University of Washington
Seattle, WA

Refugee Issues

Joe Thomas, *Ethnocide: A Cultural Narrative of Refugee Detention in Hong Kong* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 268pp. Biblio. Hb.: £42.50; ISBN 1-84014-829-2

This is an ethnographic inquiry into the socio-cultural dynamics of the Vietnamese asylum centres in Hong Kong during the period 1988 – 1995. The text traces the history of the Vietnamese refugees through various phases and on different levels.

The thesis focuses foremost on the socio-cultural conditions experienced by some 50 – 60 thousand Vietnamese men, women, and children under prolonged administrative detention in Hong Kong. Conditions of segregation from both their home and host culture, the consequence of prolonged detention, are explained within the conceptual framework of ‘total institution’ and ‘ethnocide’. For the purpose of the study, ethnocide is defined as a process of the Vietnamese asylum community in detention losing all its internal cohesion, community structures, networks and direction. This external condition of extreme segregation and separation imposed on the Vietnamese community resulted in the loss of their cultural identity.

A secondary focus falls on the related geo-political dynamics from the start of the Vietnamese refugee crises until 1998. During this period international opinion and policy towards Vietnamese asylum seekers shifted from an initial honeymoon phase towards chilled tolerance and finally divorce in 1998. This shift translated into the introduction of strict screening procedures for example, which added to the human misery experienced in the detention centres. Furthermore, the political and economic embargo on Vietnam during this period directly contributed to the refugee flow from the country. These dynamics added to the total institution and loss of cultural identity experienced by Vietnamese asylum seekers in detention.

As a community worker in the detention centres, the author presents a unique perspective of the life of a Vietnamese asylum seeker in Hong Kong. Conflict in the centres – between different individuals, different ethnic and social groups, and between detainees and police – is the result of ethnocide perpetuated by camp management and the international community. The author finds that the United Nations High Commission for Refugees failed to protect the best interests of the Vietnamese asylum seekers and questions this organisation’s post-Cold War role.

Under international law the detention of asylum seekers should normally be avoided and, if found necessary, should be resorted to only on grounds prescribed by law and only for specific and limited purposes. Although the book refers to violations of international law, it is a point that needs more development.

Detention is a highly controversial asylum issue at present. Much has been written on detention of Vietnamese asylum seekers. However, most of this work focuses on the psycho-social problems faced by refugees resettled in the USA or Canada. This book fills a vacuum by bringing home the point that there is a need to develop a more appropriate framework for analysing socio-cultural issues germane to detaining asylum seekers and, by analysing Vietnamese asylum seekers in Hong Kong *vis-à-vis* ethnocide, takes a step in the right direction. Any research on detention of asylum seekers should accommodate this source.

F. S. Jenkins
Senior Researcher, Human Rights Committee
Cape Town, South Africa
frankiej@iafrica.com

Robert F. Barsky, *Arguing and Justifying: Assessing the Convention refugees' choice of moment, motive and host country* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 400pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £49.95; ISBN 0-7546-1481-6.

For those who might gulp uncomfortably at the concept of 'open borders', please do not be dissuaded by Professor Barsky's challenging statement in the introduction to this fascinating book that:

'the very idea that persecuted peoples should have to "argue and justify" before our legal or administrative systems is, quite simply, wrong' (p.15).

Barsky himself acknowledges that the concept of open borders is radical (p.13), but is refreshingly forthright and honest in this endorsement of what he sees as an 'inalienable right' of all persons to enjoy full freedom of movement.

Even if one may not be *converted* to the notion that open borders ought to be a reality, the powerfully articulated and well-written critique that Barsky makes on the failings of asylum determination procedures to adequately assess an asylum applicant's claim of persecution well deserve reading, particularly by lawyers and policy makers.

At the heart of Barsky's critique is a challenge of the 'safe third country principle', something that, with the proper safeguards, lawyers (like myself) might ordinarily see as a mechanism compatible with the international refugee law regime. Such mechanisms often arise in the face of host countries' current reluctance to pursue once liberal policies and to introduce restrictive mechanisms in a (largely unsuccessful) effort to deter 'bogus applicants' and address perceived increases in asylum flows. However, as Barsky convincingly argues, it is well worth questioning whether safeguards are enough and whether the concept itself may be fundamentally flawed.

Based on a study of a limited, but carefully selected number of participants from four countries of origin (representing four of the most important groups of asylum applicants in Canada) in a research project at the *Institut national de la recherche scientifique* in Montréal, Canada, the book appears well grounded in solid, social-science research. Chapter one is the most complex, discussing the theoretical basis upon which refugee discourse is, or ought to be, interpreted (in 'laymen terms', the conditions under which refugees argue and justify their claims), but it is of course essential reading in order to appreciate the arguments raised in the rest of the book.

What follows are vividly illustrated examples, drawn from the study, of how applicants' stories get 'lost', whether in their interpretation (linguistic or otherwise) or through a multitude of bureaucratic barriers that any refugee lawyer or advocate will tell you are rapidly increasing in number, creating a veritable labyrinth through which one must travel in an effort to justify one's claim. The book concludes with an important critique of the obstacles that women applicants face in establishing their claims and usefully adds to the growing, important discourse on gender-based persecution.

Many of the concepts that Barsky raises will no doubt be difficult for non-social scientists to digest, but it is well worth the effort, since we often forget what refugee protection truly represents to one who has suffered persecution, and rarely appreciate how and why an applicant got to where he is.

Indeed, while I expect others like myself will be uncomfortable with some of Barsky's more radical statements, his thesis and its implications are clear. This book is both useful and relevant for social and political scientists, lawyers and policy makers, both as a formidable work in itself and presenting an important reminder that, whatever our role, we ought to be prepared to challenge the underlying assumptions we make and remind ourselves of our purpose, even if we may not be *converted*.

Jeff Handmaker
Freelance Consultant
Rea Hamba Advice

International Society

Nicholas J. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 336pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £30.00; ISBN 0-19-829621-5.

This study examines the debates between pluralist and solidarist approaches to the complex and fraught issue of humanitarian intervention, the former seeking the preservation of sovereignty while the latter sees legitimacy in the distribution of justice. It presents the case for a solidarist approach to humanitarian intervention as an emergent norm of international society, though it also provides cogent argumentation for reasons why attaining this position has been so difficult in the post-war and post cold war environment. It provides an analytical overview and argumentation about the tension between the deployment of resources by states in instances of humanitarian abuse and, in particular, ethnic conflict, and the central tenet of the international system of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states. This begs the question of whether non-intervention is desirable in every case in order to preserve the reciprocal protection that sovereignty provides, or whether humanitarian intervention may provide more stability in the long run for the international system. It may also be asked whether any of this matters and whether the key priority of the international system should be to protect its own structures in order to protect the majority of peoples, or whether consideration of the lives of strangers is more important in the short term and long term. As Wheeler points out, this throws into sharp relief the conflict between morality and legality in the international system (p.4.). Thus, this study examines how far states recognize the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention and how far the universal principles of international society are 'unconscious reflexions' of national policy (p.7.)- in other words, the conflict between justice and order.

