



REVIEWS

Citizenship Today: Global perspective and practice

Alexander T. Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer (editors)

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001

International Migration Policy Programme, Comparative Citizenship Project, Volume II

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pp. 411 (including list of abbreviations, notes on contributors, figures, bibliographical references & index)

This book is the second of three volumes on contemporary citizenship produced by the Carnegie Endowment's International Migration Project. According to one of its editors, Douglas Klusmeyer, citizenship has become 'the primary category by which people are classified' and, thus, provides 'the main thematic link connecting far ranging policy domains' from welfare and multiculturalism to international relations and migration (p. 1). The project is a timely and ambitious programme that not only endeavours to display the wide array of policy areas pertaining to citizenship but also sets out to aid policy making by providing specific recommendations.

The book opens with a general introduction that presents the aims, achievements and future developments of the International Migration Project and explains its topical arrangement into volumes. Then it moves on to illustrate comprehensively the four component parts of this second volume by reflecting on how each thematic unit frames the discussion. This introduction provides an excellent overview of 'the citizenship themes' and leaves the detailed argumentation of the nexus between theory and practice in citizenship to the individual contributors (p. 1). The underlying assumption in the different articles of this volume is that the attribution of citizenship implies a parallel process of both inclusion and exclusion, where narrow and contingent criteria for eligibility to membership are continuously challenged and reviewed by the exercising of citizenship rights by aliens and migrants. In this perspective, each essay in the volume exposes one aspect of the limitations of citizenship in relation to migration and presents it with specific challenges. The thematic areas presented in this second volume are arranged in the following way:

1. Part One illustrates leading policy trends in citizenship policies and migration (access to citizenship, the rights of aliens and the dilemma of the relation between gender and nationality)
2. Part Two locates citizenship in the broader institutional structures (from national to global) that may legitimate or deny citizenship itself
3. Part Three reflects on the different conception of citizenship and their evolving character in their encounter with migration and new forms of transnationalisation
4. Part Four approaches the problem of migrants' integration and citizenship by deconstructing existing conceptualisations in research and policy and by analysing the political power of normative language.

In Part One, Patrick Weil, Joseph Joppke, Alexander Aleinikoff & Douglas Klusmeyer and Karen Knop contend with the growing emergence of plural, or dual, nationality as opposed to atomistic (or state-based) citizenship. Weil's comparative study of twenty-five countries and their nationality laws is supported and followed by Joppke's analysis of alien rights in three interesting laboratories (Germany, USA and the European Union). Contrary to Brubaker's attempt at anchoring citizenship acquisition laws to the particular history, culture and language of a country (Brubaker 1992), both Weil and Joppke discern an international convergence towards an expansion of rights of aliens regardless of existing traditional domestic arrangements. This relaxation of nationally-based and culturally-exclusive citizenship is subsequently demonstrated by Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer



in their observation of liberal democracies' increasing 'tolerance towards dual citizenship' (p. 86). It is Knop, with her final and gender-focussed essay, who challenges this general consensus that there is an international convergence towards an expansion of citizenship norms:

The scholarly assumption that multiple nationality is increasingly the norm, or indeed, a desirable norm is no less open to question that the assumption that problems of gender equality are a thing of the past (p. 91).

Knop is particularly concerned with the litmus test of mixed marriages and their implications for the naturalisation of spouses. To counter the existing and rigid normative practices in mixed marriages regularization, she proposes a relational understanding of nationality whereby importance is shifted from 'the formality of marriage' onto the individual and his/her needs (p. 118).

Part Two focuses on 'constitutional structures involved in deciding citizenship questions' (p. 127) in order to uncover successful models of citizenship management. It opens with an in-depth analysis by Vicki Jackson of federal systems (specifically US, Canada and Europe) and their treatment of citizenship. Jackson demonstrates how federal governments may have proven to effectively manage multiple citizenships, but she discourages readers from automatically assuming the inherent advantages of this constitutional system. Jackson seems to point out that, unfortunately, the relational approach previously envisaged by Knop is inevitably thwarted by the hierarchical rules of primary obligations which are laid down by constitutions. Francis Deng, who locates his research within international relations (where the management of politics, with their loyalty and sense of belonging, is negotiated among governments), provides a different interpretation of the relational aspect of citizenship. His historical analysis of the Great Lakes Region of Africa presents the case of the Banyarwanda in Eastern Congo, a *de facto* stateless group of three million people of Rwandan origins whose displacement and dispute over their nationality led to the exacerbation of existing conflicts and caused repetitive border crisis. Drawing inspiration from federal models and their 'membership constructs' (p. 204), Deng calls for a regionally-based framework of protection and the abandonment of 'ascriptive membership criteria' (p. 185). This framework should ascertain both the inclusiveness of minorities and cross-national consensus on the management of border/refugee minorities. Deng's proposal for a regionalised conception of citizenship is reiterated by Ford in his account of global cities, where the creation of local citizenship is at once national and global. The existence of these 'global city-states' motivates precisely 'other jurisdictional arrangements and potential political affiliations to come into view' (p. 232).

Part Three of the book sets out to move away from matters of law and policy to investigate the different dimensions and practices of citizenship as they evolve 'between rival conceptual alternatives' (p. 9). It opens with Linda Bosniak's critical and theoretical analysis of citizenship as a flexible and contingently located, or 'denationalised', concept (p. 238). She reviews an impressive volume of academic literature on citizenship theory and argues for the need to test the different and conflicting arguments empirically. Paul Johnston's presentation of Mexican labour migrants to the United States constitutes a test case for the viability of transnational conceptions of citizenship. His case study highlights the overlapping and problematic character of webs of dual, transnational and multiple citizenship. Johnston's study is followed by Michele Labelle and Daniel Salée's comparison of Canadian and Quebec discourses on citizenship with the visions of citizenship emerging from their interviews with community activists from diverse ethnic or racialized minorities in the Montreal region. They conclude that the actions of the

governments leave 'people with the impression that, in the end, [the government] offers nothing more than a discourse unsupported by action' (p. 311).

The final part of the book explores the fundamental and conclusive issue of integration whereby the accommodation of diversity (specifically of minorities) is seen as the wishful outcome of debating, reviewing and researching about citizenship. The recognition of citizenship is thus interpreted as an act of social cohesion through which diversity can be accommodated within one polity. Rainer Baubock and Adrian Favell move beyond celebratory multiculturalism to an analysis of the normative problems of integration, especially when the latter involves the recognition of cultural and language rights. Baubock illustrates three theories (respectively thick, thin and political) for the recognition of linguistic diversity and argues that every model of accommodation is specific to the historical and political situation from which it ensues. In his differentiation between migrant and national minorities, he identifies 'endpoints' for regulatory norms, but leaves it to future research to illustrate the continuum that links these endpoints within which fall all the mixed groups (i.e. second and third generation migrants). Adrian Favell moves from Baubock's suggestion that research may assist in identifying 'endpoints' in policy thinking and looks at the more general relation between research and integration policy. In his critical analysis of European schools of thought in this area, he identifies weaknesses, contradictions and shortcomings in policy thinking, or 'construction', on integration (p. 357). Favell's conclusions provide a challenging prelude to the final volume of the International Migration Programme where specific policy recommendations are formulated.

The book's comprehensive array of approaches and its topical organisation ensure that this is an authoritative voice in the citizenship debate. The level and quality of contributors ensures that this book constitutes an invaluable tool for policy-makers, scholars and students. Yet, the book's most compelling feature is its open and comprehensive approach where citizenship theories and their challenges are presented side by side, leaving plenty of scope for the reader to make up his/her mind about the book's validity and applicability.

Reference

Brubaker, Rogers, (1992) *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Sivlia Mussano, University of Ulster

Reflections on Water: New approaches to Transboundary Conflicts and Cooperation

Joachim Blatter & Helen Ingram (eds)

MIT Press, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 026202487X £50.50 \$75.00

PBK: ISBN: 0262522845 £19.95 \$30.00

pp. 356 (including: illustrations, index & bibliography)

Reflections on water is a very modest title for a book which compiles the research of a dynamic group of scholars that work on water-related issues. The relevance of this book cannot be doubted as the world increasingly experiences transboundary conflicts, shortages of water, occurrences of flood and crises of water pollution, to mention a few. The authors suggest that questions of water use and allocation will be among the many contentious dimensions of the sustainability debate.



