

Contents

PUBLICATION	Page
Louis Kriesberg <i>-reviewed by Roger Mac Ginty</i> Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution	3
Michael E Brown & Richard N Rosencrance Eds <i>-reviewed by Alan Bullion</i> The Costs of Conflict: Prevention and Cure in the Global Arena	3
Jack David Eller <i>- reviewed by James R Scarritt,</i> From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict: An Anthropological Perspective on International Ethnic Conflict	3
<i>Ho-Won Jeong Ed - reviewed by Stephanie Donlon</i> Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure	4
Hakan Wiberg & Christian P Scherrer Eds <i>-reviewed by John Ginkel</i> Ethnicity and Intra-State Conflict: Types, causes and peace strategies	4
Glen Fisher <i>- reviewed by Eghosa E Osaghae</i> The Mind Factor in Ethnic Conflict: A Cross-Cultural Agenda	5
Kimberly A Maynard <i>-reviewed by Barbara Callaway</i> Healing Communities in Conflict: International Assistance in Complex Emergencies	5
<i>Ho-Won Jeong Ed -reviewed by Oliver Ramsbotham</i> The New Agenda for Peace Research	6
Robert L Rothstein Ed <i>-reviewed by John Darby</i> After the Peace: Resistance & Reconciliation	6
John Boli & George M Thomas- <i>reviewed by Bridget Conley</i> Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875	7
Thomas M Wilson & Hastings Donnan Eds <i>-reviewed by Alan Bullion</i> Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers	7
John A Hall Ed <i>-reviewed by James G Kellas</i> The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism	8
Stuart S Nagel <i>- reviewed by Amit Prakash</i> Policy Within and Across Developing Nations	8
Alpo M Rusi <i>- reviewed by Paul Arthur</i> Dangerous Peace: New Rivalry in World Politics	9
Christian Joppke Ed <i>- reviewed by Rohit Barot</i> Challenge to the State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States	9
Steven Vertovec Ed <i>- reviewed by Eva Østergaard-Nielsen</i> Migration and Social Cohesion	10
Frances Nicholuson & Patrick Twomey <i>-reviewed by Nigel Hunt</i> Refugees, Rights and Realities: Evolving International Concepts and Regimes	11
Frances Nicholuson & Patrick Twomey <i>-reviewed by Richard Burchill</i> Refugees, Rights and Realities: Evolving International Concepts and Regimes	11
Viva Ona Bartkus <i>- reviewed by Roger Mac Ginty</i> The Dynamic of Secession	12
Mark Levene & Penny Roberts Eds <i>- reviewed by Emilian Kavalski</i> The Massacre in History	12
Patrick Hanafin & Melissa S Williams <i>-reviewed by Sue Williams</i> Identity, Rights and Constitutional Transformation	12
Katherine Verdery <i>- reviewed by Brandon Hamber</i> The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change	13
Thomas Risse, Stephen C Ropp & Kathryn Sikkink Eds <i>- reviewed by Denise Magill</i> The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change	14
Sebastian Poulter <i>- reviewed by Brice Dickson</i> Ethnicity, Law and Human Rights: the English Experience	14
Joanne R Bauer & Daniel A Bell Eds <i>- reviewed by Yoichi Mine</i> The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights	15
Ross Mallick <i>- reviewed by Thomas Brister</i> Development, Ethnicity and Human Rights in South Asia	16
Peter Neville <i>- reviewed by Frederick M Schweitzer</i> The Holocaust	16
Harry James Cargas Ed- <i>reviewed by Frederick M Schweitzer</i> Problems Unique to the Holocaust	17
Richard Joseph Ed <i>- reviewed by Patrick M Boyle</i> State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa	17
Gregory F. Houston- <i>reviewed by Steve Williams</i> The National Liberation Struggle in South Africa: A case study of the United Democratic Front, 1983-87	18
Siri Gamage & I B Watson Eds- <i>reviewed by Alan Bullion</i> Conflict and Community in Contemporary Sri Lanka: 'Pearl of the East' or 'Island of Tears'?	18
G Aloysius <i>-reviewed by John R Wood</i> Nationalism without a Nation in India	19
David Chandler <i>- reviewed by Nicholas Whyte</i> Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton	20
Julie A Mertus <i>- reviewed by Alan Bullion</i> Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War	21
Kyryl Drezov Bulent Gokay & Denisa Kostovicova Eds <i>- reviewed by Marie-Therese Fay</i> Kosovo: Myths, Conflict and War	21
Martin Baldwin-Edwards & Joaquin Arango Eds <i>-reviewed by Eva Østergaard-Nielsen</i> Immigrants and the Informal Economy in Southern Europe	22

Graham Smith, Vivien Law, Andrew Wilson Annette Bohr & Edward Allworth - reviewed by Kate Robertson		Kate Fearon - reviewed by Gillian Robinson	
Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identity	22	Women's Work: The Story of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition	33
Ilya Prizel - reviewed by Thomas F Remington		Norman Porter - reviewed by Linda McLean Harned	
National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine	23	Rethinking Unionism: An Alternative vision for Northern Ireland	34
David R Maples - reviewed by Thomas Ambrosio		J Morgan Kous - reviewed by Clive Webb	
Belarus: A Denationalized Nation	23	Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction	34
Carolyn Rhodes Ed - reviewed by Stelios Stavrides		Kenneth Mostern - reviewed by Tunde Adeleke	
The European Union in the World Community	24	Autobiography and Black identity Politics: Racialization in Twentieth-Century America	35
Jacob Metzger - reviewed by Ellis Goldberg		Sterling Johnson - reviewed by John McCartney	
The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine	25	Black Globalism: The International Politics of a Non-state Nation	35
Kathleen Christison - reviewed by Ishtiaq Hossein		A Leon Higginbotham Jr - reviewed by Rachel Barbour	
Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on US Middle East Policy	25	Shades of Freedom: Racial Politics and presumptions of the American Legal Process	36
Israel Shahak & Norton Mezvinsky - reviewed by Gordon Peake		Barbara Dianne Savage - reviewed by Tunde Adeleke	
Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel	26	Broadcasting Freedom: radio, War, and the Politics of Race 1938-1948	36
R Stephen Humphreys - reviewed by Vincent Durac		Erma Jean Lawson & Aaron Thompson - reviewed by Wanda Rushing	
Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age	26	Black Men and Divorce	37
Harvey F Kline - reviewed by Jenny Pearce		Robert G Lee - reviewed by Lucie Cheng	
State Building and Conflict Resolution in Colombia, 1986-1994	27	Oriental: Asian Americans in Popular Culture	37
Kenneth M Roberts - reviewed by Rosario Espinal		Jere Takahashi - reviewed by Diane Fujino	
Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru	28	Nisei/Sansei: shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics	38
David McKittrick, Seamus Kelters, Brian Feeney & Chris Thorton - reviewed by Martin Melaugh		Arthur Gribben Ed - reviewed by Paul Arthur	
Lost Lives: The stories of the men, women, and children who died as a result of the Northern Ireland troubles	29	The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America	39
Colin Crawford - reviewed by Kris Brown		Edward J Escobar - reviewed by Patience A Schell	
Defenders or Criminals: Loyalist Prisoners and Criminalisation	30	Race, Police and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department 1900-1945	39
Richard Needham - reviewed by Michael von Tangen Page		Ellen Bigler - reviewed by Heather McPhail	
Battling for Peace	30	American Conversations: Puerto Ricans, White Ethnics, and Multicultural Education	40
David McKittrick - reviewed by Kristine Hoglund		Paul Ong Ed - reviewed by Heather McPhail	
Through the Minefield	31	Impacts of Affirmative Action: Policies and Consequences in California	41
Cathal McCall - reviewed by Landon Hancock		Troy R Johnson Ed - reviewed by Patricia Penn Hilden	
Identity in Northern Ireland: Communities, Politics and Change	31	Contemporary Native American Political Issues	41
Patrick J Roche & Brian Barton Eds - reviewed by Norbert Schnitzler		Colin Kidd - reviewed by Anna-Kaisa Kuusisto	
The Northern Ireland Question: Nationalism, Unionism and Partition	32	British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800	42
John P Harrington & Elizabeth J Mitchell Eds - reviewed by Ben Levitas		Tony Waters - reviewed by Dick Hobbs	
Politics and Contemporary Performance in Northern Ireland	32	Crime and Immigrant Youth	42
		Miri Song - reviewed by Thomas D Cavenagh	
		Helping Out: Childrens Labor in Ethnic Businesses	43

Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution

Louis Kriesberg

(Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998) 320pp.
Index. Hb.: \$65.00; ISBN 0-8476-8891-7. Pb.: \$24.95; ISBN
0-8476-8892-5

Louis Kriesberg's book is a gift to those of us attempting to make sense of what often seem to be senseless conflicts. We must thank him! He takes a forensic, step-by-step approach to understanding the escalation of conflict. His aim is straightforward: 'People need to hear the stories of struggles that have avoided extreme contention and violence, had limited destructive episodes and resulted in considerable mutual benefits.'(1) While an optimistic core runs throughout the book, Kriesberg has few illusions about the resilience of contemporary conflict. Furthermore, he makes it clear that conflicts are complex, operate at multiple levels and are prone to unexpected developments.

The book is organised according to the course of a conflict, with chapters devoted to emerging, escalating and de-escalating conflict. There are also chapters on the basis of social conflict, alternative conflict strategies, intermediaries and negotiations. Each is subjected to a thorough analysis. The chapter on intermediaries, for example, begins with an explanation of thirteen activities intermediaries can play in a conflict.(233-230) This is followed by an annotated list of nine roles intermediaries can occupy in a conflict situation. After that, the importance of the context in which intermediaries operate is explored. Links are made with the literature from a wide range of sources and challenging ideas are promoted.

The book is highly recommended, not least because it is written in comprehensible English. It is unburdened by jargon and avoids the stream of consciousness literary style so favoured by many in the field of conflict studies.

Roger Mac Ginty
Lancaster University

The Costs of Conflict: Prevention and Cure in the Global Arena

Edited by Michael E Brown & Richard
N Rosencrance

(Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield/Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1999) 278pp. Index. Hb.: £50.00;
ISBN 0-8476-8893-3. Pb.: £21.95; ISBN 0-8476-8894-1.

This multi-author work represents yet another collection of disparate short synopses on recent contemporary

conflicts. The editors have usefully divided the book up into classifications of failed preventions (Bosnia; Rwanda; Somalia; Haiti; the Persian Gulf), initial prevention (Macedonia and interestingly Slovakia), and mid-course prevention (Cambodia and El Salvador). The conclusion seems to be that earlier pre-emptive intervention would be less costly, primarily for the US. On this point alone, one could hardly disagree. Yet the "costs" of conflict are also very much about avoiding human casualties and injuries, and the eradication of hunger and poverty, as the recent response to the aftermath of the referendum result in East Timor amply demonstrates. This title would have benefited from more specific concentration on the "humanitarian" costs and consequences of not avoiding the escalation of conflicts at a much earlier stage. Then both dollars and lives would be saved in abundance.