The first part of this volume examines these questions, followed in the second part by a discussion of cold war cases where states sought justification for interventions, either using humanitarian grounds or avoiding them. India, Vietnam and Tanzania's arguments for the justification of their use of force against Pakistan, Cambodia, and Uganda in the 1970s provide the empirical focus of the second section. The third part examines the changing normative context for humanitarian intervention in the 1990s, and the way in which different perceptions of rights and roles for the UN was played out in the Security Council in this respect.

In Chapter 2, the justifications, motives and outcomes of Indian intervention against Pakistan in 1971 are discussed. The author assesses how far the international community accepted Indian intervention despite the fact that it was a violator of the UN Charter. Chapter 3 examines the heavy sanctioning of Vietnam because of its intervention against Pol Pot. Chapter 4 examines Tanzania's use of force against Idi Amin in Uganda which was received with almost 'tacit approval' (p.14.) With later post-Cold War intervention, there was a growing tendency to justify such uses of force on humanitarian grounds. Chapter 5 examines the UN mandated use of force against Iraq and then the process leading up to passing of UN Security Council Resolution 688. Chapter 6 then discusses how this increasingly humanitarian use of intervention led to US military involvement with Somalia in 1991. Chapter 7 examines how the debacle in Somalia was followed by genocide in Rwanda and asks whether this could have been prevented. Chapter 8 then moves to a discussion of NATO intervention in Kosovo in the light of earlier experiences in Croatia and Bosnia. The conclusion reflects upon how far humanitarian intervention has achieved legitimacy since the end of the Cold War, and argues that the caution vis-à-vis new approaches on the part of the international community underestimates the ability of humanitarian intervention to reconcile order and justice.

This volume provides an excellent analysis of a crucial area of international relations affecting ethnic relations. Is the society of states now developing a capacity for the minimal enforcement of human rights? Some progress has been made in a complex task, though it is still far from certain that success can be achieved. States are both enforcers (albeit reluctantly) and violators, and so it seems fairly obvious that states as entities will have great difficulty in enforcing anything against other states without being open to charges of self interest. If violators of human rights are to forfeit their right of sovereignty, this still needs to be enforced and widely agreed by other states. Meanwhile, during the time it takes to establish agreement and procedures, people begin to move on a large scale to escape violence. Wheeler's study seems to be based upon a calculation that lives need to be saved, but then focuses on a high-level state-centric view in which states are the only actors able to implement such action- in both pluralist or solidarist guise. This tends to ignore the many activities that occur on the ground in a private capacity in which humanitarian decisions are made. In an age in which the means of violence is widely dispersed, can states effectively deploy against all of them? It seems unlikely. Thus, it would have been useful if the role of strangers- not just as strangers to the major players on the international stage- but also at a communal and identity level could have been considered further. This might have emphasized further the growing legitimacy of the solidarist approach the author favours, by emphasizing the impact on and need for intervention not just to reflect on the legitimacy of the international system, but also on the requirements of human security, rather than merely state security. The author has identified a crucial dilemma afflicting the society of states, but rather emphasizes the role of states in responding to demands which might be argued also arise from growing pressures and awareness in civil societies. Part of the problem may well be that states' instinct for self-

preservation cannot allow for policymaking derived from such a level of analysis and therefore that solidarism may continue the pluralist line of a weak accommodation of justice with order and interests. That said, this is an empirically and theoretically rich and important study which provides opportunities for further exploration of these many dilemmas.

*Dr. Oliver Richmond,
Department of International Relations,
University of St. Andrews*

Robert Jackson, *The Global Covenant: Human Conduct in a World of States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 464pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £25.00; ISBN 0-19-829625-8.

This is a comprehensive and well researched book on the normative base of international society. The book's title 'the global covenant' refers to the normative arrangement of world politics. *The Global Covenant* is divided into three parts. In the first part, Jackson explores the theory and history of international society. His task is to 'rejuvenate the classical scholarship associate with the "English School" which posits the foundation idea of international society as a defining feature of the modern political world' (p. vii). In the second part, the author examines the practices and problems of contemporary international society, including war, peace, failed states and democracy. In the final part, the book discusses the value and future of international society.

Jackson exhibits the tensions similar to those in Hedley Bull's *The Anarchical Society*. *The Global Covenant* covers so many issues that it is hard to summarise it in a review of this size. Echoing Bull, Jackson argues that the 'great powers are the guardians of international peace and security' (p. 173). He claims that their special international procedural responsibilities have been codified in Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Thus, the great powers are the permanent members of the UN Security Council: China, France, Russia, UK and USA. Jackson claims: 'The norm of international peace and security is not open to doubt as to its legal existence and form. However, it is open to the leaders of the great powers to decide when and where and how it shall be enforced' (p. 173). This view of great power responsibilities is outdated.

On armed intervention, Jackson dismisses the claim that humanitarian concerns have undermined sovereignty. He examines armed interventions, including Bosnia, northern Iraq, Kosovo and Somalia and concludes that sovereignty was not denigrated. He says it would be 'a mistake to conclude from these cases that solidarism is pre-empting pluralism in international ethics. Rather, they indicate that humanitarianism can be pursued within the pluralist framework of international society at least up to a point' (p. 289).

In *The Global Covenant* Jackson compares various normative values. For instance, should great power unity in the Security Council be considered more important than stopping ethnic cleansing? Jackson says: 'In my view, the stability of international society, especially the unity of the great powers, is more important, indeed far more important, than minority rights and humanitarian protections in Yugoslavia or another country – if we have to choose between those two sets of values' (p. 291). He believes ethnic cleansing is horrible, but unless there is agreement in the Security Council, no attempt should be made to stop it.

Jackson's unwavering support for great power governance is juxtaposed against his belief that individual human beings matter in world politics. He argues that state leaders 'have a fundamental obligation not only to respect but also, where possible, to defend human rights around the world'. He claims that the duty 'to respect the dignity and freedom of human beings is an obligation that everybody has and from which nobody is exempt' (p. 174).

The Global Covenant defends the pluralist view of international society very well. However, it might not appeal to those who believe that sovereignty has been redefined by globalisation and that the legitimacy of the great powers rests on their willingness to respond to human suffering, including ethnic cleansing.