The editors make a strong argument that the fluidity of water necessitates a moving beyond boundaries of the nation states, transcending disciplinary boundaries towards discourses incorporating the flow of historical and cultural meanings of water in order to formulate transboundary policies. As they state, 'the current transformational state of the world demands self-conscious reflection about the fundamental ontological and epistemological bases of our approaches to govern, to manage, and to study all critical issues, most especially water' (p.26). A multi-disciplinary and transboundary perspective is imperative for understanding and negotiating policies for resolving water related conflict and policies.

The edited volume is organised in three sections. The two concise chapters in the introductory section direct the reader's attention to the core argument and how the case studies have to be situated. The editors and their colleagues argue that it is impossible to deal with water related issues in simply utilitarian-rational or in political-economic terms. Blatter, Ingram and Levesque persuasively argue that a disembedded modern conceptualisation of water as a product, as property, or as a commodity has to be complimented by analyses which examine the meaning of water. Water can be seen in terms of gifts of nature, as a security issue, as a focal point for enabling community identities that connect them to their natural and cultural environment. This section usefully focuses attention on the multiple meanings of water and its implication for both formulation and implementation of policies that are oriented to global sustainable development.

The next section comprises eight case studies that are creatively set out as contrasting perspectives that complement each other. The chapter by Garcia-Acevedo is a comprehensive discourse on the meanings of water in the context of Mexico. She traces these meanings from pre-modern to modern Mexican society. Her study ties up with the final case study where McDermott Hughes argues that water is inseparable from land and territorial politics. This is clearly evoked by the title, 'Water as a Boundary: National Parks, Rivers and the Politics of Demarcation in Chimanimani, Zimbabwe'.

The chapters by Blatter, on Lake Constance's cross-water protection regime, and Levesque's, on analysis of the transnational network - Yellowstone to the Yukon conservation (Y2Y) initiative, both emphasise the role of transboundary perspectives and coalitions for environmental governance and policies in Europe and America. These are followed by two chapters which adopt a discursive and critical methodology. Sullivan focuses on the importance and recognition of language and conceptual frameworks in her analysis of the public discourses regarding Salmon resources in the context of the United States-Canadian Salmon treaty. While Doughman carries out a comprehensive discourse analysis of the formal and informal debates of two institutions involved in managing water resources in the border areas of Mexico-USA.

In contrast to all the above the remaining two studies advocate that we cannot ignore the utilitarian aspects entirely and they do have a validity which the post-modern emphasis ignores. Garb and Whitley's paper entitled, 'A Hydroelectric Power on both sides of a war: Potential weapon or peace incentive?' highlights an interesting situation that emerged with both warring governments of Georgia and Abkhazia agreeing on joint management and financing for running an indispensable hydroelectric plant located on their border. DiMento takes a historical approach to the Black Sea environmental management programme and the unresolved problems that have emerged on the collapse of the former Soviet Union. He examines the ways in which the Global Environmental Facility and United Nations Environmental Programme are trying to resolve these problems.

The concluding section, aptly entitled 'Lessons for Theory, Research and Governance', has two essays. Perry, Blatter, and Ingram examine the preceding case studies in a self-critical reflective manner and suggest lessons for governance and policy. They emphasise that policy studies on issues such as water that flows and transcends national boundaries cannot ignore social and cultural issues and the various stake-holders. As they state, 'Water must be unbound from the narrow strictures within which it has been considered in the past and revived as part of a more inclusive natural and human environment' (p. 338).

The strength of the volume is in the way that it highlights the complimentary strength of multi-disciplinary methodologies. As the editors comment, 'the research strategy that characterises this book is multiple, methodologically antireductionist, and conceptually heterodox, as it calls into question received understandings and explores paradoxes on the basis of empirical studies' (p. 321). Water is fluid, it transgresses boundaries and studies on water related issues have to accordingly respond to its challenging flow of issues, of time and of space.

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From Kosovo to Kabul: human rights and international intervention

David Chandler

Pluto Press, 2002

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Pbk: ISBN: 0745318835 UK£14.99 US\$24.95

pp. 268 (including: preface, bibliography & index)

David Chandler's book, *From Kosovo to Kabul*, launches a full-scale attack on human rights. Human rights lawyers, human rights NGOs, Western governments using human rights language, human rights discourse, human rights theorising, all come under fire, with special contempt reserved for Bernard Kouchner, former Director of Médecins sans Frontières, whose name is taken in vain ten times.

This full frontal attack is at its heart simply put: human rights discourse has given cover to Western imperialism and enabled a continued inequality of states and peoples. It has done this by replacing democratic electoral politics with undemocratic actions taken in the name of largely faceless 'victims' dislocated from political context by 'CNNisation'. Chandler mounts his guns at different but related targets throughout the chapters in the book.

In Chapter one, Chandler establishes his attack, and attempts to steer clear of an argument quite as simplistic as the summary just outlined. He attempts 'a critique of human rights regulation that relies neither on the imputation of any "hidden agenda" of Great Power motivations, nor on the bungled conduct or problematic outcome of particular "humanitarian" interventions' (p. 19). Rather he aims for a critique which 'can expose the elitist assumptions behind the human rights "movement" and reassert the contemporary relevance of the universal values of political equality and democracy' (p. 19). In this chapter Chandler presents his attack as against a new 'international consensus' on human rights, although this reviewer doubts that the case for this new consensus is persuasively made, as discussed below.

In Chapter two the attack is aimed at humanitarian policy. Chandler charts the development of human rights discourse prior to 1990 and considers the shift in focus of the work of humanitarian NGOs and UN bodies. Chandler persuasively documents a shift



from humanitarian policy which stayed 'neutral' as regards causes of war, to one which seeks to make value judgements as to rights and wrong, and address the causes of the crises and not just its consequences.

In chapter three Chandler attacks the 'new ethnical foreign policy', and conditioning of aid on human rights records. He examines why this shift occurred in the 1990s, and why 'the transformation of priorities has been so rapid' (page 19). In Chapter four Chandler targets international relations theory, extending to human rights theorising more generally, as woefully inadequate in comparison to 'classical liberal democratic theory'. In chapter five Chandler focuses attack on 'international justice and the changing nature of international law.' At the centre of his attack is a charge that the collapsing of state sovereignty only applies in practice to 'weaker states', establishing them as permanently unequal. This analysis is extended in Chapter six, to the right of states to go to war. The final two chapters pull together the wider political ramifications of Chandler's analysis. It is here that Chandler comes closest to his positive proposal for an alternative to current human rights practices and discourse. In brief that proposal is a return to 'democratic politics' by which he seems to mean a primacy for electoral politics. On the international level he seems to yearn for the days of clearer state sovereignty (and at times it seems cold war *détente*), as a buffer to the inequality of states which he views human rights discourse as accentuating.

As with Chandler's earlier *Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton*, the arguments in this book are challenging and timely. While not covered in the book (published in 2002), his critique of human rights discourse, and in particular the way in which it unpicks both sovereignty and the ban on the use of force, has particular resonance for the current Iraq debacle, and deserves a read for that reason alone. In attacking the holy grail of human rights, he is fighting a fairly lonely corner made all the more lonely in that he espouses sympathy to the 'liberal left' whose cause he is critiquing. In other words, this is a critique from within, rather than from without.

