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## BOOK ANNOTATIONS

*About Face?: The United States and the United Nations.* By Robert W. Gregg.

*Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World.* By Douglas J. Macdonald.

*Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement, Its History and Its Impact.* By David Rock.

*Conflict and Rhetoric in French Policymaking.* By Frank R. Baumgartner.

*Constitutionalism and Democracy: Transitions in the Contemporary World.* Edited by Douglas Greenberg, Stanley N. Katz, Melanie Beth Oliviero, and Steven C. Wheatley.

*Dealing With Debt: International Financial Negotiations and Adjustment Bargaining.* Edited by Thomas J. Biersteker.

*European Community Sex Equality Law.* By Evelyn Ellis.

*The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf.* By Ramsey Clark.

*Inter-state Accountability for Violations of Human Rights.* By Menno T. Kamminga.

*Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire.* By David Remnick.

*The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East.* By Richard B. Parker.

*Real Reciprocity: Balancing U.S. Economic and Security Policy in the Pacific Basin.* By David B.H. Denoon.

*Schoolhouse Politicians: Locality and State During the Chinese Republic.* By Helen R. Chauncey.

*Talking Trade: U.S. Policy in International Perspective.* Edited by  
Robert S. Walters.

*Vietnam at the Crossroads.* By Michael C. Williams.

*About Face?: The United States and the United Nations.* By Robert W. Gregg. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, Inc., 1993. Pp. vii, 181. \$35.00.

As the century comes to a close, Robert Gregg questions the current status of leadership in world affairs. He acknowledges two of the key players in his book, *About Face?: The United States and the United Nations*, and analyzes the dramatic turnaround in the relationship between the two entities. Gregg's writing is well-organized and entertaining, first focusing on the U.S. "orgy of U.N.-bashing" in the 1980s and then discussing the turnaround of the U.S.-U.N. relationship in the 1990s.

A professor of international relations at American University's School of International Studies, Gregg points out the impact of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait on the U.S.-U.N. relationship. He candidly states, "[a] funny thing happened on the way to the war in the Gulf in the winter of 1991: the United States rediscovered the United Nations." The author analogizes the two entities to the quintessential romantic couple. He describes the first encounters between the United Nations and the United States and the ideal expectations that existed, the period of separation during the Reagan Administration, and "the courtship and second honeymoon" of the 1990s that led to the compatible and positive relationship that currently exists. Yet the author persistently poses the question "will this relationship last?"

To arrive at his detailed conclusions, Gregg studies the fundamental characteristics of the United Nations: the universality of membership, egalitarianism, majoritarianism, limited authority, great power responsibility, privilege, and a broad mandate. What is valuable in his research is how these characteristics defeated the earlier expectations that the United States had for the United Nations. The interplay between the U.N. traits Gregg explores and the U.S. expectations for hegemony, congruency, pluralism, and efficiency provide insight on the current relationship.

Placing these theories in the context of developments such as the Cold War, the North-South conflict, and even the technological revolution, become realities. Yet, Gregg's focus is especially illuminated by his discussion of the Gulf crisis. Here, the author explains how the United States, through

President Bush, mobilized support from the U.N. Security Council, emphasizing the joint effort that illustrates the fulfillment of the intended world order that the United Nations was meant to maintain. However, Gregg does not ignore the potentially negative aspects of the rejuvenated relationship. He presents the notion that the United States may have been manipulating the Security Council into abandoning its obligation to seek a more peaceful settlement.

Gregg is not utopian. He brings the viewpoint of "cautious optimism" to the hope that there will be a happy ending. In fact, he concludes with concrete warnings of what he notes are possible threats to the U.S. commitment to the United Nations. These potential problems center around a "disenfranchised majority" in U.N. membership, future management practices, finance and intervention issues, and U.S. preoccupation with domestic problems. He states, "[i]t will not be easy to convert the recent experience of U.S.-U.N. cooperation into something more ambitious and more enduring." However, by proceeding with care and acknowledging the potential dangers he outlines, Gregg maintains his enthusiasm about future U.S.-U.N. projects.

*About Face?: The United States and the United Nations* is a well-organized resource describing the formulation of U.S. foreign policy objectives. Within the context of U.S.-U.N. relations, it analyzes the potential of global organization in the new century. With the end of the Cold War and with collective security rediscovered, Gregg commends the recently proactive leadership of the United States at the United Nations. It is his hope that this renewed relationship will continue to mature.

BY MARC SANTA MARIA

*Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World.* By Douglas J. Macdonald. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992. Pp. 351. \$39.95.

When Senator Walter George of Georgia discussed the formulation and implementation of U.S. policy in pre-Communist China in an executive session in 1948, he aptly described U.S. involvement as an "adventure in chaos," referring to both internal U.S. policy and the politics abroad. With the onset of the Cold War in the post-World War II era, the United States was especially concerned with keeping close watch over

certain Asian governments that were geographically susceptible to Russian influence. It was feared that if one Asian nation fell, a "domino effect" would lead all other surrounding nations to follow the lead and adopt Communist forms of government.

In *Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World*, Macdonald sets his analysis of U.S. policy in third world Asia against this historical background. The Cold War forced the United States to accept a global role in containing the spread of Communism, and, for the first time in its history, the United States became actively engaged in extensive foreign policing of various Asian nations. In attempting to develop a coherent chronology of U.S. presence in Asia and its effect on both domestic and foreign relations, Macdonald focuses on three case studies: China, 1946-1948; the Philippines, 1950-1953; and Vietnam, 1961-1963. All three nations were clients of the United States that were facing severe internal political strife and the threat of Communist insurgency during the periods in question.

While providing an extremely detailed account of American involvement in these countries, MacDonald effectively examines the interaction of domestic politics, the power dynamic of patron/client relationships, and the theories of decision-making to explain the oscillation of policy in this area. Indeed, when client nations are in imminent danger of falling to hostile forces, the decision to either withdraw, bolster the existing government, or step in and attempt to aid in social, political, or economic reforms largely depends upon the political ideology of the current administration. Republican administrations have tended to bolster existing governments through various support mechanisms, while Democratic administrations have been more likely to engage in stronger reformist measures to address popular grievances. Whatever the initial policy decision, once the United States extends a commitment to provide aid, success largely depends on awareness and comprehension of the power relations already in place. It is also critical to strike the right balance between being an authoritarian patron and effectively negotiating in an arms-length bargaining process of a quid pro quo nature that makes commitments for support contingent upon promised reforms by the client.