Dr Alan Bullion
The Open University

From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict: An Anthropological Perspective on International Ethnic Conflict

Jack David Eller

(Ann Arbor, MN: University of Michigan Press, 1999) 368pp.
Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$54.50; ISBN 0-472-10961-8. Pb.: \$19.95;
ISBN 0-472-08538-7.

This book begins with two theoretical chapters and concludes with five case study chapters. The former chapters (on anthropological and other concepts related to ethnicity, nationalism, culture and the past from Herder to Crapanzano by way of Marx, Lenin, Boas, Weber, Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard, Gluckman, Furnivall, Leach, Glazer and Moynihan, Geertz, Barth, Shils, Anderson, Hymes and others) inform the discussion of the five very different cases (Sri Lanka, the Kurds, Rwanda and Burundi, Bosnia and Quebec), but there is no attempt to draw comparative theoretical conclusions from these cases. Eller sets out to demonstrate the total incorrectness of primordialism as a theory and its inapplicability to all of the cases. Along the way he demonstrates a command of a very wide range of theoretical and case study literature from several disciplines. The book is well worth the reader's time on the basis of Eller's erudition alone, especially if those readers are students, for whom the book was written.

For this reviewer, Eller's attack on primordialism is justified in many respects but is too extreme. His definition of it is very narrow, leading him to reject George Scott's suggestion that it should be combined with circumstantialism to more completely explain ethnic

phenomena. Eller seems to say that ethnicity is completely socially constructed, ignoring the distinction made recently by Paris Yeros, among others, between circumstantialism and constructivism. The case studies offer detailed histories of constructed ethnicities, but do not really disprove that they have some degree of primordial base. For Eller, however, primordialism is not a matter of degree. In his discussion of Rwanda and Burundi, the cases in the book that this reviewer knows best, Eller presents a wealth of detail on changes in the meaning, unity and power of Tutsi and Hutu during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-independence periods, and the significantly different patterns of these changes in the two countries. But he acknowledges that the two groups have existed for some time, with at least a significant ethnic component to their identities.

James R Scarritt
University of Colorado at Boulder

Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure

Edited by Ho-Won Jeong

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 238pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £45.00
ISBN 1-8401-4083-6

The contributors to *Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process, and Structure* attempt to bridge the gap between intra-personal, interpersonal, and societal-based discourse on conflict resolution. This volume focuses on the interplay between social and psychological influences of conflict and its resolution. Following a broad overview by Ho-Won Jeong of the current conflict resolution theory, Christopher Mitchell argues for the conception of de-escalation as a separate entity from escalation. Mitchell highlights the intra-party as well as inter-party processes that occur during de-escalation and suggests several characteristics of successful de-escalation. Ho-Won Jeong and Tarja Vayrynen explain the ways in which the promotion of particular identities lead to violent strife and analyze the means of transforming social identities. Promoting interactive dialogue and conflict analysis as a means of successful reconciliation, Ronald Fisher explains the processes and results of conflict and analysis supporting reconciliation. Continuing the theme of reconciliation, Dr. Louis Kriesberg considers the process of developing mutually conciliatory accommodation between Contentious parties. He suggests structural, experiential and interpersonal methods of promoting mutual accommodation. Considering the impact of mass social violence, Malvern Lumsden suggests that post-war societies have social, political, and economic stress in conjunction with psychological trauma. As individual and

small group therapeutic treatments are insufficient means for reconstructing the macro-level of society, Lumsden proposes methods of bridging the reconstruction of society and self on the community level. Franklin Dukes explains the role of structural forces, such as cultural, class, gender and racial differences, in social conflict and their influence on conflict resolution efforts. From another viewpoint, Richard Rubenstein suggests that the structural conditions of hegemonic power relations need to be restructured for the resolution of conflict. Rubenstein acknowledges that the deep social culture influenced by the current socioeconomic system provides a challenge in changing social structure in which conflict is imbedded.

Overall, this volume answers the challenge of forming a systematic way of thinking about and creating conceptual strategies for a future knowledge bank of conflict resolution practice. This body of work further encourages theorists and practitioners to continue the dialogue.

Stephanie Donlon
ICAR, George Mason University

Ethnicity and Intra-State Conflict: Types, causes and peace strategies

Edited by Hakan Wiberg & Christian P
Scherrer

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 338pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.:
£42.50 ISBN 1-8401-4713-X

The vast majority, ten of fourteen, of the essays in this collection address theoretical and conceptual issues surrounding the study of ethnic conflict: measures of ethnic conflict, literature reviews, musings on the micro-foundations of ethnic conflict, and propositions for conflict resolution. The four case studies that comprise the concluding section come as a welcome relief; finally, some empirical detail. The very best of these essays focus on the micro-foundations and individual level motivations behind conflict behavior. For example, Tarja Vayrynen's and Ralf Ronnquist's essays present some engaging, though surface, conceptions for the interaction between ethnic identity and individual action. Each author falls within the "social constructionist" school of ethnicity. Vayrynen offers the idea of individuals possessing an "identity budget;" Ronnquist distinguishes between ethnic identity and identification. For each author, identity is passive, whereas identification requires an active component where one consciously acts in accordance with the most salient component of their identity. Though neither author clearly specifies the

mechanism that activates one component of identity over any other, they ascribe a great deal of agency to social context, political rhetoric, and elite motivation. This common thread helps to unify the essays in this volume, but there is one, almost amusing, disjuncture in this theme. Christian Scherrer, in one of the introductory essays that attempts to justify the study of ethnic conflict, analyzes conflict data from 1985 to 1996. He finds that two-thirds of all conflicts in this time period had a “dominant or influential ethnic character (53).” Yet, Tamara Dragadze, in the volume’s most insightful piece, questions the pervasiveness of ethnic conflict. She argues that the term, itself, serves as a camouflage for violations of human rights. The ethnification of conflicts distracts attention from the true causes of violence between groups, and it is, thus, important to look behind what the interested parties are saying in order to attain some measure of conflict resolution. The essays in this volume are too short to provide any strong conclusions, but they constitute an interesting series of research agendas and well documented literature reviews that make this an interesting compilation of conceptual and semantic thought exercises.

John Ginkel
Washington University in St. Louis.

The Mind Factor in Ethnic Conflict: A Cross-Cultural Agenda

Glen Fisher

(Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1998) 114pp. Index. Bibl.
Pb.: \$15.95. ISBN 1-877864-60-9.

For their pervasiveness, intractability, and the serious dangers they pose to peace and stability within states and the global system, virulent and deadly ethnic conflicts can be regarded as defining elements of the world time of the post-Cold War era. If this is the case, should we not now accept ethnic conflicts as normal rather than pathological? Should we continue to regard analysis and management or resolution of ethnic conflicts as something outside the purview of mainstream international relations theory and practice? Why are these conflicts intractable, and what new tools and approaches are available to policy makers, mediators and international agencies who are guided by ethnocentric Western postulates and often have to deal with conflicts in societies they know little about? These are the sorts of questions that provoked Fisher’s book. In particular, he is interested in how attempts to deal with ethnic conflicts by international relations experts and policy makers, who confront 11 real-life 11 situations of conflict that do not always conform to abstract formulations and conventional wisdom, can be enhanced.

I believe he has tackled the questions fairly competently, by extending the psychological perspective of ethnicity.

The point of departure for Fisher is that ethnic conflicts are not abnormal and that although they occur within particular (historical, economic, social and cultural) contexts, the mobilisation they entail are similar. Perhaps what is common to all ethnic conflicts, but has not been given the attention it deserves, is the critical relevance of ethnic-specific psychology. It is this gap that Fisher tries to fill by emphasising the fundamentality of mindsets, that is, mental attitudes which are at once products of history, culture, ethical considerations of rightness and wrongness, to the understanding of ethnic conflicts and attempts to deal with them. Having elaborated on the conceptual ramifications of mindsets, the author then discuss five problem areas arising from the application of the strategy, and concludes with a checklist of pertinent practical considerations that should guide interventions in conflicts. I am sure that mediators and international relations experts who want a good mix of theory and “practical guides” will find this book very useful. One can however take issues with the author for suggesting that ethnic conflicts are a normal consequence of cultural differences, and that mindsets that govern ethnic behaviours rather fixed. But this takes nothing away from the author’s point that knowing where those in conflict are “coming from” provides the practical key to unravelling the mysteries of ethnic conflicts.

Eghosa E Osaghae
University of Ibadan, Nigeria

Healing Communities in Conflict: International Assistance in Complex Emergencies

Kimberly A Maynard

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 245pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: \$32.00/£21.95; ISBN 0-231-11278-5.

Kimberly Maynard’s “Healing Communities in Conflict” is a valuable and essential book to read for scholars, policy-makers, and practitioners who work in the field of complex human emergencies. It is also a very frustrating book.

In describing the complex human tragedies that have shredded societies and any concept of international world order from Rwanda to Chechnya, from Bosnia and Kosovo to Liberia and Somalia, Maynard is superb. In describing the short-sightedness of both state and NGO involvement in such emergencies, the degree and depth of civilian tragedy, and the complexities of devising long-term

strategies to restructure such societies in ways that both guard against continued disruption and assure the growth of civil society, she has performed a great service.

It is the last two chapters of the book, however, in which Maynard attempts to conceptualize a process of community rehabilitation and social reconstruction, a process of rebuilding and reintegrating societies torn asunder by civil and military trauma, that the book becomes an exercise in frustration. Research studies are alluded to, but citations are not provided. She is strong on the prerequisites for rebuilding civil communities, on the “musts,” but not on the “how’s”. Yes, such a process should focus on human needs and security, but how is such a process to be funded — who pays, who structures the process, how is it to be monitored? She is strong on prescription (outlining the steps that precede a process of rehabilitation, for instance), but is short on a process of implementation.

In short, this is a very necessary, but very frustrating book. It outlines the scope of the problem and the steps needed to comprehend and design strategies for coping with the complex humanitarian emergencies that define our new world order. But, in the end, Maynard has no more idea than the rest of us as to how to cope in the real world of politicians and policy-makers. For, as stated in a proverb quoted by Maynard, “the problem of rebuilding houses can be solved. But the problems of rebuilding souls is difficult.”

Barbara Callaway
Rutgers University

The New Agenda for Peace Research

Edited by Ho-Won Jeong

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 365pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £60.00;
ISBN 1-84014-082-8. Pb.: £25.00; ISBN 1-84014-089-5.