Ultimately, however, elements of his challenge are suspect. First, there is little space given to the dialectics of human rights discourse. Human rights can at once be aspirational and idealistic, potentially challenging to abuse of state power, and co-opted in the abuse of that power. Lumping human rights NGOs, the Bush and Blair governments, and other aspects of the international community together as all equally guilty of the same practices, certainly makes a point. It is perhaps useful in showing the dangers of current directions in human rights, but it underplays the fact that most discourses will themselves be sites of struggle. Many human rights activists are aware of this, rather than being the unwitting dupes of more sinister governmental powers. The commitment to human rights by Western governments often appears to be rhetorical rather than substantial. Conversely, the US have also shown itself willing to jettison international law requirements, including those of human rights (e.g treatment of Afghan/Al Qaeda prisoners at Guantanamo Bay). Arguably we are witnessing the simultaneous attack on and co-option of human rights discourse, not just due to legitimate post-September 11th security concerns, but also because human rights had some power to challenge governmental abuse of power, which governments would prefer to see targeted purely at their non-state opponents.

Secondly, Chandler's alternative proposal to dealing with situations of internal (often ethnic) conflict appears to be one of letting electoral politics (civic society being 'anti-democratic') work. To someone who comes from an ethnically divided society this seems somewhat naïve. In Northern Ireland, as in many such societies, the existence of ethnic block votes, and the associated permanent exclusion of a national minority from power, was a key factor in fuelling violent conflict. Violence evidenced the failure of traditional electoral politics. At the international level, Chandler seems to wish for a return to more

statist notions of international law on the grounds that these notions provided more protection from intervention for weaker states. However, this appears to idealise the Cold War. In that context superpower rivalries were often played out, with devastating consequences for the local populations, on the territory of weak states (e.g. Vietnam, Angola, Syria Nicaragua).

These two criticisms of Chandler's work come to a head in what at times appears to be a suggestion (pre-figured in *Faking Democracy*) that human rights abuses, such as rape in Bosnia, did not really exist, or certainly not on the scale suggested. This would need a stronger empirical basis: does Western interventionist justification in the name of abstracted, nameless 'victims', really mean that there were no human rights abuses, or victims at all? Did Western governments make up all ethnic cleansing and mass rape? If not, who is entitled to intervene?

In conclusion, Chandler's book deserves a read for those who may be complacent about the use and abuse of human rights arguments. However, the critique that was very powerful with respect to the international community's actions in post-Dayton Bosnia, is rather less powerful when rolled out in a broader global analysis.

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'Saviours of the Nation': Serbia's Intellectual Opposition and the Revival of Nationalism

Jasna Dragovic-Soso

Hurst&Company, London, 2002

Hbk: ISBN: 1850655774 £45.00

Pbk: ISBN: 1850654573 £17.50

pp. 293 (including: bibliography and index)

The Politics of Symbol in Serbia: Essays in Political Anthropology

Ivan Colovic

Translated from the Serbian by Celia Hawkesworth

Hurst&Company, London, 2002

Hbk: ISBN: 1850654654 £35.00

Pbk: ISBN: 1850655563 £16.50

pp. 328 (including: appendixes, bibliography and index)

Serbian nationalism and its proponents have been frequently designated as the proximate cause of Yugoslavia's breakup. However, the evolution and manifestations of that nationalism as an analytical unit in itself have received much less attention. Two volumes from Hurst have emerged last year that help fill this gap. Both primarily consider the discourse aspect of nationalism in Serbia.

In *'Saviours of the Nation'*, Dragovic-Soso sets off on a scholarly quest to explain the redirection of the Serbian intellectual opposition's discourse from democratic demands to virulent, paranoid nationalism and the intellectuals' convergence with the Milošević regime. The argument is twofold. The convergence was firstly caused by the type of nationalism that came to prevail among the intellectuals, nationalism based on anti-Serbian victimization, genocide and conspiracy. Secondly, this radical minority view became predominant in the 1980s because of Yugoslavia's systemic crisis, the emergent Kosovo question and Serbian intellectuals' strained relationships with their Slovenian counterparts.



Littered with footnotes, each chapter chronologically follows the development of contributing factors. Chapter 1 discusses Yugoslav dissent up to 1980s, outlining the roots of post-Tito opposition. The next three chapters analyze the above causes of radicalization of Belgrade intellectuals. Chapter 2 follows the breakdown of regime's control over public debate and the emergence of historic revisionist works after Tito's death, an "outburst of history" that reflected divergent national claims about the past within Yugoslavia's republics. Surprisingly, Dragovic-Soso provides only one major example to illustrate the dissolution of Yugoslav historiography. The next chapter follows the shift in Belgrade opposition's focus towards the Kosovo issue, closely linking the influence of real-life events on intellectuals' work. The following chapter, with some unnecessary overlap with the preceding one, documents how the relationship between Serbian and Slovenian opposition deteriorated as their visions on Yugoslavia's future became incompatible. One of the book's most promising observations here is an attempt to demystify the overrated SANU Memorandum and its influence on Yugoslav politics. Chapter 5, which explains the intellectual opposition's shift to Milošević's agenda, is crucial to Dragovic-Soso's argument. Yet the claim that the shift can be attributed to the intelligentsia's preference for solving the national question before instituting democracy does not come as a surprise. Finally, Dragovic-Soso also does not offer much in terms of a conclusion, leaving the individual chapters somewhat untied, and ends up underlining the path-dependent structural factors, namely the deep crisis of the failed federal state.

The book, dedicated "To Tito", is well researched with heavy reliance on numerous original sources. It minutely records and persuasively explains the how and why of the transformation of Serbia's opposition to radical nationalist and in favor of an undemocratic regime. At the same time, the analysis underplays the oppositions' liberal strand that continued holding its pro-democracy stance, albeit from a minority standpoint, perhaps because it may have flawed the book's arguments. Finally, while Dragovic-Soso's is not an alternative explanation of Serbian nationalism, it constitutes a valuable piece in the puzzle of its development and can therefore become an important resource for scholars interested in the role of intellectuals in nation-building.

Colovic's *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia* chronologically resumes where Dragovic-Soso left off. A collection of articles, essays and book reviews, the book documents the next stage in the evolution of Serbian nationalism through reflections of its direct critical observer. The body of the volume, which appears in English for the first time, was written between 1994 and its publication in Serbia at the end of 1997. Colovic suggests that the crucial way to view politics is to track the use and abuse of symbols that pervade public discourses. In Colovic's "mytho-political framework" (p. 9) politics is manipulated as a popular narrative that utilizes the central themes of national myths in order to exert "power over symbols" (p. 1).

The book is organized into four parts. Every essay in Part I is an analytical account of one aspect of the Serbian "political ethno-myth", its sources and usage. The chapter "Story" is an introduction to Colovic's way of conceiving Serbian discourse politics. Other chapters deal with such notions as time, nature, frontiers, Europe, warriors, heroes and national and European identity, each an important element in the Serbian symbolic discourse at the time. Part II attempts to offer an insight into the history of Serbian political mythology by three reviews of early 20th century writings on Serbian myths. Although each review is well-written, the whole part is limited in its scope, dilutes the strength of the book's framework and is a digression from Colovic's main thread of thought. By contrast, newspaper articles assembled in Part III follow up on the opening part. The pieces submit to critical discourse analysis a variety of contemporary manifestations of Serbian national symbolic politics, such as news, articles, books, events, poetry, political rituals and even technology. Often bordering on satire, Colovic's crisp critique unveils his interpretation of the meanings behind the rhetoric. The final part

wraps up Colovic's discussion by way of three longer essays on further manifestations of journalistic propaganda and nationalist politics, and a post-Milošević epilogue on continuing dangers of politics based on images and symbols.

Rather than presenting a concise scholarly argument, Colovic's looser forms that deal with particular aspects of political discourse allow him to imply a sweeping statement about the symbolic nature of politics. The book is a fascinating read on how political power and its associates assume and perform the important role of defining symbolic communication channeled for power-seeking purposes. Colovic's criticism of regime's propaganda and selective use of symbols is insightful, although its focus on politics as symbolic discourse tends to overlook the manifestations of Serbian government's hard power. It is, however, a reassurance that despite the major transformation of former intellectual opposition into Milošević's propaganda machine, sharp critical voices in Serbia persisted in their role as intellectuals. Finally, Hawkesworth's translation is also executed well, though it transcribes the original so closely that the reader may occasionally become lost in the heavier Serbian style.

