The Ethnic Conflict Research Digest

Welcome From:

Roger Mac Ginty, Editor
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Welcome to the first issue of the *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest.* Over the past decade, interest in ethnic conflict has grown enormously. There has been an upsurge in policy initiatives, think-tanks, pressure groups, conferences, published material and websites dedicated to the subject. Rather than becoming a distinct academic discipline, the study of ethnic conflict has been multi-disciplinary, thus benefiting from a variety of different sources and approaches. The downside of this multi-disciplinary approach, however, is the unfocused nature of many debates and the ability of those working within the field to talk past each other. The *Digest* attempts, in a small way, to redress this problem. It will publish peer reviews of published material on ethnic conflict and seek to monitor and comment upon research trends in this rapidly expanding field of study.

INCORE

Contents

A number of the trends in the study of ethnic conflict are becoming apparent. Research activity is focused heavily on some countries and regions, while others which are as severely affected by ethnic tensions attract little attention. Indeed we are a long way short of developing commonly accepted working definitions of the terms 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic conflict'. Cultural-specificity can hamper the development of a genuine and inclusive global discourse. For example, there is a tendency for scholars in the United States to equate issues of ethnicity with race within the US. In many parts of Europe, on the other hand, they are closely associated with migration. Hopefully, the *Digest* can aid the dissemination of new research and facilitate information-sharing in a rapidly growing field.

The *Digest* is aimed at both policy-makers and academics. Those working at the policy-making level of governments or non-governmental organisations may not have the time to review the latest academic literature on ethnic conflict. It is hoped that the *Digest* can act as a briefing tool to keep them informed of the most important new contributions to the literature. As the *Digest* develops, it is anticipated that this briefing function will increase in importance.

The core academic audience for the *Digest* will be the Ethnic Studies Network: a network of almost five hundred academics in sixty-one states with an interest in ethnic studies and conflict. Many Network members are located in the developing world and may have limited access to contemporary published material. The *Digest* will be distributed to a much wider audience and will be posted on INCORE's website [http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk].

The success or failure of the *Digest* rests on the co-operation and participation of publishers, authors and reviewers. We would take this opportunity to thank those who have helped us put the first issue together and to encourage others to send us their published material for review and to act as reviewers.

Roger Mac Ginty, Editor, *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest*
John Darby, Director, Ethnic Studies Network

Africa and the International System.

By Christopher Clapham.
(Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996)
340pp. Index. Bibl. £40.00; ISBN 0-521-57207-X. Pb.:
£14.95; ISBN 0 521 57668 7.

This is comprehensive survey of the life-cycle of the African state. Created by the international system of states and its various agencies, the African states emerged from their colonial shells as juridically sovereign entities into quasi-statehood. Without, for the most part, an overall "idea of state" to inspire and direct prospective state builders, these incipient states rapidly decayed into what Clapham calls "monopoly states": "...the sole viable mechanisms through which African leaders could maintain their power and seek other goals". Unable to nurture a profitable economic base, or to generate domestic legitimacy, these states are seen to be rapidly succumbing to challenges from which a post-Cold War international system is loath to

protect them, such as armed insurrection. Other challenges such as economic and political conditionalities are generated by this very international system, as are internationally sponsored armed intervention. The resulting coping mechanism is for African states to transform into their penultimate form: the "shadow state", where state leaders privatise the state, and run it as a business unit. Clapham sees little prospect in this (final?) survival strategy, and concludes his impressive and authoritative survey with the proposition that the end of the life cycle of the African state-system will be akin to the pre-Westphalian landscape: pockets of effectively ordered public authority is likely to be dispersed with large "zones of statelessness". This landscape will not only challenge conventional international relations theory but also the theory of democracy: in these zones new units of democracy, in lieu of the state will have to be found.

Pierre du Toit, University of Stellenbosch

Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime transitions in comparative perspective.

By Michael Bratton & Nicholas van de Walle.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 307pp. Index. Bibl. £45.00; ISBN 0-521-55429-2. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 0-521-55612-0.

Attempts at analysing the processes of social transformation in Africa have usually suffered from the fallacies of locational specificity (the tendency to insist that Africa can only be analysed from the standpoint of its cultural uniqueness) and locational diffusion (the tendency to analyse Africa within so-called global or universal paradigms). Bratton and van de Walle do well to chart a middle course whose analytical and theoretical strength is that it enables African formations to be related to broader perspectives within which their singularities come out in bold relief. With regard to democratisation whose core - democracy - is a contested concept, this approach which enables the authors to formulate a politico-institutional perspective, is invaluable. This approach, and the primacy given to political institutions, is the major reason the book succeeds more than many others, in explaining the chequered fortunes of democracy in Africa. By linking the nature of pre-democratisation regimes which were mostly neopatrimonial, to the democratic experiments, the authors show why democracy has been so difficult to enthrone in Africa.

The analysis is grounded on very rich comparative data from all over Sub-Saharan Africa. However, I regard as a major shortcoming, the failure to pursue further the implications for democratic success of a pervasive feeling amongst the political classes in Africa that recent democratisation efforts in Africa, institutions and all, are a Western imposition. Can democracy couched in too "foreign" garb really succeed in Africa?

Eghosa E Osaghae, University of Transkei

Challenging the State: Crisis and innovation in Latin America and Africa.

By Merille S Grindle.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) £40.00; ISBN 0-521-55106-4. Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 0-521-55919-7.

This book offers a broad perspective on the challenges presented to African and Latin American states by the economic and political crises of the 1980s, and outlines how states have responded to them. Crucial to the argument is the tracking of how four sets of state capacities (institutional, technical, administrative and political) have been weakened by these crises. Grindle argues that the required response to these crises is for states to regain institutional capacity through establishing new political rules for the game, thus renegotiating basic state-economy and state-society relationships; to regain technical capacity by drawing technocratic expertise into the policy-making process; to regain administrative capacity by restructuring public institutions and redrawing public sector/private sector boundaries and responsibilities; and to regain political capacity through civic society succeeding in securing participation and responsiveness. Clearly, not all states succeed equally well in rising to these challenges, which Grindle demonstrates by in-depth analyses of the cases of Mexico and Kenya. She concludes this meticulous study by arguing that state leaders, given their respective institutional platforms provided by executive offices (i.e. Presidency), bureaucracy and political party, represent the pivotal independent variable in determining state responses to crises of capacity.

Pierre du Toit, University of Stellenbosch

Security Threatened: Surveying Israeli opinion on peace and war.

By Brian Asher.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) £45.00; ISBN 0-521-48314-X. Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 0-521-49925-9.

Many studies of foreign policy making focus exclusively on the elites. Thus they often overlook the important inputs to this process, coming - spontaneously or contrived by some political manipulation - from the wider public. Against this background, Arian's book, a skilful empirical and theoretical analysis of the main trends in Israeli public opinion on security matters, that combines both points of view, is a refreshing phenomenon. In this book, the author, one of the Israeli most prominent political scientists, probes the findings of numerous surveys that looked at Israelis security-related attitudes and beliefs in the years 1962-1994. To most laymen these surveys seem to indicate nothing more than chaotic surges and ebbs, twists and turns. However, Arian's systematic analysis overcomes this obstacle, coming out with the convincing insight that

two basic trends have characterised security opinion in Israel: the hardening of positions regarding matters which have immediate implications for security (e.g., regarding the military measures used to restrain the Palestinian intifada/uprising), and second, the softening of positions regarding long term political issues (e.g., the returning of some of the territories occupied in the 1967 war). By crosscutting the respondents' answers to such security-related questions along various relevant background variables (gender, age, education, ethnic origin, level of religiosity, and political tendency), Arian explains the differences in preferences in this regard of the various sectors within Israeli society. Then the longitudinal changes in each sector's attitudes are examined. Back to the aggregate level, a syndrome which apparently dominates Israelis' security beliefs is brought to light: the People Apart Syndrome. This syndrome is of two components: God-and-us, related to the special relations perceived by many among God, Israel and Jewish history, and Go-It-Alone, related to feelings of isolation and to the belief that ultimately the Jewish destiny depends on Jews alone. Four major values that underlie Israeli security preferences are identified and scaled from the top down: Israel as a state with a Jewish majority; peace, greater Israel (retaining the territories) and democracy. In the final stage of the analysis the ways by which these security beliefs and values are translated into the language of national policy making are probed, taking into account the specific tenets of Israeli democracy. The bottom line in Arian's analysis is that the policy makers' role in this process is of utmost importance. This is because diplomatic breakthrough in the direction of peace would be accepted by the public if pursued by a legitimate leadership. However, toughening of the Israeli security policy would be supported as well, if that case was convincingly made by the nation's leaders.

Tamar Hermann, Tel Aviv University and the Open University of Israel

Religious Radicalism in the Greater Middle East.

Edited by Bruce Maddy-Weitzman & Efriam Inbar.
(London: Frank Cass, 1997)
264pp. Index. £29.50; ISBN 0-7146-4769-1. Pb.: £15.00; ISBN 0-7146-4326-2.

