

# Ethnicity and power in the contemporary world

## Note to the reader from the UNU

This is the final volume to emerge from a five-year research and training programme conducted by the United Nations University on governance and conflict resolution. The programme examined the underlying conditions giving rise to internal conflicts, particularly where they are manifested through direct violence. It also focused on the conceptual and theoretical problems related to such conflicts, early warning of potential conflicts, and conflict transformation.

This volume investigates the causes and consequences of violent conflict and the options for its prevention, resolution, and transformation in regions as diverse as Africa, the former Yugoslavia, Northern Ireland, and certain Soviet successor states. The chapters, written by multicultural scholars, are based on revised versions of papers originally presented at a UNU symposium held in cooperation with the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in March 1992. The companion volume, entitled *The Culture of Violence*, was published by the UNU Press in 1994.

Edited by Kumar Rupesinghe and  
Valery A. Tishkov



United Nations  
University Press

TOKYO • NEW YORK • PARIS



# Contents

© The United Nations University, 1996

The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations University.

United Nations University Press  
The United Nations University, 53-70, Jingumae 5-chome,  
Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150, Japan  
Tel: (03) 3499-2811 Fax: (03) 3406-7345  
Telex: J25442 Cable: UNATUNIV TOKYO

UNU Office in North America  
2 United Nations Plaza, Room DC2-1462-70, New York, NY 10017  
Tel: (212) 963-6387 Fax: (212) 371-9454 Telex: 422311 UN UI

United Nations University Press is the publishing division of the United Nations University.

Typeset by Asco Trade Typesetting Limited, Hong Kong  
Printed by Permanent Typesetting and Printing Co., Ltd.,  
Hong Kong  
Cover design by Jonathan Gullery/Abel Graphics, Thornwood,  
New York, USA

UNUP-908  
ISBN 92-808-0908-3  
03500 P

Acknowledgements ix

Introduction 1

*Kumar Rupesinghe and Valery A. Tishkov*

- 1 Governance and conflict resolution in  
multi-ethnic societies 10

*Kumar Rupesinghe*

- 2 Ethnic conflict in the Horn of Africa: Myth and  
reality 32

*Hizkias Assefa*

- 3 Ethnic conflicts in the context of social science  
theories 52

*Valery A. Tishkov*

- 4 Settlement of ethnic conflicts in post-Soviet  
society 69

*Emil Payin*

5 Dynamics of the Moldova–Trans-Dniester ethnic conflict (late 1980s to early 1990s) 83  
*Airat R. Aklaev*

6 Ethnic conflict in the Osh region in summer 1990: Reasons and lessons 116  
*Abilabek Asankanov*

7 From centre–periphery conflict to the making of new nationality policy in an independent state: Estonia 125  
*Klara Hallik*

8 Conflict management in the former USSR and world experience 143  
*Victor A. Kremenyuk*

9 The dissolution of multi-ethnic states: The case of Yugoslavia 159  
*Silvo Devetak*

10 Ethnic conflict, federalism, and democracy in India 179  
*S.D. Muni*

11 An intractable conflict? Northern Ireland: A need for pragmatism 199  
*John Darby*

12 Political autonomy and conflict resolution: The Basque case 210  
*José Manuel Castells and Gurutz Jauregui*

13 Ethnic and racial groups in the USA: Conflict and cooperation 236  
*Mary C. Waters*

14 Ethnic conflicts and minority protection: Roles for the international community 263  
*Asbjørn Eide*

15 The right to autonomy: Chimera or solution? 287  
*Hurst Hannum*

Contributors 296