Although, given its nature as a collection of fifteen somewhat disparate essays, this volume does not amount to the ‘conceptually coherent map’ promised in the introduction, it is to be welcomed as a creative exploration of current themes in peace research. Traditional concerns such as disarmament, war prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, needs theory and non-violence are still in evidence. This reflects enduring core values: the search for ways in which actually or potentially violent conflict can be transmuted into non-violent processes of political and social change. But the whole enterprise is now set within a broader transformative agenda which looks towards the evolution of a culturally pluralistic, non-hegemonic, post-statist world order, with additional chapters on identity, self-determination, environmental

security, alternative development, the emergence of regional civil societies, and the impact of globalisation and fragmentation on the state system. In a thoughtful opening chapter the editor sketches a general outline of this emancipatory programme, and refers obliquely to ‘emancipatory empiricism’ as a possibly unifying methodological orientation. This is not taken further, however. Chadwick Alder’s pertinent chronological and functional analysis of twenty-four ‘tools for peacebuilders’ at the beginning is also helpful. But without a general overall summary at the end, and closer cross-referencing between authors, this promising collaborative undertaking is left more as an intriguing set of signposts than an integrated research agenda.

So far as concerns ethnic conflict, there are recurrent references throughout the book, with most contributors interpreting it more as a manifestation of political manipulation or of more general distortion in local, regional and global political economies than as a separate issue in its own right. Jennifer Jackson Preece offers the most direct analysis here in a chapter on self-determination and minority rights. Unlike most others, who see the remedy in a radical transcending of traditional statist norms, she concludes her lucid analysis by arguing that, although the ‘requirements of international order and stability’ must still have priority over the ‘rights of ethnonational minorities’, the potential of ethnic conflict to impact on international order makes it a legitimate topic for international relations, and that states have a consequent duty derived from international responsibilities to ‘promote a respect for human and minority rights both within and beyond their own sovereign territories’ (207-8).

This book is to be recommended as a rich source of insight into what Hayward Alker in his foreword calls ‘mature peace research’.

Dr Oliver Ramsbotham
University of Bradford

After the Peace: Resistance & Reconciliation

Edited by Robert L Rothstein

(Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999) 265pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.:
£39.95; ISBN 1-55587-828-8. Distributed by Eurospan)

Three pairs of case studies, on Israel-Palestine, Northern Ireland and Bosnia, form the core of this book. In each case two contributors, one from each side of the main ethnic chasm, presents their views on the peace process. This editorial device only partially succeeds. It makes too many assumptions: that the authors in some sense represent their communities; that they address the same

issues; and that they are working to a master editorial scheme. The two contributions on the Israeli-Palestinian process, while each is interesting, are unbalanced. Khalis Shikaki focuses on Palestinian public opinion, a much under-studied subject, and treats it well; the chapter by Moshe Ma'oz recounts the post-Oslo peace accords. It would have been more interesting to look at Jewish public opinion or, alternatively, to have a Palestinian perspective on the process. The subjects are too far apart.

The pairing is better coordinated in the two contributions on Bosnia. Susan Woodward combines an excellent narrative and analysis of post-Dayton Bosnia. Dusko Doder's 'Reflections on a Schizophrenic Peace' brilliantly conveys how ordinary people are affected by war; it approaches the same subject more personally and consequently provides an alternative perspective.

The chapters by Paul Arthur - a particularly erudite contribution - and Duncan Morrow on Northern Ireland are more complementary. Together they succeed not only in conveying how the process is viewed differently by Unionists and Nationalists, but in providing analytical alternatives on peace-making.

There is much of real value in the book. The final chapters, by Herbert Kelman, Donald Shriver, add social-psychological and moral perspectives, and the editor's chapter argues convincingly that post-accord periods are 'sufficiently distinct to warrant independent analysis'. The literature on peace processes has suffered from a tendency to be buried in a mass of general comparisons. The time has come to isolate specific aspects of the process for more careful analysis, as this book has done.

John Darby
Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame.

Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875

John Boli & George M Thomas

(Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999)
363pp. Index. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-8047-3421-6. Pb.:
£11.95; ISBN 0-8047-3422-4.

The essays in this collection do not mention ethnic conflict and that is why they should interest people who work in this field.

Each of the essays argue that traditional theories of international relations which focus primarily on states should be supplemented by research on international

"culture" as it is formed through the activities and practices of International Non-governmental Organizations (INGO's). From environmental groups, to women's movements, Esperanto, and the Red Cross, among other areas, these essays document an international stage where non-state actors play active roles and form effective coalitions. To support their arguments, the essays make a case for the overarching contributions and nature of international culture. This is where their conclusions are troubling.

While the editors acknowledge that increased global contact does not necessarily mean peace, they include conflict only to the extent that universal values and particular communities form a dialectic which in the end strengthens "humanity." For them, every individual is a potential actor on an international stage whose value rests in rational solutions to social problems and firm commitment to furthering the "grand human project" (40). Such an ethical valuation of international culture fits in with the idealistic self-rationalization of many INGO's, but fails to take stock of the silence, closed doors, and self-indulgent hand-wringing of the "international community" that accompanied the slaughter of Armenians, Jews, Cambodians, Bosnians and Rwandans—to name only a few of the atrocities that have scarred this century. In today's tally for the contest of violence versus "humanity," its anyone's game.

By all means, research on INGO's is a necessary addition to more traditionally state-centered theories of international relations. But this research should not rest on the same assumptions that foreground its object of analysis—that more internationalism equals unmitigated progress. The editors conclude the text by hoping that their work "raises more questions than it answers" (300). I believe it does and hope that even more questions follow, because without these questions the challenges of "world polity" could easily fade into a mere alias for self-congratulation.

Bridget Conley
Binghamton University

Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers

Edited by Thomas M Wilson &
Hastings Donnan

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 301pp.
Index. Hb.: ISBN 0-521-58315-2. Pb.: ISBN 0-521-58745-X.

This title unfortunately promises more than it delivers. It is purported to offer "fresh insights into the complex and various ways in which international frontiers influence cultural identities" (cover blurb), albeit from an anthropological perspective. However, whilst the ten

individual papers contained herein are in themselves intrinsically fascinating, as a whole the book suffers from being less than the sum of its parts, which must be attributed more to the editors than to the erudite chapter authors themselves. This is unfortunately all too common a fault of edited collections of papers from conferences and similar events, which often lack a thematic overview and coherent framework. The book can be recommended for its various disquisitions on Catalonia, Mexico, Palestine, Zimbabwe, Malaysia, Turkey etc. However, it is difficult to see such a collection appealing either to the area specialist or to the general student, both of whom may feel equally frustrated and short-changed.

Dr Alan Bullion
The Open University

The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the theory of Nationalism

Edited by John A Hall

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 317pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 0-521-63324-9. Pb.: ISBN 0-521-63366-4.

Ernest Gellner, who died in 1995, was a philosopher and social anthropologist who became very well-known as an authority on nationalism after the publication of his *Nations and Nationalism* in 1983. He was already a prestigious academic, so anything he said about nationalism was given close attention. This was unlike the writings of other experts on nationalism, such as Walker Connor, which were known only to specialists. However, students of ethnic conflict have more to gain in reading Connor than Gellner, for Gellner was more concerned with large historical matters rather than with contemporary conflicts, although his posthumous *Nationalism* (1997) did pay attention to the break-up of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

This collection of essays, running to 317 pages, is partly concerned with arguments over Gellner's theory, which links the emergence of nationalism to the coming of the modern industrial state, and is partly the opportunity for the authors to propound their own interpretations of national and ethnic conflict, with only a loose connection to Gellner's theory. For those interested in ethnic conflict, the latter are more rewarding, in particular the piece by Rogers Brubaker.

It is clear that on the whole the political scientists have more to offer in the field of conflict studies than the sociologists and philosophers. That is because, as Brendan O'Leary of the Department of Government at LSE notes,

it is political more than social conflict which comes to the fore in contemporary nationalism and ethnicity. Unfortunately, according to O'Leary, Gellner's theory is 'apolitical', being largely concerned with economic and social matters.

A 'political' theory of nationalism and ethnicity would be more appropriate in explaining what is going in the world today, because Gellner's modernity theory is already out-of-date. 'Modernity' has been replaced by 'post-modernity', and the homogeneous nation-state is not as functional in the contemporary world as globalisation and multiculturalism.

Meanwhile, however, struggles for statehood, ethnic rights, etc. continue. Why? Because people are unhappy with 'rule by foreigners' who tend to humiliate them on a regular basis. Given the opportunity, they will break away to rule themselves. This can happen at any time, unpredicted by theories such as Gellner's. There are other, better, theories available, but they tend to come from psychologists, biologists, and obscure political scientists, not from sociologists and philosophers.

James G Kellas
University of Glasgow

Policy Within and Across Developing Nations

Stuart S Nagel

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 175pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 1-84014-019-4.

The study analyses economic, technology, social, political and legal policy within and across developing countries. USIA Win-Win Travelling Seminars seem to have provided much of the material for this book. The purported goal is economic development but the underlying politics of advancing US interests is the central theme.

Ethnic conflict in the contemporary world, especially in Bosnia, is seen as an opportune *entrée* for US intervention. A good summary of "Emergency Nations" (pp. 17-28) facing ethnic strife is provided but policy options suggested are designed to entrench US interests rather than assist development in these countries. The book offers a series of policy recommendations for *American policy* towards developing countries, especially those facing ethnic problems. Although the social and economic goals are consensual, the countries concerned will vigorously contest the envisaged extent of US intervention in their domestic affairs.

The study proposes a matrix to arrive at Super-Optimal Solutions (SOS) to policy problems in the developing world. It focuses on the “close positive relationship between peace, democracy, and prosperity” (p. xvi) in order to boost American trade, income and influence. In many fields the US model is advocated as a panacea to all ills! The *Win-Win* developmental administration model proposed to arrive at SOS in which everyone ends up ahead of their exceptions, is premised on a sanitised view of development administration.

David W. Felder’s paper deftly sums up the state of the discipline of Peace Studies in the US and points out their emphasis on ‘negative peace’ without adequate focus on ‘positive peace’. The chapter entitled “Exporting Democratic Rights as a Product” advocates a ‘Win-Win alternative’ of trade liberalisation to “help America’s power in the world” (p. 84) with ideological exports bundled in. A queer logic of exporting free speech and human rights like cellular phones, irrespective of the political context, is advocated! The faith invested in the efficacy of market mechanism with international economic communities as the SOS, is put to severe test by ground realities.

Vasant Moharir’s splendid paper stresses the importance of training policymakers from developing countries in the tools of policymaking. He contends that policies are not so much a product of technical excellence and modeling as of analytical understanding of the given situation with the political context defining the limits of the possible.

