

along with violence against the more than 10,000 Chinese nationals living and working in Pakistan. Pakistan is home to one of China's most feared terrorist movements, the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM), which fights for Uighur freedom in Xinjiang and is partly based in tribal areas in Pakistan. Much to the chagrin of political elites in China, Pakistan is poised to play a decisive role in China's battle against Islamic terrorism in the future, even though the Chinese fear that their fight is not fully supported, even sabotaged by Pakistan and that unresolved terrorist problems in Xinjiang province might incite protests in other Chinese provinces as well. According to a Chinese expert (p. 90): "When we provide them [Pakistan] with intelligence on ETIM locations they give warnings before launching their attacks."

After having read the book, one cannot but conclude that despite stark differences in ideology and cultural understanding, a common enemy (India) and economic interests (predominantly Chinese) are enough to provide the basis for a lasting friendship between the two nation-states. How can one understand the underlying motives, the nature, the trajectory of the alliance that binds these two important states together? The answer: by reading this book. Small's insightful account is highly recommended for students, researchers, analysts and policy makers dealing with international relations and security in the Asia-Pacific. The wealth of information and data included, along with the hundreds of hours of (frank) interviews will make this a book of lasting relevance.

*Arndt Michael*

AMARNATH AMARASINGAM / DANIEL BASS (eds), *Sri Lanka. The Struggle for Peace in the Aftermath of War*. London: Hurst, 2016. 293 pages, £25.00. ISBN 978-18490-4573-5

The termination of Sri Lanka's civil war through the military defeat of the LTTE and the establishment of a victor's peace in 2009 offers a compelling case for those studying war-to-peace transitions and the transformation of violent intra-state conflicts; nonetheless, academic interest in Sri Lanka's protracted civil war and the underlying ethnic conflict has been waning since the war's end. The volume under review is thus a welcome exception to this tendency. Against the backdrop of the 10-year rule of former President Mahinda Rajapaksa (2005–2015), who not only engineered and implemented the ruthless military campaign that ended the war, but moreover left an indelible mark on the country's post-war politics, the authors of this volume have set out to explore the manifold problems Sri Lanka's minorities have been facing since the war's end.

The first part of the book, entitled “Social and Legal Complexities”, addresses questions relating to peacebuilding and reconciliation. Kumaravadivel Guruparan analyses the public discourse on reconciliation under the Rajapaksa regime. The concept of reconciliation is generally associated with transitional justice and accountability in post-war situations; however, the author contends that in the Sri Lankan context, the official agenda for reconciliation was directed rather towards the consolidation of the Sinhala-Buddhist nation-state, while Sri Lanka’s minorities were implicitly expected to recognise and acknowledge the unitary nature of the Sri Lankan state with the Sinhala-Buddhist majority at its apex (p. 22). Consequently the reconciliation discourse has served as a legitimising tool for the ongoing structural violence exerted towards the Tamil minority in the former war areas. This important argument is further supported by the remaining three articles of this section, which deal with the legal and normative underpinnings of the Sri Lankan unitary state (Asanga Welikala); the question of how human rights abuses in Sri Lanka can be addressed (Sujith Xavier); and the influence of Sri Lanka’s ethnically divided media on peacebuilding and reconciliation (Senthan Selvarajah).

The second part of the volume sheds light on “Ethnic and Religious Dynamics” in post-war Sri Lanka. Suren Raghavan examines the role of the Buddhist Sangha as a non-state actor from a historical perspective; Farzana Haniffa delineates the “newness” of the phenomenon of Islamophobia in post-war Sri Lanka, arguing that Sinhala triumphalism in the aftermath of the victor’s peace not only reinforced the discrimination against the Tamil minority, but also laid the groundwork for the periodic outbreaks of anti-Muslim violence that Sri Lanka has been witnessing since 2012. The remainder of part II expounds upon the problems of the Up-country Tamil community vis-à-vis the Sinhalisation of both society and polity during the Rajapaksa era (Daniel Bass) and issues pertaining to trauma and memory in Sri Lanka’s war-ridden North and East (Malathi de Alwis).

The third and final part of the volume is entirely dedicated to the analysis of Tamil nationalism both in Sri Lanka and among the Tamil diaspora abroad. Ravi Vaitheespara discusses the future prospects of the Tamil struggle in Sri Lanka by examining the few sustained writings that have appeared in the Tamil media. Mark Whitaker explores Tamil attitudes towards the war’s end among Tamils in Sri Lanka and abroad. He makes a compelling argument about how both the Rajapaksa government and the international community appeared to agree upon Tamil attitudes after the war, characterising the Tamil community as war-weary and thus having “abandoned militancy and nationalism in favour of pragmatism” (p. 184). Through the analysis of a number of interviews with Tamils in Sri Lanka and among the diasporic community in Canada, Whitaker dissects this simplistic assumption in order to show that the ethnic conflict and the war have created a complex epistemological legacy which ren-

ders comprehensive assertions about people's views extremely difficult (p. 187) – a point that cannot be stressed enough, considering that open expression was particularly constrained during the Rajapaksa years. In the volume's final chapter Amarnath Amarasingam calls for a more nuanced view of the influential Tamil diaspora, which is generally portrayed as “overly radical and fundamentally corrosive to the prospects of peace in Sri Lanka” (p. 203).

The volume offers a comprehensive overview of the social and political problems that were caused by the war and remain largely unresolved to this day. With its contributions from sociology, anthropology, history, religious studies, law and politics, the collection is well structured, as the chapters of each section are interrelated in their scope, thus rendering possible a comparative perspective on issues in post-war Sri Lanka. Beyond that, the “new” lines of religious conflict that have resulted directly from the war's end are also analysed in some depth.

The editors Amarnath Amarasingam and Daniel Bass stress that the articles should be read as a “cumulative critique [...] of the policy-oriented ‘lessons learnt’ literature” (p. 6). This is an important contention, as transitions from war to peace are of a procedural nature and, as becomes increasingly clear throughout the book, Sri Lanka has yet to move from a post-war to a post-conflict situation. Hence, the reviewed volume proves to be a valuable point of departure for all those investigating violent intra-state conflicts and war-to-peace transitions in South Asia and beyond.

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ANDREAS MARGARA, *Der Amerikanische Krieg. Erinnerungskultur in Vietnam*. Berlin: regiospectra, 2012. 154 pages, €19.90. ISBN 978-3-9401-3248-2

The book begins with the famous meeting between Robert McNamara and Vo Nguyen Giap in Hanoi in November of 1955, a scene which is also notable in the documentary “The Fog of War” from the American director Errol Morris. While McNamara is hoping for reconciliation through the meeting, Giap still considers the American attack, in the context of that period, as foreign “aggression”. Therefore, he sees no reason for any critical discussion of Vietnam's wartime past.

Andreas Margara chooses this scene as the introduction to his monograph on the culture of remembrance in Vietnam. On the one hand, in the course of his analysis Margara considers the public representation of the so-called “American War”. On the other hand, he analyses the private processing of