The Begin-Sadat Centre for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University held a conference in November 1994 to discuss the politics of religion in the Middle East and Central Asia. Many of the papers were collected into this edited volume, which contains work by some of the best known academics in Israeli political science. A strong Israeli perspective is embodied, and the book flags the issues that have assumed a central place in Israeli security thinking: the chronic social crisis in the Arab world, the unprecedented resonance of the contemporary Islamic revival, and the threats posed by Islamic terrorism and by Iran. All but one of the chapters is on Islam. The one exception is a Shmuel Sandler's illuminating study of religious Zionism, and the importance of the breakdown in the relationship between the Labour Party and the National Religious Party for the stability of Israeli politics.

The book is organised into five sections. Section One relates to militant Islam in government, with a chapter on Iran, and one on Sudan. The lesson from Iran and Sudan is that when pan-Islamic forces actually capture the state they tend to be frustrated by the realities of domestic politics, and by the state system. Haggay Ram contends, for instance, that Iranian foreign policy is now an almost complete fusion of Islam and Iranian nationalism. Sections Two and Three turn to Islam as an opposition, with chapters relating to Egypt, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Israel, and the Palestine Authority. What is clear is that militant Islam stems from a political and social crisis that seems almost unresolvable, but whilst militancy represents a dangerous force, it is not yet an overwhelming one for the states that face it.

The focus shifts to the "periphery" in Section Four to examine the differing experiences of Islam across North Africa and Central Asia. Whilst in parts of North Africa, Islam has brought a difficult to contain dissidence, in Central Asia, Islamic radicals have not challenged the post-Soviet order in the way that many expected them to do. The final section takes a broader look at Islam, and includes a chapter by Gabriel Ben-Dor which argues that Islamic Fundamentalism is uniquely disruptive both to the state, and to the international system.

In sum, this is a worthwhile collection that contains a good deal of material and insight for those interested in the contemporary Middle East and Central Asia.

Simon Murden, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

Grasping Land: Space and place in contemporary Israeli discourse.

Edited by Eyal Ben-Ari & Yoram Bilu.
(New York: State University of New York Press, 1997)
246pp. Index. Pb.: $17.95; ISBN 0-7914-3218-1.

Notions of space and place have figured prominently in the social science literature of the past decade. As geographers have been seeking greener pastures elsewhere, sociologists and political scientists have been discovering the discourse of space for the first time.

Notions of space and place have always been central to an understanding of Israel as a society still undergoing its formative stages. This is reflected both in terms of the conflict for territory between Jews and Arabs, as well as the competition for resources between the diverse groups which make up Israel's increasingly heterogeneous society. The boundaries with which space is defined help determine the nature of inclusion and exclusion, the insiders and the outsiders, who make up this complex society.

Notions of space, as understood by sociologists and political scientists, rather than the traditional spatial discourse of the geographers, has not received sufficient attention within the Israeli academic community. As such, this collection of nine essays written by sociologists, edited by Ben-Ari and Bilu, make a contribution to this debate.

The contributions focus on micro, rather than macro and national, spaces. This is important inasmuch as most

meaningful interaction between groups takes place at the level of the urban and municipal neighborhoods. Two major themes dominate the essays, the one relating to ethno-religious spaces of specific groups, such as Moroccan and Libyan Jews, the other to the social construction of spaces which have become part of the collective national tradition, as witnessed in pioneer settlement museums, military cemeteries and the hiking landscapes.

The book displays a major deficiency in that it does not draw on the recent work of Israeli geographers, such as Portugali, Schnell, Yiftachel, Hasson and others. Notions of place, space and territoriality, both real and symbolic, have figured prominently in this literature during the past decade but are neither presented or cited in this collection. This is, to a great extent, indicative of the high degree of disciplinary compartmentalisation and separation which continues to take place within Israeli academia, contrasting with the emerging postmodern discourse and the crossing of boundaries which is taking place elsewhere.

All told, the book makes a useful contribution towards our understanding of the way in which spaces are imbued with meaning for different groups and cultures. This, in turn, helps determine the formative processes of both group and national identity, and the subsequent creation of "in" and "out" groups. Attempts to create dialogue between groups through the introduction of new and alternative narratives must take account of the way in which space and place are molded through history and the dissemination of the sense of place through processes of collective socialisation.

David Newman, University of the Negev, Israel

Trial and Error: Israel's route from war to de-escalation.

By Yagil Levy.
(Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997) 282pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-7914-3429-X. Pb.: $18.95; 0-7914-3403-3.

Levy argues that scholars of Israeli society and security policies have failed to explore adequately the linkage between the impact of 'external forces' in the regional and global environment, the interests of major social groups within Israeli society, and the resultant approach to managing the conflict with the Arab world pursued by the Israeli state. He seeks to show that the militaristic postures and preferences displayed by the Israeli state from its establishment until the Oslo peace accords, resulted not merely from the hostility of the Arab world and the bankrolling of Israel by the USA, but from the fact that the dominant social grouping in Israeli society (Jews of European descent) benefited from the war footing - through the employment generated by the expanding state, from the relative exclusion of Palestinians from the labour market, and from the prestige enjoyed by the predominantly middle class officers of the Israeli Defence Force. As a consequence there was no significant mobilisation against Israel's bellicose stance towards its neighbours, until the

1980s when the costs incurred by major sectors of Israeli society as a consequence of the established defence posture began to outweigh the benefits. The consequent de-escalation of the militaristic Israeli stance was symbolised by the Oslo Accords.

Levy explains the subsequent election of the hawk Netanyahu in 1996 by the fact that large sections of the relatively deprived in Israel failed to experience any benefits from the Labour-initiated peace process.

The book is an interesting exploration of the interplay between external and internal forces in the shaping of Israel's security policy - but be warned, the style of writing makes few concessions to the reader and is very heavy going!

AJ Rigby, University of Bradford

Israel, Jordan and the Peace Process.

By Yehuda Lukacs.
(Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997) 274pp. Index. Bibl. $39.95; ISBN 0-8156-2720-3.

Manifestations of peace are often far from the ideal that people cling to during conflict. In this respect the peace between Israel and Jordan which was concluded in November 1994 is no exception. This book deals with the peace treaty of 1994 but focuses on the relationship between Jordan and Israel during the years of conflict. This two part volume, therefore, analyses Israeli and Jordanian attitudes to each other, and the relationship to the Palestinian West Bank. Lukacs describes this relationship as functional, and rejects the value of other approaches - territorialist, annexationist and reconciliationist.

The unerring optimism contained in this book is followed through in the second part of the volume which presents a historical account of the informal peace process which Israel and Jordan engaged in for so many decades.

The strength of this volume lies in the clear and logical manners in which Lukacs sets out his arguments and follows them through. He has certainly got a clear insight into Israeli thinking on the subject and the preoccupation that both sides have endured over the future of the Palestinian West Bank. The Jordanian perspective, however, is not always captured as clearly and accurately as one might hope. Ordinary Jordanians are deeply unhappy at the peace treaty with Israel. Nevertheless, this book reflects a deep desire to give substance to a relationship which has been cemented by Israeli and Jordanian statesmen for decades.

Beverley Milton-Edwards, The Queen's University of Belfast

Ethnic Nationalism: The tragic death of Yugoslavia.

By Bogdan Denitch.
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994)
230pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £13.95; ISBN 0-8166-2459-3.

While attending an international seminar in peace and conflict studies in Austria in 1992, I remember the entire student body being frustrated by the lack of updated background material in English about Yugoslavia. Five years later, this is no longer the case, - the number of publications is abundant. Denitch's book is about the conflict(s) in Former Yugoslavia, its reasons, and the wider perspectives of "Ethnic nationalism". Through an introduction, seven chapters, and a postscript, the book switches continuously between background explanation, political essay, and personal experience. Though Denitch admits to write primarily for an American audience, often ignorant of "other cultures and histories" (p.18), both readers with extensive and readers with little prior knowledge about Former Yugoslavia will have an interest in reading Denitch's book.

In particular, Chapter 1, "Essential Background on Yugoslavia", is an excellent presentation of the many reasons for the conflict in Yugoslavia, and whenever Denitch later on seeks to explain various aspects of the conflict a profound and valuable insight is sensed. However, when the book turns to more political discussions it is not as attractive. A main point in the argument is that "the Yugoslav tragedy was not the result of some exotic or particular and unique problem" (p.135). Therefore, Denitch often makes analogies to other parts of the world, especially the former Eastern Bloc, because "[t]his tangled story contains interesting lessons for the post-Soviet states in dealing with their own even more explosive national problems" (p.125). Yet, what the lessons are is discussed at length but without the development of precise terminological tools. For instance, it is not until far into the book that Denitch defines what he means by 'democracy', and by then, I had come to expect a more elaborated understanding.

Chapter 7, "A Personal Summary", is another interesting chapter. Though having lived much of his life outside Yugoslavia, Denitch has strong ties to the country. In the chapter he explains his own efforts in the first years of the war. This 'first row' analysis is clear-headed and fascinating. Throughout the book it is sensed that it is with sadness that Denitch observes the death of Yugoslavia, seeing it as a "giant step backward from an independent and nonaligned country to squabbling and warren petty states scrambling for foreign patrons and support" (p.28).

Denitch's book was published in 1994, and much water has passed under the bridge since then. Has the book then become 'outdated'? I do not think so. First, the book is an important discussion of the reasons and series of events that led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the subsequent brutal conflicts. Second, the book can be of great interest to the understanding of other evolving conflicts. If we want to become better at preventing similar conflicts in the future, lessons have to be learned from Denitch's book.