The effective combination of these strategies is essential to the success of U.S. interventionist agendas. A cardinal weakness of the unsuccessful mission in China was U.S. failure to gauge accurately the state of political affairs in that country during its presence there. Without fully understanding the socio-political structure of the existing government, U.S. leverage was significantly undermined. In the Philippines, reformist intervention proved to be far more successful, due in large part to effective bargaining and a clear understanding of the commitment there. Furthermore, the historical interdependence and amiable relations between the United States and the Philippines assured that both Americans and Filipinos were familiar with the other's political system. In Vietnam, however, the United States failed to systematically monitor the reign of Ngo Dinh Diem, who was elected to office under U.S. auspices. After he was elected, Diem was fighting a battle with internal forces who wanted to capture or share political power, and was not ready to mount a political defense against increasingly aggressive Communist forces. Although the Kennedy Administration did regain some leverage by changing its policy toward Vietnam to a less personal and more systematic application of the quid pro quo bargaining approach, overall, the reformist intervention in Vietnam was a policy failure.

In conclusion, Macdonald points out that past treatments of this subject have not captured the real complexities involved in policy debates over why and how the United States should proceed in reform intervention of client nations. Although there have been many positive achievements in this area, it is one that has been largely overlooked. With *Adventures in Chaos*, Macdonald attempts to compensate for the neglect that this subject has received by engaging in an extensive historical and socio-political inquiry that challenges the conventional wisdom about U.S. intervention policy in the third world.

BY TRINA L. DANG

*Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement, Its History and Its Impact.* By David Rock. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1993. Pp. xxiii, 320. \$35.00.

David Rock's *Authoritarian Argentina* provides both the serious and the casual student with a thoughtful and carefully

researched work of historiography detailing an often overlooked force in Argentine history: the Nationalist movement (*nacionalismo*). Concerning himself primarily with the sources and antecedents to the Nationalist Movement in the first two chapters, Rock devotes the rest of *Authoritarian Argentina* to recounting the influence of the Nationalist movement on Argentina since its inception as a key political force during World War I until its present-day ruin under the Menem democracy.

Rock devotes much of the first two chapters to an exploration of the Nationalist's ideology. The Nationalist combination of European conservative writers like Ernest Renan, Hippolyte Taine, and most importantly Charles Maurras and Spanish-Argentine thinkers Marcelino Menendez Pelayo, Manuel Galvez, and Carlos Ibarguren generated an intellectual movement that propounded xenophobic, anti-semitic, and anti-Freemason ideals. The Nationalists were also devoutly Catholic and counterrevolutionary. Contemporary ideals of "materialism" and "democracy" were also an anathema to the rightist Nationalists.

Rock maintains an astute distinction throughout much of the work: the differences between the European Fascist movements and Argentine *nacionalismo*. Although Fascists, like Mussolini, and the Nationalists shared similar beliefs, the Argentine Nationalists rejected Fascism for exploiting and "bureaucratizing" religion. Fascism, according to the Nationalists, was a "pagan" ideal that made "an idolatrous cult of the Nation." Nationalism, on the other hand, appealed more to the Argentine because of its true acceptance of Catholicism and its grounding in the "old Hispanic cult of personality."

Rock effectively describes the struggles the Nationalists experienced throughout much of their existence in fomenting support for their ideology and the greater troubles they encountered gaining actual political power. In the decades following World War II, the Nationalists spent much of their time on the periphery of Argentine politics, achieving mild success during periods of great instability. Peron embraced the Nationalists only temporarily, as his later years were marked by rampant anti-clericalism and such "heretic" policies as allowing divorce, legalizing prostitution, and, in early 1955, preparing a constitutional amendment to separate church and state. The Nationalists ultimately won approval for their authoritarian ideals only during those periods when democrats



and/or Peronists proved unable to control the government and the economy.

The military and the Catholic Church, the two institutions with which the Nationalists were able to fully ingratiate themselves, finally attained power during the 1976-82 authoritarian regimes of General Jorge R. Videla, General Roberto Viola, and General Leopoldo Galtieri. Videla proclaimed his "profound Christian belief in the preeminent dignity of man," but set about restoring this dignity through massive repression and the policy of "disappearances." Leftists, agnostics, Jews, "Romantic Egalitarians," and psychoanalysts suffered the brunt of the kidnappings, torture, and mass murders that marked this most tragic period in Argentine history. Rock's recounting of this period is both searing and meticulously documented. The effect is an admonition to the reader that nostalgia for the moderately "charming . . . ruralism" of the Nationalists must be tempered by the sobering reality that the Nationalists exploited bigotry and xenophobia to the utmost, and adhered to devout pro-dictatorship, anti-democratic, and anti-individualist beliefs.

Rock has produced an important piece of scholarship that should not be ignored by anyone interested in Latin America or Nationalist movements.

BY CLAUDE G. SZYFER

*Conflict and Rhetoric in French Policymaking.* By Frank R. Baumgartner. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989. Pp. xiv, 287. \$49.95.

In *Conflict and Rhetoric in French Policymaking*, Frank R. Baumgartner, an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Texas A&M University, demonstrates that public policy decisions are often shaped more by the arena in which they are debated than by their content. To illustrate his point, Baumgartner describes the process by which a seasoned policy-maker can affect the ultimate outcome of a policy debate by redefining as political an issue once thought to be solely within the deliberative jurisdiction of technical experts. Through rhetorical redefinition of an issue, the policy-maker can appeal to a broader spectrum of participants and opinions, thereby enlisting support for her view that might not have existed at the narrower, technocratic level of debate.