The bibliography by Robert Hunt on developmental studies and Craig Webster and David Cingranelli on human rights is extensive.

Dr Amit Prakash
Center for Policy Research

Dangerous Peace: New Rivalry in World Politics

Alpo M Rusi

(Oxford: Westview Press, 1998) 208pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.:
£17.50; ISBN 0-8133-3496-9

Long before anyone anticipated the end of the Cold War there were those who were contemplating the variety of contradictory tendencies in the international system. Kratochwil, for example, was identifying one of the identifiable traits in the system as ‘the result of the power differentials among nations and the tensions between bounded political systems and unbounded exchanges such as economic, ideological or informational transactions’. That is one of the major themes in this book in which

Alpo Rusi moves from a prior interest in European matters to adopting a more dynamic approach to the lack of a global security system in the new world order. Rusi centres his remarks on the concepts of “geoeconomics” and “geopolitics” neatly encapsulated in an epigraph from Louis Pauly: ‘The logic of markets is borderless, but the logic of politics remains bounded’.

The tension contained within that one statement is one indication as to why we are living under an uneasy system of complex interdependence. At one end of the continuum is the United States’ role in the new World Order with a foreign policy which has been described by one commentator as ‘hubris and fragmentation’, and a self-perception as night watchman and moral compass. At the other end are the security and geopolitical repercussions of the rise of China and a sino-centred Asia as a world power centre. Somewhere in the middle is the ‘decamping of the state from the commanding heights’, to quote Yergin and Stanislaw. Add to that the uncertain role of the World Trade Organisation as demonstrated so uncertainly towards the end of last year in Seattle. The author’s conclusion to all of this is that we are departing the American century and leaning towards the Asian and Pacific century.

Rusi handles all of this complexity with considerable sophistication, remarkable learning and great lucidity. He has worn his scholarship lightly to produce a provocative and worrying analysis. If we are to garner some comfort from all of these trends perhaps we should return to Kratochwil and his concept of “functional regimes” which, it was hoped, ‘would not only downgrade the importance of national boundaries, but could, through the expansion of transboundary cooperative networks, lead to “peace in parts”’.

Paul Arthur
University of Ulster

Challenge to the State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States

Edited by Christian Joppke

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 360pp. Index. Bibl.
Hb.: £40.00; ISBN 0-19-829229-5.

This book examines the effect of immigration, globalization, transnationalism and growing importance of human rights on sovereignty and citizenship in the EU and the United States.

Authors quote Yasemin Soysal’s argument that migrants rights are rights of ‘personhood’ (p.25) implemented by

the states and legitimated by discourse of human rights. But her assertion about European citizenship as postnational membership is a complex mixture of realities and probabilities. Joppke asserts that 'European citizenship is subsidiary and complementary to, not substitutive of national membership (p. 29). Saskia Sassen and Rey Koslowski' reach different conclusions. Examining harmonisation of intra-European migration policy, Koslowski says, '...member states have ceded sovereignty with respect to the migration of EU nationals within the Union (p.167) and suggests that retention of sovereignty may be more symbolic than substantive (p.177). Saskia Sassen also says, 'we see the beginning of displacement of government functions on to a non-governmental or quasi governmental institutions (p.72). Gary Freeman, however argues that 'liberal states generally have more capacity to control migration than is typically recognised (p.93). In comparing US, Germany and Britain on asylum and sovereignty, Joppke shows clearly the liberal regime in the US and Germany have had to live with less restrictionist policy. Germany allowed near automatic entry to asylum seekers following Article 16 of the Basic Law that stipulated, 'Politically persecuted enjoy the right of asylum' (p.122). Now Germany has a restrictive regime through harmonisation of EU immigration policy, and as Joppke argues, Germany reasserts its sovereignty through EU harmonisation. According to his assessment, Britain provides the most striking case of 'unbending sovereignty' (p.130) and asserts that 'Britain is now known as one of Europe's most notorious human rights offenders' (p.131) for its discriminatory treatment of its own citizens and non-citizens alike.

Challenge to Citizenship section examines dynamics of citizenship and non-citizenship in relation to welfare in the US and the relationship between the Federal Government and the states which limit the power of the state. Miriam Feldbulm outlines reconfiguration of citizenship as the ties between the states transcend a national policy. Using Soysal's principle of personhood as a post-national norm, she suggests that the transnational loyalties will displace national citizenship in favour of EU Citizenship. Virginie Guiraudon argues that decision making by a small band of elites behind the closed door can best provide extension of rights to non-citizens. Adrian Favell's narrative on the rise of Muslim politics in Britain after the Rushdie case is not unproblematic in his assertion that 'Muslims' cardinal sin was to question the sovereignty of the British Law when Kalim Siddiqui set up the Muslim Parliament. The absurdity of equating Muslim Parliament with the British National Parliament is patently obvious. Muslim Parliament emerged as a body that gave voice to hurt feelings of Muslims in Rushdie affair. Favell's contention that 'these events contributed to the growing tension between 'Islam and the West' (p.328) has to be examined, not in some locality like Bradford but in relation to revival of Islam in 1980s and its effects on Muslims everywhere. More importantly, his observations on British Europhobia and implications of devolution for minority groups in Britain merit careful attention.

Without pretending to provide any ready made answers for complex ways in which sovereignty and citizenship are likely to be affected by migration, transnationalism and globalisation, the book raises issues for the formation of policy that upholds the spirit of human rights and Soysal's vision of postnational membership which respects personhood in troubled humanity of our times.

Rohit Barot
University of Bristol

Migration and Social Cohesion

Edited by Steven Vertovec

(Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1999) 576pp. Index. Hb.:
£125.00; ISBN 1-8589-8868-3

This book is part of a series of (quite costly) volumes on different dimensions of migration. Each volume contains twenty something previously published articles selected and introduced by leading scholars in the field of migration studies.

Under the heading of 'social cohesion' this volume deals with the topical issue of the relationships between migrants and their countries of settlement. One of the threats to social cohesion of the nation-state - indeed, for extreme right-wing parties and nationalists, *the* threat - is migration. What exactly is meant by social cohesion in today's complex and diverse societies is, however, rarely formulated in a precise way in contemporary popular discourse and political rhetoric. As Steven Vertovec points out in his introduction to this volume, the concept of social cohesion is mainly invoked by its absence. In order to rectify this definitional vagueness, the introduction to this volume presents relevant discussions of a variety of concepts and understandings of issues relating to the notion of social cohesion. These discussions span from classical sociological concepts of *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft*, to political concepts of civil society, citizenship, minority rights, multiculturalism, and conflict resolution.

The 26 articles in this volume are organised under 4 main headings. The first part, titled 'Frameworks', deals with more general ideas of integration of immigrants. The second part on 'Institutions' focuses on the interaction between immigrants and political institutions in their host-countries. The third part has 'Citizenship' as its main theme, and the final part, titled 'Dynamics' includes various articles on less classifiable issues such as 'symbolic ethnicity', 'language maintenance', and 'ethnic enterprise'. Since migration studies come late to social science, most of the articles have been published within the last two decades. The regional focus is mainly Western Europe and the U.S.

It has been noted that academic literature on immigration and integration issues tend to emphasise classification over dynamics, and taxonomy over the development of an integrated paradigm. With its very comprehensive introduction and representative selection of articles, this volume will serve as a well-guided tour through the wilderness of concept and theories on immigrant incorporation.

Dr Eva Østergaard-Nielsen
London School of Economics and Political Science.

Refugees, Rights and Realities: Evolving International Concepts and Regimes

Frances Nicholuson & Patrick Twomey

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 391pp.
Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-5216-3282-X

This book examines international law on the rights of refugees and asylum seekers and the ways this body of law is often not respected in the reality of state practice. Seventeen chapters in four sections are concerned with the evolving nature of law regarding refugees, the role of UNHCR, the responses of states and individual rights, and the European regime. It derived from a conference held by the Human Rights Law Centre at the University of Nottingham in 1996.

The book provides a detailed and wide-ranging analysis of current theory and practice with regard to refugee law, the practice in a range of countries from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda to the Confederation of Independent States.

The book is not concerned directly with ethnic conflict, but ethnic conflict inevitably leads to people, sometimes many thousands of people, seeking asylum or refugee status in other countries. European countries receive many of these people, who have been driven from their homes by fear, torture, intimidation; who have experienced the death or loss of loved ones, and who now need to be treated with care and humanity.

The book provides a useful overview and analysis of current practice, and demonstrates how inadequate this is even in so-called civilised countries. The last decade has seen a large increase in the numbers of refugees and asylum seekers. It is not necessarily the case that laws, many of which were framed in the years after World War Two, are adequate to cope with today's needs. The book shows that there is a clear recognition that we in Europe need to work together to develop international strategy regarding the legal issues surrounding refugees and asylum seekers, and that, nearly fifty years after international law was

implemented we often still do not treat such people with fairness, consideration, or humanity.

Dr Nigel Hunt
Nottingham Trent University

Refugees, Rights and Realities: Evolving International Concepts and Regimes

Frances Nicholuson & Patrick Twomey

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 391pp.
Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-5216-3282-X

This collection of essays is a product of a conference entitled 'Refugee Rights and Realities: Approaches to Law and Policy Reform' held in 1996. The essays are split into four parts dealing with the definition of a refugee; the role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; state responses to refugees and the evolving European Union regime.

Ethnic conflict is not given any in-depth study but it is recognised throughout that in recent decades there is an increase in refugee claims arising from civil wars, communal conflict and civil disorder (34). It is claimed that one thing all refugees have in common is that they have been forced to flee as a result of persecution, human rights violations, armed conflict and civil strife (153). The past decade has shown that refugees are a direct product of ethnic conflict as dividing lines correspond to ethnic divisions (23).

It is interesting that the collection, with a primarily European and UK focus, lacks any detailed treatment of the conflict in the former-Yugoslavia. One chapter deals with the Commonwealth of Independent States who face ethnic tensions, internal strife and armed conflict and other factors that have challenged the former social and ethnic fabric of society (137). The role of the UNHCR during the Yugoslav conflict is given detailed treatment in Part II, but with a concentration on the UN office and not the conflict itself. A detailed treatment of the crisis in Rwanda is given in Chapter 14, but no parallel work on Yugoslavia is presented, a substantial omission considering the Yugoslav conflict created largest European flow of refugees since WW II (185).

A point that comes through clearly through all the essays is that refugees and their circumstances are a product of harm coming to individuals and groups based solely on their real or perceived status. Refugee law attempts to overcome the negative consequences of these differences by preventing harm due to one's personal characteristics

or status by eliminating arbitrary discrimination. However, as the authors readily recognise, there is still a considerable way to go before we move from status to equality in the practice of day to day life (23).