Claus Heje, University of Copenhagen

The Changing Shape of the Balkans.

Edited by FW Carter & HT Norris.
(London: UCL Press, 1996)
180pp. Index. Pb.: £14.95. ISBN 1-85728-120-9.

The shape of the Balkans has indeed changed and unfortunately has left much of this otherwise good book behind. This book was written in 1991, parts of it only very slightly updated, and for an unspecified reason it was not published until 1996. Having said that, much of this book is of lasting interest: Mark Wheeler's defence of the Balkan political heritage as 'not so black as it's painted'; H.T. Norris on competing perspectives on Kosova's history and cultural identity; Natasha Milanovich on Slovenia's geopolitical position; S. Sorabji on the roles of Islamic self-perceptions in Bosnia; George Joffé on Muslims in the Balkans more generally; John Allcock on Yugoslav borders, states and citizenship, Michel Boucher on Western Europe and the Balkans; George Prevelakis on Macedonia; and Hugh Poulton on minorities and boundaries.

The one dire chapter in the book is that of Mladen Klemencic. Chillingly, he states that: 'The Croatian side was always likely to respect Islamic culture ... Naturally, Croatia will carry on its care for the Croatian community within Bosnia-Herzegovina but only to help them to ensure a satisfactory status.' (pp.113-4) What a whitewash of a murderous policy of ethnic cleansing of Muslims in central Bosnia directed from Zagreb! Consider also this dreadful glossing over of the ethnic cleansing of Krajina Serbs: 'Krajina has been re-incorporated within Croatia, and few of its Serb population are in residence there.' (p.111) If I were a Serb I would be worried about living in a Croatia run by people like Klemencic. The sensitive analysis of his co-authors was clearly wasted on him, and how his piece got past the editors is beyond me.

Eric Herring, University of Bristol

The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict, Democracy and Self-Determination in Central Europe.

By Dov Ronen.
(London: Frank Cass, 1997)
192pp. Index. £32.50; ISBN 0-7146-4752-7. Pb.: £15.00;
ISBN 0-7146-4308-4.

Ronen provides an impressive and rather extensive background to the ethnopolitical development in Central Europe, reaching from the Ottoman Empire up to the civil war in Yugoslavia.

Ethnicity in Ronen's discussion emphasises the psychological factors and the perception of threats. There is, according to Ronen, a certain extent of "dormant ethnic hatred", but as an instrument, not a cause. Important in Ronen's discussion is the human being and he steps away from the group categorisation as he looks at "human beings-human needs". But it is not just ethnicity, it is rather the political environment in which it exists that is of main concern. This is the main focus, the discussion on political systems and the structure of a state and how various regimes deal with ethnicity.

As a "solution" and an answer to Central European states, Ronen talks of two sovereignties, the economic and the socio-political. A provider of both would need to be supranational in order to boost the regional networks, thereby strengthening the nations, i.e. the minorities. An example of this could be a developed European Union.

This book contains rather interesting and on occasions farfetched ideas on the issue of policies, but the strength is in the discussion regarding the nation-state (outgrown and constructed) and what is to come hereafter. His discussion on the political approach to ethnic conflict is interesting, in particular the questioning of democracy as the "saviour".

Ulf Hansson, University of Ulster

The Baltic States after Independence.

By Ole Nørgaard with Dan Hindsgaul, Lars Johannsen & Helle Willumsen.
(Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1997)
231pp. Index. Bibl. £39.95; ISBN 1-85898-303-7.

Nørgaard, et al. offer the reader an extensive piece of work regarding the three Baltic states, stepping away from a "bloc treatment", and thereby emphasising their respective distinctiveness. The emphasis is set on the establishment of independence in the light of the previous flirt with statehood and the experiences during the Soviet occupation. Central for the analysis is the focus on the three issues of political transition (re-democratisation), economic development (transformation), and the issue of national minorities (divided societies) in the three countries.

The exposition still leaves some pages unturned, in particular the role of Russia, now a country with an altered foreign policy and a well established diaspora, a comparison with the earlier independence would also have been welcomed. The study could have gained some strength by comparing the Baltic situation with other states in Eastern Europe with similar experiences. There is also a vagueness regarding the ethnic concept and there is no thorough theoretical discussion on the nationality issue as such. This is compensated by the chapter on "divided societies" which offers a rather extensive discussion on the presence of non-titular nationalities (Poles in Lithuania, Russians in Latvia and Estonia), emphasising the role of language and ethnic affiliation.

The book is of great help in understanding the Baltic states, in particular the survival of what has been referred to as the civil society and the (re)-establishment of democracy.

Ulf Hansson, University of Ulster

Transformation From Below: Local power and the political economy of post-Communist transitions.

Edited by John Gibson & Philip Hanson.
(Cheltenham UK: Edward Elgar, 1996)
344pp. Index. £49.95; ISBN 1-85898-122-0.

This volume is the result of a collaboration between scholars at the University of Birmingham and specialists from other parts of Europe to consider the development of local government in nine countries in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. The contributors focus on the extent of political and economic devolution in the various countries and ask whether the process of devolving power to the local level contributes to or impedes political and economic liberalisation.

Although in their introduction the editors identify the interplay between ethnic minorities and devolution as one of the central foci of the book, few chapters address issues related to ethnic minorities, and those which do tend to treat it as one among many problems on the path towards economic and political reform, and not necessarily the most important. Writing about the re-creation of local government in Lithuania, Artashes Gazaryan and Max Jeleniewsk consider the difficulty of ethnic minorities becoming involved in public life. Adrian Campbell's study of local government and the centre in Romania and Moldova contains an excellent discussion of how the Moldovan government has dealt with ethnic separatism. Philip Hanson's chapter on Russian enclaves in Estonia examines the effects of the location of a large and heavily-concentrated minority population in an area dominated by large-scale industry likely to suffer disproportionately during economic restructuring.

Although the book is rather dominated by studies of the former Soviet Union and Russia in particular, it does provide a wealth of detailed information about a range of countries and regions which illustrate the difficulties of creating effective local government in former Communist countries of Europe. The contributors are to be commended on the clarity of their discussions of extremely complex issues and on the attention which they pay to the effect of the legacy of institutions and practices from the Communist period. The book contains much for those interested in the development of local government and in centre-periphery relations as well as in the political and economic transition of former Communist countries.

In the concluding chapter the editors return to the question of the relationship between devolution of power and liberalisation. Although they are unable to draw any definitive connections between economic transformation and either centralised or devolved government, they do see success in economic reform as the starting point of a virtuous circle that eases the resource constraints which can exacerbate centre-region relations, including ethnic tensions.

Jennifer G. Mathers, University of Wales, Aberystwyth

New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet nations.

Edited by Ian Bremmer & Ray Taras.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
£65.00; ISBN 0-521-57101-4. Pb.: £22.95; ISBN 0-521-57799-3.

Within the four years of the volume's first publication, the diverse geographical and political space that is still referred to as "the former Soviet Union" has been evolving continuously and rather swiftly along the path of nation-building. The authors who contributed to the new edition of "New States, New Politics" faced a most challenging task of balancing theoretical analysis and empirical test in examining topics too often treated in a largely instrumentalist and "practical" way with a rather tangible post-Sovietologist air of respectful agnosticism so far as theoretical generalisations are concerned. Like the earlier book, the 1997 edition presents a genuine attempt to comprehend the complex processes of state-building and role of national and ethnic mobilisation in the light of the existing nationalism and identity theories, which appear to be an important analytical tool throughout the volume. Perhaps the main contribution the book makes to this field is the in-depth analysis of the processes of power transition in the Russian Federation and major adjacent states, which, as many chapters exemplify, it is no longer correct to call "newly-independent". It is obviously one of the most interesting qualitative developments the volume addresses. Especially systematic and detailed are case studies of the situation in the former autonomies of the Russian Federation, a chapter on Kazakhstan and on Belarus. As in any edited volume the quality of research and comprehensiveness of sources' coverage is variable, but all chapters strike a combination of covering a wide range of issues and fitting together neatly. The conclusion by Ray Taras unifies the chapters and gives a very profound, if a bit too monumental, synthesis with a particular emphasis on the role of ethnicity in the Post-Soviet political space.

Anton Ivanov, Russian Academy of Sciences

Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union: The mind aflame.

By Valery Tishkov.
(London: Sage, 1997)
334pp. Bibl. ISBN 0-7619-5184-9. Pb.: 0-7619-5185-7.

For forty-five years Europe was divided. While a new era has begun, and East and West now engage in constructive dialogue on issues of politics, economics and security, Europe remains a divided continent. The fault line no longer runs between communism and capitalism but between the varying perceptions of nationalism. There is a tendency in the West to view nationalism as a rather benign movement, with peoples wishing only to gain greater self-expression and autonomy. What we ascribe to be significant causes in conflicts in the former Yugoslavia or Chechnya are merely minor factors. Thus our endeavours to prescribe methods of dealing with the more violent tensions which arise are often futile and patronising.

Valery Tishkov manages to bridge the divide. In a style which is never dull and always informative, he outlines the limitations of the conceptual approaches to nationalism which have been adopted by academics in the East and the West. In the republics of the FSU the discourse has been informed by the emphasis which Marxism-Leninism placed on the unerring veracity of scientific methods. Tishkov's criticism is that pseudo-scholarly terms and categories which should never have been placed in any disciplinary discourse have permeated and undermined the work of a generation of academics. These same academics have risen to positions of power and influence within the governments of the post-Soviet republics. Their "considered opinions" are now used to construct and pursue the agendas of ever smaller "nations".