*Samuel M. Makinda
Murdoch University, Perth, Australia.*

Humanitarian Studies Unit (eds.), *Reflections on Humanitarian Action: Principles, Ethics and Contradictions* (London: Pluto Press, 2001) 208pp. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-7453-1726 X.

The period since the end of the Cold War has witnessed an increase in so-called humanitarian action. This book is one of a number of recent examinations of this multifaceted humanitarianism(s). The book is relevant to the study of ethnic conflict, as humanitarian action plays an important part in many of these conflicts. Of course the term humanitarian is used to describe action as different as military intervention in support of 'human rights abuses' and the delivery of food and other services to populations in need. This book, which has been well translated from its Spanish original, sets out to unravel the different components of the 'humanitarian sector' and perhaps provide some clarity. Most of the major issues that concern scholars of humanitarianism are covered here to varying degrees. Inevitably the book provides more questions than answers.

Adam Roberts helps to map the terrain in his opening chapter on humanitarianism in the 1990s. Roberts work is familiar to many of us but this may not be the case with some of the Spanish authors in the book. Joana Abrisketa examines the right of 'victims' of conflict to humanitarian aid. This right is not particularly well defined but is, in her opinion, 'recognised in a very subtle manner' (p.73). Xabier Etxeberria then highlights some interesting ethical questions that arise around humanitarian action, particularly with regard to neutrality and impartiality. Francisco Rey examines the issues that have arisen due to the increased number of humanitarian actors in the field and the difficulties of co-ordination that ensue. He suggests a role for the ICRC as a possible lead agency in this enterprise. Mariano Aguirre provides a fairly standard analysis of the role that the media play in the framing of 'humanitarian crises' while Joanne Raisin and Alexander Ramsbotham examine the relief-development continuum, particularly as it applies in conflict situations. In keeping with most contributors in the book they suggest that 'there can be no neutrality within conflict' (p.154).

Much of the recent work on the subject of humanitarian action has been critical of, among other things, the perceived naiveté and inefficiency of non-governmental relief organisations. David Sogge continues in this vein as he examines the perspective of the recipients of aid, the subalterns. His is a harsh critique of the aid organisations, maybe too harsh, but none the less interesting for that. He paints a picture of aid as fairly peripheral and even irrelevant and while some might disagree with his argument it is undoubtedly a well written and challenging piece.

If perhaps out of necessity it is indeed the case that some of the more trenchant criticisms of humanitarian action have been written by those from within 'the humanitarian industry'. The final chapter, written by the Spanish section of the aid organisation Médecins Sans Frontières, is a case in point. Here MSF analyse Operation Lifeline Sudan and in keeping with many within MSF are refreshingly open and self-critical.

In short this book is recommended. Readers familiar with the field of humanitarianism will find themselves covering much well trodden ground but there is enough here to keep them interested. For those new to the subject this is a worthwhile book that raises many of the questions that occupy the thoughts of those working in the area.

Liam O'Hagan
INCORE

Development

Keekok Lee, Alan Holland and Desmond McNeill (eds.), *Global Sustainable Development in the 21st Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2000) 244pp. Index. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 1-85331-241-X.

This book is a collection of essays by 13 experts on the field, the majority with a philosophy, politics or environmental science background. None is a political economist, although almost all the chapter authors emphasize both the relevance and the importance of economics to sustainable development.

The title is taken from the Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, published in 1987. That report put the term "sustainable" on the map, defining it as the development which 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (p 11). Core issues covered include global equality, economic growth, poverty reduction, future generations, technology, the role of women, population and diversity. It may be 'an ideal text for students', as stated in the back cover; but it is more suited for graduate students because the different arguments posed by its authors and the conflicts between the developed and developing nations to which they refer require more intellectual maturity and sophistication to appreciate.

Sagoff, for example, provides ample evidence that through technology humanity has overcome natural resource

constraints and he refers to dire predictions of three decades ago about raw materials shortages, predictions which have not come true. Along similar lines is the argument by Neefjis. Leff, on the other hand, quotes the same authors as Sagoff to support his claims 'for the impoverishment of biotic systems' and argues that 'ideologues and politicians in the North are seduced by the belief that technology will solve environmental problems'. He maintains that 'indigenous and peasant groups in Latin America and countries belonging to the South mobilize to regain property over their lands and ethnic territories and to re-affirm common rights to their patrimony and natural resources'. Dobson argues that 'sustainable development has come to be associated with issues of justice between the so-called developed and developing worlds', while Mallor sees women's experiences to be markedly different in the North and the South. Finally, Redclift remarks that developed countries see the environmental problem as one to be tackled by using cleaner technologies so as to minimize the impact of growth upon the environment, whereas in the developing economies the first priority may be the supply of drinking water and staple starchy food.

Despite the comprehensive Introduction and the Commentaries preceding each chapter written by Allan Holland, the book seems to lack a concluding chapter, which would draw on the quite disparate aspects expressed by the authors.

Ross Fakiolas
National Technical University
Athens, Greece

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2001) 208pp. Hb.: £50.00; ISBN 0-7619-5292-6. Pb.: £16.99; ISBN 0-7619-5293-4.

Development Deconstructed?

This collection consists of previously published essays on critical globalism, globalization, the 'cultural turn' and critiques of alternative development and 'post-development'. While the idea of this book is timely, its overall sum is rather less than its parts. This partly reflects the difficulty of reconciling the deconstructive and reconstructive strands in development thinking.

The opening chapters set out a fairly conventional 'po-mo' position on 'development'. He highlights the impossibility of generalising about what it is and concludes that development theory must leave 'totalizing paradigms' behind (p50). Deconstruction and reconstruction lead the author in conflicting directions. This ambivalence is clear when he discusses 'alternative development'. While he supports human development, he rejects the notion that it can represent a coherent perspective, or that it is 'alternative'. This has the effect of glossing over the real conflicts that are taking place between human and ecologically centred and market-centred models of development. I would argue, *contra* Pieterse, that alternative development retains an intellectual coherence that cannot be done away with just because postmodern development theory desires post-paradigmatic status.

Deconstruction sometimes has the unfortunate effect of cutting concepts like 'culture' and 'development' off from political struggles. The growing fragmentation and inequality of the world system is precisely the reason why development theory needs a core of ideas that remain human-centred, sustainable and needs-based. His version of 'critical globalism' includes a variety of arguments and positions, but there isn't enough substantive depth and coherence to move the critical project beyond the 'globo-cliché'. His engagement with political economy consists of a tired rejection of Samir Amin's 'de-linking' thesis and a simplistic critique of world-systems theory.