It remains to be seen how observers of Serbian politics will evaluate the post-Milošević developments of Serbian nationalism. Meanwhile, Dragovic-Soso's and Colovic's volumes will be their worthy academic and essayistic predecessors.

Peter Korchnak, freelance writer

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Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation

Diane E. Davis & Anthony W. Pereira (eds)

Cambridge University Press, 2003

HBK: ISBN: 0521812771 £47.50

pp. 430 (including: diagrams, tables, chapter references and index)

Written after September 11th, but before the war in Iraq, this book provides a refreshing and important look at state formation politics, past and present, across the globe. In doing so it makes a number of vital statements and introduces views which should be read by political decision makers and commentators alike, as it may alter their views on how state, army and irregular forces relate to each other. It appears that in contemporary politics the centralised state and a regular army are the preeminent benchmarks for evaluating a conflict and its participating parties. That is why a 'war on terrorism' can be fought the way we witness it on the daily news. The preeminence given to the centralised state and the regular army in 'regime change' and state re-building is one of the reasons why political decision makers find it so hard to understand or foresee the resistance to state rebuilding. The current situation in Iraq shows how internal dynamics of war as such, no matter the nature of the armed forces involved are misconceived by many actors. *Irregular Armed Forces* sets out to highlight a different dimension of the nexus of state formation and warfare.

The various chapters in the book examine different aspects of the ways in which armed forces - irregular and regular - shape states, either as vital factors for state formation or as obstacle to it. Pereria argues that the classic model, 'war made state and the state made war' (p. 387), is useful but incomplete. It may hold true for the European nation state in its classical era, he suggests, but does not mirror the experiences in Latin America, Africa nor the USA in many respects. The book offers thirteen chapters of theoretical analysis and case studies (plus an introduction and a concluding chapter by each of the editors). The geographical scope of the case studies ranges from Europe to



Africa and Latin America to South Asia. The historical focus covers the period from the Peace of Westphalia through to the present day.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section provides the theoretical framework for understanding armed forces in the process of state formation. A chapter by Charles Tilly provides the theoretical lead into the collection of essays and the other contributors often reflect upon his ideas. This section also includes a chapter by Miguel Angel Centano which uses the experience of the limited ability of the Argentine state to actually fight an external war to reflect more broadly on the relationship between the state and war. Centano argues that the capacity of an established state to wage war is limited by the power of the state. The limited ability of Latin American states to control their territory and coerce their citizens, also limits their ability to fight a war. Some states, he says, simply lack the 'cultural repertoires' to wage a war, as they lack the historical memories required for mobilisation (p. 84).

The second section deconstructs the term 'armed forces' by showing that it includes more than simply regular centralised state armies. The works by Mauricio Romero on paramilitary groups in Columbia and by Laura Kalmanowieki on the development of policing in Argentina provide insights into the Latin American context. The authors note the special features of the region when they point out that no major war has been fought between the states on the continent, but irregular armed forces, police and internal security have had a tremendous impact on the internal workings of society in these countries. Various chapters on the US context by Richard Franklin Bensele on the early state formation process after the civil war of 1860-66, Susan M. Browne on strategies of mobilisation and demobilisation during approximately the same period show the importance of irregular forces during the history of the USA.

The third section examines the local, regional and international nexus of armed forces and state formation. It includes a chapter by William Reno on Africa. Reno draws a very different picture of warfare and state building that the one found in the other contributions. On the African continent irregular forces seem to be the norm and patronage networks and the collapse of state institutions are not unusual. In addition economic interests play an increasing role for these irregular armies. Ian Roxborough examines the current situation of US politics and the 'new world disorder' He focuses on the somewhat contradictory situation of a strong military force connected to an internally weak, or rather decentralised state, where national authority is met with high skepticism in favour of local interests and local forces, such as the police or other paramilitary groups. The other contributions in this section examine the role of the *Police Municipale* in the formation of the French state and provide a comparative study of youth mobilisation into the military in France between 1940 and 1945.

A recurrent theme in the chapters is the demobilization and influence of veterans. This is an important factor in contemporary conflict resolution and peace building in areas such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Chechnya, Columbia, many African countries and, to a degree, in Northern Ireland as well. The problem can be seen in the growth of organised crime which is just one of the consequences of the lack of alternatives or the limited ability of the state to control and coerce irregular and regular armed forces once the fighting has ended.

The book leads the way into a fascinating field of research and theoretical analysis that sadly has a contemporary relevance. With a focus on irregular armed forces in relation to the dynamics of state formation, however, different models of conflict resolution and post conflict strategies might be possible. Pereira strikes a cautiously optimistic note in his conclusion when he states that: 'Such studies might help illuminate and even shape possible global futures, helping the most violent excesses of armed forces to be

curbed.... There is no intrinsic reason why the twenty-first century must repeat the tragic pattern of the twentieth' (p. 404).

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Political Unification Revisited: On Building Supranational Communities

Amitai Etzioni

Lexington Books, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 0-7391-0273-7 £ 45.00

PBK: ISBN: 0-7391-0272-9 £ 14.95

pp. lix + 331 (including: index)

Amitai Etzioni's latest book is literally a blast back to the future. *Political Unification Revisited* is an updated version of Etzioni's 1960's manuscript on the construction of supranational communities. The original book is unchanged; however, a long forty-six-page introduction places the text in a modern day context to illustrate the durability of the author's original work in examining the formation of supranational communities. Etzioni's original purpose was to enhance one's understanding of the unification process for both academics and policy-makers alike. He argues, in the new introduction, that transnational problems are increasing and the global populace will find the treatments for these problems, with the current mix of intergovernmental and transnational bodies, to be increasingly unsatisfactory. The solution, according to Etzioni, is supranational communities. Their success or failure is aptly illustrated in four case studies from the 1960's.

Etzioni's introduction examines the progress towards achieving supranational communities that has taken place since the original publication in the 1960's. The reader is first presented with an appraisal of the current international system which, in Etzioni's opinion, is overloaded. Its structure is too formal, too cumbersome and too slow to handle today's global issues. Recognizing the skepticism present in global policy-making circles towards supranational communities, he seeks to exhaust all other possibilities for solving the dilemmas facing nation-states today before broaching the topic of supranational communities. The theory of 'Governance without Government'; the use of international non-governmental organizations and transnational networks to govern is dissected and deemed inadequate. According to Etzioni, these approaches provide only patchwork solutions and are unable to cope with the enormity of the issues facing these organizations and networks operating in the international system today. Although Etzioni does not claim that political unification will 'solve' global issues, he believes that they represent a much better solution to the problem at hand. He therefore enters the realm of supranational communities, elaborating the concept through examination of a modern half-supranational community, the European Union. Etzioni tackles the major problems of core values, moral dialogue and membership that face the EU today. He acknowledges the progress made in the development of a federal Europe, but argues that, without resolution of these issues, the EU's trajectory towards a supranational body could eventually lead to the failure of the union.

Etzioni's re-release of the book is an attempt to illustrate the durability of his thesis through the application of his original analysis against the situation of the modern European Union as outlined in the new introduction. Etzioni first examines, individually, four unions: the United Arab Republic, the Federation of the West Indies, the Nordic Associational Web and the European Economic Community, and explores, in-depth, the factors and processes involved in forming supranational communities. Although the facts and figures are from the 1960's, they vividly illustrate a multitude of issues which



confront supranational communities today. The addition of Protestant nations to the largely Catholic EEC harkens both to today's discussion of Islamic states in the EU (pp. 281-284) and the question of EU expansion or limitation. The theory of 'identive' power, the ability of a union to create strong emotional sentiment (i.e. I am European, not just Dutch), and its relevance to creating and sustaining supranational communities, is illustrated quite aptly in the failure of the Federation of the West Indies to create a 'West Indian' identity that surpassed being simply Jamaican or Barbadian (pp. 166-170). The same can be seen in the diffuseness of a Nordic identity (pp. 211-220).

