

find few faults with the overall conduct of the Australian army in Baidoa (Somalia)" (p. 73), Brigadier Roderick Cordy-Simpson on Bosnia, Brigadier John Wilson on Yugoslavia, Lieutenant Colonel Steve Ayling on Cambodia, are mainly descriptive and uninteresting, lacking insight into the politics of the situations. The obsequious, self-congratulatory tones might be expected; which military officer would actually present his country in a critical light? And this is perhaps the main reason why the better sections of the book are by academics. It is not that U.N. military personnel have not been critical of operations in the recent past, but just that they are not represented here in this very one-sided perspective. This merely serves to hide some of the real and difficult challenges facing peacekeepers. These include defining what peacekeeping is really all about. Is there a new doctrine of "peace-enforcement" which has gained credibility in the light of the use of force in Somalia, for instance? Should the United Nations intervene in humanitarian relief in ethnic conflicts (Northern Iraq, 1991; former Yugoslavia, 1992; and Somalia, 1992). The implications of the U.N. peacekeeping forces themselves becoming a part of the conflict surely undermines the notion of peacekeeping. And yet, this issue is not dealt with in this volume.

Neither does it deal with many of the nasty side effects of large-scale military operations (albeit peacekeeping ones) in the host countries and for their civilian populations. In the post-Cold War period, these include prostitution and black marketeering, among others. Peacekeepers are notoriously poorly paid for the high risks they run on the "thin blue line". Should there be an increasing professionalization of the U.N. soldiery? Just what exactly should the role of the peacekeepers be in the "new world disorder"? Sadly, this work fails to leave us with any satisfactory answers.

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Arms Control in the Post-Cold War World: With Implications for Asia/Pacific. Edited by Trevor Findlay. Canberra: Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, 1993. 329 pp.

Analysts of Asian politics know that the field of international relations in general (and, consequently, subfields such as peace research) is predominantly Eurocentric. European history and politics provide the inspiration

for models that are then applied to other regions, including Asia. The Cold War, which made Europe the centre of the world's most compelling political conflict, reinforced this tendency. East Asia has thus been understood as an area that feels the "implications" reverberating from events in the political heartland.

Although the Cold War is now supposed to be over, this book consistently follows the same pattern, which is suggested by the relationship between its title *Arms Control in the Post-Cold War World*, and its subtitle, *With Implications for Asia/Pacific*. After discussing the issue at hand, which in most cases does not principally involve the region, each author in this collection of essays has dutifully tacked onto the end of his or her chapter a section invariably called "Implications for Asia-Pacific".

Apart from possible objectives to this approach, the book lives up to its apparent purpose. Its strengths are that it is current and relatively comprehensive. It includes sections on nuclear, chemical/biological, and conventional weapons, plus two additional sections focusing on the problem of verification.

It is not surprising that the first chapter, a sort of celebrity keynote address by Australian politician Gareth Evans, is rather lame. It provides little more than a summation of recent world events bearing on arms control issues, probably the kind of speech Evans gives when he is invited to a luncheon by the local chamber of commerce. Trevor Findlay's concluding chapter is also worth skipping; he merely synthesizes the foregoing chapters without offering any additional insights.

The rest of the book, however, is better. For an edited volume with twelve papers compiled from a single conference, the book boasts a remarkable consistency in style and substance, for which editor Findlay and his assistants deserve much credit. The analysis is intelligent, informed, and generally satisfying from both technical and political standpoints. The book is not without worthwhile insights. Michael Brown's chapter on "Nuclear Arms Control", for example, emphasizes the highly contextual nature of nuclear arms. He explains why a reduction of the U.S. and Russian arsenals may cause some other countries to follow suit, but may also encourage a few currently non-nuclear East Asian states to acquire their own nuclear forces. Ian Anthony's "Conventional Arms Control" explains why changes in the structure of the international arms industry are making control of proliferation more difficult.