Tishkov traces how these events have come to pass by conducting a comprehensive review of the literature and by then placing the scholarly debate within the context of the political events of the late Soviet period. His role as a policy maker means that he does not sit removed from the events when pronouncing judgment. He clearly identifies the situations where mistakes were made, where recommendations could have been more cautious, and where it was impossible to make any other choice than the one which was made. The reader acquires a clear understanding of the events and their causes, as they were perceived at that time.

This is an impressive tome. One which should do more than simply adorn a scholar's shelf. It should be read and studied if the academic divide is to be narrowed.

Laura Richards Cleary, University of Stirling

Ukrainian Nationalism in the 1990's: A minority faith.

By Andrew Wilson.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
202pp. Index. Bibl. £45.00; ISBN 0-521-48285-2. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 0-521-57457-9.

Despite the geopolitical importance of Ukraine in the post-Soviet era, relatively few new books in English have been published particularly about the country since independence was declared in 1991. Therefore, Wilson's book is a much needed contribution providing both an approachable introduction to contemporary Ukrainian studies and access to information and perspectives gleaned from sources not readily available to a non-specialist readership. The thematic organisation of the eight chapters consciously highlights a number of contentious points regarding Ukrainian history, nationalism and national identity, national communism, domestic politics and foreign relations. Wilson acknowledges the debatable nature of some of his conclusions, such as his assertion that an "element of confrontation [between nationalists and anti-nationalists] is ... guaranteed," (p.172) and his exploration in abbreviated format of such contention while also taking a clear stand is laudable.

Ukrainian studies specialists may criticise the relative

brevity with which arguable points are presented. However, to have gone into much greater detail would have sacrificed clarity and scope of interest to a more general audience. Wilson's book should not be seen so much as a conclusive endpiece but, more importantly perhaps, an initial presentation intended to encourage further interest in and discussion of the multiple issues he raises regarding both Ukraine specifically and the saliency of national identity in contemporary politics generally.

M.K. Flynn, University of the West of England

Transcaucasian Boundaries.

Edited by John FR Wright, Suzanne Goldenberg & Richard Schofield.
(London: UCL Press, 1996)
237pp. Index. Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 1-85728-235-3.

This edited volume reflects an impressively wide variety of perspectives on potential and actual conflicts in the Caucases. While the focus is on the areas of current Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, related dynamics in the North Caucases are also analysed. Nicholas Awde opens with a synthesis and succinct summary of the other chapters, and Suzanne Goldenberg adds a consideration of Chechnya to the introduction. George Joffe explores historical statuses of multiple areas in the region and considers the modern complexity of state legitimacy in that context. Related interests in the region are well described: Margot Light considers Russian perspectives and influences, William Hale reviews Turkeys relations, and Fred Halliday presents Irans reactions to the changing Caucases. Christopher J. Walker reviews a history of Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh, and Sulejman Alijarly presents another history of the Azerbaijani state borders long including Nagorno-Karabakh. Considering areas encompassed by Georgia, John. F. R. Wright presents an analysis of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, Julian Birch analyses the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict, and B. G. Hewitt reviews ethnic identities relevant to the conflict over Abkhazia. This multifaceted consideration of the Caucases should inform consideration of the changing Caucases over the years to come.

Susan Allen Nan, George Mason University

Network on Ethnological Monitoring and Early Warning of Conflict - Ethnic Conflict Management in the Former Soviet Union.

Bulletin, February 1997.

The February 1997 Bulletin opens with a summary report of the successful INCORE-hosted Network annual seminar in 1996. The first of the three main pieces is Valery Tishkov's argument both for broad participation by individuals of many ethnic groups and for empowerment of local communities in the political processes within Russia. Arthur Martirosyan then comments on the Chechen presidential elections and the impact of Maskhadovs

legitimacy on relations with Russia and Conflict Management Group plans for conflict resolution work there. In the third piece Nurbulat Masanov presents a clear comparison of the post-Soviet transitions and leadership differences in Kazakstan and Uzbekistan, focusing on difficulties of economic policy and transition in Kazakstan. The regional reports section of the bulletin provides short reviews by local Network representatives of specific aspects of the ethnopolitical situations in Abkhazia, Latvia, Buryatia, Dagestan, Krasnodar, and Tajikistan. In sum, the Bulletin provides several in depth analyses of larger conflict trends and documents local perspectives on specific developments in other ethnic conflicts in the Former Soviet Union.

Susan Allen Nan, George Mason University

Taking Lives: Genocide and state power.

By Irving Louis Horowitz.
(New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997)
Fourth Edition. 324pp. Index. Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 1-56000-877-6.

The fourth edition of Horowitz's book, 'expanded and revised' since its last print run more than ten years ago, adds new material and new arguments to the presently under researched topic of genocide. Obviously recognising the need for amendments to his earlier work in light of new research and genocidal experiences, Horowitz has included a number of interesting and thought provoking chapters, further expanding his concept of the organised and deliberate attempts of states to commit genocidal acts and the notion that the rise in acts of genocide correlates with a rise in the nation-state.

However, I recognised three main factors which I feel are still lacking in this new edition. Firstly, the structuring of the chapters was such that it was difficult to recognise a clear theme running through the sections and I was at a loss to find the appropriateness of the construction of his arguments. Secondly, the author only fleetingly mentions the psychological significance of many genocidal acts, connecting his entire argument around the rise of the nation state, in sociological terms - a deficit in my opinion. Finally, I was disappointed with the lack of analysis, and closer connection to his own arguments, of more recent acts of genocide, such as those inflicted on the Tutsi in Rwanda and the Kurds in the Middle East.

Nevertheless, although I found it at times difficult to get to the heart of the author's argument linking all genocide to state power, I recognise that Horowitz is making a valiant attempt to find new perspectives by which to look at the issue and did find his writing an addition to the on-going debate on definitions of genocide.

Grainne Kelly, University of Ulster

Terror, Force and States: The path from modernity.

By Rosemary HT O'Kane.
(Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996)
214pp. Index. Bibl. £49.95; ISBN 1-85278-694-9.

This is a difficult but rewarding book. However, its scope is slightly less wide than the title might suggest. In particular, O'Kane's concerns are theoretical rather than empirical. Further her theoretical concerns themselves are limited to a rigorous analysis of the concept of totalitarianism. Case studies of the Soviet Union under Stalin, Germany under Hitler and Cambodia under Pol Pot take up about half of thebook, but the detail on the cases is primarily used to illustrate the theoretical themes identified in the first part of the book. O'Kane argues, following Hannah Arendt, that there is an important distinction to be drawn between totalitarian dictatorships, which operate through the state, and totalitarian regimes, where terror is government. The latter is a much rarer phenomenon, of which the prime cases are Germany between 1938 and 1945 and the Soviet Union from 1930 to Stalin's death, while Mussolini's Italy provides an example of the former. O'Kane admits that in practice it is difficult to separate out cases of totalitarian regimes from less exceptional instances of totalitarian dictatorships, especially in respect of governments that are still in power. She suggests in this context that 'rumours of terror used as a deliberate policy against the innocent, resulting in the extermination of large numbers of people, will be the best pointer to the likelihood of terror as government'(p.179). Of current governments, she argues that the rule of Saddam Hussein in Iraq provides the likeliest candidate for classification as a totalitarian regime. O'Kane put forward two key propositions in respect of totalitarian regimes; firstly, that, although modernity provides the basis on which a secret system can be built, modernity is not a cause of totalitarian regimes, and secondly, that schemes for the extensive use of forced labour are an important element in the establishment of totalitarian regimes. Given the limited scope for schemes of forced labour in the current global economy, an implication of her argument would appear to be that there is little reason for fearing the rise of new totalitarian regimes. But unfortunately, as the cases of Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia have strongly underlined, that does not mean that the phenomena with which totalitarian regimes are frequently coupled, of ethnic cleansing and of genocide are things of the past. Further, research such as that of Goldhagen on the readiness of ordinary Germans in Nazi Germany to continue killing even in the absence of orders from above have provided a new perspective on totalitarian regimes that seems more relevant to contemporary realities than O'Kane's revisiting of the debates that the publication of Arendt's masterpiece on the origins of totalitarianism provoked over forty years ago.

Adrian Guelke, The Queen's University of Belfast

Ethics and Extermination: Reflections on Nazi genocide.

By Michael Burleigh.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
261pp. Index. £35.00; ISBN 0-521-58211-3. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN 0-521-58816-2.

In this book Michael Burleigh, the highly regarded historian of Nazi Germany, groups together nine of his essays relating to the German 'east' (Part I), euthanasia (Part II) and Nazi racial extermination (Part III). The force of the book comes from its demonstration through critical reflection (whether on medieval history, war studies, social scientific approaches, the ethics of euthanasia or personal histories) that the Nazi state was racial to its core. The power of the book comes from its lasting capacity to convey the brutality and barbarity of the Nazi regime, its total lack of pity and 'scruples of any sort' (Hitler). Convincingly Burleigh argues that the arguments in favours of modern euthanasia based on 'compassion for suffering individuals' has no relation to 'a murdering regime seeking racial purity.'