Etzioni concludes with a comparative analysis of the four individual case studies. He addresses issues such as power distribution within the unions, the transfer of functions and power from member-states to the union as well as the role of elites in the consolidation of assets and their investment in the union. He notes that much of his study is based upon secondary sources and that there was a great deal more published about the EEC than the other cases. This is important as an analysis of secondary literature might provide for a skewed interpretation of reality depending on the predisposition of the original researcher. However, careful analysis and crosschecking of facts can temper such faults. The maxim; those who don't study history are doomed to repeat it, might be a concise way to acknowledge the relevance of this text for advanced students, scholars and policy makers who are concerned not only with political unification, but the nature of the international system as well.

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The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations

Trevor Findlay

SIPRI/Oxford University Press, 2002

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pp. 486 (includes: contents, bibliography and index)

The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations provides a comprehensive overview of the changing use of force in UN peace operations. Findlay begins with the UN's first use of an armed force in response to the invasion of Egypt by Britain, France and Israel, a mission that was set up by the UN General Assembly in 1956 with the full consent of all parties to the conflict, to more recent missions in Bosnia and East Timor. Findlay shows a marked change in the ideas and enforcement of peace keeping during the 1990s but this detailed and technical book also illustrates that peacekeeping has always been to some extent evolving and ad hoc, as the UN Charter does not specify any role for peacekeeping as such.

Security Council resolutions have generally created a mandate for action implicitly or explicitly using Chapter VI of the Charter, pacific settlement of disputes. Missions created under this mandate are generally what Findlay terms 'traditional peacekeeping', governed by consent, impartiality and use of force only in self-defence (pp. 4-5). Since the end of the Cold War however, Findlay argues that a new form of peacekeeping has emerged which is more properly understood as peace enforcement, moving from monitoring ceasefires and buffer zones to establishing ceasefires, enforcing human rights and with a much broader mandate for use of force. These later missions have often been created using a Chapter VII mandate which allows for enforcement.

Findlay argues that the UN experience in the newly independent Congo between 1960 and 1964 did presage some of the UN's later experiences in Bosnia and Somalia and was the first time that the UN moved from peace keeping to peace enforcement. UN actions

arguably became a military campaign in favour of one of the parties, the Government (against the secessionist Katanga province). It is interesting to note that missions in the 1990s have generally been in support of secessions against established governments.

Findlay shows that the so called doctrine of peace keeping changed in response to each situation that UN missions participated in and that more often than not 'lessons learned' from a previous mission would be ignored by the time of the next. By the 1970s the idea that force should only be used in self-defence had expanded to include the idea of 'defence of the mission' (pp. 99-101). The full implications of peace enforcement, however, were not yet accepted. Reservations about the use of force can be seen in Secretary General U Thant's 1964 statement on the deployment of UN peacekeepers in Cyprus: '[it] would be incongruous, even a little insane, for that Force to set about killing Cypriots, whether Greek or Turkish, to prevent them from killing each other' (cited in Findlay, p. 94).

With the end of the Cold War however such sentiments were left behind, in both Somalia and Bosnia UN missions did use force whilst the Cambodian mission of 1991 was the first with a mandate to use all available means in the prevention of 'crimes against humanity' (p. 125). During the Bosnian war such was the close relationship between the UN and NATO that UNPROFOR's Bosnian high command was set up in NATO's Northern Army headquarters in Germany.

In Somalia thousands of Somali soldiers and civilians were killed by UN and US troops (p. 204) (the US kept control of most of its troops who were with the UN force), especially when the Security Council passed resolution 837 mandating UN forces to 'engage in military operations against an adversary specified by the Security Council (p. 195). This effectively made the UN a combatant. In Bosnia the UN also became a combatant by identifying the Bosnian Serbs as the primary villains and relinquishing control to NATO to launch air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs.

Findlay also shows us the confusion and disagreements between the Security Council powers over Bosnia and disputes between the UN and NATO. Whilst the US was pushing for 'lift and strike' those countries with troops on the ground were against it. Furthermore the chain of command often seemed to be in dispute and the US lobbied to have the Secretary General excluded from the decision to use air strikes. The political and military sides of policy were often contradictory, with negotiations being pursued in one place whilst the North Atlantic Council pressed for air strikes in another. NATO launched retaliatory airstrikes against the Bosnian Serbs without seeking UN consent on the 23rd November 1994 and sustained airstrikes on 30th of August after Kofi Annan (then deputy Secretary General, Boutros-Ghali being uncontactable on an aircraft) agreed to relinquish UN authority to veto any airstrikes.

Findlay is critical of the Bosnia and Somalia missions but argues that rather than revert to old doctrine the UN needs to establish a clear 'peace operations' doctrine. He argues that the new type of post Cold War conflict needs a new doctrine that mixes peace keeping and enforcement and cites IFOR as a successful example of this. Findlay does not elaborate on these new types of situation, taking it for granted that we should understand Cold War and Post Cold War conflicts as entirely different. Arguably this is a failing of the book, if arguing for a more 'robust' and interventionist form of UN mission due to changing nature of conflicts then it is imperative to make the case for how and why post Cold War conflicts are different and Post Cold War interventions well meaning.

Although it is often argued that Boutros-Ghali lost his job through reluctance to bomb the Bosnian Serbs Findlay shows that, with his 1992 'An Agenda for Peace', he was far from reluctant to move official UN doctrine onwards from peace keeping and self defensive use



of force to peace making and a more proactive use of force. His successor Annan, in a well known address to the UN General Assembly in September 1999, revealed himself as one of the foremost proponents of the emerging norm of humanitarian intervention. Findlay notes that many developing countries are anxious about this emerging norm and the implications that it has for sovereignty. Successive UN reports have argued for the need for more robust use of force and the need to distinguish between victim and aggressor (p334). The Srebrenica Report (UNGA, 1999; cited on p. 328), released in November 1999, argued that in the face of attempted genocide the UN must have the capacity and will to properly protect people (p. 330) and the August 2000 Report on the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (known as the Brahimi Report) which although reiterating the traditional principles of peacekeeping argued that these should be reinterpreted (p. 334) so that for example impartiality should no longer mean treating parties as morally equivalent.

One of the ways that the conflicting norm of sovereignty and the emerging interventionist norms might be reconciled, Findlay suggests, is shown in the 'Responsibility to Protect' (ICISS, 2001), whereby the meaning of sovereignty is changed to imply a states' duty towards its citizens and a duty which it is the right of the 'international community' to judge the performance of. This is unlikely to give much comfort to smaller states however, as Findlay admits, nor to those who might be critical of recent Western interventions.

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Turkey at the Crossroads: Ottoman Legacies and a Greater Middle East

Dietrich Jung and Wolfango Piccoli

Zed Books, 2001

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pp. 232 (including: acknowledgements, index, bibliography)

This important book confirms yet again that revolutions are never what they seem. Officially, the Turkish Revolution marked a rift in time and space. According to nationalist narratives, the Ottomans were superstitious, dissolute, and backward; the Republicans were rigorous, scientific, and progressive. Atatürk pointed Turks toward the future and redrew the boundary between Europe and the Middle East. Dietrich Jung and Wolfango Piccoli argue that, in fact, the Revolution unfolded behind an 'ideological smokescreen of total change' (p. 74). The brand of modernity instituted by Atatürk was begun by the Turkifying and modernizing Sultans of the mid-nineteenth century. The supposed decline of the Ottoman Empire was really the beginning of the modern Republic. The successes as well as the shortcomings of the Republic rest on this foundation. Ultimately, the Ottoman legacy accounts for 'the institutional stagnation of Turkey's democracy' (p. 103).

The first half of the book is a stylized history of the late Ottoman Empire. Following historians David Kushner (1977), Erik Jan Zürcher (1993), Selim Deringil (1998), and others, modernization from traditional authority to legal authority is traced not to the

Young Turks but to the two waves of Ottoman reforms (*tanzimat*) in the mid-nineteenth century. The *Hatt-i Sharif*, begun in 1840, enacted property rights, civil rights, rationalization of bureaucracy, the reorganization of the provinces according to the French model, state courts, and new secular criminal, commercial and maritime codes, which coexisted with Koranic courts. The *Hatt-i Hümayun* of 1856 emphasized religious liberty and equality, equal rights to admission to public employment and public schools, regularized taxation and property laws, and instituted progressive rules against corruption, extortion, and torture.