Professor Baumgartner illustrates his point using two very different methods. First, he systematically compares a carefully selected pool of thirty education policy-making cases from France during 1983 and 1984. This data pool, he stresses, is important because it controls variables that have plagued similar studies in the past. After ascribing quantitative values to factors affecting the policy decision-making process—the actors involved, the scope and complexity of the issues debated, and the level of conflict created by these issues—Baumgartner lays out twenty-eight tables and five figures to illustrate his conclusion. Although the case is meticulously and convincingly made, those uninitiated in the statistics of political science or unconcerned with French education policy will find Baumgartner's other method of presentation much more accessible.

The author's examples of the process by which policy-makers frame issues as either highly technical or highly political in order to contract or expand the debating arena, in both France and the United States, comprise the most engaging portion of the book. The leftist French government, for example, frustrated by budget restrictions cited by their rightist opposition to prevent the allocation of funds necessary to restore some of France's oldest museums, launched a public relations campaign posturing leftists as defenders of France's tradition of republican government. The rightists, fearful of being perceived as challengers to this hallowed tradition, eventually conceded the funds. In another example, a U.S. senator, hoping to avoid the transportation of imported nerve gas through his state and unable to enlist much sympathy from his colleagues, attacked the transportation plan as an unapproved treaty alteration and thereby succeeded in convincing his fellow senators to vote against the plan because of its threat to their institutional power.

Also intriguing is Baumgartner's contrast of the current nuclear policies of France and the United States, which clearly demonstrates the potential impact of rhetorical redefinition on public policy. In 1987, official plans called for nuclear power to be the single largest source of energy in France by the year 2000. By contrast, the United States had stopped planning new commercial nuclear reactors altogether. According to Baumgartner, the relative ability of nuclear experts

in the two countries to dominate national debate over nuclear power explains these conflicting policy decisions.

In France, where Parliament and the political parties have limited powers, federal regulations provide no mechanism for municipal participation in the allocation of nuclear plants, and federal laws strictly limit the ability of citizens to gain standing for civil law suits, anti-nuclear activists have found themselves foreclosed from expanding the arena of debate over the use of nuclear power. U.S. laws and regulations, on the other hand, allow individuals and municipalities to challenge public policy decisions concerning nuclear power. By highlighting the social or political impact that a nuclear power plant may have on a town or its citizens, these challenges can shift debate from the narrow realm of nuclear experts into the broader domain of politicians. In fact, as Baumgartner points out, in 1987, Presidential candidates Michael Dukakis and Governor Mario Cuomo both sought to increase their national exposure by arguing that the use of nuclear power would threaten the physical safety of all Americans. By joining the arena of debate, which local legal challenges had already expanded, the two candidates helped generate national apprehension towards nuclear power, forcing a shift in U.S. energy policy and confounding those policy-makers who had tried to maintain expert control of the issue.

Baumgartner's anecdotes on rhetorical redefinition are more enlightening than his empirical data because the reader can more easily identify with the manipulative nature of public policy debate than with his statistical analysis. Although the book admittedly does not purport to be an introduction to practical politics, one cannot help but notice that the author may have fallen victim to the very phenomenon he sets out to expose. By highlighting the more accessible portion of the book, Baumgartner would surely attract a broader readership. Instead, his focus on statistical analysis is likely to limit his audience to the few experts already versed in this area of scholarship.

BY ALEX P. DARROW

*Constitutionalism and Democracy: Transitions in the Contemporary World*. Edited by Douglas Greenberg, Stanley N. Katz, Melanie Beth Oliviero, and Steven C. Wheatley. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Pp. xxiii, 391. \$55.00.

In today's changing political and economic climates, particularly in Africa and Eastern Europe, *Constitutionalism and Democracy* focuses on how nations succeed or fail to make the transition to democratic, constitutional governments. The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) conducted a series of international conferences from 1987 to 1989 as part of its project on comparative constitutionalism. *Constitutionalism and Democracy* represents a refinement and compilation of the papers on constitutionalism in the United States and abroad that were presented at these ACLS conferences.

Over 25 distinguished scholars around the world contributed their ideas and research, which the editors of the book chose to organize around six themes: "Transitions," which concentrates on nations' struggles to become democratic, with special attention to Latin America and Africa; "Human Rights," which explores the intersection of constitutionalism and the protection of individual rights, specifically addressing human rights and constitutionalism in Malaysia, Indonesia, Latin America, and Europe; "Pluralism and Nationalism," which addresses the necessity and the challenges of promoting national unity among a diverse population in order for a constitutional government to become effective; "Institutional Arrangements," which contains discourses on militaristic and parliamentary constitutionalism, contrasting African, Latin American, and European constitutional initiatives; "Constitutional Conundrums in Europe," which scrutinizes constitutional regimes and economic reforms in Eastern Europe; and "Reflections on Constitutionalism," which analyzes Latin American, South Asian, and African constitutional movements from a historical perspective.

This book represents the first serious international effort to produce a body of constitutional legal scholarship which, in the editors' words, "regard[s] constitutional change as a subject that might be investigated anthropologically in its own terms and not judged by the yardstick of American experience." The essays contained in *Constitutionalism and Democracy* thus present constitutionalism from a fresh perspective and subject the pro-

cess of constitutional change to a less biased analysis than the bulk of traditional scholarship typically presents.

One of the most interesting queries presented in the book concerns the necessity of relating democracy and constitutionalism. Several essays explore the function of constitutionalism within military dictatorships or other autocratic forms of government. The reader is invited to separate notions of constitutionalism and democracy, as well as to consider the effectiveness of constitutional protections (or the lack thereof) in more totalitarian regimes. While not every reader will reach the same conclusion, *Constitutionalism and Democracy* will continue to provoke scholars in many nations.

BY KIMBERLEE JOHNSON

*Dealing With Debt: International Financial Negotiations and Adjustment Bargaining.* Edited by Thomas J. Biersteker. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993. Pp. xvi, 215. \$45.00 (cloth), \$14.85 (paper).

