

The Academy of Political Science

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POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

Volume 123 · Number 3 · Fall 2008

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Political Science Quarterly

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security in the wake of September 11. The book taps a wealth of archival research and declassified documents to trace the origins of American intelligence stretching back to the 1880s, and then to the end of World War I, the interwar period, and the laying of the bureaucratic foundations of the national security structure after World War II enshrined in the 1947 National Security Act upon which post-September 11 bureaucratic structures were heaped.

Theoharis impressively documents landmarks in intelligence history. Just to touch on some highlights, Theoharis ably traces FBI and CIA competition in overseas posts, a precursor to even more heated bureaucratic jockeying abroad today. He recalls the interesting history of FBI break-ins into foreign embassies during World War II for intelligence collection, defending the continental United States from German sabotage teams infiltrating the country, working against Soviet penetration of the American atomic bomb program, and the CIA's illegal domestic intelligence activities during the Vietnam War era that later engulfed the Agency in the 1975 Church and Pike Committee investigations. These treatments are especially good reminders of the long-standing tensions between the needs for intelligence and national defense and those for cherished American civil liberties. These historical controversies, moreover, underscore the importance of aggressive and intelligent Congressional oversight, as Theoharis wisely recommends, to keep intelligence agencies within the laws of the land, qualities that arguably have been largely absent during the "war on terrorism."

The book, though, comes up short in its treatment of the daunting contemporary problems in relations between intelligence agencies. The preponderance of the book lies in pre-September 11 history. Theoharis does not get up into the 1990s until page 238, toward the end of the book. Readers looking for analysis to help navigate contemporary debates and to evaluate intelligence agency performances in light of post-September 11 reforms, especially with the creation of the Director of National Intelligence office, will find this book wanting.

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A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights by Elizabeth Borgwardt. Cambridge, MA, Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2005. 437 pp. Cloth, \$35.00; paper, \$22.95.

This book focuses its thoughtful, deeply researched coverage on a momentous half decade, the years 1941–1946, encompassing the transition out of World War II, through Bretton Woods and planning of a new international economic order, the conceiving and founding of the United Nations (UN), and the Nuremberg Charter and trials as an attempt at transitional justice which would affirm principles of humanitarian law, even before the UN's passage of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on 10 December 1948.

Representative of the tendency, and ability of the author to rethink generalizations about human rights, is her careful noting of the proposition, which she supports credibly, that the UDHR is more noteworthy for its own impact on future conduct and agreements, such as the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, than for the impact of the covenants based on it and forming together with it the so-called International Bill of Rights.

The book is not a history of human rights as such. Rather it is a history of how the idea and spirit of human rights as interpreted by Franklin (and I bet Eleanor) Roosevelt infused the brief Atlantic Charter document. This meant not only evoking a peaceful, cooperative world of equal states, but one in which people counted as individuals (here echoes of Roosevelt's "four freedoms")—one in which "all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want" (p. 304)

Elizabeth Borgwardt spins a double narrative of transition for the international order. It begins on the high note of the Roosevelt–Churchill meeting at sea on 9 to 12 August 1941. That Atlantic Conference produced the brief but momentous text of the Atlantic Charter. The charter text expressed the two leader's hopes for a peaceful, inclusive postwar world. Two aspects of that charter provide the leitmotif of this book. One aspect is the ideal peaceful world of equal states and equal, rights-endowed individuals. The other aspect is the play of power politics, which interacted with and limited the reach of the visions of the Atlantic Charter.

The book excludes already well-covered ground in existing human rights analyses. Those tend to give more play to a history of the origins of human rights ideas in ancient, medieval, and modern thought, plus ideas put forward by European human rights advocates before World War II. This book, in carrying through its theme of the influence of the Atlantic Charter, focuses on the interplay of the Charter visions with international politics. Particularly (but not solely), it retraces in some depth what tugs between the Atlantic Charter-inspired ideal and the real world of international politics. Central to this story are the contradictions entailed in American exceptionalism: wherein the "concept America's culture, geography or values set it apart from other nations. It is a notoriously two-edged idea, with a dark side reflecting a penchant for double standards" (p. 291). As a consequence, the U.S. role in major processes of peace-building, on the one hand embody principles of the Atlantic Charter. But on the other hand, they bear also the stamp of great-power politics and deep divisions of interest and identity between the developing nations of the third world, and the developed nations, and between Cold War rivals.

The book's closing part sums up the contradictory history of peace-making and American foreign policy. In it, Borgwardt places recent U.S. unilateralist policy among the violations of the Atlantic Charter. In its depth and broad relevance, this book should serve for a long time to come as essen-

tial reading for the appraisal and understanding of American foreign policy and exceptionalism.

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Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide
by Jacques Semelin. New York, Columbia University Press, 2007.
352 pp. \$29.50.

The genocide studies literature has been developed using primarily legal and normative vocabularies. In this sophisticated analysis of the sociopolitical dynamics of massacre and genocide, author Jacques Semelin seeks to reinvigorate this literature by using an eclectic multidisciplinary methodology drawn from history, social psychology, and political science. Semelin argues that the notion of “massacre” must serve as the unit of reference in order for genocide research to come into its own in fields of the social sciences. Going to some length to distinguish “massacre” from “genocide,” the author aims to develop an intellectual framework for analyzing the entire spectrum of mass violence (including terrorism, importantly), of which genocide is but one species. The book examines the cases of the Holocaust, the Rwandan genocide, and ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia by weaving examples from these cases throughout the narrative, seeking to illustrate both the similarities and differences of these macabre phenomena.

The book begins with an examination of the processes by which groups within the state are targeted for extermination, the core of which is rooted in human psychology and augmented by an artificial identity construction based on the stigmatization of difference. These sociopolitical “imaginary constructs” are born of an ideology whose rhetoric is built around the themes of identity, purity, and security, which constitute a “social *imaginaire*” that responds to fear and hatred and ultimately impels this process toward mass violence. According to the author, this “identitarian process” is aided by conspiracy theories and propaganda about “the other,” who are portrayed as dirty, foreign, corrupt, and treacherous. In short, *identity* provides the framework for the process of violence to take shape, the desire for *purity* grafted onto absolute notions of sacredness solidifies this identitarian framework, and the need for *security* in the context of an alleged crisis makes it urgent to take action in the form of mass violence (p. 49).

The remainder of the book examines in meticulous detail how this destructive *imaginaire* gradually affects societies and results in the legitimization of what Semelin calls an “inflammatory discourse,” which ultimately leads to destructive social effects. The author furthermore shows how the international system of sovereign states lends itself to such outbreaks of violence. While massacre is the outcome of both a state’s internal sociopolitical developments