His attempt to 'bring in culture' fails to clarify how development theory and cultural analysis might be brought closer together. Despite specifying that critical globalism must involve '...theorizing the entire field of forces', including market forces, interstate relations, international agencies and civil society in its domestic and international manifestations' (p46), the discussion doesn't really go there. In Chapter 5 he criticises 'endogenous' development' that takes national and local forms, rightly fearing that 'ethnodevelopment' will lead to ethnochauvinism. Yet he contradicts himself in Chapter 8 by congratulating Malaysia for its ethnodevelopment policies. He has little to say about state formations of culture and power vis-à-vis civil society, except to praise East Asian governments for having 'ingenious political and social arrangements...to effect social policies in a market-friendly fashion' (p118). Instead of 'add culture and stir', he effectively

subtracts culture, leaving aside questions of how ethnic mobilisation combines with the quest for economic power.

Pieterse remains optimistic that conflicting approaches to development can be reconciled, transcended, 'healed' and resolved. However, his descent into Taoist platitudes and chaos theory fails to convince, serving up narcissistic reflexivity and political quietude in the guise of 'non-Western', 'scientific' and 'holistic' alternatives.

Su-ming Khoo
Department of Political Science and Sociology
National University of Ireland, Galway

Irish Politics

Michael Cox, Adrian Guelke, and Fiona Stephen (eds.), *A Farewell to Arms? From 'long war' to long peace in Northern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) 360pp. Index Pb.: £16.99; ISBN 0-7190-5797-3

This excellent book presents a very thorough account of the Northern Ireland peace process and the events leading up to the signing of the Good Friday Agreement. It questions why the peace process evolved when it did and outlines possible scenarios and problems for the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. The 21 authors; academics, politicians, policymakers, and journalists provide differing perspectives on some highly complex topics, and present them in an eminently readable text. The chapters in *A Farewell to Arms* are divided into five broad categories. The volume begins with a brief outline of the historical background to the conflict in Northern Ireland. The second section focuses on the Good Friday Agreement itself with Bew's chapter exploring some of the problems of attempting to theorise about what the Agreement is and how it came about. This part also offers an analysis of the role of the SDLP and the divided Unionists in helping to formulate the Agreement. This wide-ranging volume then concentrates on the crucial issues of decommissioning, prisoner releases, and policing in the new Northern Ireland. The fourth section moves away from the high politics of the negotiating table to the deeply personal tragedies and cost of the troubles. The issues key to peoples' everyday lives are addressed in sections on the human cost of the conflict, formulating a post-conflict economy, the role of women, and promoting tolerance through education. In a refreshing departure from traditional analysis of Northern Ireland as a unique internal political issue, the final section brings in the international dimension. These chapters question how both academics and policymakers can gain from studying other conflicts and peace processes and the worth of moving out of the immediate confines of Northern Ireland. This section introduces discussion of South Africa, the Middle East, and the Basque country as well as analysing the cross border dimension of the peace process.

The only draw back of *A Farewell to Arms* is that the reader is left with many unanswered questions because the authors attempt to cover so many different aspects of the Northern Ireland troubles and peace process. Whilst timely, this volume is about a still evolving and volatile process. It nevertheless provides an excellent background and a starting point which will prompt the reader to investigate particular themes in more detail. I would recommend this book.

Helen Morris
St. Antony's College, Oxford

Paul Arthur, *Special Relationships: Britain, Ireland and the Northern Ireland Problem* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2000) 340pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: £16.99; ISBN 0-85640-688-0.

This book asks why it took thirty years of intense conflict in Northern Ireland to reach an understanding of the problem before a solution could be implemented (at least tentatively). Critical to the answer is the 'malign impact' (p. 1) of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 which, while once seen - at least in Britain - as a solution to the Irish Question, had fatal consequences.

It created three 'solitudes' (*ibid*) centred on Dublin, London and Belfast, with discrete political cultures, competing mind-sets and different kinds of bi-lateral connections (p. 71-2): a 'relationship', if originally negative (given the 'Prospero complex'), between Dublin and London; an 'axis', with periodic disputes about

the statuses rotating upon it, between London and Belfast; and a 'stand-off' between Belfast and Dublin. In beginning to bring the 'relationship', 'axis' and 'stand-off' into a set of links sufficient for the 'solitudes' to understand and attempt to overcome the problem, the parties started from a void of half a century.

The book explores compellingly the difficulties of the odyssey from 'solitude' to joint problem-solving eventuating in the Belfast Agreement: not only inter-ethnic but also intra-ethnic differences in the north; competing, overlapping and shifting views in the south of the north and its place in policy; and problems in London over how to deal with the north - in itself (reciprocated in Belfast) and in the context of the dynamics of the London-Dublin relationship. To the interaction of these factors is added consideration of the significance of 'ripe time' and the impact of key politicians and mandarins. Importantly, the book identifies conditions in this ever-moving myriad which made exogenous factors (also ever-changing) impinge decisively and made possible effective third-party intervention - notably the eclipse of empire and both states' historical and modern relations with the US and EU. Running throughout are conceptual challenges (and responses by the parties); what is 'foreign' or not and what are independence, autonomy, sovereignty and interdependence.

If, as suggested, England was the first nation-state and Ireland its first colony (i.e., pre-Great Britain) with Northern Ireland 'left-over', and the cautious optimism of this masterpiece that the last component of the Irish Question can be answered eighty years on, then its findings also imply that the (postmodern) solution to Northern Ireland means, too, the final transformation of Anglo-Irish relations into British-Irish relations. Incidentally, the book has great chapter headings; George Dangerfield would have approved.

Elizabeth Meehan

*Director of the Institute of Governance, Public Policy and Social Research,
Queen's University Belfast.*

Roy Garland, *Gusty Spence* (Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 2001) 334pp. Hb.: £16.99; ISBN 0-85640-698-8.

In a conflict that has produced much hyperbole, Gusty Spence's reputation as a loyalist icon is not an exaggeration. The subject of this compelling biography by Roy Garland, Spence's presence in the maelstrom of Northern Irish politics spans from his role as the euphemistically termed 'station captain' (p. 39) at St Catherine's School on the Falls Road during Jim Kilfedder's successful election campaign for the Westminster constituency of West Belfast in 1964, to an attack by UDA supporters on his home in 2000. In a way, this epitomises Spence's journey from self-proclaimed loyalist ultra to passionate advocate of a historic accord with Northern Irish nationalism, a course deftly illustrated by Garland.