International financial negotiations between heavily indebted developing countries and their international creditors have been the focus of economic and political policy agendas in most of the developing world in recent years. This book, which is part of a series of case studies on international affairs, deals with the extraordinary complexities of international financial negotiations, and the effects on both the debtor nations and their creditors.

*Dealing With Debt* essentially argues that using international financial negotiations to pursue reform without ensuring adequate relief to the debtor nations may be a fundamentally flawed technique. The authors of the book assert that this general approach is not sufficiently attentive to the depth of economic crisis confronting heavily indebted countries, and it is not sufficiently attuned to the difficulty of pursuing long-term economic reform in the midst of a major debt overhang. The reason is that the distribution of global burden-sharing has fallen disproportionately on the debtor countries, not on their creditors. Simultaneously, the distribution of the domestic economic burden in the debtor countries has fallen principally on the poorest and the most marginalized. As a result, the vicious cycle of poverty with which most indebted countries currently grapple is sustained.

The cases selected for inclusion in the book are appropriate illustrations of the ongoing nature of the debt problem. They focus on the operating mechanisms of the global debt regime, the variety of the different country adjustments, and the bases of debtor bargaining power. Aside from a perceptive overview on international financial negotiations and adjustment bargaining, the book is divided into two main parts.

Part One includes cases involving the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the Paris and London Clubs, and describes the institutional history and operations of each of the major financial institutions involved in debt and adjustment bargaining. Part Two includes case studies of five different national experiences with international financial negotiations—Mexico, Zaire, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Brazil—illustrating the process of negotiation, the simultaneity of bargaining within and between creditors and debtors, as well as the strategies that have succeeded historically and those that have not.

*Dealing With Debt* is replete with timely and useful statistical abstracts, as well as a glossary of frequently used technical terms and concepts. The book is useful not only for general research; it is also a welcome addition to the study of indebtedness in the developing world, and how it can be counteracted in an era of increasing global financial convergence.

BY EDWARD ASANTE

*European Community Sex Equality Law.* By Evelyn Ellis. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1991. Pp. 239. \$64.00.

The establishment of legal equality for women in the emerging new world order is of prime importance. Evelyn Ellis, a Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Birmingham, explores the issue of sex equality law in the European Community with the view that equal treatment for men and women is fundamental. She believes it to be fundamental not only for the individuals, but also for the success of the community, which will benefit from the talents of all its members.

*European Community Sex Equality Law* examines how the original concept of federalism inherent in the creation of the European Community has led to the doctrines of supremacy and direct effect of European Community law. The essence of

these doctrines, respectively, is that European Community law is supreme to the law of member states and that directives issued by the European Community are directly enforceable on individuals. These doctrines, combined with the European Court of Justice (ECJ) case law, are responsible for the "continuously developing body of sex equality laws."

The book concentrates on the founding Treaties and Amendments of the European Community, specifically Articles 119 and 189 of the European Economic Community Treaty (EEC Treaty). Article 119 of the EEC Treaty provides for equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, and is the only place where sex equality is specifically addressed. Article 189 provides authorization for secondary legislation. Ellis explains how the definition of pay and equal work as stated in Article 119 and as interpreted by the ECJ have led to various directives to ensure the enforcement of the social ideology and the substantive provision it articulates.

In addition, the book explores the concepts of direct and disguised discrimination under Article 119 in conjunction with ECJ case law. Ellis points out that direct discrimination is absolutely forbidden by Article 119; however, European Community law remains ambiguous in cases of discrimination that deal with facially neutral provisions with discriminatory outcomes. Moreover, directives designed to articulate a specific rule in the aforementioned cases by essentially codifying ECJ findings that Article 119 covers indirect discrimination have been unsuccessful.

The book also examines in depth the Equal Pay Directive, the Equal Treatment Directive, and the Social Security Directive. Through this exploration, it becomes painfully apparent that the existing directives and sex equality law have serious limitations. As Ellis points out, these limitations are a result of the fact that the laws are all premised on the male model. They allow women access to the work force, the traditionally male sphere, but offer no incentive or opportunity for men to enter the traditionally female sphere. This, in essence, renders all sex equality law ineffectual.

The reader will find *European Community Sex Equality Law* interesting. The book gives an excellent explanation of the various directives relating to sex equality in the European Community and the relevant corresponding ECJ rulings.

Moreover, the introduction offers a concise history for the reader who has limited knowledge of the European Community.

BY DEANNA G. LOGAN

*The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf.* By Ramsey Clark. New York, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992. Pp. xxvii, 325. \$21.95.

In *The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf*, Ramsey Clark has written a fascinating, if terrifically one-sided, account of the Gulf War. The basic thesis of the book is that horrific war crimes were perpetrated by the United States throughout the Gulf War, including several of the offenses normally attributed to Iraq. For instance, Clark implies that the much-publicized oil well fires and oil spills in Kuwait were caused by U.S. bombing raids rather than by Saddam Hussein. These assertions are cast against the background of Clark's claim that the Gulf War was instigated by the United States.

Based on his own visit to Iraq during the war, Clark describes the use of carpet bombing and cluster bombs to systematically destroy Iraq's civilian infrastructure, without concern for the death and misery caused to thousands of Iraqi civilians. Indeed, the "smart" bombs used for "surgical strikes" at purely military targets comprised only a small percentage of all the bombs dropped on Iraq. In addition, Clark discusses the slaughter of helpless Iraqi soldiers who, in attempting to surrender, were met with bullets and bombs.

The role of the U.S. media in selling the war to the public does not escape harsh scrutiny. Clark charges that the media participated in the "demonization" of Saddam Hussein, acting as a propaganda machine for the U.S. military. He also implies that the major media defaulted on a First Amendment duty by neglecting to air footage of the war that would have shown U.S. actions in a negative light. Clark berates the media for participating in the tightly controlled "pool system" through which the military supervised media access to the front. He states that "[a] principled reporter would have rejected a pool assignment altogether."

Clark focuses on the numerous human rights abuses committed by both the Kuwaiti and U.S. governments. He de-



scribes the Kuwaiti repression of Palestinians and other foreigners living in Kuwait, of "guest workers" in Kuwait, and of Kuwaiti women. Clark also discusses FBI harassment of Arab-Americans and U.S. military harassment of conscientious objectors within the armed services.