The second half of the book explores the effects of this legacy. For all their virtues, these reforms were illiberal, an example of defensive and coercive modernization from above. They are the fundamental cause of Turkish militarism, clientelism, Islamism, and Pan-Turkism. Although the authors stress the earlier reforms, an even narrower view of citizenship is rooted in the *völkisch* historical, racial, and linguistic understandings of Turkishness that emerged late in the nineteenth century and also undergirded the national movement by essentializing Turkish history and identity and purifying the Turkish language. In both instances, by design, there was little devolution of political power to the people. Instead, national identity and practice were forced on the populace, doing violence to traditional culture.

This focus on violence and state formation is part of a sophisticated theoretical project dealing with the nature of modernization. The authors cite Weber on violence and legitimacy, Anthony Giddens on surveillance and state power, and Norbert Elias on the state's role in socializing its citizens. This leads to a rich understanding of Turkish domestic politics. In foreign affairs, modernization was more likely to be propelled by geopolitics. While the Ottomans 'allowed' nationalism in the Balkans to flower into nation-states, in the Eastern empire state power was reinforced in order to thwart Russian expansionism. This set the pattern of repression of the Kurds, who were first subdued in the 1830s and 1840s, as well as the Armenians. Jung and Piccoli argue that the authoritarian Islamism of Sultan Abdülhamid II, who in 1895 directed the first wave of pogroms against Armenians, was the blueprint for absolutist Kemalist secularism.

The continuity model applies best to the military and to the bureaucracy. It loosely fits contemporary journalists and falls off altogether with regard to pro-European Union business elites. It fits domestic politics better than foreign affairs. The military argument rests on parallels between the praetorian guard of the Sublime Porte and the modern army's vigilance against ethnic identity, religious fanaticism, and other supposed avatars of the Ottoman past. Ironically, the 1980 coup, hatched in the name of modernity, thus represents 'the return of the Janissaries' (p. 83). Anyone who has dealt with Turkish bureaucrats will appreciate their link to an imperial past! Jung and Piccoli argue that the media, too, have 'generally accepted the model of top-down modernisation,' and have adopted a 'culture of self-censorship' (p. 101-102). This is certainly true of Turkish journalists of a certain age, particularly writers for the old-line Kemalist organ, *Cumhuriyet*. Most journalists do practice a kind of banal nationalism in order to avoid legal harassment or military coercion. Or worse. According to the Progressive Journalists' Association, more than 40 Turkish journalists have been murdered in the line of duty in the past decade. A handful fell victim to Islamic terrorists, but most were Kurdish sympathizers, not kowtowers to Kemalism.

The chapters on Turkey's new alliance with Israel and on Ankara's Pan-Turkic foreign policy toward Central Asia since the collapse of the Soviet Union are excellent. Ties to Israel are linked to the Ottoman's relatively tolerant attitudes towards the Jews as well as shared interests in the region and common backing from the United States. In its content as well as its failed idealism, the Pan-Turkic movement mirrors explorations and extensions of Turkish identity in the late nineteenth century.



The final chapter begins with a discussion of the rector of Istanbul University, who recently closed down a department of the history of science. Faculty members had been investigating the scientific contributions of the Ottomans, a topic that could not exist in a Kemalist institution. The same 'modern' Kemalist educator polices the dress and physical appearance of female faculty and the type of beard worn by male professors. The case represents the 'depth and solidity of the authoritarian, elitist and patriarchal structures of the Kemalist state . . . inherited from the Ottoman past' (p. 199). Indeed, Mahmud II has ordered the same sort of policing of civil servants in the 1820s. The credibility of Kemalism has been stretched to breaking point, and Jung and Piccoli are only mildly optimistic that liberal, pro-EU, forces can overcome the Ottoman legacy.

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Making Sense of Collectivity: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Globalization

Siniša Malešević and Mark Haugaard
Pluto Press, 2002

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pp. 226 (includes: index & bibliography by chapter)

The title of this volume promises much—implicitly, an explication of the otherwise inchoate contemporary processes of (re)investment in 'imagined communities' of affect, amid the unsettling consequences of globalisation. But, at first, it doesn't really succeed—mainly because the discussion is too abstract and/or transhistorical.

The editors introduce 'the idea of collectivity'. But by applying it not only to forms of association but institutions like the 'nation-state' and the European Union—indeed 'the globe itself'—the category becomes so general as to be of little heuristic value. Malešević and Haugaard seek to narrow the scope by transposing Marx's 'class-in-itself' / 'class-for-itself' dichotomy to differentiate 'social systems' from their sub-set of 'collectivities' (where conscious membership is presupposed). But this only adds confusion. While classes do have objective existence, the 'class for itself' as a political agent was (we now know) a figment of Marx's wishful Hegelian thinking. Yet by adopting the Durkheimian language of 'collective consciousness', the authors come close to the hypostatisation of 'imagined communities' for which Emile Durkheim—given his invocation to treat such 'social facts' as things—can be criticised on realist epistemological grounds.

Durkheim and Max Weber are represented in the first sentence as defining the 'sociological enterprise' in terms of the 'concept of collectivity', and it is immediately clear that the editors - like Richard Jenkins who follows - are (understandably) determined to avoid echoing Thatcher's famous suggestion that there is 'no such thing as society, only individuals and their families'. Yet Weber's focus on types of social action is perhaps better seen as leading, via Antonio Gramsci (still the greatest 20th-century social thinker in my book), to Norberto Bobbio's (1996) concept of 'individualistic society' - in which traditional bonds of deference are cast aside in favour of individual subjectivity in a democratic society premised on human rights (including freedom of association).

As against hypostasising putative collectives over and above the actually-existing individuals who invest in them, Bobbio's nuanced notion points more helpfully to the particular issues—dilemmas of collective action, rights of voice in and exit from concrete associations, the tension between cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, and so on—which consequently need to be addressed. It is not at all clear that late 19th and early 20th-century sociology provides us with adequate conceptual tools to address these late 20th and early-21st century problems.

The next five chapters—by Jenkins, S N Eisenstadt, John Rex, Haugaard and Gordana Uzelac—remain at a high level of generality. Eisenstadt heroically (sometimes movingly) discusses in 50 pages the 'construction of collective identities' across the world since ancient times. Rex essays a comprehensive 'theory of ethnicity'. Haugaard treads the worn path of 'nationalism and modernity'. And Uzelac, discussing the 'morphogenesis of nation', reiterates in effect the Marxian truism that if men (and women) make history they do not do so in conditions of their choosing.

But the editors present the book as a progression from the general to the particular and in the final three chapters it springs to life, engaging with the concrete concerns that have erupted in recent years about 'identity politics' in the context of neo-liberalism and globalisation (Barry, 2001; Halliday, 2001). In 13 pages of elegant prose, Zygmunt Bauman scythes through much woolly thinking on cultural pluralism, presenting a brisk case for policy-makers to promote 'cultural variety' rather than 'a variety of cultures'.

Bauman insists, following Alain Touraine, that 'culture' should *not* be treated as a 'system' but 'an orientation of individual conduct', premised on the human right of every individual to be unique and to have that uniqueness respected. Rather than shoe-horning individuals into ascriptive 'communities' which deny voice and exit—and, one might add, define themselves over and against other 'communities'—the policy aim should be to equalise such individual choices, currently largely confined to cosmopolitan élites.

Bauman actually used 'different' rather than 'unique' and John Hall contends that 'there is certainly a good deal to be said against difference insofar as it shades into relativism' (p. 181). He shows that many liberals—not just J S Mill—have historically assumed that homogeneity is necessary for societies to function. Yet this is not today's real world.