Not surprisingly, the most crucial part of the book centres on Spence's long spell in gaol from 1966 to 1984. Spence's conviction resulted from his belief that the Unionist political elite had become too liberal. Gaol humbled him. His alleged ill-treatment by the police and a belief that he had been let down by the criminal justice system, revealed the more malign characteristics of a state for which he was fighting. In Crumlin Road Prison Spence's close friendship with a Catholic prison officer contrasted with his often strained relationship with self-proclaimed loyalist prison officers, who felt that Spence had brought 'their' cause into disrepute. In this respect, Spence's experience gives us an interesting insight into the complexities of ethnic conflict. In Northern Ireland the conflict is generated by a fundamental disagreement between nationalists and unionists over the nature of the state that has hegemony over both factions. Recent, and largely successful, initiatives to end the Northern Ireland conflict have centred on changing the nature of the source - namely the state - of the disharmony between the two communities. Spence's entry into prison had a similarly transformative effect, propelling him from a political environment where, broadly speaking, he supported the source of authority, to one in which he was increasingly at odds. Thus this most fervent of loyalists embarked on a number of anti-authority actions, including a series of hunger strikes in Crumlin Road Prison in 1967 and helping to form a Camp Council with other paramilitary prisoners in Long Kesh.

One of the book's main flaws is the lack of explanation as to why Spence joined the UVF in the first instance. Spence's loyalist beliefs are not adequately explored in the early part of the book, which leaves the reader mystified as to the reasons why Spence would be prepared to be involved in paramilitary activity long before the modern-day Troubles began. Also, Garland does not probe deeply enough into Spence's attitude towards political violence. For instance, Spence emphasises that in his pre-gaol stint in the UVF he 'never hesitated to slam sectarianism, gangsterism and extortion' (p. 50). However on the same page Spence replies to a request to shoot a nationalist election worker not with a point blank refusal but with approbation: 'OK, we will have to steal one or two cars' (p. 50).

Though hagiographical at times, and certainly overly dependent on interviews with the biography's subject, this is, nonetheless, an interesting account of Spence's political development over four decades.

Dr Andy White
Queen's University Belfast

John Killen, *The Unkindest Cut: A Cartoon History of Ulster, 1900-2000* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2000) 166pp. Pb.: £10.99; ISBN 0-85640-682-1.

John Killen's *The Unkindest Cut* provides a partial cartoon chronology of the media's coverage of events in Ulster. The book is neatly divided into six chapters, starting with an Overview that includes 16th century and 17th century caricatures of how the English perceived the Irish. The remaining five chapters cover the last 100 years, commencing with The Foundation of the State. This chapter covers events leading up to the Government of Ireland Act in December 1920, the act that partitioned six of the nine counties of Ulster, establishing Northern Ireland as a separate entity from the newly-formed Free State of Ireland. The next chapter, A Protestant State for a Protestant People, portrays the beginnings of what would be a long, violent tug-of-war over the partition of Ulster. Ulster at War and The Postwar Years are chapters that continue with conflict over partition, and include insights on the roles and relationships between Britain, Ulster and Ireland during WWII. The final chapter, The Troubles 1969-2000, is graphically concrete in covering the events leading up to the peace process. Each chapter includes a selection of cartoons from a wide range of publications, from the mainstream to the fringe, accompanied by a short descriptive paragraph of the events being caricatured.

In reporting conflict events, the print media believes they are objective, and seemingly seeks different perspectives on the events to confirm such objectivity. Killen shows us the political cartoonist is under no such obligation. While a newspaper's coverage can use selective and subtle language in describing and analyzing those events, in order to provide a conflict frame for its audience, space dictates what the political cartoonist communicates. Thus, political cartoons can reveal within one pen-sketch the publication's political agenda.

Killen's pictorial chronology, moreover, demonstrates how political cartoons contribute to, if not shape, the views of the reading public. Cartoons capture in a few strokes of the pen what we inwardly and, at times, silently feel about ourselves and the other—for example, our reaction to the meanings of a cartoon is invariably a chuckle. Indeed, political cartoons reflect their intended audience's view of the subject—a view that has possibly been a construction of and by the publication. Thus recognition and possible agreement of how the media has framed the conflict contributes to how we see ourselves and the other. While Killen does not directly address the topic of ethnic conflict, this collection of political cartoons illustrates our ethnocentric tendencies, for the political cartoon is intended to affirm what its readers feel to be true, including all the stereotypes, prejudices and biases. The political cartoon rarely allows for alternate frames and definitions of the conflict.

The *Unkindest Cut* is simultaneously humorous, poignant, and thought provoking. Killen will be serving at least two reading audiences with this contribution. It is a snapshot "about" Ulster and hopefully will leave uninformed readers asking questions about Ulster. It should also leave informed readers asking questions about themselves.

Linda McLean Harned
ICAR, George Mason University

John W. Blake, *Northern Ireland in the Second World War* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2000) 570pp. Reissue with foldout maps. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-85640-678-3

Originally published in 1956, *Northern Ireland in the Second World War*, is an absorbing and detailed account of the role and experience of Northern Ireland and the people of Northern Ireland during the Second World War. From 1940 the Stormont government required its departments to maintain a record of their wartime activities. In 1945, Blake, with access to these and other records some of which were not released to the public until the 1970s, or not at all, compiled an account.

The book chronicles the war years from the preparations for hostilities through to the conclusion of the conflict. The chapters focusing on the Home Front highlight the particular difficulties faced by Northern Ireland,

including the open border with a neutral Eire, IRA activities, opposition of the Catholic Church to conscription in Northern Ireland, and the logistical problems of ensuring that evacuees were billeted with families of their own religion. The few but devastating air raids suffered by Belfast are described as well as the deficiencies in Northern Ireland's defence arrangements. Further chapters detail the crucial role played by Northern Ireland and people from Northern Ireland serving in the armed forces at Dunkirk, Burma, North Africa, Sicily, Italy, Normandy and in the ocean convoys.

The reissue of this densely packed volume gives a fascinating insight into the experiences of Northern Ireland during the Second World War.

Helen Morris
St. Antony's College, Oxford

The Middle East

Yoram Peri (ed.), *The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 390pp. Index. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 08047-3835-1. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN 08047-3837-8.

This book consists of a series of essays by Israeli academics reflecting on issues raised by the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, the prime minister of Israel, on 4th November 1995. Rabin was murdered by a right-wing Israeli extremist who believed he was justified in taking the life of a *moser*, a Jew who betrays his fellow Jews to the enemy.