One of the more interesting parts of *The Fire This Time* is the perspective it presents on the use of sanctions. Clark states that "[t]he war against Iraqi civilians started with sanctions before a single bomb was dropped." He describes how U.S. bombing during the war was systematically designed to compound the effects of the sanctions through the destruction of electric power, communications, food, clean water, and medical services. Clark views sanctions not as a possible alternative to the war, but as a part of the overall war strategy to halt and reverse Iraq's progress out of third world poverty and into the modern era.

The latter portion of Clark's book discusses the "Trashing of the U.N. Charter and the U.S. Constitution" and the efforts of an International War Crimes Tribunal to hold hearings and a trial of President Bush and others for war crimes. The Tribunal, consisting of 22 judges from 18 countries, found the defendants guilty on 19 counts of war crimes.

*The Fire This Time* is a well-documented, provocative book that paints a drastically different picture of the Gulf War than that presented by most of the mainstream media. Unfortunately, the work lacks a balanced evaluation of opposing points of view or alternative interpretations of events. For instance, the chapter discussing human rights abuses neglects to mention any possible human rights abuses committed by Iraq, either before the war or during the occupation of Kuwait. Ultimately, the major problem for this book is the use of the evil/innocent dichotomy to analyze the Gulf War. Clark criticizes the sanctification of the United States and the demonization of Iraq, and then, rather than piercing this dichotomy to achieve a more comprehensive interpretation of the Gulf War, he merely inverts it so that the United States becomes the demon, and Iraq becomes the (almost) innocent victim of U.S. manipulation and aggression. One is therefore forced to accord this book the same skepticism as would be accorded a completely celebratory account of the Gulf War.

BY MICHAEL HELD

*Inter-state Accountability for Violations of Human Rights.* By Menno T. Kamminga. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. Pp. i, 217. \$32.95.

Menno Kamminga is a Senior Lecturer in International Law at Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands. As a representative of Amnesty International at the fortieth session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York, December 1985, Mr. Kamminga gained inspiration to write this book. Towards the end of a lengthy session, several delegates submitted a draft resolution which, if adopted, would have had the effect of drastically limiting the ability of international organizations to intervene on behalf of domestics subject to state violations of human rights. Although there was ultimately no vote on the resolution, the draft proposal encouraged Mr. Kamminga to re-examine the development of inter-state human rights accountability and to evaluate the current methods of enforcing international human rights standards.

Kamminga's thesis adopts the position that under current international law any state bound by an international obligation to uphold certain standards of human rights is likewise entitled to require that the same standards be met within the borders of all other states similarly bound by such an agreement. Consequently, issues of human rights must be treated as exceptions to the general rule of non-interference in domestic affairs of sovereign powers except on behalf of one's own foreign nationals. Accordingly, Kamminga encourages present realization that diplomatic protection may be extended to a more expansive group of foreigners subject to human rights violations.

For the reader's convenience, Kamminga's work is divided into four sections: Diplomatic Action on Behalf of Foreign Nationals, Accountability Towards International Organizations, Aspects of State Responsibility, and Concluding Thoughts. Following each of the first three sections, Kamminga gives a thorough review of the issues discussed. Each section presents the tension between the policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states and the need to somehow enforce international standards of human rights. In each section, Kamminga shows how various political and legal institutions have attempted to reconcile this tension and expand the international enforcement of human rights.

In the first section, Kamminga begins by tracing the development of inter-state accountability for human rights violations through the practice of diplomatic intervention on the behalf of foreign nationals. He maintains that the 19th and early 20th century practice of diplomatic intervention on behalf of one's own foreign nationals has given rise to current diplomatic intervention. While primarily concerned with protecting only a smaller circle of foreign nationals from human rights abuses, states have gradually enlarged the circle of individuals on whose behalf they will intervene diplomatically. Both historical and current cases are offered in support of this thesis. Interestingly, Kamminga observes that historically states have preferred to provide a legal justification for diplomatic intervention whereas presently states tend to rely on humanitarian grounds for intervention despite the abundance of international legal standards. The author suggests that current reliance on humanitarian standards rather than on legal standards is more effective as sovereign states are less likely to feel threatened by intervention couched in humanitarian language. Kamminga concludes that the present blurring of the distinction between intervention on behalf of one's own foreign nationals and on behalf of other citizens indicates a movement towards an "internationalizing" of human rights.

In the second section, Kamminga examines the development of international organizations and focuses primarily on the role of the United Nations. Citing the Peace of Westphalia, he notes that violations of human rights were historically viewed as possible threats to international peace and security. Likewise, human rights violations justified inter-state accountability. From its inception in 1949, the United Nations has consistently expanded the scope of human rights violations demanding international attention. Kamminga emphasizes the fact that U.N. documents holding states accountable for human rights violations are not standard international law but, rather, function as guides indicating what human rights standards should be met. Additionally, he recognizes that it is often unclear when U.N. investigations of human rights abuses become unacceptable interventions in internal state affairs. Thus, Kamminga views the role of the United Nations as expanding the general promotion of human rights protections by actively encouraging states to become parties to international agreements, while narrowly construing provisions that

allow for internal domestic intervention. The author believes that the United Nations has advanced the protection of international human rights by defining internationally applicable human rights standards and by requiring all U.N. members to recognize these standards.

In the third section, Kamminga concludes that it is legitimate for one state to assert a claim of a breach of an international obligation against another state that fails to observe standards of human rights protections under general international law, even if the former state's material interests are unaffected by the latter state's breach. In support of this conclusion he cites cases brought before the International Court of Justice as well as the International Law Commission's draft on state responsibility and multilateral human rights treaties. Kamminga emphasizes that while states have the right to bring such claims, they do not yet have the duty to exercise this right. Correspondingly, individual states are reluctant to exercise this right.