The essays are also fuelled by Burleigh's conviction that the Nazi regime could not have been sustained without the sea of German social attitudes: eugenics, as elsewhere, was acceptable in Weimar Germany, families frequently did not want responsibility for their mentally ill relatives, gypsies were regarded as nuisances, individuals acted as informers and so on. Burleigh understands the dilemmas faced in a country run by a government 'consisting mostly of gangsters or cowed conservatives', but he knows that for institutions, such as churches and psychiatric bodies, Nazi policies should have been confronted rather than 'refined'. Compassion, not the 'ultimate ends' of some historians, past and present, inspires his work.

This book is a must for anyone interested in the history and politics of Nazi Germany or genocide studies.

Rosemary H.T. O'Kane, University of Keele

Security Issues in the Post-Cold War World.

Edited by M Jane Davis.
(Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996)
256pp. Index. Bibl. £45.00; ISBN 1-85898-334-7.

The new 'world order' of the 1990s, created by the end of superpower rivalry in the Cold War, has presented the academic discipline of international relations (IR.) with a multitude of challenges. With the collapse of the bipolar structure of the international system scholars have begun to turn their attention away from great power diplomacy and towards other pressing issues on the global agenda such as: cultural conflict, the environment and collective security. *Security Issues in the Post-Cold War World*, a well-organised and stimulating collection of essays on a wide range of global topics, provides a useful yard-stick for measuring the progress of IR. theorists in adapting to the challenges posed by the post-Cold War world. Without

exception, the authors of these essays succeed admirably in their efforts to convey to the reader the many disparate security problems facing the international community at the close of the twentieth century. In particular, the grave issue of ethnic conflict, a visible feature of the post-Cold War world, is analysed perceptively by several of the contributors. The book, which is testimony to the growing strength of IR. as a discipline at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, should find a wide audience among students and scholars of international politics.

Ian Jackson, University of Lancaster

Violence and Peace: From the atomic bomb to ethnic cleansing.

By Pierre Hassner.
(Budapest: Central European University Press, 1997)
282pp. Index. $49.95; ISBN 1-85866-075-0. Pb.: $17.95; ISBN 1-85866-076-9.

Violence and Peace: From the Atomic Peace to Ethnic Cleansing is a thought-provoking collection of essays on a diverse range of issues which have preoccupied scholars of International Relations since 1945. This timely volume offers a retrospective overview of the state of the international system over the past fifty years. Hassner selects the years 1945 and 1989 as the entry points of his enquiry. For Hassner, 1945 marks not just the ending of one conflict i.e. World War II, but the beginning of a new period of international tension i.e. the Cold War. Similarly, he argues that 1989, despite the collapse of the Cold War system, has heralded an era of renewed conflict with the break up of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. Within this theoretical frame work Hassner astutely tackles the problems of nuclear deterrence, nationalism and cultural identity in a series of incisive essays. On the question of nuclear deterrence the author concludes that the abolition of nuclear weapons in the future is an unlikely scenario. Instead, he asserts that governments from both East and West will pursue a policy of 'minimum deterrence' regulated by popular opinion and economic constraint. With respect to nationalism Hassner suggests that since 1945 the 'triumph of regionalism' in Europe i.e. economic integration has been a main factor in the 'erosion of nationalism'. This has also led, again in the case of Europe, to the redundancy of the concept of the nation-state. Finally, the author offers an interesting observation on cultural identity in Europe. He opines that the integration of the economies of Western Europe has led to destabilisation in the region through 'openness'. First, economic destabilisation through free trade; second cultural destabilisation through immigration. Hassner does not explore the former in any great detail, but suggests that the latter problem will require the attention of EU governments struggling to deal with the mass exodus of job seekers from Eastern Europe seeking employment in Western Europe. He pessimistically predicts that economic and cultural openness will continue to require serious attention from EU governments in the field of immigration policy. This book will undoubtedly be of much use to scholars and students interested in Conflict Resolution and International Relations.

Ian Jackson, Lancaster University

"Justice for All: Wartime Rape and Women's Human Rights,"

Global Governance 3, 2, (May-Aug 1997), pp. 197-212.
By Mary Ann Tetreault.

'Rape as a weapon of war', although hardly a new problem, has begun to be discussed much more freely as a result of the evidence from a number of recent conflicts. This article provides an analysis of the complex issues surrounding acts of sexual violence committed during wars and examines the problems which still limit the ability of the international community to make clear its condemnation of both the individual perpetrators and governments who sanction their actions.

Whilst the problematic nature of all attempts to try war crimes is stressed the author suggests that tribunals have been particularly ineffective in handling charges of sexual violence against women. This is seen as the result of two intertwined sets of problems - the historically unequal treatment of women in relation to human rights and traditional social responses to female victims of sexual violence. Both these areas are examined in detail and the latter is graphically illustrated with evidence from conflicts in Kuwait and Bosnia. Throughout the author emphasises the paradox that whilst women are inhibited by shame, family honour and very real fear of rejection from giving evidence it is only through use of legal structures that the seriousness of wartime rape will be internationally acknowledged.

Valerie Morgan, University of Ulster

Global Diasporas: An introduction.

By Robin Cohen.
(London: UCL Press, 1997)
228pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £13.95; ISBN 0-816624593.

Diasporas are generally understood as self sustaining (minority) communities whose exile from a natal homeland was occasioned by some traumatic event in the past. The diaspora often nurtures the idea of a return to this homeland some time in the future. Cohen analyses the concept and broadens the theory of diaspora. Besides victim displacements he identifies diasporas resulting from labour migration, trade, and imperial colonisation. Each category of the typology is discussed at length and well-documented examples are given. The Jewish diaspora, probably the most cited example in the literature, as well as the Armenian and African diasporas are seen as examples of the victim category. The Indian and British diasporas are examples of labour and imperial dispersals. The Chinese and Lebanese, as well as many of the overseas Indian communities, are examples of trade diasporas. More complex cases such as the Sikh and Caribbean diasporas are also discussed. Cohen's analysis is an important contribution to the theory of international migration, ethnic relations, and transnational communities. Diasporic communities have

benefited from advances in global communications technology. Existing social networks may transnationalise and play an important part in the exchange of information, capital, and people in a global context.

Charles Westin, Stockholm University

Federalism Against Ethnicity? Institutional, legal and democratic instruments to prevent violent minority conflicts.

Edited by Günther Bächler.
(Zurich: Verlag Ruegger, 1997)
335pp. Pb.: ISBN 3-7253-0559-5.

It is perhaps ironic that Switzerland, as one of the few states which is not a member of the UN, celebrated the organisation's 50th anniversary in 1995, but it was certainly appropriate that federalism was the chosen theme for one of the events to mark the occasion. This volume contains the proceedings of an international conference in Basel, organised by the Swiss Peace Foundation. According to the cover text, "[t]he aim was, first, to analyse the problems of minority conflict resolution through federalism and, second, to examine a set of selected countries as case studies in this context." The book contains 20 papers, divided into four sections: Minorities in Intrastate Conflicts; Africa; Europe; Asia and South America. There are short general papers by Ted Robert Gurr, Ekkart Zimmermann, René Lemarchand and others, and case studies on Belgium, Burma, Colombia, Kashmir, Nigeria, Romania, Rwanda and South Africa.

The 50+ pages long contribution by Monty G Marshall on societal disintegration, arrested development and political violence seems rather out of line with the rest of the book. It is a bold attempt to develop a systemic view on these global issues by following a strictly positivistic approach and using quantitative data sets on war and conflict in the post-WWII era. The policy prescriptions at the end, however, not only strike me as quite banal and self-evident (albeit in complex 'systemic' jargon), they don't seem to bear much connection with the preceding mass of theorising and empirical data. Nor, for that matter, does the paper throw any light on the issue of federalism!

The final part of the book contains the text of the 'Charter of Basel' adopted by the conference participants, with an introduction by Bächler. The Charter is addressed at governments, minorities and international organisations; while it stays clear of providing ready-made solutions ("there is no universally valid model for settling minority and ethnopolitical conflicts"), it tries to steer a balanced course between state sovereignty, self-determination, and the international requirement for intervention to protect human rights. It calls, unsurprisingly, for conflict resolution through (various forms of) federal democracy and political participation from the bottom up. There is little new here in an academic sense, but it can provide a useful focus for international political campaigning. The volume as a whole (minus the strange bird referred to above) certainly qualifies as a good state-of-the-art overview on federalism.

Guus Meijer, Conciliation Resources, London

States in Armed Conflict, 1995.

Edited by Margareta Sollenberg.
(Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 1996)
Report 93, 33pp.

This is the eighth edition of *States in Armed Conflict*, produced by the Conflict Data Project of the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University. The aim of the project is to monitor the level of armed conflict throughout the world.

The report is presented in two parts. The first provides a longitudinal review of armed conflict for each year between 1989 and 1995. The second part presents data on major armed conflict during the year 1995.

There were ninety-six armed conflicts between 1989 and 1995, in sixty-six locations. Thirty-five armed conflicts in thirty locations were recorded during 1995, making that the lowest year for the entire period of the project. Wallensteen and Sollenberg suggest that 'the turbulent initial phase of the post-Cold War period now seems to have come to an end.' They go further: they point to the success of a number of peace agreements during 1995 - in Southern Africa, Central America and Southeast Asia. The optimistic tone of the report is encapsulated in the title of the first part - 'The End of International War?'