In that context, Hall advocates a 'civil nationalism'. This is not *civic* nationalism in the civic v. ethnic schema of Michael Ignatieff (1994). Hall points to its assimilationist implications in France and his alternative would only require a thin civil allegiance, allowing thereby greater scope for cultural diversity, while at the same time looking to high intermarriage as indicative of genuine interculturalism (a better word than the older 'multiculturalism' Bauman and Hall prefer). Diversity, he stresses, needs tempered by shared values and difference 'is only acceptable so long as group identities are voluntary' (p. 182). Pointing to the dramatic ethnic homogenisation of Europe in the 20th century, Hall is by no means confident that civil nationalism can work, but there is no alternative except that offered by the 'preachers of hate' (Roxburgh, 2002).

Finally, in a clarion-call of a conclusion, Malešević calls for social scientists to stop using the I-word altogether. 'Identity', she writes, has become a 'normative straitjacket' (p. 195): we all have to have one. It can be readily reified: 'Identities are truly perceived as things' (p. 201). And it has followed in the path of the discredited category 'race', she warns: 'One communitarian, reifying, stultifying concept has just been replaced with another similar one' (p. 212). Amen to all that.

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Investing in Peace: How Development Aid Can Prevent Or Promote Conflict

Robert J. Muscat

M. E. Sharpe, 2002

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pp. 288 (including: bibliography & index)

Conflict has been an integral part of developing countries throughout the post World War II period. It has dramatically affected the possibilities for sustainable and continuous development. Years of effort to construct infrastructure and build citizenship can quite simply go up in smoke in a seemingly irrational burst of ethnic violence. Would it not be possible if, instead of waiting till the last minute to intervene, we were able to prevent any such conflict from ever occurring in the first place? In *Investing in Peace*, Robert Muscat tries to answer such an important question with a confident 'yes'. Although development in divided societies can have adverse affects, he argues that development intervention can have positive results in the prevention of conflict. In the first half of this book a case is therefore presented for more consideration to be given to the years preceding conflict 'when there may still be ample scope for conflict-avoiding initiatives' (p. 16).

Attacking the root causes of conflict is not a task for military forces or aggressive economic or political sanctions, instead international development agencies are best placed for preventative intervention. Not only are these institutions 'in the field' years before conflict breaks out, but also they carry out activities that can be most effective in preventing conflict. Although Muscat admits that many obstacles exist for turning aid into an effective instrument of conflict prevention, he sees the integration of conflict prevention into development operations as being easily within our grasp. He claims that to redesign development efforts in this way would be justified if it meant we could prevent even one or two conflict catastrophes.

To demonstrate the importance of changing the way people think about development nine case studies are used in order to go beyond simplistic assumptions that a high level of economic growth equates to peace. In Pakistan, for example, the biased policies of aid agencies favouring the west wing of Pakistan (because of its presumed better economic prospects) may have strongly contributed to the resulting civil war and secession of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). In this case Muscat concludes that 'between advice, donor pressure, and aid reallocation, different donor actions might plausibly have resulted in a different and better, outcome' (p. 51). Similarly, he sees the tragic events of Rwanda in 1994 could have been avoided by a more judicious use of development aid.

Although the subject matter would seem very morbid, this book can be praised for its optimism, as Muscat makes great efforts to see the positive possibilities of development

work. In doing this he goes beyond traditional literature on conflict and explores some more positive ways in which policies have been implemented in five different countries: Malaysia, Thailand, Bhutan, Mozambique and Mauritius. In Thailand, for example, he praises donor and government policies for avoiding conflict by looking for investment opportunities in the Northeast Isan areas, despite the virtual certainty 'that the rates of return on projects to raise North-eastern agricultural productivity would be low, if not negative' (pp. 88-89). Trying to persuade donors to make such a difficult and seemingly irrational investment choice is the core argument of this book, as for Muscat the long term peace of a country is a far better objective than the simple short term profit oriented goal of current practice.

He follows by criticising the common assumption and generalisation that conflict is easily prevented with successful economic growth and the introduction of democracy. The situation is presented as far more complex and with the case studies it is argued that quite simply, when it comes to development aid, it is not the quantity that matters but instead its quality. He paints a picture where no aspect of development can escape the possibility of contributing to the root causes of conflict. With an exploration of such topics as structural adjustment, urbanisation, migration and population growth he shows how activities in these areas can actually have an impact on the chances for conflict within a society. He even shows how a seemingly unrelated subject of language policy can be an effective tool for conflict management. For example, taking into account local languages in development projects 'may satisfy speakers of minority languages that their status and interests are not being subordinated' (p. 133).

In part two Muscat shifts his attention to what can actually be done to prevent future conflict. He starts by outlining the need for agencies to carry out conflict assessment, as he sees the most important thing needed for the prevention of conflict in a specific country is the knowledge of local social and political conditions. His advice is for donors working in deeply divided societies to maintain a 'watching brief' to document interventions over time and their possible long-term effect. In this way the book is not designed as a 'cook book' of quick and easy recipes for avoiding conflict in any country. Instead what follows in the next few chapters is a discussion of many of the elements of development that agencies are commonly involved with from the perspective of how they can be actively used to prevent the possibility of future conflict.

The reader is continually reminded that although policies can be used on the macro level - bringing large numbers of people in opposing or hostile groups into harmonious relationships - bottom up projects involving small numbers of people can be equally effective. Projects that promote inter-ethnic or community co-operation (such as irrigation projects) may become celebrated examples of on-the-ground success stories to be used as models elsewhere. It is also relevant that this book recognises the fact that markets left to their own devices in divided societies may not produce economic convergence between different groups over time. Such things as privatisation, taxation and formal education, without carefully thought out regulation and planning, may unintentionally disadvantage certain groups while being disproportionately advantageous to other well-positioned groups. Similarly, Muscat believes that we cannot count on liberalisation policies to eliminate discrimination policies in the labour market; and that forces of competition may even reinforce ethnic inequality.

The arguments in this book are at times in direct contrast to the usual arguments about liberalisation and democracy that are the bread and butter of donor activity in the developing world. Muscat realises that interventions in the free running of the economy may well have costs, but if such interventions are not taken, the costs to development will be far higher. In a growth obsessed world, where policies are designed to achieve quantifiable and tangible results, it is hard to put forward a convincing argument for



taking steps to prevent a future imagined conflict: Muscat, however, has managed to do just that. The book puts forward a case for more thoughtful aid, and the possibilities for the international donor community to contribute to producing stable and equitable societies. Muscat ends by reminding the reader of the events of September the 11, 2001, and how 'today's impoverished and geopolitically remote country can become tomorrow's source of a far-reaching crisis' (p. 249).

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The Globalization of Terrorism

Ihekwoaba D. Onwudiwe

Ashgate, 2001

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pp. 171 + xviii (including: bibliography)

The year 2001 was a huge one for terrorism. This little book missed it. Published six months before the momentous events of September one might feel inclined to forgive the author, series editor and publishers for failing to anticipate the broadly unimaginable. But the book's bigger failing is to have missed the 1990s. The entire closing chapter is an analysis of the lessons to be drawn from the situation in South Africa prior to the advent of Nelson Mandela.

It turns out that the book is an elaboration on the author's doctoral thesis submitted to Florida State University in 1993. Accordingly, most of the references date from the 60s, 70s and 80s, and the feel throughout is of a PhD that just took too long to complete. As the material pre-dates the modern obsession with globalization, one can only assume that the publishers thought this would make a great title to entice people to buy it.

As to the material itself, this is probably most diplomatically described as not rocket science. The thesis of the book is that 'terrorism *may be* a result of global inequality' (emphasis added, p. xv). This entirely equivocal formulation is then repeated elsewhere as we are informed that 'dependency *may* encourage terrorist acts' (p. 14). The only interesting, but largely predictable, fact is that most terrorist attacks are perpetrated against the US but take place within the Third World.

It would appear that the original contribution made to the literature by this work was to apply 'World Systems Theory' (WST) to the issue of terrorism. For the uninitiated, we are advised that WST 'argues that the pattern of a nation's development depends on the nation's position in the world economy' (p. 1). Thus countries are ranked hierarchically into three abstract categories; core, periphery and semi-periphery, based on a series of arbitrarily chosen economic, political and social indicators.