In summary, Kamminga recognizes a growing acceptance of inter-state accountability for human rights. By acting in concert, states can enforce international standards of human rights, and such collective action is less likely to be as invalid interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign power. In order for states to act collectively to enforce international human rights standards, the proper institutions must exist, such as multilateral human rights treaties. The most popular means of enforcing international human rights standards is by asking states in violation of such standards to account for their behavior. Kamminga indicates that great progress has been made in the recognition of internationally applicable standards of human rights. Additionally, Kamminga believes that the basic institutions needed in order for states to enforce international human rights standards are in place. By agreeing to an international obligation to observe human rights, a state has not only the duty to meet such standards within its borders, but also the entitlement to make certain that other states that have signed the agreement meet the standards. Kamminga encourages individual states to take a more active role in protecting international human rights through multilateral human rights treaties. Overall, his outlook is positive, as he sees even greater attention being given to matters of international human rights protections in the future. Notably, Kam-

minga indicates that much of this attention will continue to stem from citizens who encourage their own governments to place greater weight on the protection of international human rights.

Because of the breadth of material covered by Kamminga, this book is perhaps best suited for individuals who possess substantial knowledge of the development of international human rights institutions and who would like the trends of international human rights developments to be highlighted.

BY CATHERINE E. ANDERSON

*Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire.* By David Remnick. New York, New York: Random House, 1993. Pp. ix, 530. \$25.00.

*Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*, is a gripping, detailed account of the political, economic, and social events that transformed the former Soviet Empire. David Remnick, a *Washington Post* reporter assigned to Moscow in January 1988, provides a unique perspective on this turbulent period. Not only was Remnick present as a keen and critical observer at many of the key political events of the era, but, aided by his tenacity and his willingness to push the limits of *glasnost*, Remnick secured interviews with a broad array of Soviet citizens. From his encounter with Nina Andreyeva, the woman whose 1988 article extolling Stalinism in the conservative *Sovetskaya Rossiya* touched off a fierce battle in the struggle for control of Soviet history, to his interview with Nikolai Batyukov, a man who fled the iron grip of the Soviet system to live as a "half-legal, independent" fisherman on Sakhalin Island, the vivid personal accounts Remnick provides of life in the Soviet period and of the changes wrought by Gorbachev's reforms add enormous depth to his study of the crumbling Soviet Empire.

The book, composed of five sections, begins with a topic to which Remnick returns throughout: the return of history to the Soviet people. The author argues that Gorbachev's decision to encourage people to fill in the "blank spots" of Soviet history was a critical step, necessary before Gorbachev's economic and social reforms could be pursued.

Remnick opens this section with a vivid example of the depths to which Soviet leaders had stooped to "cleanse" the historical record. The reader meets Colonel Aleksandr Tretetsky who, upon returning from Afghanistan in 1989, received a harsh dose of his country's true history when assigned to the Military Prosecutor's Office. Soon after the Kremlin admitted to the 1941 massacres of thousands of Polish military officers, Tretetsky was assigned to lead the criminal investigation of the affair, which involved excavating scores of mass graves. Tretetsky's bitter disillusionment is palpable in Remnick's account, providing an excellent introduction to the shock and dislocation many Soviet citizens experienced as their history was reassessed during the *glasnost* era.

The second and third sections of *Lenin's Tomb* are dedicated to a survey of the beginnings of democracy in the Soviet Empire, and to the inevitable confrontations between the old regime and the new political forces unleashed by Gorbachev. Remnick begins section two with an extensive description of Gorbachev's early life, from his childhood in the tiny farming village of Privolnoye, to his years at Moscow State University, evidently in an attempt to uncover what led a loyal and successful party member to push his country toward such extensive reforms.

Remnick's account of the March 1989 elections for the newly-created Congress of the People's Deputies at the Red Proletariat machine-tools factory in the October Region of Moscow illustrates the fitful beginnings of Soviet democracy. Remnick describes how the factory boss, expecting to be elected by acclamation, was shocked when confronted with an impertinent voter asking whether there would be any other candidates, and with the voters' demands that he "tell us who he is and what he stands for before he gets our vote." Being presented with no alternative candidate, the workers reluctantly elected the factory boss, but only after the candidate was forced to endure a stream of boos, catcalls, and hostile comments from his constituency.

Several months later, the Siberian miners took democracy one step further, staging a strike that caught the world's attention and gave citizens around the country hope for real democracy. Remnick conveys a vivid sense of the intensity and drama of the strike, describing the miners' "instinctive sense of media and imagery" as they came to their strike meetings fully

clothed in miners uniforms, complete with head lamps and covered with soot. Remnick recounts the confusion that reigned at the meetings of the local strike committees and provides a haunting description of the misery of everyday life in the mining villages.

Perhaps nothing illustrates the tensions between the old regime and the newly-politicized masses better than the spectacle of the 1990 May Day celebration in Red Square, where tens of thousands of Soviet citizens angrily denounced Gorbachev and the other members of the Politburo who watched from the reviewing stand. Remnick's first-hand account of the confrontation is excellent, and leads into his incisive narrative of the path of political development taken by many of Russia's younger generation, who were heavily represented at the demonstration.

Through his portrayal of the political trials of one of the newly-elected democratic leaders, Ilya Zaslavsky, Remnick demonstrates that it was not only the leaders of the old communist regime who suffered from confrontation with the masses. Zaslavsky, a market enthusiast who was elected regional chairman of the October Region of Moscow in the local elections of March 1990, immediately loosened municipal regulations to make it easier for private businesses to register in the region. Remnick discusses the fantastic success of this approach, which brought more than 4,500 new enterprises (almost half of all new private businesses opened in Moscow that year) into the region within a year, prompting Remnick to dub the region the "Delaware of Moscow."

Remnick recounts that although Zaslavsky's innovation raised annual business tax revenues in the region from 73 million to 250 million rubles, it also brought problems, including a rapid increase in gangster protection rackets and the emergence of many young "ruble millionaires." Within one year of his election, Zaslavsky had lost much of the popular support that had put him in office. The conservative *Sovetskaya Rossiya* accused Zaslavsky of "taking power out of the hands of the people and putting it in the hands of a few young millionaires." According to Remnick, Zaslavsky's biggest mistake was his poor handling of privatization in the region, which led to charges, never proven, of corruption. Remnick's account of the rapid rise and fall of this promising young democrat illustrates the difficulties Russia will continue to have as inexperi-

enced leaders push difficult but necessary changes upon a weary and suspicious population.