Writing in a local newspaper at the time of the assassination, I commented on the bitter irony that just a few days before his own death Israel agents, presumably acting with Rabin's approval, had murdered the leader of a Palestinian 'terrorist' group, Islamic Jihad. How little has changed in the six years since these two assassinations. On the day I started reading this book (17th July 2001) a Palestinian teacher and peace worker, Isaac Saada, was killed outside his home in Bethlehem by a missile fired from a helicopter gunship. He was the brother of an 'Islamic terrorist' targeted by the Israelis, and Isaac was collateral damage. One can only imagine the bitterness and hatred his family will feel. Maybe some of them will join the ranks of the young suicide-bombers who wreak such terror and violence amongst Israelis. So the cycle of violence and hatred is perpetuated.

Anyone with the courage to try to break the cycle risks assault from those with a vested interest in the perpetuation of the bloody conflict. This was the price that Rabin paid.

The book is divided into four sections. The first locates the assassination in the context of key trends in Israeli politics and society which help us understand the manner in which Rabin came to be vilified by extreme right-wing groups. There is also an interesting examination of the relative frequency of political assassinations in the history of the Zionist movement. Parts two and three examine different aspects of the response to the murder from different sections of the Israeli public. The final section looks more towards the future, concluding with Peri's examination of the dilemmas of commemorating Rabin in a deeply divided society.

The memory of Rabin is one that continues to divide Israeli Jewish society. The fear is that so long as there is no agreement about the future of the occupied territories and the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians, the schism is likely to deepen - with an increased probability of further political assassinations within a state that proudly asserts that it is the only democracy in the Middle East.

Dr Andrew Rigby
Centre for the Study of Forgiveness and Reconciliation
Coventry University

Rex Brynen, *A Very Political Economy: Peacebuilding and Foreign Aid in the West Bank and Gaza* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2000) 296pp. Pb.: \$19.95; ISBN 1-929223-04-8.

Building on a peace agreement is an expensive process. Economies need rejuvenated, infrastructure rehabilitated, political structures strengthened and the security sector overhauled. Peacebuilding comes with a price tag far too high for most signatories of an agreement to afford; the international donor community almost

always foots the bill. As they have done so questions are increasingly being posed about their motives and the impact and effectiveness of that aid.

Rex Brynen considers foreign aid donations to the Palestinians since the signature of the Oslo Accord in 1993 with a mind to answering these questions. Since then, over \$4 billion has been pumped into the West Bank and Gaza by a host of foreign governments and international institutions to a variety of purposes with the overall objective of bolstering the agreement. The book sets out who gave what and why.

There could not be a finer book on this complex topic. Spunkily written and crammed full of useful statistics, the reader is confidently led through the thick alphabet soup of donors, agencies and committees while the wider political context is never lost sight of. The politics of aid is looked at from a number of different perspectives: international, Israeli and Palestinian, each one excellent and even-handed. It is entertainingly written, with vignettes about inter-agency and inter-Palestinian squabbling for pieces of the aid pie being particularly well observed. Interesting factoids continually crop up. For example, although the amount of money given in the first five years is high in relation to comparable cases elsewhere, it is still just equivalent to the amount of money the USA pledges to Israel in a single year. The book's conclusions are well thought through and challenge conventional wisdom. To give an example, Brynen debunks the popular image of the Palestinian Authority as mired in corruption, holding them to be much more clean and transparent than other recipients of peacebuilding assistance as well as it's Arab neighbours. Its conclusions are also useful comparatively. In setting out what worked and what didn't foreign aid wise in the West Bank and Gaza, Brynen's laundry list of dos and don'ts can be applied elsewhere.

The book cannot come too highly recommended. As well as being an object lesson in how to write an accessible yet academic work, it is one of the best written on recent Israeli-Palestinian relations and is a must-read for academics and practitioners interested in the politics of foreign aid.

Gordon Peake
St. Antony's College, Oxford

Miscellaneous

Hussein Solomon and Ian Liebenberg (eds.), *Consolidation of Democracy in Africa: A view from the South* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 380pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £49.95; ISBN 0-7546-1174-4.

This book is a collection of writings by academics, researchers and political analysts, who are nearly all based at universities and research institutions in South Africa. So, what it gives us, as the subtitle suggests, is a view of Africa from mostly a South African perspective. The authors of the different chapters explore a range of questions about the meaning and reality of democracy in contemporary Africa. Issues such as constitutional frameworks, the changing roles of civil society, civil-military relations, gender, globalisation, human rights and intergovernmental relations are examined in relation to the consolidation of democracy (or not) in a number of African countries.

One of the key hypotheses of this book is that "democracy in its various manifestations in Africa is closely linked with notions of civil society (or the civil community). Indeed, democracy and civil society are locked in an interactive relationship which may manifest itself differently in Africa." (p.9) There is an explicit assumption on the part of many of the contributors that democracy and civil society in Africa are different from democracy and civil society in other continents. I would add, and I think the authors have said implicitly, that there are also wide differences in the experience and practice of democracy in the different parts of Africa.

Since the authors are nearly all based in South Africa, many of the examples and cases they cite are from that country. I am not convinced that the South African case can be taken as indicative of what is happening in other parts of the continent. Having said that, I found the wealth of examples from and the application of theories to the South Africa context give the reader a very in-depth understanding of how questions of democracy and civil society have played themselves out in that context. For example, Elke Zuern, in Chapter 4 on "The Changing Roles of Civil Society in African Democratisation Processes" gives a very good summary of the changing role of South Africa's "civics" from the pre-transition period of protest action and informal justice to the transition period including both violence and negotiation in the early 1990s to more current difficulties for civics to have a role in the consolidation and institutionalisation of democracy in South Africa. (see pp. 119-130)

Ethnic identity and ethnic relations appear in relation to various issues explored in the book. For example, in Chapter 5 on “Civil-Military Relations in Africa: Soldier, State and Society in Transition”, Mark Malan touches on the matter of “ethnic manipulation of recruitment and promotion, so that key elements of the armed forces are of the same ethnic/tribal group as the chief executive”. (p. 146) And, in chapter 4, Zuern points out that “ethnic and village-based groupings are normally excluded in western definitions of civil society” and argues for the inclusion of ethnic associations in our understanding of civil society “as long as participation [in these associations] is voluntary.” (p.109)

One of the key conclusions made by the editors in the final chapter is “*that not one, but many possible pathways can lead to reconstruction of African economies and polities.*” (p. 301) They also assert “*that for the particular condition(s) in Africa, no set model exists – and even should some claim that it exists, such models are open to adaptation and transformation.*” (p. 302) I would agree that political and economic systems need to be designed for and adapted to the particular social and cultural context, but I also believe that one country can learn from both successes and failures in the experience of other countries that are struggling to consolidate democracy in a form that is suited to their situation.