Like all league tables, this approach suffers from a problem of definition. What indicator(s) should be used for the purposes of such categorization? And how should they be weighted? Various, a hotchpotch of factors is postulated, including trade flows, diplomatic relations, fertility and school enrollments. It all smacks of desperately trying to find the right equation to prove a previously assumed argument, or an answer in search of a theory. It is hardly a surprise then that 'No individual researcher has fully embraced another writer's methodological argument' (p. 84).

As terrorism too is a notoriously vague term, we are left with a work that uses the ill-defined to analyse the non-specific. This formulation allows most people sufficient latitude to arrive at conclusions of their own choosing. In this particular case it is the

entirely plausible suggestion that 'state terrorism' is used by core nations to 'maintain their vital ... interests', whilst in the periphery, people adopt such measures to 'achieve liberation' (p. 52). How this platitude advances the contemporary discussion is anybody's guess.

Indeed, over the course of recent events, the Western powers have been at pains to point out that they have 'no selfish, strategic or economic interests' in Iraq, Afghanistan or anywhere else. This may be perceived as a lie by many but in fact reflects a situation whereby the West, more so than in any other period, is entirely lacking in confidence or conviction as to its own aims and purposes upon the world stage. It may be that the abdication of authority and power, rather than its excessive use, makes terrorism take on the particular form it does today. Certainly, the advent of non-state terrorist actors, such as Al Qa'ida, could be held to mirror the erosion of sovereign interests as evidenced by the development of the United Nations and the growing role of NGOs.

The simplistic 'cycles of violence' model of human behaviour presented here, known in the school yard as 'he/she started it', falls far short of the sort of diagnostic tool required to understand patterns of global terror, particularly now, in the aftermath of 9/11. The hijackers were clearly not poor kids from the Gaza strip, in many ways they were highly Westernized, to the point of understanding our psychology better than we do ourselves; hence their ability to commandeer four aircraft using little more than box-cutters.

Complaints about 'gluttony' (p. xv) amongst the rich nations and 'unequal distribution' (p. 59) are similarly limited in their ability to explain current predicaments. Indeed, this narrow economic approach may go to making matters worse rather than better. Underdevelopment in the periphery will require a consistent demand for more production worldwide than this focus on the sins of consumption and the failings of circulation allows. Restraint is the mood of the times and it is unwittingly echoed here. The new environmental pessimism that holds back development is connected to the confident imperialism of old through a common acceptance of the right of the core to impose its worldview on the periphery.

Most gallingly of all, having assumed that 'the world would be a more dangerous place to live in the twenty-first century' (p. 122) through the advent of weapons of mass destruction, the author then encourages 'violating even a country's sovereignty since the world will be a safer place in the long run' (p. 126).

The author does ask one interesting question as to why it was that, at the time of writing, 'West African countries have not participated in international terrorism' (p. 51). This, he proposes had to do with the strength of age-old social bonds within such societies. If so, he may care to wonder now, as countries such as Liberia and Sierra Leone plunge ever more into the abyss, why it is that they do so? Rather than economic expansion and social change in themselves being predictors of confusion and chaos, it increasingly appears as though the key factor is a society's sense of confidence in handling such changes and its vision for the future that matters.

This, combined with a failure to provide young people with a sense of purpose and meaning, rather than simply a job, is what truly demoralizes us today. It also suggests that acts of terror will increasingly emanate from Western societies, as the consequences of the rejection of enlightenment values spreads ever closer. Now there's a prediction for you!

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Caught Between the Borders: Response Strategies of the Internally Displaced
Marc Vincent and Brigitte Refslund Sørensen (eds)
Pluto Press (in conjunction with Norwegian Refugee Council), 2001
Hbk: ISBN: 0745318193 £50.00 US\$69.95
Pbk: ISBN: 0745318185 £16.99 US\$23.95
pp. 317 (including: maps, figures, photographs, bibliography and index)

There are an estimated 25 million internally displaced people (IDPs) worldwide, a figure that is more than twice that for refugees. Even though IDPs have been forced to flee their homes from their homes for similar reasons to refugees, armed conflict and human rights abuses, they have received comparatively little attention and even less support. In recent years, Francis Deng (the Representative of the UN Secretary General on IDPs), the Brookings Institute and the Norwegian Refugee Council's (NRC's) *Global IDP Project* have sought to draw attention to IDPs and their plight. The NRC's latest contribution to the discourse, *Caught Between Borders*, furthers our understanding of IDPs by elucidating how they individually and collectively adapt to displacement. Additionally, the book successfully illuminates the complexity of the global IDP situation and revealing IDPs to be active survivors rather than victims or passive recipients of assistance.

The success of the *Caught Between Borders* lies in the choice of the book's case studies. Angola and Afghanistan were obvious choices with their large numbers of IDPs. Less obvious were IDP situations that have fallen off the front pages such as Georgia, Uganda, Burundi, Armenia and situations such as Burma and Columbia that deserve greater attention. In the case of better-known situations, the researchers focusing on rarely discussed IDP groups such as the southern Sudanese living in the displaced camps around Khartoum and the Serbian Kosovars living in Yugoslavia. The discussions of Sri Lanka and Angola are particularly interesting given the developments in the peace process that have happened since the case studies.

While covering much of the same demographic and historical territory as the NRC's *Internally Displaced Persons: A Global Survey Caught Between Borders*, the book breathes life into the IDP dialogue. Individual and collective narratives are used throughout the book providing amazing perspectives and insights. While seemingly unwieldy, editors Mark Vincent (former Coordinator of the Norwegian Refugee Council's Global IDP Project) and Birgitte Sørensen (an anthropologist from the University of Copenhagen) maintain the coherence of the book by remaining focused on five issues laid out in the introduction: protection of human rights, subsistence, access to education, civic strategies and property. Focus on these five issues gives clarity to the collection and allows comparability of the case studies,

For anyone with an anthropological interest, the book is a stimulating page-turner with many revealing insights into who IDPs are, their daily lives and creativity in adapting to displacement. As notable examples, the southern Sudanese in Khartoum have learned to dismantle their houses in anticipation of the immediate arrival of government bulldozers. The Serbian Kosovars have been preparing for decades for displacement by buying property in Serbia. In Georgia, 45 % of the IDP women had a university degree and only 3 per cent had not completed secondary school. All of the case studies reveal a strong sense of community amongst IDPs. And, in the case of Angola and Burma, these communities have managed to stay together through displacement. The book provides fascinating and detailed information about communal survival strategies, such as community farms and kitchens, information networks and investment banks. Surprisingly these communal strategies seem to be the norm rather than the exception. Such insights challenge how we view displacement and our interventions to assist IDPs.

In their conclusion, Vincent and Sørensen summarize the case studies with a series of interesting revelations focusing on the preparedness of refugees for displacement, the importance of education, culture and the social cohesion of family and community. They also make the alarming observation that urban to rural migration may not bring temporary decline in living standards but may be a permanent, structurally enforced, plummet to the bottom of society. Aside from these insights, Vincent and Sørensen call for more research by stating where the case studies have identified the gaps in current understanding.

Unfortunately, Vincent and Sørensen do not venture farther than revelations. No frameworks, models or definitions are hypothesized or tested. Given the breadth and depth of case studies, I assumed they would summarize the case studies with a model delineating or grouping the self-help strategies in relation to the phases of flight and displacement. Similarly, Vincent and Sørensen do not attempt to categorize IDP situations, the types of IDPs and how this affects their survival strategies. Such criticisms are not necessarily shortcomings of the book, but rather are indicative of gaps within our understanding of IDPs for which we need to search for answers. *Caught Between Borders* is an undeniable part of the answer and is a treasure trove of information and insights upon which students, academics, and practitioners will be able to build upon in the future. Vincent and Sørensen, the authors of the case studies and the NCR should be heartily congratulated for this insightful and readable resource.

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