Richard Burchill
University of Hull

The Dynamic of Secession

Viva Ona Bartkus

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 272pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 0-5216-5032-1 Pb.: ISBN 0-5216-5970-1

Bartkus' near forensic examination of secession is highly recommended. It does not take the obvious case study approach to the subject, although it is packed with empirical detail and is eclectic in its use of examples. Instead, Bartkus' work rests on a novel conceptualisation of secession along the lines of the costs and benefits of membership of a state or secession from it. Benefits of membership are regarded as restraints on secession. Rising membership costs are a critical factor leading to secession. Four necessary elements for a secession crisis are set out: a distinct community, a territory, leaders and discontentment (pp. 10-15).

The book raises a key issue with regard to secession: why does the extension of greater autonomy blunt the energy of some secessionist movements and merely encourage others to press for greater powers? The author quite rightly steers the reader away from glib generalisations, and the costs and benefits of secession/membership formulation provides a useful framework to approach the issue. At times the actual *dynamic* of secessionist struggles is somewhat unclear. The costs and benefits formulation is better at explaining the conditions under which secession can and cannot come about rather than shedding light on the actual processes of secession. Nevertheless, this is a genuine contribution to the literature and while theoretically rigorous, is not hampered by the international relations love of jargon.

Roger Mac Ginty
Lancaster University

The Massacre in History

Edited by Mark Levene & Penny Roberts

(Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1999) 296pp. Index. Hb.: £45.00;
ISBN 1-5718-1943-7. Pb.: £16.50; ISBN 1-5718-1935-5.

It is very difficult to get traction of intractable conflicts, especially ones that involve massacre. However it is

exactly this that *The Massacre in History* attempts at. This collection of essays assaults the multifarious nature of the massacre phenomenon probing it from a multitude of aspects endeavoring to find its definition and sources.

The book offers a step by step case study of massacre starting from the times of Herod and coming to the present day with the final chapters on Indonesia and Yugoslavia. It touches upon sectarian revolts in medieval Spain; traces religious violence in 16th c. France; looks at England, Scotland, and Ireland during the Civil Wars; discusses perceptions of the slaughter of animals; looks at the late 19th c. brutality in Brazil; evinces German colonial policy in Africa; and reviews the Japanese approach to China in the late 1930s. Presented with this variety of examples, backgrounds, and opinions the reader is given ample opportunity to find a personal definition of massacre - a phenomenon both horrifying as well as fascinating. Its dual nature facilitates massacre's presence in human memory.

It is this argument of *The Massacre in History*, which is most interesting to the ethnic studies pundit. The "legacy of massacre" (p.263) prompts it as a source of ethnic identity. Violence permeates ethnic consciousness and grows into a rallying myth in the memory of a particular community. Thus the importance is no longer on the veracity of a tragedy, but on its interpretation for a certain political agenda.

Nevertheless, after reading the entire collection of essays the reader cannot help noticing the main statement of the editors: that the nation state, as we know it, is passing into the oblivion of history like a cold wind in the winter of somebody's mind. The main asset of *The Massacre in History* is in elucidating this point and its attempt to go off the beaten track of modernity and trod a path into the "uncharted waters"(p.32) of the civil societies of the future.

Emilian Kavalski

Identity, Rights and Constitutional Transformation

Patrick Hanafin & Melissa S Williams

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 212pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £42.50;
ISBN 1-8401-4034-8.

This book is a useful addition to existing literature, focussing on recent trends and newer critical viewpoints on the use of constitutions to address issues of identity and rights. It is also an example of an edition whose differing voices add to a complex harmony, rather than adding up to cacaphony.

The viewpoints here emphasise the balancing act which constitutional processes have become. Using different starting-points, including race, language, colonialism, globalisation, and cultural identity, they reveal different balancing-acts, but a broad shared conclusion that the effort toward equilibrium must continue. There is also at the heart of these essays a pragmatic understanding, both that the real-world consequences of constitutional provisions matter, and that these consequences will change over time as different groups or individuals invoke the provisions for different purposes. Contextualisation matters.

There are examples from several domains where constitutional provisions intended to protect or advance the interests of one group, later rebound in exactly the opposite direction. Vivien Hart, for example, discusses the post-colonial constitutions in which European elite interests were guarded by provisions later used by African elites, and now re-infecting Europe with an obligation to deal with human rights for its own citizens. Robert O'Brien notes simultaneous trends toward limiting the constitutional levers available to governments, on the one hand, while regional structures have increased scope for action with much lower requirements of popular participation.¹ Pervading this volume is the sense of political juggling, negotiation, and the view of constitutions as having a role to play in conflict resolution.

On whether constitutions can be impartial, for example, Melissa Williams grapples with a series of caveats: "A deliberative politics of difference entails the conviction that the process of giving specific content to civil and political rights – and, I should add, to social rights as well – should include the voices of marginalised groups, and that the content of these rights should not function to reinforce unjust patterns of social, cultural, economic, or political inequality. A scheme of rights which avoids unjust inequalities may be articulable in difference-blind terms, but in some circumstances it may require some group-specific rights [which may in turn] reinforce the social distance between groups, reproduce intergroup hostility, and jeopardise marginalised groups' prospects for equality."²

There is also a welcome sense of the limitations of constitutions and legal arrangements, which cannot, of course, do everything. Damian O'Leary makes this point: "The problem with constitutional proposals of the macro kind – large all-encompassing packages that re-shape and re-constitute political, social, legal and economic institutions evidenced in the Belfast Agreement – is that they fail to heed the fact that the province needs to be rebuilt from *within* as much as it needs to be rebuilt from without. That is, it is not just the constitutional status or the nature and procedural form of Northern Ireland's institutions that are in need of reform. The attitudes, the perceptions, the political and cultural stances of the people within Northern Ireland are also in desperate need of critical attention."³

Oddly, for a volume which underlines the importance of contexts, this one is written from an overwhelmingly Northern viewpoint, Vivien Hart's essay⁴ being the honourable exception. However, most of the essays reflect attempts to take into account a broad range of experiences, and particularly the plight of the marginalised, which compensates somewhat for the limited range of voices.

In the long run, this book may find itself "dated" by the very determination to include newer viewpoints. The heavy use of key words such as project, discourse, and narrative may cause a loss of meaning as these are superseded by longer-lasting terms. Nonetheless, it is worth showcasing these viewpoints, and satisfying that the editors were able to make this into a coherent whole.

- ¹ O'Brien, R. *Regional Integration and Restrictive Constitutionalism in North America and Western Europe*, p.161.
- ² Williams, M.S. *Impartial Justice and Partial Perspectives*, p. 71.
- ³ O'Leary, D. *Cultural Identity and Constitutional Reform: The Challenge of Northern Ireland*, p. 104.
- ⁴ Hart, V. *The Contagion of Rights: Constitutions as Carriers*, pp. 39-57.

Sue Williams
INCORE

The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change

Katherine Verdery

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). 185pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: \$25.00/£17.50; ISBN 0-231-11230-0.

In her book, *the Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, Verdery explores the curious phenomenon of exhuming and reburying both well-known and ordinary citizens with specific reference to Eastern Europe after the collapse of communism. She draws the reader's attention to the extent, symbolism and distinctive nature of the spatial relationships of graves and monuments in socialist countries.

She attempts to answer several questions, namely: why there has been so much activity around dead bodies in postsocialist countries; what the significance of this has been, as well as, why so-called dead body politics differs in postsocialist countries from other periods and places. In answer Verdery demonstrates that the restoration of honour (or expulsion) of certain corpses are markers of a change in values and social systems which are part of the larger process of postsocialist transformation. To highlight

her point she uses examples ranging from the 1989 reinternment of dishonoured Hungarian communist leader Imre Nagy to the 1997 reburial of Bishop Inochentie Micu (after his body had been in Rome since 1768) in Transylvania.

Notably argues that reburials and the like are not simply about creating new political legitimacy in the postsocialist era. For Verdery the process is larger. The politics of reburials and dead bodies is about alternative worlds of meaning coming into conflict (p.76), as well as the reordering of social and spatial relations after the collapse of communism. As she eloquently notes in her conclusion, "Dead bodies have posthumous political life in the service of creating a newly meaningful universe...their political work is to institute ideas about morality...sanctify space anew...redefine the temporalities of daily life...fructify the enterprise of descendants" (p.127). This argument, and her attention to detail in her examples, is the strength of the book.

The complexity of her understanding of the subject matter is evident throughout her short (just over 120 pages), but dense, publication. Her argument is clear and she shows, as she says she will, that there is not a single answer or encompassing explanation for the way dead bodies have been put to use in postsocialist Europe. However, one cannot but feel that Verdery is only beginning her work on this fascinating subject and that there are deeper conclusions still to be drawn. Nonetheless, this in-depth examination leaves the reader with a plethora of thoughts, and sound conclusions, about the perplexing meaning of symbols in countries in transition.

Brandon Hamber

Centre for the Study of Violence & Reconciliation, South Africa

The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change

Edited by Thomas Risse, Stephen C
Ropp & Kathryn Sikkink

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 318pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: £37.50/\$59.95; ISBN 0-521-65093-3. Pb.: £13.95/
\$22.95; ISBN 0-521-65882-9.

This book forms part of a series of studies in international relations from the Cambridge University Press. It addresses questions of fundamental concern to both the law and social sciences regarding the potential for norms and ideas to influence the behaviour of states and individuals.

The opening chapter by Risse and Sikkink proposes a "spiral model" of "human rights change". I admit to sharing the scepticism for theoretical models as referred to by Risse and Ropp in the concluding chapter. I have particular reservations about Risse and Sikkink's "spiral model" of human rights change. While the model appears simplistic in its conception, its description in the opening chapter is unnecessarily complex.

However, in its application in the empirical case studies covering eleven countries the model is relatively successful in addressing a key question, namely, what accounts for the variation in the degree to which human rights norms are implemented in various states? While the five phases of change, from "repression" to "rule consistent behaviour" proposed in the model are not borne out by all of the country studies, the studies do provide a wealth of fascinating comparative empirical data regarding the strategies and the actors which have led to sustained improvement in the human rights situation in a wide range of cultural, economic and political contexts.

Set within the context of what Risse and Sikkink describe as "world time" and the "cascade of norms", the country studies in this book provide a useful insight into the impact of developing international human rights norms and into the degree of success of the strategies for change adopted by domestic human rights activists, western governments and international human rights networks. The case studies regarding Chile and South Africa, in particular, demonstrate the extent to which the situation in those countries in the early 1970s contributed to the formation and the proliferation of what is described as "international human rights networks". The book concludes with ten lessons for human rights practitioners which have resonance for all those with an interest in this field.

Denise Magill

Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission

Ethnicity, Law and Human Rights: the English Experience

Sebastian Poulter

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 418pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.:
ISBN 0-19-825773-2.