*Lenin's Tomb* closes with two shorter sections describing the August 1991 *putsch* and the struggles of the Communist Party in its aftermath. After providing a variety of different perspectives on the events of August 1991, Remnick describes the Constitutional Court's 1992 trial of the Communist Party. The initial burst of interest in the trial declined as it wore on, as citizens, trying to adjust to the economic hardships brought by reform, turned inward. Finally, Remnick touches on the humiliations heaped upon Gorbachev as he slipped out of the public eye, and ends by describing the 1992 decision of Russia's Constitutional Court declaring the Communist Party illegal.

*Lenin's Tomb* is an excellent resource for anyone interested in the final years of the Soviet Empire. Remnick integrates the important political events of the period into a comprehensive and readable whole, enhancing the story with countless personal accounts from both well-known and little-known individuals.

By ANN PIERCE

*The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East.* By Richard B. Parker. Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1993. Pp. xiv, 273. \$45.00 (cloth), \$17.95 (paper).

*The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East* offers Richard B. Parker's analysis of three poor policy decisions that have had serious repercussions on the relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors. As a diplomat and consultant on the region, Parker had some degree of personal interaction with each of the three incidents. These errors in judgment relate to the June War of 1967, the 1968-1970 Egyptian-Israeli "War of Attrition," and the aborted Israeli-Lebanese peace treaty of 1983. Parker intends for these miscalculations to serve as proof that even in today's technologically advanced world, governments are not always able to rely on intelligence information or to determine accurately how to use the information they receive.



The Arab-Israeli June War of 1967 resulted in the Israeli capture of the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, the Syrian Golan Heights, and the West Bank of Jordan. Parker suggests that the war, precipitated by the Egyptian army, was based on misinformation provided to Egypt by the Soviet Union, then an Egyptian ally, which had sent three completely erroneous messages warning of an Israeli build-up on the Israeli-Syrian border. In response, Egypt stationed troops along its border with Israel and closed the Gulf of Aqaba and access to Eilat, Israel's key port, to Israeli ships. Parker states that Egypt may have made these decisions based on two mistaken beliefs: the strength of its own forces and the extent of support of the Soviet Union. Israel's military response led to a short, victorious war in which it captured the areas listed above.

When Israel became convinced that Egypt was not interested in ending the perpetual cross-border shelling in which the two were engaged, it decided to bring the war of attrition home to Egypt and began shelling the heavily populated Nile Valley. Parker believes that both Israel and the United States felt that Soviet Premier Kosygin was bluffing when he threatened Soviet intervention if the bombing continued. Both nations were surprised to find that for the first time in history, and after previously threatening to do so on numerous occasions, the Soviet Union sent its military officers outside of Eastern Europe to defend Egypt. The military hardware that the Soviets supplied would later inflict serious harm on Israel.

Parker explains that one of the key goals of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon was to install a new government and sign a peace treaty with it. Syrian President Assad was opposed to the proposed peace plan that emerged because he did not want to see another Arab nation normalize relations with Israel. Assad used the Israeli presence in Lebanon as an excuse to enlarge Syria's military presence in that nation. Ultimately, Assad used this strengthened presence to cancel the peace plan and effectively turn Lebanon into a Syrian puppet regime.

This book is particularly interesting because Parker has had personal relationships with and access to many key leaders. He has written a fair and balanced analysis of these polit-

ical gaffes and supplies his readers with the thoughts of Arab, Israeli, and U.S. diplomats involved in each imbroglio.

By SCOTT PACKMAN

*Real Reciprocity: Balancing U.S. Economic and Security Policy in the Pacific Basin.* By David B.H. Denoon. New York, New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993. Pp. xii, 115. \$14.95.

*Real Reciprocity* examines and suggests a new economic and security relationship between the United States and the Pacific Basin countries. For most of the post-World War II period, the United States provided the noncommunist states in the Pacific Basin with nuclear deterrence, significant contribution to their conventional defense, military and economic assistance, and open access to the U.S. market for their exports. David B.H. Denoon argues that the United States can no longer afford to let the asymmetries in trade and defense burdens to persist. Instead of stressing an open, global trading system and providing a U.S. security umbrella, the United States should give immediate attention to reducing trade imbalances and creating a new division of responsibility in the costs of maintaining security. Also, the United States must encourage increases in industrial productivity and start a serious fiscal deficit reduction program, providing enhanced incentives for savings, and allocating funds for vital transportation and communications infrastructure.

Denoon outlines four possible U.S. options to deal with future developments in the Pacific Basin: (1) the United States as interlocutor; (2) a U.S.-Japanese Condominium; (3) the United States as active balancer; and (4) U.S. withdrawal from a strategic role. The first option requires the United States to serve as diplomatic intermediary and potential peacekeeper or crisis manager in the event of a conflict; this option carries with it the danger of drawing the United States into conflicts where key U.S. interests are not at stake. The second option relies on the United States and Japan to play a key military and economic role in the region; this may lead to regional power rivalry as other countries, especially China, assert their leadership in the region. The third option requires the United States to be an active balancer; this may require the United States to change its allies every time there is a new

power structure in the region. If the United States were to pursue this option, the United States potentially could become isolated within a short time, with no remaining allies in the region. Denoon suggests that the role of active balancer is not advisable for the United States. The fourth option is that the United States withdraw from its strategic role in the Pacific Basin; this would have a deleterious effect on long-run economic prospects and hence, is not advisable. Denoon concludes that the United States as interlocutor is the most feasible option for Washington at the present time, unless its Asian trading partners redress the current economic imbalances.

Denoon also emphasizes that for real reciprocity to work, the United States cannot do it alone; the Pacific Basin countries must make quick and visible adjustments in trade policy and contribute more significantly to their defense.