In this review I have only been able to very briefly touch upon the range of issues and topics that are explored in this volume. I would recommend the book for anyone who has an interest in questions about democracy and civil society in Africa. And, for those who want to delve further into the topics and issues raised in the book, there are extensive references given with each chapter as well as a lengthy list of bibliographic references at the end of the book.

Steve Williams
INCORE, University of Ulster,
& Responding To Conflict, Birmingham, UK

Michael Griffin, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Taliban Movement in Afghanistan* (London: Pluto Press, 2001) 312pp. Hb.: £19.99; ISBN 0-7453-1274-8.

In this book, Griffin examines the forces that swept the Taliban to power in 1996. Between '92 and '96, rival mujehedin factions divided Afghanistan into a patchwork of mini-states. The president – Rabbani - was little more than ‘the mayor of Kabul’ (p.126). The Taliban’s success in breaking this deadlock owed much to Pakistan’s military and strategic assistance. Moreover, being a predominantly Pashtun group, its ranks were swelled by defectors from other Pashtun forces opposed to the minority Tajik government. But its victory was psychological as well as military. The Taliban gave the impression that it was above the factional fray. It posed as a unifying force that would restore order, and respect for tradition and religion. All deeply uncontroversial.

Afghans soon discovered that their new rulers were not the neutral ‘peacekeeping’ force they had claimed to be but ‘a Pashtun aberration, which used religious purism as a form of terror and hired bullies to implement it’ (p.45). Far from respecting tradition, they launched a cultural and religious revolution that overturned the traditional order. Their misogyny amounted to ‘gynaeophobia’ (p.60). The imposition of martial law was thinly disguised as *sharia* and the regime’s thugs sheltered under the title ‘mullah’.

A similar progression from cautious enthusiasm to disenchantment characterised the Western response to the Taliban. At first, Western interests and the interests of Pakistan coincided: both wanted a strong, centralised government to emerge in Afghanistan. UN officials and Western diplomats spoke of ‘Afghan solutions to Afghan problems’ and the ‘trade-off’ between security and human rights. The US and Saudi Arabia also had commercial reasons for backing the strongest. However, the Taliban’s excesses and, above all, its protection of Bin-Laden, transformed it into a regime with which few governments mindful of domestic opinion could do business.

‘Reaping the Whirlwind’ is more than a fascinating account of the Taliban movement. It also explores the recent history of Afghanistan, and examines how geopolitical interests shaped foreign intervention. Theoretically, Griffin aligns himself with those who argue that ethnicity has more explanatory power than ideology, but little space is given to theory. Indeed, at times the book is too obviously a collation of newspaper reports - a first draft. But if Griffin occasionally drowns the reader in a mass of detail, he never over-simplifies, and to explain how the Taliban was able to seize power and how it was perceived both within Afghanistan and abroad, takes subtlety.

Rose Hankey

Raymond Montemayor, Gerald Adams and Thomas Gullotta (eds.), *Adolescent Diversity in Ethnic, Economic, and Cultural Contexts* (Thousand Oaks and London: Sage, 2000) 304pp. Index. Pb.: £18.99; ISBN 0-7619-2127-3.

Contemporary theoretical models of adolescent identity formation devote little empirical attention to the psychological development of adolescence across cultural boundaries. As a consequence, developmental psychologists are consistently aware of the limitations and utility of existing concepts and empirical explanations.

This book is divided into eight chapters written in a scholarly and lucid style by leading recognized experts, who have attempted to examine the impact of ethnicity, and cultural influence upon identity formation in adolescence. The overall aim of the book is to bring together theory and research from across various cultures and to focus on how adolescents who come from non-white, poor and rural backgrounds reconcile their traditional heritage and identities within the broader socio-cultural context of the White middle class urban environment of America.

The chapter by Yoshikawa and Seidman focuses on the neglected area of competence among urban adolescents living in poverty. This particularly well written chapter provides a rigorous overview of current research on the effects of poverty and how it impacts the adolescent self-concept. The co-authors of this chapter have highlighted the changing paradigm within contemporary adolescent research and demonstrated the pluralistic approach to understanding the changing nature of identities from within a multicultural and multidimensional context. The authors review past and current research on competence outcomes. They could, however, have taken into account the fact that quality of life for urban and rural adolescents could well be seen as a predictor variable in measuring competence outcomes whilst the reverse may also be worthy of empirical investigation; whether competence determines quality of life.

The issue of coming to grips with one's ethnicity is at the heart of much of the research discussed. In the search for an identity Marcia's four identity statuses are highlighted. In contrast to discussions about mainstream adolescents that emphasize issues of commitment to occupation and relationships, the authors show how ethnic identity is anchored deeply in their own traditions and heritage. This was well accounted for by the authors' account of Appalachian adolescents, however on a more critical note they have ignored the lack of cross cultural validity in many of these North American models, such as Marcia's. For example, when does one know when they have achieved an identity status, or when they are in fact committed to an identity? They ignore the fact that no commitment to an identification is still a commitment to not being committed and hence justifies objective psychometric measurement rather than responses based solely on subjective qualitative interpretation.

Within the context of ethnic conflict Castro, Boyer and Balcazar have produced an excellent piece of work on the challenge of identity formation for Mexican American youth. They show how at some developmental point in their lives, Mexican American adolescents must cope with the cultural conflicts associated with ethnic identity formation. They argue that for some, but not all, the resolution to these conflicts prompts the development of a bilingual- bicultural identity. They contrast the source of conflict between the Mexican Americans and Hispanic youth and this is critically discussed within various value orientations between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans. The outcome of this is the absolute contrasts between the most prominent and strongly endorsed traits that exist between each culture. They advocate that Mexican American youth, who are exposed to events or other issues which elicit these competing traits, expectations and rewards, experience more stressors of cultural conflict and these subsequently present a psychosocial challenge for the youth to respond effectively.

The theoretical argument for multidimensional identities is well justified although the overall orientation is restricted by the dominance of psychodynamic theory to the exclusion of a social cognitive approach. It does however provide a template for understanding psychological adjustment of adolescent identities and self concepts in Northern Ireland and presents an array of appropriate hypotheses and conceptual challenges for any serious researcher in conflict and ethnicity.

Dr. Arthur Cassidy
Belfast Institute of Further & Higher Education

Yash Ghai, *Public Participation and Minorities* (London: Minority Rights Group International, 2001) 28pp. Pb.: £6.70 inc. p&p; ISBN 1-897693-885.

Public Participation and Minorities provides a wide analysis of the institutional arrangements meant to enhance minority participation in public life, as well as an overview of the mechanisms used for avoiding turbulence, secession or bloodshed in multiethnic societies when re-negotiating the social contract after the crisis or during a process of transition.