Oxford has a great reputation for producing fine monographs on legal issues and this time continues that tradition. The exposition of relevant rules and principles is illuminating, the analysis of the six chosen case studies is insightful, and the scholariness of the writing is very apparent throughout.

After clarifying the characteristics of the two most widely accepted models for dealing with an ethnically diverse population – assimilation and cultural pluralism - Poulter charts the shift in Britain from the former to the latter since the mid-1960s. He stresses how in many respects the different approaches have converged, so that today the overall approach is best described as “modified pluralism”. He agrees with Parekh that there is a certain set of British values which no immigrants should be allowed to undermine – monogamy, legal and moral equality of all men, equality of sexes (*sic*), and basic civil liberties. This last idea is taken to include democracy (“free and regular elections to government”), the rule of law, natural justice, non-discrimination, freedom of expression, religious toleration and recognition of English as the national language.

Poulter thus adopts an essentially Millian view of the liberal state as a society which allows people to lead their lives in their own ways provided they do not harm others. He explains how, in Britain, both case-law and statute law have underpinned this concept of the state, often through reliance on the vague notion of “the public interest”. At times the response to ethnic diversity has been to criminalise the behaviour in question, to deny entry to those who practise it, or (occasionally) to accord the practice a special privilege.

The fascinating case studies cover Jewish slaughtering practices, the nomadism of gypsies, Islamic family traditions, the siting of a Krishna temple, exemptions sought by Sikhs for their turbans and beards, and the status accorded by Rastafarians to dreadlocks and cannabis. The author neatly sums up the prevailing legal approaches to these issues and in a concluding chapter stresses how resort to international human rights documents is increasingly seen as the appropriate source from which to mine legal solutions.

Brice Dickson

Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission

The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights

Edited by **Joanne R Bauer & Daniel A Bell**

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). 394pp.
Index. Hb.: ISBN 0-521-64230-2. Pb.: ISBN 0-521-64536-0.

The human rights issue has been debated from extremely polarised viewpoints in the West and the East. The book under review has succeeded in laying a firm academic middle ground in the vortex of intellectual clash between

the Eurocentric version of universalism and the authoritarian version of cultural relativism.

This book is divided into four parts. The first part deals directly with the “Asian values” debate, initiated by the emotional repulsion professed in the early 1990s by several Asian politicians toward the “arrogance” of imposing “Western-style” human rights on the Asian nations. Following a careful, critical anatomy of this reaction, the next part reflects upon possible ways to make the international human rights regime more flexible and inclusive to reach a new consensus. Then, the third part unveils that classic Asian thoughts like Buddhism, Islam and Confucianism could contribute in an innovative way to the enrichment of contemporary universal norms. The last part is composed of comparative and country-specific studies that highlight the ambiguous nature of globalisation. The cause of universalism is defensible, but the concepts and norms of human rights should be extended in order to accommodate the complex realities as well as to gain persuasiveness and authenticity in specific local contexts, which is the central message of this book. While the arguments in respective chapters are far from homogeneous with conflicting implications, they are arranged by the editors in an exciting and admirably skilful way.

By the time of publication of this book, however, the Asian authoritarianism seems to have lost its original momentum for self-assertion, mainly due to the recent economic setback which entailed the regressive escalation of human rights violation in several countries. Tragic examples can be found in today’s Indonesia. The violent assaults by manipulated mobs against the ethnic-Chinese minority and the recent atrocities committed by pro-Jakarta militiamen in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, are reminiscent of the past divide-and-rule practice of the Western colonial authorities. The sound multi-disciplinary approach manifested in this book could be supplemented by a historical inquiry into the problem of the internalisation of notions and practices peculiar to the colonial times, implicitly or explicitly, in the minds and the institutions of modern Asia, though the degrees and outcomes of this historical process vary according to countries and regions. It seems that the significance of this factor is somewhat underrated in this book on the whole.

Nevertheless, the perspectives set forth by this collective work, whether communitarian or not, still remain immensely valuable and relevant to the current quandaries faced by the Asian nations, and do offer enormous encouragement to every actor of emerging civil societies in East Asia. As such, this scholarly landmark deserves careful reading not only by academics but also by concerned citizens worldwide.

Yoichi Mine

University of Stellenbosch , South Africa

Development, Ethnicity and Human Rights in South Asia

Ross Mallick

(New Dehli: Sage, 1998) 375pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £29.99;
ISBN 0-7619-9227-8.

South Asia is one of the most socially and ethnically complex regions in the world. This book examines several cases of ethnic conflict within the context of the region's extreme economic inequality, with a special focus on the role of culture (primarily India's caste system) and civil society in perpetuating the economic and social marginalization and exploitation of minority groups throughout the subcontinent.

After introducing the theme of culture and the importance of elite perceptions, the author analyzes the potential and limits of the use of regional organizations like the SAARC and state policy in both managing ethnic conflict and reducing economic and social inequality. This is followed by chapters devoted to specific ethnic conflicts, including the role of the Mahaweli Irrigation project in Sri Lanka's civil war as well as the status of minorities in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Later chapters then focus upon problems facing tribal groups and Untouchables in India, "the last segregated population in the world with the ending of South African apartheid." (p. 233) The book concludes with a discussion of human rights in South Asian scholarship and the issue of South Asian elite bias in impacting Western perceptions of India.

While the title suggests a broad comparative study of South Asia, much of the text is actually devoted to India and - more specifically - the record of the world's only democratically elected communist regime, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) and its Left Front coalition government in the state of West Bengal. An Indian informant once suggested to me that someone needed to "analyze the analysts". Ross Mallick - an independent development consultant based in Canada - has done just that, and indeed the real importance of the book is in the way he calls into question the validity of much of the scholarship on South Asia in particular and "progressive" Third World regimes in general.

Mallick also raises serious questions about the possible limits of democracy in bringing about substantial economic and social reform in India.

This book is full of fascinating insights from the author's experiences as a consultant in the region, and paints a rather disturbing picture of both academic research in South Asia and the role of the state, foreign aid and development agencies in sometimes perpetuating or worsening many of the problems they purportedly aim to

solve. It could have been better organized, however, as it appears at times to be a disparate collection of separately written chapters.

Thomas Brister

University of Virginia and Sweet Briar College

The Holocaust

Peter Neville

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 103pp. Index.
Bibl. Pb.: £6.95/\$11.95; ISBN 0-521-59501-0.

Neville's book is a study in brevity, a student's primer. Many readers will conclude that so short a work cannot do justice to a subject as ramified as the Holocaust. It is divided into nine narrative chapters, each utilizes an opening paragraph stating issues clearly, excerpts from primary and secondary sources of two or three sentences, and sharply focussed study questions. The book has a few well-chosen photographs, several charts, a map of camp locations, short bibliography, and a detailed chronology for 1933-45.

Neville handles several themes well, such as tracking Hitler's antisemitism as the master emotion of the *führer*. Neville's differentiation of Intentionalists from Functionalists is clear and precise. He makes the important point, usually ignored, that after Kristallnacht 40,000 German and Austrian Jews found refuge in Britain. Neville is judicious but too gentle on the Holocaust deniers: They are frauds, not "historians" or "analysts" or "revisionists"; he is sounder in concluding that they are "pseudo-academic, anti-Semitic fanatics" (72).

Clearly, however, Neville is no specialist on the Holocaust. To write a chapter on "The Killing Machine" without reckoning with Raul Hilberg's *Destruction of the European Jews* is unacceptable. Neville makes several questionable judgments. Thus, "instances of collaboration with the Nazis in Poland were virtually non-existent" (80). A great many Poles denounced Jews, exposed their hiding places, or attacked them directly in assaults, massacres, etc. Neville is balanced on the "silent" Pius XII, although *passive* is more accurate. It is strange to hear, regarding the Holocaust, that "the Catholic Church, in particular, has been reluctant to admit any error" (164); what of the Vatican's promulgation of *Nostra Aetate*, 1965, *We Remember*, 1998, and much else? Some residual No Popery? The presentation of Voltaire should include his being a flaming antisemite and the source of secular antisemitism. On Marx, rather than that he was a Jew, that he too was a flaming antisemite and, baptized in childhood, was not a Jew.

There are, unfortunately, numerous petty errors which may not vitiate the beginning student's approach to the

Holocaust but which, nevertheless, mar the book. Victor Klemperer did not “perish” in the Holocaust, but survived to write a classic work on Nazi language. The caption of the photograph of Nuremberg defendants (84) errs badly—Albert Speer was given twenty years, not life, etc. Such errors should have been caught by manuscript reviewers or the Cambridge Perspectives in History editors: that is not the way of a great publishing house.

Professor Frederick M. Schweitzer
Manhattan College

Problems Unique to the Holocaust

Edited by Harry James Cargas

(Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999) 198pp.
Index. Hb.: £19.00; ISBN 0-8131-2101-9.

This volume of fourteen essays is concerned with the ethical and moral problems raised by the Holocaust rather than historiographical issues of interpretation and comparison. It is a posthumous gift of Harry James Cargas, who was a familiar figure at the Annual Scholars' Conferences on the Holocaust and the Churches, as are the contributors. Their essays are diverse in nature and approach to a very varied moral landscape. Their common denominator might be said to be the concepts of ambiguity, dilemma, irony – terms explicit or implicit in all the essays.

Cargas was inspired to re-address the moral issues after reading Calel Perechodnik's *Am I a Murderer?* It is the story of a ghetto policeman who collaborates with German demands in carrying out round ups of his fellow Jews in order to save his family and himself; inevitably, he loses his wager and probably took his own life. The question in the title is the point of departure of almost all the contributors.

Steven Jacobs writes illuminatingly on how the Talmud handles the issue of the “pursuer,” and compares its position to the *responsa* of rabbis in the dire circumstances of the Shoah. David Patterson examines the tragedy of pregnant women in the death camps, where “one is led to kill [the infant] not to destroy but to save [the mother]”(17). Susan Pentlin's “Holocaust Victims of Privilege” is an extended reflection on Primo Levi's concept of “the gray zone”; it is paralleled by Didier Pollefeyt's “Victims of Evil or Evil of Victims?” evaluating Victor Frankl's response to the camp situation. Charlotte Opfermann and Jack Porter probe the issue of suicide, arguing cogently that the dead were victims of murder rather than examples of suicide. Eric Sterling's “Indifferent Accomplices” is a fresh look at that perennial issue, the by-standers. Most

engaging for me is Leon Stein's “Christians as Holocaust Scholars,” namely, that the Shoah is not a purely Jewish matter, that in spite of certain difficulties and temptations they confront (these are addressed by Rev. Alastair Hunter on “Intruding”), Christians have made outstanding contributions to Holocaust historiography. Cargas himself is exemplar, as is John Roth, in “Reflections on Post-Holocaust Ethics.” Stephen Feinstein's scintillating essay shows, despite the famous dictum of no poetry after Auschwitz, that “Art After Auschwitz” continues on a prodigious scale, seeking in its media to depict the reality of the Shoah and preserve its memory.