A major benefit of the project to serious researchers is the classification of armed conflicts by the authors. These are defined as minor armed conflicts, where there are at least twenty-five battle related deaths during the year, and less than one thousand deaths during the course of the conflict; there were twelve such conflicts in 1995; intermediate armed conflicts, which had more than one thousand deaths during the course of the conflict, but less than one thousand in the particular year; there were 17 in 1995; and wars, defined as conflicts with more than one thousand casualties during a particular year, of which there were six in 1995.

The Uppsala Report has already become an essential tool for comparative researchers. The annual presentation of the data provides a unique opportunity for the longitudinal analysis of armed violence, and the data are available on disc at nominal cost from <jpr@prio.no>

John Darby, University of Ulster

Does the Weather Really Matter? The social implications of climate change.

By William James Burroughs.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
230pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £16.95; ISBN 0-521-56126-4.

This book claims to provide a balanced and accessible analysis of the current debate on climatic change including global warming. More specifically, it claims to map the impact of extreme weather events on all aspects of human

society. It does so by seeking to answer at least three questions. First, what has been the real impact of past weather extremes (e.g. cold winters, droughts, floods, heatwaves and hurricanes) on historic events? Second, is the frequency and impact of weather extremes changing? Third, can we predict future changes in climate and what will be the consequences of these changes? Combining a historical and predominantly economical perspective, together with meteorological data, the book indeed provides a basis for interpreting what is known about climatic change and the ability to forecast future changes and their economic and some political consequences. However, the claim that "all aspects of human society" are covered is an exaggeration because we find nothing on intimate and other social relations, group dynamics, ethno-linguistic issues, and overarching culture.

Evert Van de Vliert, University of Groningen, Netherlands

Multi-track Diplomacy: A systems approach to peace.

By Louise Diamond & John McDonald.
(West Hartford, Conn: Kumarian Press, 1996)
182pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: ISBN 1-56549-057-6.

Joseph Monteville coined the phrase 'track-two diplomacy' in 1982 to refer to non-state, non-official interaction between members of adversarial groups or nations that aims to contribute towards the resolution of their conflict. Diamond & McDonald sub-divide Monteville's second track into eight inter-linked areas of activity: conflict resolution professionals, the business community, private citizens, education, activism, religion, funding, and the media. The emphasis of multi-track diplomacy is on peacebuilding efforts at the grassroots level. It is not intended to act as a substitute for official initiatives, rather it aims to supplement and feed into the official negotiation process.

Diamond & McDonald's book is a welcome addition to the spiralling theoretical framework of conflict transformation. It provides a well structured framework to analyse the contribution of grassroots peacebuilding to the resolution of conflict. It gives definition to John Paul Lederach's 'peace constituency' in a way that few authors have done.

The 'intrasystemic relationship' between the various tracks is well covered. Not enough attention, however, is paid as to how the 'system' can feed into the political process most effectively. The authors recognise that the main problem facing their approach is that 'it does not yet think of itself as a system'. The book will be of most use to peace activists seeking ways to wider their constituency.

Alan Morton, University of Limerick

Preventive Diplomacy Through Fact-Finding: How international organisations review the conflict over citizenship in Estonia and Latvia.

By Hanne-Margret Birckenbach.
(Hamburg: Lit Verlag Auslieferung, 1997)
421pp. Pb.: DM 48,80; ISBN 3-8258-2864-6.

The basic idea of "preventive diplomacy" has inherent appeal. Act early to prevent tensions from intensifying, conflicts from escalating, violence and war from breaking out. The challenge, though, has been to move from appealing idea to genuine strategies of statecraft.

This book, focusing on the Estonia and Latvia cases, is a useful contribution to this effort. Its assessment is a nuanced one, that breaks out of a strict success/failure dichotomy and speaks to the limits as well as scope of success.

The book's greatest value is as a trove of primary source material - approximately 300 pages of policy statements, reports and other official documents from the United Nations, CSCE/OSCE and other sources.

It also is of value as a focused study on the particular strategy of fact-finding. Yet this also must be recognised as a limitation, for those who might be seeking an overall analysis of all aspects of preventive diplomacy in these cases. And while the author provides some conceptual analysis, framing the analysis in terms of state-centric vs. societalist paradigms, not only is this only pursued in a limited way, there is question whether this is the optimal analytic framing and theoretical approach for these cases.

The goal for those working in this field, both as scholars and practitioners, is build a body of knowledge. This has to be an empirical, theoretical, political and policy cumulative effort. This book contributes to that literature-building effort.

Bruce W. Jentleson, University of California, Davis

Interactive Conflict Resolution.

By Ronald J Fischer.
(Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997)
312pp. Index. $49.95; ISBN 0-8156-2714-9. Pb.: $19.95;
ISBN 0-8156-2715-7.

Fisher's book is noteworthy for its clear description and analysis of four aspects of interactive conflict resolution: the development of its theory and practice; the significance of interactive practices in the context of other approaches to peace; the major variations within the overall interactive approach; and challenges facing the further development of this work. Fisher coined the term interactive conflict resolution to emphasize the core understanding unifying the approach, that "face-to-face interaction among representatives of the parties themselves is required to understand and resolve complex

intercommunal and international conflicts." (p.7) In reviewing this approach, Fisher summarises the work of John Burton, Leonard Doob, Herbert Kelman, Edward Azar, Bryant Wedge, Vamik Volkan, Harold Saunders, Joseph Montville, John McDonald, Louise Diamond, and other practitioners. Fisher pioneered a contingency model of conflict resolution, matching conflict resolution activities to the current conditions of a conflict, and he builds on that model to argue for the complementarity of interactive conflict resolution and other approaches to peace. In sum, Interactive Conflict Resolution fills a previous gap in the literature by presenting a clear, comprehensive and engaging text reviewing both theory and practice within this area of conflict resolution.

Susan Allen Nan, George Mason University

Anti-Discrimination Law Enforcement: A comparative perspective.

Edited by Martin MacEwen.
(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997)
£39.95; ISBN 1-85972-404-3.

This excellent book comprises a collection of essays on enforcement agencies in the area of discrimination law. Included are the major UK bodies (Equal Opportunities Commission, Commission for Racial Equality, Fair Employment Commission), as well as the recently formed National Disability Council. There are also a number of international examples, looking at anti-discrimination law enforcement in Canada, South Africa, the Netherlands, and Australia. Finally, the contribution of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination is assessed.

The theme running throughout this book is that essentially anti-discrimination laws may provide, at best, protection against the worst abuses and a remedy where a wrong has been identified. However unless they are accompanied by government policies and strategies which imbed the legislative provisions in a more holistic approach to discrimination, substantial change is unlikely to be effective. Certainly, there is little doubting the scale of the problem in the countries identified. In post-apartheid South Africa for example, the earnings of male-headed households are more than seven times those of female headed African households. As this book points out however, unacceptable racial imbalances are not exclusive to South Africa. For example, in Britain, ethnic minority women earn a staggering 63% less than the weekly male wage.

With such a wide remit one might have thought that breadth of analysis was supplanting depth. Certainly, from a Fair Employment perspective, the chapter at seven pages, is brief. Notwithstanding this however it still manages to cover the significant points around the debate in Northern Ireland, with references to the need for more effective affirmative action provisions in the legislation and Government action around PAFT and TSN. Perhaps it is the fact that the contributors are all senior practitioners in their respective fields which facilitates the user friendly style of the text, combined with a concise account of the issues. The strength of many of the chapters is that they provide an analysis of the respective enforcement agencies, whilst at

the same time almost incidentally critiquing the relevant legislation. Whatever area of discrimination one is interested in, it is unlikely that this study will fail to provide something with which to engage the reader.

Tim Cunningham, Committee on the Administration of Justice, Northern Ireland

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The Revival of Right-Wing Extremism in the Nineties.

Edited by Peter H Merkl & Leonard Weinberg.
(London: Frank Cass, 1997)
289pp. Index. £32.00; ISBN 0-7146-4676-8. Pb.: £16.00; ISBN 0-7146-4207X.

Numerous developments in recent years provide chilling illustration that the 'ghosts of half a century ago', as they are described in this collection of essays, have returned to haunt very many European nations as well as the United States. Given the recent emergence of Vladimar Zhirinovsky in Russian politics, the electoral strength of Jean Marie Le Pen in France and Jörg Haider in Austria, and David Duke's near success in Louisiana's gubernatorial race, this volume provides a timely and extremely informative review of developments in extreme right movements. The book eschews generalisations about the re-emergence of such groups, maintaining that the specific context of particular cases must be taken into account. The essays contained here provide excellent insights into the wider political and social mileux in which neo-fascist and extreme nationalist parties have emerged in Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, the countries of Central and Western Europe, as well as South Africa and the United States. A potential danger in stressing the distinctive nature of political movements is, of course, that their commonalties may be over-looked. In the conclusion to this volume, it is argued that the diverse movements identified can be organised around the dichotomy between right-wing extremism that is fundamentally retrograde and conservative, and that which seeks to be dynamic and revolutionary. It is suggested that the extreme right in the former Soviet bloc correspond more or less to the former, whilst those in Western Europe and the US are closer to the latter. This collection will be of enormous benefit to anyone seeking an informative and measured analysis of a phenomena that is often treated with hysteria in popular debate.

