

and how over a period of time this has been innovated to suit changing conditions. What had started as an ethno-nationalist movement is slowly but surely moving to take on a religious fervour in Xinjiang. This book is strongly recommended to researchers who are interested in the study of minorities in China especially the Uighurs of Xinjiang. It is noteworthy to mention that Dillon provides detailed historical data on the Uighurs' struggle against the Beijing rule. However, the book does not touch on any theoretical approaches to the study of ethnic conflict in Xinjiang. It emphasises the empirical analysis rather than applying theories of ethnic conflicts in understanding the ethnic conflict in Xinjiang.

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**Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes.** Edited by John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty. Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 336. ISBN 1-4039-0139-4.

Reviewer: Siti Rozana bt. Hanipah, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, Malaysia.

*Contemporary Peacemaking* consists of twenty-one chapters, contributed by different authors that tries to explore the essential components of contemporary peace processes. The first contributor is Crawford Young whose experience and vast knowledge in the study of ethnicity are evident from his description and discussion of the characteristics of ethnicity. His discussion on the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism and ethnic conflict is highly meaningful. He also provides the three dimensions through which ethnicity can be analysed in recent years, i.e., primordial, instrumental and constructivist. This chapter serves as a framework for explaining aspects of ethnicity that lead to conflicts. William Zartman explains the concept of ripe moments in negotiations, which he claims, centres on the perception of a mutually hurting stalemate (MHS) by both conflicting parties. His argument that this is the best time for negotiations to be carried out as it would yield the best result in terms of cooperation from the involved parties was not shared by John Paul Lederach who provides a practitioner's view of conflict

resolution. In addition to the timing, the personality of the mediator is also important in determining the course of actions to be taken and in shaping the degree of acceptance by the conflicting members. His view is reasonable and is based on personal experience. The last chapter in this section by Loughlin explains the importance of geopolitical and regional context in negotiations, which made possible the breakthroughs in such cases as Northern Ireland, Corsica and Basque.

The second part of the book discusses the process of negotiations. Zuelke's concise explanation of the seven phases of negotiations that usually precedes the settlement of a violent political conflict provides a good basis for discussion on the issue of negotiation in a peace initiative. He outlines briefly the conditions that will usually lead to the seven phases of negotiations and explains the different strategic choices that disputing parties are likely to arrive at in various situations. The seven phases are not a rigid model of how all negotiations should be conducted. The different phases often overlap and diverse external forces or factors will affect the situation causing the negotiation to end with many possibilities. Consequently, Pierre du Toit contends that rules and procedures provide structure to the process of negotiating for peace. He raises a few issues of relevance to the peacemaking negotiation procedure and compared the cases of Namibia and South Africa, the two cases of successful democratic transition in Africa. In Namibia, the rule was made by outsiders whereas in South Africa, the rule-makers were insiders.

Christopher Mitchell delves deeper into negotiations to ponder on the significance of the role and personality of the mediator, as well as the right timing for mediation process. He explores Zartman's ripeness theory and concludes that it is generally better to wait for a condition of "hurting stalemate" before starting a mediation process. On a different note, Wolfsfeld studies the external influences on a negotiation and suggests that news media play a significant role in a peace process. The relationship between the press and the government is described as a "competitive symbiosis" whereby each depends on the other to achieve certain goals. News media can play either a constructive or negative role in influencing the outcome of peace negotiations and governments need to recognize this. He uses three case studies to demonstrate the effect of the news media on

negotiations, namely the Oslo Peace Process between Israel and Palestine in 1993, the Israeli-Jordan Peace Treaty in 1954 and the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland in 1998. He concludes that the news media usually make more negative influence and minimal positive contribution to a peace negotiation.

Part three discusses the effects of violence on peace processes and suggests that peace initiatives can sometimes spark more violence in an ethnic conflict. The authors stress that there is an urgent need to address the effects of violence to ensure the survival of a peace accord. Here, Stedman argues that peace processes differ in their vulnerability to peace and that the presence of spoilers, spoils and hostile neighbors pose the gravest threats to peace processes. He cites the cases of Bosnia and Rwanda, where in the former the international presence was very outstanding while in the latter the international presence was not very prominent. Subsequently, Zahar uses Stedman's typology of spoilers to study why peace agreements collapse and finds the answer in the emergence of actors who spoil the peace process, known as spoilers. There are leaders who believe that peace threatens their power and interests and therefore resort to violence to achieve power.

Gamba discusses the management of violence through disarmament and demobilisation, citing the example of Angola and Sierra Leone, where there were repeated failures of peacekeeping missions because of ineffective disarmament and mobilisation. She argues that effective disarmament at the right time is important for the discontinuation of violent conflict and to hasten the recovery of post conflict situations. Therefore, she suggests that there is an urgent need to improve the mechanisms of peace support operations to ensure success in maintaining peace.