And while most of the pieces are not highly applicable to the Asia-Pacific's most pressing current arms control problems, some relevant discussion can be found. Eric Chauvistre's "Lessons for the Iraq Experience", for example, concludes that regular IAEA inspections of nuclear facilities will be insufficient to accurately monitor North Korea's bomb-building

programme, and that Japan should be discouraged from pursuing its plan to stockpile plutonium because this will undermine efforts to ban the use of fissionable material in the region as a whole.

The book does not demonstrate a great deal of theoretical depth, and is therefore probably not destined for a long “shelf-life”. Still, it is of comparable quality to the better journal articles on arms control, and offers the convenience of bringing several related topics and their “implications for Asia/Pacific” together in a single volume.

As might be expected, a “peace research” bias runs throughout much of the book: arms cause war, weapons proliferation is generally bad, and disarmament will promote peace. This need not necessarily deter the book’s potential audience, much of which shares these assumptions, but readers should realize that this book does not break new conceptual or theoretical paths in the subfield. On the positive side, since the book generally treats *all* arms proliferation as undesirable, it avoids the double-standard problem Western analysts are often accused of — that is, that it is acceptable for “friendly” states such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Taiwan and pre-1990 Iraq to acquire powerful conventional and unconventional weapons systems, but forbidden for “rogue” or “outlaw” states such as North Korea, Libya, Iran and post-1990 Iraq to do so.

Perhaps the most important basic assumption on which the book fails to reach a consensus is the capability of international regimes and institutions to tackle the problem of arms proliferation. Evans, for example, claims that “the role of the United Nations as the global agency for promoting security in the post-Cold War world remains central” (p. 5). Later, however, Darryl Howlett and John Simpson point out that Brazil and Argentina, opponents of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, struck their own agreement on nuclear weapons control outside of this international regime (p. 68–69). Chauvistre’s comments on the clandestine North Korean nuclear programme further weaken confidence that international institutions can solve the world’s weapons proliferation problems. This lack of consensus is not a weakness; indeed, the usefulness of the United Nations and other multilateral organizations ought to be a matter of debate in any serious book about arms control.

Ultimately, *Arms Control in the Post-Cold War World* leaves the East Asian specialists to sort things out for themselves. After reading this book, one feels no closer to an understanding of how the nuclear stalemate between Pyongyang and the U.S. camp might be resolved, or how Japan might be prevented from obtaining a nuclear arsenal if its defence ties with Washington are severed, or how the Chinese arms manufacturers beyond the control of their own central government in Beijing might be dissuaded from selling powerful weapons systems abroad.

One wonders about the possibilities that might stem from an alternative perspective that saw the Asia/Pacific as the new centre of gravity for both global economics and global politics, the site of which may well be the two most powerful countries on earth (Japan and China) early in the next century, and the locale of what may be the next Cold War. Such a perspective would demand that analysts of the Asia-Pacific region formulate new models and identify new patterns based on East Asia's own political experience.

Arms Control in the Post-Cold War World is primarily a book about arms control in general, with the Asia/Pacific region as a subset. But students of the region might be excused for suggesting that in this "post-Cold War world", perhaps the reverse approach might be better: a book about international politics in the region that also deals, in an East Asian political context, with arms control.

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***Vietnam — The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism.* By Gareth Porter.**
Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993. 227 pp.

The inner workings of communist regimes have fascinated scholars ever since there were such regimes to study but, up till the mid-1980s, it was a frustrating field to work in. Official pronouncements and press reports, which formed the basic data sources, were not to be taken at face value; thus developed a complex but not always reliable methodology of reading between the lines of the Marxist media. Supplementing this would be the cloak and dagger harvest of the intelligence community but these were not always accessible to academic researchers. With liberal reforms introduced in almost all Marxist states since the mid-1980s and the eventual replacement of some of these totalitarian regimes by democratic governments, public discourse in these countries has become more open and truthful. This is what makes Porter's ambitious book on Vietnam possible: the more reliable post-1986 Vietnamese documentation (press reports, speeches and academic journal articles) of the situation in that country.

Porter's usage of these sources is painstaking and therefore impressive. Every interesting development in his political narrative is accompanied