A most valuable book: It deepens our perception of the moral enormity of the Holocaust.

Professor Frederick M Schweitzer
Manhattan College

State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa

Edited by Richard Joseph

(Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999) 527pp. Index bibl.
Distributed by Eurospan. Hb.: £51.95; ISBN 1-55587-799-0.
Pb.: £18.50; ISBN 1-55587-533-5.

“Ex Africa semper aliquid novi,” according to the quip of Pliny the Younger, but democracy for Africa? The contradictory outcomes resulting from pressures for political liberalization in the many states of Sub-Saharan Africa since the late 1980s necessitated a volume like this. These twenty three essays, some by leading Africanists, assess the sobering realities of contemporary Africa in the wake of a decade of political reform, false starts, and disappointing attempts to reconfigure power.

The volume scatters theoretical essays among case studies. In the first, or “Overview” section, for example, Crawford Young offers an insightful and “mildly positive”(p.35) balance sheet on Africa's experimentation with political liberalization while John Harbeson uses examples from Eastern and Southern Africa to show that democratic transitions in those regions often begin with rule making rather than elections. Part Two addresses political economy issues while Part Three, the longest section, relies heavily on case studies for its analyses of regime politics. Part Four undertakes a review of ethnic politics in Africa with particular attention to the Rwanda genocide and the ethnomilitary character of rule in Nigeria. Part Five examines elections and consolidation of democratic rule. The volume concludes with a discussion of the prevalence of pessimism about the prospects for democracy and economic development in Africa in the future.

Despite its 500 pages, this volume privileges breadth over depth of coverage. When noted Africanists write exceptionally short pieces on the topics of their particular expertise one feels cheated, or at least teased. A case in point is Marina Ottaway's too brief discussion of the dependency of the "new ethnicity" in Africa on an international context in which ethnic forces are so salient. A few pages do no justice to this topic.

There are some surprises, however. Jeffrey Herbst introduces a little studied, but crucially important new topic, namely, citizenship and ethnicity in the contemporary African state, arguing that more restrictive citizenship laws lead to "significant levels of political violence"(274). Equally interesting is Bruce Magnusson's dynamic account of Benin's transition to democratic rule.

The quality of scholarship and writing remains high and consistent throughout the essays. As a whole, however, the volume fails to sustain a scholarly focus on democratization, ethnicity, or any other particular topic. Finally, if readers find that the volume presupposes real familiarity with political science scholarship on Africa they will nonetheless be greatly aided by the breadth of introduction to contemporary perspectives on that literature this volume offers.

Patrick M Boyle
Loyola University Chicago.

The National Liberation Struggle in South Africa: A case study of the United Democratic Front, 1983-87

Gregory F. Houston

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 318pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.:£42.50
ISBN 1-8401-4955-8.

The aims of this book, as expressed by the author, are (1) "to draw a link between revolutionary developments within South Africa during the 1980s and theories of revolutionary strategy and tactics"[p. 2], (2) to look at "the role of the strategy and tactics of the ANC-led alliance... to explain the emergence, nature, role and activities of the UDF" [p.5], and (3) "to examine how revolutionary consciousness was promoted and expanded, leading to the increasing participation... in the liberation struggle" [p. 6].

The author outlines "a Leninist/Gramscian model of united-front strategy", including: (1) the necessity of mass

mobilisation and organisation... primarily directed against the ruling bloc; (2) the necessity of creating a broad alliance of social forces... which leads to a democratic revolution; and (3) the necessity for political and ideological struggle in which revolutionary consciousness is promoted and expanded." [p. 20] He analyses the strategy and tactics of the UDF and its affiliates, including student and youth organisations, trade union organisations, civic organisations and women's organisations and explains how these fit into that model.

What interested me, in particular, were the ways in which groups in civil society of South Africa had an impact on each other and on the overall political situation. There are numerous examples given, such as "the prominent role played by trade unionists in the formation and leadership of community organisations" [p. 30] and "the leadership role played by youth in various forms of resistance and their role in mass mobilisation and organisation" [p. 142]. This case also shows that the development, strategy and tactics of the UDF led to a significant move away from racial and ethnic divisions and a unity of purpose in "the struggle for national liberation and the creation of a non-racial, democratic South Africa" [p. 266].

I would recommend the book to anyone who has an interest in the political and social dynamics of South Africa in the 1980s that led to the New South Africa of the 1990s.

Steve Williams
Responding to Conflict & INCORE

Conflict and Community in Contemporary Sri Lanka: 'Pearl of the East' or 'Island of Tears'?

Edited by Siri Gamage & I B Watson

(New Delhi, London, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1999) 368pp.
Hb.:£29.99; ISBN 0-7619-9393-2

This is a worthy but somewhat loosely thematically linked collection of essays on the genesis and subsequent trajectory of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The papers have their origins in a conference held in 1995, which were later published in the journal *South Asia* in 1997 and have finally appeared in book form at the end of 1999. The shortcomings of the time-lag involved is all too obvious in that although the conflict has escalated considerably since the election of Chandrika Kumaratunga as President in 1994, little of this is evident from reading the book. In their rather brief introduction, the editors also freely admit

that minimal effort was taken to update the most of the papers to reflect more recent events.

However, several of the chapters have distinct merits, including those by Purnaka L. De Silva on 'The Growth of Tamil Paramilitary Nationalisms' in response to Sinhala chauvinism; Rohan Gunaratna on the 'Internationalisation of the Tamil Conflict' and its propagation by the global diaspora; and Margaret Trawick on the 'Reasons for Violence', which provides an ethnographic account of the development of the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

Special mention should be made of the paper by V.Nithyanandam on 'From Non-News to Stale News', which cogently explores why, despite the exponential increase in violence seen in the Sri Lankan civil war, the western media has grown tired of reporting such events, except when assassinations of top politicians or generals occur, or bombs blast the hotels in Colombo where journalists and tourists stay.

This title is essentially an uneven collection of conference papers, which will appeal more to the South Asian specialist than the undergraduate student who is seeking an up-to-date, comprehensive, explanatory and analytical account of the conflict.

Dr Alan Bullion
The Open University

Nationalism without a Nation in India

G Aloysius

(Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1998) 265pp. Index. Bibl.
ISBN 0 19 564104 3.

India has always proved a difficult case for students of nationalism and the nation-state. On the one hand, it seems to provide the classic model of a nationalist movement which, despite the loss of Pakistan in 1947, successfully overcame British imperial rule.

The Indian National Congress represents the coalescence of a vast heterogeneity of social groups around a programme and symbols that won massive support both before independence and in the virtual referendum implicit in the first universal franchise election of 1952. On the other hand, it is clear that India is more of a multinational state than one in which state and nation are coterminous.

For decades, separatists ranging from Nagas to Kashmiris to Sikhs and Assamese have fought for full recognition of their national status. After all, if Bangladesh or Bhutan or the Maldives Islands could be considered nations, surely other candidates within India could also claim they met the criteria for nationhood? Despite such claims and frequent evidence of brutality, corruption and outright failure, India's electoral democracy, free press, independent judiciary, civilian-controlled military and other successes, have made the nation of Gandhi, Nehru and other "Indian nationalists" (what else can you call them?) a convincing reality.

But G. Aloysius denies the existence of an Indian nation for reasons other than those offered by separatists or those who advocate the concept of an Indian multinational state. Rather, he takes the point of view of "the submerged masses". For them, the first generation of nationalists - "a microscopic minority of mostly English educated men in Government service or engaged in new professions, drawn more or less exclusively from the Brahmin and upper caste communities" - could only articulate a nationalism that was traditional, sectarian and exclusive in its interests. This may sound like subaltern analysis, but Aloysius criticizes the subaltern school of Indian historiography for "working within an extremely narrow data-base, worn-out conceptions of nation and nationalism (as anti-Britishism) and refusing to recognise the culture-specific power configuration within society" (125fn). The Subalternists have ignored the political nationalism of hitherto excluded spokespersons from "the lower levels of social structure," most not belonging to the "traditionally literate communities".

Aloysius' list of excluded nationalists is largely from the south, including the famed Narayana Guru and E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker and a large number of lesser-known individuals, as well as other foes of the caste system such as Jyotiba Phule of Maharashtra, Mangoo Ram of Punjab or Swami Achchutanand of the United Provinces.

It is for Mahatma Gandhi and the "Gandhian synthesis" of Indian nationalism, however, that Aloysius saves his sharpest barbs. "His seeming poverty was built on Birla's plenty, his life of Brahmacharya was based on obsessive sex experiments, his posture of humility was coupled with the claim for exclusive access to Truth; he preached a politics of powerlessness and non-possession that did not brook rivals in leadership" (176). For Aloysius, Gandhi's was a nationalism without social change; it was even against social change and therefore opposed to the "nationalism of the masses." Gandhi was "almost completely insensitive" to the cultural differentiation within the subcontinent. Gandhi's vertical mobilization may have extended down to the masses successfully, but his nationalism "has to be seen as vanquishing the nation itself."

Whatever one may think of such an analysis, the unfortunate aspect of this book is that although Aloysius offers a trenchant critique of the nation that Gandhi and his predecessors fought for, he does not provide convincing proof that the nation of the “submerged masses” of India, if it were one thing, was ready to be born, capable of unifying India’s diversities or powerful enough to defeat British imperialism. Nor has Aloysius analyzed the more credible claims to nationhood emanating from the previously mentioned secessionists - perhaps because among them too he thinks the “submerged masses” have had little recognition.

Aloysius has succeeded in demonstrating that nationalism is more than a bourgeois phenomenon in India, but not that the nation that evolved during the nationalist movement or the nation-state that was created in 1947 and given a constitution in 1950 was somehow a mistake, or not the real article. Rather, like Indian society itself the Indian nation has been pluralist, protean, changing and vital - quite capable, really, of absorbing scholarly broadsides and moving on.

John R Wood
University of British Columbia.

Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton

David Chandler

(London: Pluto Press, 1999). 239pp. Index. Bibl. £45.00; ISBN 0-7453-1408-2. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-7453-1403-1.

David Chandler subjects the international Community’s efforts to impose democracy on Bosnia and Herzegovina to a rigorous analysis. Beginning with a critique of the concept of democratisation, he gives a chapter each to the issues of sovereignty, power-sharing, human rights, political pluralism, and building civil society, and concludes that the West’s democratisation policy has been driven more by an “external dynamic” of post-Cold War security concerns than by the needs of the country, or indeed of the region. The book is well referenced and includes URLs for the many documents cited from the Internet.