Michael Rowe, University of Leicester

Sailing Against the Wind: African-Americans and women in US education.

Edited by Kofi Lomotey.
(Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997)
183pp. Index. Pb.: $16.95; ISBN 0-7914-3192-4.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s minorities in the United States fought for equality and an end to

discrimination. In education this led to the end of legalised segregation and special measures to promote access to higher education. The Nixon/Reagan/Bush years witnessed a conservative backlash against all these measures. Equality, it was said, had gone too far. Lomotey's collection of articles offers a timely corrective. Three of the chapters examine the context of multiculturalism in the United States while five chapters focus on African-Americans in schools. The remaining seven chapters focus on higher education, with three on women and four on African-Americans. Through case studies of schools individuals, and the analysis of curriculum materials the contributors highlight the continuing inequalities faced by minority pupils. Similarly, entry to the academy for a few has not guaranteed minorities full and equal participation in all the advantages of the academy. Some may be dismayed by the political correctness of some of the language, but in truth, only one chapter is wearyingly 'correct'. Rather the chapters challenge us to question the extent to which legal gains at a system level have yet to be fully translated, and experienced, by actual individuals in real-life situations.

Tony Gallagher, The Queen's University of Belfast

To Live Heroically: Institutional racism and American Indian education.

By Delores J Huff.

(Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997) 211pp. Index. ISBN 0-7914-3237-8. Pb.: $17.95; ISBN 0-7914-3238-6.

It is perhaps only since the stand-off between Native Americans and the FBI at Wounded Knee in 1975 that this particular minority has received due attention in the United States. Huff's book attempts to add to the growing literature, but ultimately fails by trying to meet too many objectives. It provides a useful, if limited, account of the treatment of Native Americans in the education system over the last century. It offers a comparative assessment of two types of evaluation, trying to show that evaluation is no objective, value-free exercise, but rather that it can, and often is, based on culturalist assumptions. The discussion is, however, unbalanced. More importantly, the same point has been more strongly made elsewhere. The book offers a polemic on institutional racism, but offers rhetorical claims that are barely warranted by the evidence. And it provides a detailed case study of the relationship between townspeople and Native Americans on a nearby reservation. This is by far the most interesting aspect of the book. It would, however, have been more focused, and useful, had Huff concentrated on this theme, rather than trying to cover everything there was to say about Native American experience in education.

Tony Gallagher, The Queen's University of Belfast

Ethnic Conflicts and the Nation-State.

By Rodolfo Stavanhagen.

(London: Macmillan, 1996) 324pp.

This book is one of the outcomes of the research project on ethnic conflict and development undertaken by UNRISD (The UN Research Institute on Social Development). While written by its coordinator, it draws heavily on fourteen case studies, and mines the data from these studies to explore the dynamics of conflict: its origins and development; the role of identity; the relationship between ethnic conflict and economic development; ethnic politics. The conclusions are not encouraging. 'An assessment of the way ethnic conflicts are regulated, managed or resolved in different parts of the world does not give rise to much optimism'(p. 273).

The book is compiled with Stavenhagen's customary magisterial competence. The case studies are a useful teaching tool. The most provoking analysis, however, lies in the last two chapters, on the management of ethnic conflict in multi-ethnic states and a general overview of the determinants of ethnic conflict. There he floats the concept of 'ethnic citizenship', perhaps too briefly. But the main contribution of this book is to underline both the need for serious comparative studies of ethnic conflict, and the difficulty of carrying them out, especially when qualitative approaches are adopted.

John Darby, University of Ulster

Wars in the Midst of Peace: The international politics of ethnic conflict.

Edited by David Carment & Patrick James.

(Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997) 302pp. Index. Bibl. £35.95; ISBN 0-8229-3975-4. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 0-8229-5626-8.

This book can be recommended on the strength its bibliography alone; it lists well over five hundred sources on the international aspects of ethnic conflict. *Wars in the Midst of Peace* is an edited volume with twelve contributions covering a range of issues connected with the interface between ethnic conflict and international politics. There are chapters on the relationship between ethnic conflict and international relations theory, the viability of secessionist movements in the modern international political system and the systemic aspects of the conflict in the Former Yugoslavia. Along the way, however, the reader is treated to much broader discussions which tackle the issues at the heart of the contemporary study of ethnic conflict. For example, the nature of ethnicity, the character of ethnic conflict, the triggers for such conflicts and how they may be best managed, are all raised.

This book will act as a bench-mark for other authors who want to examine the international aspects of ethnic

conflict. It is to be recommended. This reviewer has one personal gripe; namely the tendency, common in American political science, to concentrate on the validity of the data-set rather than some of the very real *political* issues which characterise ethnic conflict.

Roger Mac Ginty, INCORE, University of Ulster

The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention.

By Stanley Hoffmann et al.
(Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996)
116pp. Pb.: $14.95; ISBN 0-268-00936-8.

Humanitarian intervention poses the conflict between order and Justice at its starkest; it also raises the profound moral question as to whether violence should be used to promote humanitarian ends? The reader searching for moral certainties will not find them in *The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention*, but what they will discover is a stimulating collection of essays on one of the most complex ethical issues of our time.

This volume brings together two essays on humanitarian intervention by Stanley Hoffmann (first delivered as lectures in 1995 at the Kroc Institute at the University of Notre Dame) together with responses from Robert C. Johansen and James P. Sterba. The book begins with an introductory essay by Raimo Väyrynen, director of the Kroc Institute. Focusing on the question of how much force was necessary to end the war in the former Yugoslavia, Väyrynen argues that it required the NATO bombings of late 1995 to finally bring the Bosnian Serbs to the negotiating table. This judgement is strongly supported by Stanley Hoffmann who argues that the problem in Bosnia was 'to put an end to the violence'(p.57) rather than delivering humanitarian aid to its victims. According to Hoffmann, bringing genocide and ethnic cleansing to an end requires using force against those who employ violence, 'rather than treating victims and victimizers alike'(p.57).

Hoffmann's conviction that force is sometimes the only realistic response to massive human rights abuses is taken up by Robert C. Johansen in his challenging contribution to this volume. Arguing against forcible humanitarian intervention because of its high costs and low utility, he proposes that we give more attention 'to finding a third path between doing nothing and sending in the troops'(p.61). His alternative strategy would be 'nonmilitary yet still coercive'(p.61) and would include such measures as economic sanctions and war crimes indictments. It can be agreed with Johansen that international society should pay greater attention to this type of intervention in future situations. However, as Hoffmann reminds us in relation to the case of genocide in Rwanda, atrocities can reach a level where the only way to halt the killing is by the use of force on the part of those powers that have the necessary military might.

Even if military intervention is judged to be the only means of stopping the killing, there is the objection that this violates the sovereignty rule. In his other contribution to this volume, Hoffmann addresses the balance to be struck between the competing claims of sovereign rights and human rights. This essay brilliantly steers the reader through the ethical, legal and political complexities of this question. Hoffmann recognises the dangers to international order of issuing a licence for unilateral humanitarian intervention, but claims that such action 'should be deemed legitimate'(p.22) if the UN and regional organisations fail to act to stop massive violations of human rights.

Hoffmann's proposal to permit unilateral intervention in certain circumstances is challenged by Johansen and Sterba in the volume. The latter argues that Hoffmann leaves 'the door too widely open for unilateral intervention because there can be good moral reasons why the UN or regional organizations are incapable of dealing with a particular issue'(p.94). Unfortunately, Sterba does not discuss how international society is to decide whether the absence of UN approval is for 'morally weighty'(p.95) reasons. It is the fear that a future rule of unilateral humanitarian intervention would be open to abuse which leads Johansen to argue that the task is 'to expand carefully the space for legitimate intervention on human rights grounds'(p.63).

Nicholas J. Wheeler, University of Wales, Aberystwyth

Nationhood and Political Theory.

By Margaret Canovan.
(Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1996)
168pp. Bibl. £39.95; ISBN 1-85278-852-6.

Is it possible to think systematically about justice, democracy, political development and related phenomena without assuming the existence of national communities and nationhood? No, says the author and leads the reader through a penetrating discussion of some of the basic explicit and implicit presumptions of modern political theory. Chapter by chapter she discusses the role of nationhood in contemporary theoretical discourses on nationalism, democracy, social justice and liberal universalism.

She demonstrates that there is a lack of critical awareness in this literature about the normative foundations of political entities. The political community is taken for granted with the implication that important questions are not being asked, or that questions are asked without sufficient considerations of the tacit assumptions which follow. For example, you cannot have a meaningful discussion of democratic politics without a clear definition of who constitutes the people, who are entitled to take part in the decision-making processes. Such 'what makes a society possible' -questions have resurfaced after the Cold War as we have experienced the parallel processes of ethnic fragmentation and globalisation. A number of scholars (and politicians) have predicted the disintegration of the nation-state - that the overlap of state and nation was but a stage in the historical process and that a liberal universalist political system is possible without being based on nationhood. Dr. Canovan gives us good reasons to think otherwise.

Nils Butenschon, University of Oslo

The National Question: Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and self-determination in the 20th century.

Edited by Berch Berberoglu.
(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995)
329pp. $49.95; ISBN 1-56639-342-6. Pb.: $22.95; ISBN 1-56639-343-4.