Yash Ghai uses the premise that mere protection against discrimination is not enough and that effective civic inclusion in public life by the categories of population usually defined as "second class citizens" is required as a *sine qua non* condition of national stability. In his report, mandated by Minority Rights Group International, one of the most important authorities in the promotion of group rights, the author gives a new meaning to the very concept of protection of minorities, by interpreting public participation of minorities as protecting and expressing the identity of the minorities in cultural, social and political arenas.

The study begins with an overview of the general foundations of the concept of public participation as defined by international and regional standards. It further highlights the pre-requirements for participation of minorities in public life and justifies the importance of developing public participation strategies aiming at the inclusion of minorities in public discourse: citizenship, extending the basis of the entitlement to fundamental rights to include non-citizens, creating an environment of human security and human flourishing for the members of minorities.

Subsequently, the wide range of institutional and legal mechanisms developed are analyzed while using different country-specific cases from Fiji and Hungary, South Africa and Finland, and from Canada to New Zealand, Bosnia Herzegovina and Croatia. Yash Ghai selected the most relevant aspects of different societies and the various models of participation through, for example, minority representation, power-sharing and autonomy in decision-making, or the creation of the framework for a continuous dialogue and inclusion of minorities in public discourse.

Each of the case studies, revealing various constitutional arrangements, is relevant for countries facing similar issues on their long and winding road to democracy - as a way of addressing the impact of long-term structural discrimination or in order to ensure the pro-active civic participation of categories of the population that have been newly enfranchised.

It can be argued that the study fails to give a universal recipe for public participation of minorities but this is not its aim in the first place. The book was designed to be a thematic report, an overview, a collection of good practices followed by a critical review of the impact of each model of public participation of minorities- a topic more relevant than ever after the failure/ success of the recent World Conference against Racism.

Romanita Elena Iordache
University of Bucharest

Also Received

Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Shallow Graves of Rwanda* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2000) 230pp. Hb.: £25.00; ISBN 1-86064-616-6.

Mieke Kooistra, *Indonesia: Regional Conflicts and State Terror* (London: Minority Rights, 2001) 32pp. £6.70; ISBN 1-897693-931.

Louis Maresca and Stuart Maslen, *The Banning of Anti-Personnel Landmines: The Legal Contribution of the International Committee of the Red Cross 1955-1999* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 670pp. Index. Hb.: £55.00; ISBN 0-521-78317-8.

William T. Tow, Ramesh Thakur and In-Taek Hyun (eds.), *Asia's Emerging Regional Order: Reconciling Traditional and Human Security* (Tokyo, New York and Paris: United Nations University Press, 2000) 342pp. Pb.: \$29.95; ISBN 92-808-1046-4.

Chin Ung Ho, *The Chinese of South-East Asia* (London: Minority Rights Group, 2000) 38pp. Pb.: ISBN 1-897693-28-1.

Mark Cutts et al (eds.), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *The State of the World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 340pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £40.00; ISBN 0-19-924104-X.

David S. Yost, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (Washington, United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999) 432pp. Pb.: \$19.95; ISBN 1-878379-81-X.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Liam O'Hagan,

The dog-days of summer have been spoilt for me by the publication, in the May 2001 ETHNIC CONFLICT RESEARCH DIGEST, of what purports to be a review of my PEOPLES VERSUS STATES. Certain central features of the book, indeed almost all of them, are overlooked by the reviewer. First, readers of the review will have no clue that the book summarizes and interprets the results of 15 years of research by the Minorities at Risk project on the status, grievances, and political actions of some 275 politically active communal groups, with particular reference to developments in the 1980s and 1990s. The MAR project is not mentioned nor its data base and documentation.

Second, there is no reference to the general theoretical argument (chapter 3), though ironically enough Emile Sahliyah sketches its main points - without reference to the new book's evidence for them - in his review essay in the same issue of the DIGEST on ethnic protest in the Middle East. The review also fails to mention the book's global and regional review of the changing socioeconomic and political status of minorities during the last 20 years (chap. 4) or the region-by-region analysis of the impact of democratic transitions during the same period on the character of ethnopolitical action and its outcomes (chap. 5). The reviewer does chastise me for generalizations about a global decline in violent ethnopolitical conflict from the mid 1990s onward. He suggests that "the issue should be researched further, or at the very least, conclusions should be situation specific." In fact, substantial parts of the book are devoted to precisely those issues, including much of chaps. 2, 6, 7, and 8.

And since the reviewer seems not to have read the concluding chapter 8, there is no reference to my general argument that a new international, European-driven "regime of managed ethnic heterogeneity" took hold in the 1990s, and that implementation of key elements of that regime by domestic and international actors are principally responsible for containing and ending serious ethnopolitical conflicts in a number of world regions. This chapter also points to the areas where the new "regime" does not reach effectively, building on the analysis of chapter 7, which uses the MAR project data to assess systematically the risks of future ethnopolitical conflict by group and by world region.

The general arguments and evidence of PEOPLES VERSUS STATES are enlivened by a dozen sketches of specific ethnopolitical conflicts, each of them some 5 pages in length. They are chosen to represent the diversity

of groups included in the MAR project and to suggest something of the situation-specific dynamics of, for example, the changing status of immigrant workers (Turks in Germany), the impact of democratization on minority status in East Central Europe (Hungarians in Slovakia; Roma throughout the region), and the ways in which some African leaders manipulate communal rivalries as a way to maintain their political power (Moi in Kenya). The reviewer focuses mainly on three of these sketches, which he seems not to have read very well. He says, for example, that my sketch of the German Turks advocates "effecting citizenship policies that favor the Turks and discriminatory social practices." I hope he meant to say, "reducing discriminatory practices." He also challenges the author of the Kenya sketch for concentrating on Moi's policies rather than pastoral conflicts, i.e. he thinks she should have written on a different topic.

I am less concerned about picking nits with the reviewer's comments on the sketches than with the fact that the review focuses mainly on the book's peripheral elements and ignores its major arguments and comparative evidence. That's a serious disservice to me, to the research team that have worked on the MAR project for the last 15 (now 16) years, and not least to your readers, who deserve a more full and accurate account of the study - and maybe even a link to its website (www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar) which has narrative and quantitative information on all 275 groups.

By the way, the "dog days of summer" are an American journalistic characterization of the last part of August, when news was once so scarce that newspapers filled up space by publishing stories of the "dog bites man" and "man bites dog" sort. I wish the review you've published was an equally trivial matter.

Ted Robert Gurr
Distinguished University Professor
University of Maryland