The fourth part of the book discusses constitutional and political options in peace accords. Peace accords are technical documents which are often negotiated by lawyers and signed by elite that may have direct impact on people's lives. The success of peace accords being implemented/adhered to depend on the negotiators. Sisk elucidates the problems with peace accords that created power sharing among different ethnic groups and contends that while it may be desirable and necessary, power-sharing is not a viable long term solution to manage ethnically divided societies. He contends

that contemporary wars are almost all internal ethnic conflicts which usually end with agreements that put power-sharing as the solution. Power-sharing is usually designed to put in place the principles of democracy in deeply divided societies. It involves diverse political arrangements.

Parties in internal conflicts usually have two choices for settling their disputes, either through partition or power-sharing. Outcomes of separation are only seen in Eritrea and East Timor, both instances involved historical claims to self-determination. Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia are also cases of separation. It is a misconception to think of all power-sharing institutions as “consociationalism” because there are many options to power-sharing. Sisk explains the principal options for power-sharing such as autonomy, the group building-block approach and the integrative approach which entails matching problems to solutions depending on the enmity between the contending groups and the trajectory of war (the extent of ethnic separation). Sisk’s contribution is insightful with very logical use of examples.

Varenes provides a comparative analysis of the contents of various peace agreements and offer suggestions on the available options that can be taken in a peace process. He disagrees with the notion that ethnic differences often provoke violence and that ethno-nationalism causes conflict, demonstrating this by examining trends in peace agreements since 1946. Successful agreements are those that address the root causes of the conflict and try to respond to the demands of the minority and protect them. Successful peace accords usually involve devolution of political powers and changes to the structure of the state through autonomy arrangement or power-sharing.

Bell adds another dimension when he argues that human rights provisions typically are included in peace agreements as a result of demands based on the experience of previous human rights abuses. The claim may initially come from the less powerful but both sides may use the language of human rights to assert their claims. Human rights protections can increase the legitimacy of a new government and safeguard against future abuses of power. Therefore, the protection and promotion of human rights are part of a constitutional feature, along with political and legal arrangements. Reilly stresses

on the importance of a legitimate governing authority in the transition from conflict to peace. He outlines the problems relating to constructing a sustainable democratic state and provides alternative solutions such as encouraging local involvement in the development of a pluralistic-party system instead of a rush into immediate elections to create a government.

In transition from conflict to peace, elections and other types of ballot need to be viewed as the beginning of a long-term process of democratisation and not as an end point. It is the first step towards building a civil society. Yash Gai observes that solutions to territorial disputes are usually sought through territorial reorganisation of the state, and he examines the prospects for some form of spatial distribution of power, whether it is a federation, devolution or autonomy. Federal states are the hardest to achieve as it entails a divided sovereignty while devolution provides for an undivided self-government and autonomy usually refers to a symmetrical relationship of a part of the state to the central authorities. In practice the distinctions between these three forms of spatial distribution of power, which he refers to as autonomy, are not clear-cut. He stresses on the importance of autonomy and provides a sound discussion on the legal basis of autonomy.

In part five, the book discusses peace-building, which is described as the efforts to sustain peace after an agreement or a peace accord has been reached. The implementation of a peace accord depends highly on the political will of the new government and on the ability of the accord to maintain relevance. Peace-building therefore entails the regularisation of power and facilitation of the institutionalisation of the new government. In line with this idea, Arnson and Azpuru discuss the cases of two Central American Republics, El Salvador and Guatemala, to explain how the peace process has managed to sustain considerable peace.

Call and Stanley discuss the establishment of military and police reforms after peace agreement has been signed, suggesting that military and police reforms are important to ensure the stability of the negotiated settlements and to sustain the new democratic government. Hamber draws upon the experience of South Africa to demonstrate the effects of transformation and reconciliation, and studies the degree to which the socio-economic changes on the

society have been affected by the peace settlement. MacGinty argues that the transitional period in peace processes can be placed in two categories, separation or integration. The categories that peace process or transition fits into will play a significant role in the extent and nature of the symbols used. He also argues that symbols play important roles in peace processes and transitions, either positively or negatively, depending on the way they are deployed by the elite. At the end of the section, Darby provides an interesting discussion on the option of borrowing another state's model of peace process and adopting it for another state. He cites examples of where and when these solutions have been successful and when the act of borrowing has not been successful.

In the concluding chapter, Darby and MacGinty suggest that peace processes follow the cycle of four phases: pre-negotiation, management of the process (including negotiations and violence), peace accords and post accord reconstruction. Both rightly recognise that these phases are not necessarily consequential and that violence is a main feature of all phases. These authors then came up with ten propositions that were based on studies of peace processes in South Africa, Northern Ireland, Israel-Palestine, the Basque Country and Sri Lanka. These propositions provide valuable insight to the readers on the issues and problems related to peacemaking processes. In fact, it gives an insider's view of how complicated peace processes actually are and how fragile the peace accords are, given the fact that external and internal actors and events can easily influence the outcome of the process. The excellent selection of articles with informative and substantial content make this book a good read and should not be missed by those who are interested in the politics of ethnic conflicts and conflict resolution.