While a little uneven in quality *The National Question* provides useful surveys of nationalist movements and inter-ethnic conflict in a wide range of current conflict situations. There are articles on Palestine, Kurdistan, South Africa, India, Puerto Rico, Northern Ireland, the Basque country, Quebec, the former Soviet Union, China, the former Yugoslavia and on Women in National Liberation Struggles in the Third World.

One of the strengths of the book is the attention paid to economic conditions by several of the contributors. They remind us that, while economic factors can not fully explain ethnic conflict they are a part of the explanation too important ever to be left out. One of the weaknesses of the book is the uncritical acceptance by several of the authors of traditional Marxist perspectives on the national question. The editor, Berch Berberoglu, in his preface, writes that resolving [the national question] is "... necessary before we can move ahead on the most fundamental of struggles: the class struggle." At this juncture in history it seems entirely possible that the national question will linger on in one form or another for quite some time. If it does, then Berberoglu's view suggests that the long-term prospects for successful class struggle are bleak indeed.

The articles on the former Soviet Union by Levon Chorbajian and on China by Gerard Postiglione provide useful overviews of current issues around nationality and ethnicity in both areas, extremely useful for undergraduates. The article on former Yugoslavia by Jasminka Udovicki stands out for its clarity and is for the most part convincing in its analysis. Postiglione's article on China however raises as many questions as it answers and Tibetan nationalists at least will be unhappy with his reference to the Chinese liberation of Tibet. It is notable in a book with so many references to national liberation that there is no suggestion that national liberation is appropriate for minorities in either China or India.

The commitment to anti-imperialism leads to the loose use of terminology in at least one contribution. Gordon Welty, the author of "Palestinian Nationalism and the Struggle for National Self-Determination" refers in one paragraph to Palestinian Guerilla war and Zionist terrorism in the 1930s. Terrorism is a problematic term at the best of times but never more so than when it is posited as being clearly distinct in meaning from the term guerilla war .

On the subject of guerillas/terrorists, Ferhad Ibrahim in his article on Kurdish nationalism describes and agrees with the view that popular suppport for the PKK (Workers Party of Kurdistan) in Turkey has been based not on its political ideology but on its political methods - that is, armed action. This rings true and has implications for our understanding of the complex and ambiguous relationship between militarist and non-violent nationalist movements.

To those happy to use a text which deals with ethnicity and nationalism from an unapologetically Marxist standpoint The National Question will serve as a useful textbook for courses on ethnic or national conflict. To those sceptical of this perspective its principal attraction may well be the focus of several contributors on the underlying economic factors in a range of conflict situations, a focus absent in much of the literature on conflict and ethnicity.

Niall O Dochartaigh, National University of Ireland, Galway

The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, religion and nationalism.

By Adrian Hastings.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
235pp. Index. Bibl.

This highly readable book, which was the basis for the Wiles Lectures in Belfast of 1996, is framed as a fundamental attack on the approach of Hobsbawm's '*Nations and Nationalism since 1780*' (CUP, 1990). Prof. Hastings is concerned to show
(1) that English national identity predated 1066;
(2) that (contrary to the 'modernist' thesis) the principal European nations had already emerged by the sixteenth century;
(3) that Christianity, by permitting translation of the Bible, and other religious literature, and by providing the myth of a chosen people, encouraged the development of ethnicities and nations;
(4) that Islam, by contrast, "deconstructs" nations;
(5) that nationalism based on the *jus soli*, attachment to a territory, as in the French case, is inherently more benign than nationalism based on *jus sanguinis*, as in the German case (jus sanguinis having ethnic cleansing as its logical end product).

Professor Hastings provides a convincing critique of the modernists for ignoring English and Irish nationalisms, and for failing to consider the role of religious print literature and in particular vernacular Bibles in generating national feeling andcreating national cultures (on both these points he provides suggestive and enlightening historical analyses). Historians no doubt feel that historical sociology is too important to be left to sociologists, but they rarely venture to engage with them directly. Professor Hastings is to be congratulated for forsaking the safe ground of his own specialisms and historical periods, and venturing to compose such a wide-ranging, generalising, but at the same time authentically historical and empirically based, essay.

David N. Gellner, Brunel University

Nationalism.

By Ernest Gellner.
(London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997)
114pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £11.99; ISBN 0-8147-3113-9.

It came as no surprise to learn in the introduction to this posthumously published volume that Ernest Gellner's earlier *Nations and Nationalism* has been the highest selling of his more than twenty books ranging over philosophy, sociology, anthropology and history. The theory of nationalism which he developed in that book was one of his most elegant and persuasive essays and established him as the doyen of those who insisted on a modernist explanation of nationalism as opposed to a 'primordialist' view. For Gellner, the idea that those who share a common culture should also share a common polity was demonstrably linked to the uneven rise of industrialisation and the need for populations of a certain size to share a common culture, and a common educational infrastructure, in order to be viable.

The book under review repeats this argument, but with more of the central European flavour - Gellner was Director of the Centre for the Study of Nationalism in Prague when he died in 1995 - and with rather more personal remarks than was usual in his writing. At the heart of the theory is a consideration of the varying ways in which culture and organisation combine in different historical formations. Gellner delighted in teasing the primordialists with the idea that nationalists habitually hark back to some pristine era, typically a peasant era, when the political ideology of the population was anything but nationalist in its make-up. The concerns of agrarian society are generally oriented to kin and locality rather than to the anonymous bearers of a common language or religion who typify our nationalistic era. Conversely, the concerns of the rulers of peasants were more often with maintaining the division of cultures than with their unification.

Nationalism is replete with the kind of pithy profundities which marked Gellner out as uniquely capable of transcending academic boundaries, a transcendence which both exhilarated and infuriated his colleagues. Occasionally he gets distracted and loses his reader by delving into the work of his favourite philosophers, Kant and Hume, or by some too close attention to historical detail of a central European development which particularly fascinated him. But for the most part he sticks to his task asking the kind of broad comparative questions which few scholars today will tackle. I found only chapter 8 disappointing, where he promises to look at the 'murderous virulence of nationalism': at three pages it is much too short to reveal anything of substance about the phenomenon of ethnic cleansing.

For those who have never read Gellner, this is as good an introduction to his preoccupations and style as one might find. One of his other subjects which occupied him throughout his academic life was the nature of Islamic societies. To the end he remained puzzled about 'why the victory of standardised high culture in mobile anonymous

societies which live increasingly by semantic not physical work, should take the form of nationalism in Europe and of fundamentalism in Islam' (p. 84). One wonders to whom one might now look for answers to questions of this scale.

Declan Quigley, The Queen's University of Belfast

Democracy's Victory and Crisis.

Edited by Axel Hadenius.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
431pp. Index. £55.00; ISBN 0-521-57311-4. Pb.: £19.95; ISBN 0-521-57583-4.

This is a dull, dull book. This might have something to do with the subject matter. Democracy, in western Europe and north America at any rate, is often taken for granted and not critically examined unless faced with crisis. Seventeen chapters are subdivided into sections on historical perspectives, social and cultural aspects, constitutional questions, development, globalisation and promoting democracy. For those specifically interested in ethnic conflict a few chapters have immediate relevance, for example, those on "Political Islam and Democracy: the case of Algeria," or "Can Established Democracies Nurture Democracy Abroad? Lessons from Africa."

An upbeat view of the impact of globalisation on democracy comes from Jagdish Bhagwati, who notes the positive impact technology has had on bringing down autocracies: "Modern technology was supposed to make Big Brother omnipotent, watching you into submission; instead, it enabled us to watch Big Brother into impotence."(p. 264). For Bhagwati, globalisation has been one of the keys to the extension of democracy around the world and an improvement in the quality of democracy on offer. A counter view comes from Claude Ake, in one of the most engaging contributions in the book. Ake argues that globalisation threatens the relevance of democracy. He regards much ethnic conflict as a misdirected reaction against the dominant and "overweening materialistic technocratic culture" (p. 294). This is a line of argument that deserves expansion.

Roger Mac Ginty, INCORE, University of Ulster

Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies.

Edited by A James McAdam.
(Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997)
306pp. Index. ISBN 0-268-04262. Pb.: $20.00; ISBN 0-268-04203-9.

This is a highly original collection of essays on how the courts in eight different countries have coped with the transition to democratic statehood and adoption of the rule of law. The editor, in his Preface, and Juan Méndez, in Chapter 1, neatly outline the arguments for and against such retrospective proceedings. Often they appear justified, but

in practice turn out to be a travesty of justice. On balance the "successful" countries have been Bolivia, Germany, Greece and Hungary; transitional justice has been less effective in Argentina, Chile and Poland. It remains too early to fully assess the performance of South Africa.

The problems in question are best settled by international law, but a prerequisite is the establishment of an international tribunal. The flaws in the Nuremberg system have largely been ironed out (as far as norm-setting is concerned), and all that remains to be settled are the rules governing the jurisdiction of an International Criminal Court. In June 1998 a UN Conference in Rome should produce such an agreement and within two further years dictators will know that they are ultimately answerable not just to their own people but to the world community.

Brice Dickson, University of Ulster

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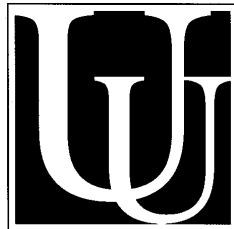
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