BY ANDREW CHAI IM

*Schoolhouse Politicians: Locality and State During the Chinese Republic.* By Helen R. Chauncey. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1993. Pp. xi, 300. \$38.00.

Traditional analysis of post-imperial China has looked at the Republican Period (1911-1949) as a period of transitional politics where chaos and violence were the results of discontinuity from years of imperial rule. Conventional wisdom has argued that the communist victory in 1949 was the result of the Guomindang's (KMT) close association with the entrenched conservative elite and the ability of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to capitalize on the ideologically alienated masses.

Helen R. Chauncey's *Schoolhouse Politicians* departs from this traditional model by arguing that the communist victory was not the result of discontinuity from the imperial period. Rather, Chauncey claims that CCP success was the natural result of years of social and political evolution at the local level.

*Schoolhouse Politicians* focuses on the educational circles in central Jiangsu province, explaining that both imperial (late Qing dynasty) and early republican politics inadvertently afforded local regions, such as central Jiangsu, a great deal of political autonomy. Essentially free from central control, local educational activists leapt out of the traditional imperial insti-

tutions and wholly embraced modern, western-style schools. These institutions, complete with blackboards and modern chemistry equipment, became sources of local political and social prestige.

However, this freedom from provincial and national interference did not last. Chauncey notes two instances—once in the late 1910s and once in the mid 1920s—where the national authorities attempted to manage local politics. Local managers vehemently fought these attempts and ultimately were essentially successful in maintaining control over local politics vis-a-vis the central state.

Thus, the stage was set for the emergence of the KMT and the CCP in 1927 and beyond. Local activists, already fearful of further encroachment of their authority, resisted the KMT's attempts at local control. By the end of the KMT decade, the local communities were antagonized enough to seek a central authority that was less coercive and predatory. The CCP was there to fill the vacuum with their non-predatory politics and ability to adapt to the needs of the local activists.

The communist success in Jiangsu was, therefore, not the result of ideological foresight on the part of the party, as the traditional literature suggests. It was simply historical fortune.

*Schoolhouse Politicians* presents a compelling argument for the importance of local politics in Chinese history that heretofore had been largely ignored in the secondary literature. Chauncey's work provides an entirely new framework in which to think about the Republican period and is a valuable contribution to existing historical literature.

BY GILBERT K.S. LIU

*Talking Trade: U.S. Policy in International Perspective.* Edited by Robert S. Walters. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993. Pp. xiii, 159. \$24.95.

A part of the Westview Case Studies in International Affairs, *Talking Trade: U.S. Policy in International Perspective* analyzes how cyclical economic developments and macroeconomic policy choices in the United States have plagued both U.S. and international economies, particularly in the latter part of the 20th century. The editor, Robert Walters, is a professor of political science at the University of Pitts-

burgh, and is the author of *American and Soviet Aid: A Comparative Analysis* and co-author (with David H. Blake) of *The Politics of Global Economic Relations*. In addition to highlighting the concerns of the United States and the international arena participants in relation to global trade, Professor Walters asks the reader to consider some very insightful solutions.

The aim of this book is to provide, through the case study method, a broad picture of U.S. trade policy and bargaining strategy. Several approaches to U.S. trade relations are explored, including multilateral trade liberalization under the auspices of GATT and bilateral efforts to gain or expand market access for specific U.S. products and services in states abroad. Professor Walters, in his introduction, sets the stage for a series of fascinating, wonderfully probative articles (written by a variety of authors), that explore in more specific detail the connections between trade policy, domestic politics, and economic developments at home and abroad.

The collection of articles assembled in this work shows how challenges from Japan, opportunities in the European Community, and prospects for developing countries' economies all revolve around trade and all have implications for U.S. economic interests. To insure clarity and to inspire discussion, each article is accompanied by a series of questions and an extensive list of suggested readings. These suggestions should be very useful for both the academic and international trade enthusiast.

In conclusion, *Talking Trade* provides a fresh and unique approach to an enigmatic problem. It clearly shows that the United States might be wise to alter its approach to trade and competitiveness problems in the future. The book is not overly conclusory in satisfying its objectives, and leaves plenty of room for other viable solutions.

BY BRYAN R. PARKER

*Vietnam at the Crossroads*. By Michael C. Williams. London, England: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992. Pp. viii, 104. \$14.95.

In *Vietnam at the Crossroads*, Michael C. Williams writes about the impact of economic reform on Vietnam's society, political system, and foreign policy. The author begins with a

broad overview of Vietnam's history by guiding the reader through the rise and fall of French Colonial rule, the thirty-year-long civil war, and the final reunification of Vietnam in 1975.

Williams examines Vietnam's political background by looking at the changes in Communist party membership after 1975. He notes that Vietnam's collective leadership existed in sharp contrast to the cults that have surrounded other Asian communist leaders, such as Mao Zedong in China and Kim Il Sung in Korea. As a result, any decisions about the nation's political and economic directions required constant compromise among party members and were thus slow to emerge. It was not until the 1986 economic crisis, triggered by the political changes in the Soviet Union, that significant changes were made in party membership. The country's first major economic reform, *doi moi*, was launched by this new group of leaders.

Williams then examines the country's attempt to move from a centrally planned economy to a more outward-looking market-oriented development nation. Like other East Asian countries, the reform began with the privatization of farm lands, followed by gradual elimination of price and wage subsidies. New foreign economic policies were implemented to encourage foreign investment. Williams is particularly impressed by Vietnam's economic achievement, given its lack of access to international lending markets and the American embargo.

The author goes on to provide an extensive survey of Vietnam's current foreign policy in which ideological factors have been down-played. A country-by-country analysis of Vietnam's relationships with its East and Southeast Asian neighbors, the European Community, the United States, and Japan is also included. Finally, Williams concludes with his own assessment of Vietnam's future.

*Vietnam at the Crossroads* is ideal for readers who want a general and broad introduction into Vietnam's past history, politics, and recent economic reforms. Due to the interrelatedness of history, politics, economics, and foreign policy, the author's separate presentation of these subjects under different headings results in significant overlap.

BY LIN SHAW