The catalogue of failures in the process of Bosnian democratisation is indeed dismal, but at times Chandler over-eggs his pudding. For instance, on p. 77 he says that in the summer of 1997, “NATO troops occupied the public

buildings in Banja Luka, handed them over to [Bosnian Serb President]Mrs Plavsic and disarmed local police loyal to the Pale faction, while a British officer sat in Mrs Plavsic’s office answering her phone.” Police stations were indeed occupied by NATO (and Czech) troops, but other public buildings were not, and the police were disarmed only of items not often included in day-to-day police work elsewhere such as rocket launchers and grenades. Many strange things did happen to the phones in Banja Luka, including my own, during that dramatic time, but I do not recall the incident described relating to Mrs Plavsic’s office.

He also underrates the admittedly modest achievement of the “multi-ethnic” parties in the 1997 municipal elections by stating that they won only 6% of the seats, compared with 5% the previous year. There was considerable variation in the number of seats in each municipal assembly/council, and when votes rather than seats are tallied the “multi-ethnic” parties got more like 10% in 1997.

Chandler is undeniably right to point out that the democratisation of Bosnia has not been successful, as demonstrated by the steadily increasing legislative authority of the international community’s High Representative (not the “United Nations High Representative” as Chandler calls him). He is right also to suggest that the logical development of current policy is towards protectorate rather than democracy. However it is difficult to concur with his key recommendation of simply “granting people greater autonomy”. The international community stood back in 1991-92 when the war began; this should not be repeated. The biggest gap in this book is Chandler’s dismissal of the importance of the process of European integration of Eastern Europe. That is the most hopeful future direction for Bosnia and its neighbours.

Nicholas Whyte
Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels

Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War

Julie A Mertus

(Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999) 400pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$55.00/£34.00; ISBN 0-520-20962-1. Pb.: \$19.95/£12.50; ISBN 0-520-21865-5.

This book represents an interesting piece of research on events leading up to the recent Kosovo conflict. Mertus has at least spent some time in the field talking to people about their experiences under the Serbian heel over the past twenty years. So, we get eye-witness accounts from

participants in the 1981 student demonstrations; the Martinovic case of 1985; the Paracin Massacre of 1987; and the mass outbreak of poisoning among Albanian schoolchildren in 1990. A couple of somewhat hurried contemporary but useful postscripts have been added for events in 1997 and 1998. Overall, this makes for a somewhat disconnected feel to her findings and their manifest interpretations. The main drawback is that although the interviews are in themselves valuable primary sources, the book lacks an overarching contextual and analytical framework. A more worrying tendency is her reliance on local accounts as some sort of irrefutable “truth”. Very few social scientists nowadays treat single eye-witness accounts quite so unproblematically. After all, in contemporary conflicts such as Kosovo or Rwanda, there is hardly ever a single, incontrovertible “truth” to be discovered. The very word “truth” itself is a loaded and contested concept, demanding to be both deconstructed and challenged through multiple meanings. For those awaiting the definitive history of the Kosovo conflict, recent works by Miranda Vickers and Noel Malcolm will have to suffice in the meantime.

Dr Alan Bullion
The Open University

Kosovo: Myths, Conflict and War

Edited by Kyril Drezov Bulent Gokay
& Denisa Kostovicova

(Keele: Keele European Research Centre, 1999) 109pp. Pb.:
ISBN 1-899-488-219

Kosovo: myths, conflict and war is the first collection of essays to appear in English, which examines the Kosovo crisis. This collection is based on five seminars that took place in Keele and Cambridge from late 1998 to spring of 1999. Leading experts in this field together with academics from Keele University provide an in-depth analysis on the escalation of Kosovo conflict to war and the implications of the NATO bombing campaign that began in March 1999.

The book is divided into two sections. The first section provides essential historical background information on Kosovo. There are six papers presented in this section and they discuss the following topics; the origins of the conflict, the Albanian schooling in Kosovo during the 1990's, the origin and rapid success of the KLA as a guerrilla organisation and the similarities between Bosnia after the 1988 elections and the situation in Kosovo after 1989 to the present. I found these essays very useful in understanding the background to the conflict, and I think

the papers are presented in a way that makes them easy to read and engage with, especially for a reader with no background knowledge on the history of Kosovo and the Balkans region. The essays are written very clearly and are easily accessible to people who want to learn about Kosovo and why the conflict developed into full-scale war.

The second part of the book I feel provides the liveliest and most interesting debates. These papers concentrate on the implications and consequences of the decision by NATO to begin a bombing campaign. Diverse opinions on the bombing campaign are presented in this section. Some argue NATO was wrong to bomb Kosovo while others believe intervention was the only solution to the problem. Those who criticise the decision by NATO to begin military intervention argue that it was this intervention itself which caused the ethnic cleansing on the scale we all witnessed and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Albanians. Far from preventing a humanitarian catastrophe, the NATO intervention created an even greater humanitarian crisis. These critics suggest avenues other than the military one should have been given more of a chance. Drezov and Gokay believe Kosovars have already “paid a heavy price for calling on NATO to bomb Yugoslavia: in one week they lost their ‘parallel state’ with all its institutions – presidency, administration, parties, education system...”(p.44). If one of the NATO goals was to weaken Milosevic, the worst possible means for achieving it was to unite the Serb people behind him in outrage by the bombings. Other critics argue the NATO strategy posed a threat not only for the stability and future of Kosovo but also the stability of the entire Balkan region and beyond, with the greatest threat being to the Republic of Macedonia. The massive influx of refugees to Macedonia due to NATO action could cause ethnic tensions in the region to run very high again. A final point to be noted has been the tension created in Russia by NATO's action. As no sanctions for NATO's actions were sought from the UN, because none would have been forthcoming, Russia does feel humiliated by NATO's lack of regard for its point of view. “NATO's marginalisation of the UN is an act of defiance...”(p58)

The papers presented which supported intervention clearly take the view that all other avenues had been tried unsuccessfully and the political climate in Kosovo at the beginning of this year showed that the chances of a negotiated settlement being reached were non-existent. No credible alternative was available. As Christopher Brewin pointed out, diplomacy had failed and Russia was prepared to use their veto in the UN. Embargoes on Serbia would have been an acceptance of continued Serb military attacks on the unarmed Albanian population. Matthew Wyman cites that evidence gathered after the bombing shows the extent to which “removals of populations were a deliberate, timetabled policy” (p69). He asked who was responsible for the killings of innocent civilians, the rape camps, the burning and looting of Albanian homes and the expulsion of most of the Albanian population? - the

Serbs had be held responsible for their actions. The bombing of Yugoslavia some believe will hopefully force the Serb nation to address some traumatic but crucial questions, such as, the importance of land over people, the superiority of Serbs to Muslim Albanians and how Serbs want to relate to the outside world. The argument that the West was hypocritical in intervening in Yugoslavia but not in other conflicts such as East Timor was also challenged by a number of authors. Surely because you don't intervene in one conflict does not mean that you never intervene. "Because you do nothing in one situation, must you do nothing always?." (p70) The bombing of Yugoslavia has meant the international community has focused on the region and therefore some of the economic and security problems will hopefully be addressed.

Whatever the outcome of NATO intervention, Serbia will pay a high price for the violence and expulsion of Kosovar Albanians. The full implications are not clear yet, but according to Wyman what is clear is that "international relations as well as the domestic politics of several states will be profoundly altered as consequence" .(p71)

Marie-Therese Fay
Community Conflict Impact on Children

Immigrants and the Informal Economy in Southern Europe

Edited by Martin Baldwin-Edwards &
Joaquin Arango

(London: Frank Cass, 1999) 216pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £35.00
ISBN 0-7146-49252. Pb.: £16.50 ISBN 0-7146-44846.

In the last two decades Southern Europe has been transformed from a region of emigration to a region of immigration. The relatively large sectors of informal economy in countries such as Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal have attracted an estimated 3 million non-EU immigrants – many of whom enter and/or work illegally. Accordingly, this sort of immigration is difficult to control and the immigrants themselves have no social and few legal rights.

This book aims to give a comparative analysis of illegal immigration in Southern Europe and the political responses employed by the receiving states. The brief introductory chapter by Baldwin-Edwards, is followed by Jahn and Strubhaar's general analysis of the economics of illegal migration. In both chapters it is argued that illegal work of foreigners is best countered by making European labour markets work more efficiently. Baldwin-Edwards urges that a reconsideration of the state looks like the only solution, while Jan and Straubhaar advocate for the

introduction of more flexible terms for employment of workers as well as reduced income tax and social security contributions by employers. The following nine detailed studies of the situation in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece illustrate the complexity of these issues. The chapters vary in focus and level of analysis. For each country there are chapters giving accounts of developments in political measures aimed at curbing or legalising illegal immigration. These analyses are complemented by chapters on the situation of the immigrant workers and their plight. Some chapters are sector specific, such as Giovanna Campani's analysis of illegal immigrant prostitutes in Italy or Jorge Macaista Malheiros' chapter on the construction sector in Lisbon.

As pointed out in several chapters of this volume, the growing anti-immigrant sentiment throughout Southern Europe is directed at illegal immigrants in particular. However, policy measures largely illustrate the 'ostrich-like' unwillingness or incapability of governments to deal with these issues in an effective manner. The book would have benefited from more substantial concluding remarks from the editors. And, given the intensified co-operation on illegal immigration control within Schengen and the EU, it seems strange that the EU dimension and its impact on policy-developments in Southern Europe is more or less absent in most chapters and not included in the introduction in a systematic manner. Yet, overall this book is an important contribution to the understanding and ongoing discussion of these very important and politically sensitive issues.

Dr Eva Østergaard-Nielsen
London School of Economics and Political Science.

Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identity

Graham Smith, Vivien Law, Andrew
Wilson, Annette Bohr & Edward Allworth

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 293pp. Index.
ISBN 0-521-59045-0 hb. ISBN 0-521-59968-7 pb.

The period since the breakup of the Soviet Union has been a confusing time for the people within and without the region. In the work reviewed here, the authors examine the struggle of the major ethnic groups in the re-forging of identities that had been long suppressed by the Soviet regime.

The book poses interesting questions in the Preface: 'What new tensions would arise out of the choice of symbols

and myths, and which old ones would be exacerbated, or alternatively suppressed?" (p. ix). The tensions do not seem to have reached the point of an outbreak of conflict, with some exceptions. There is a brief discussion of the three biggest conflicts: Armenia-Azerbaijan, Georgia-Abkhazia, and Georgia-South Ossetia. The chapter discussing these conflicts gives concise histories of the issues and presents the primary causes of the conflicts as 'myths of homeland and overlapping "claims to indigeness"' (p. 48). The authors claim that the actors involved in the conflict are for the most part fighting 'to legitimate their modern political aims' through claims of superiority in culture, religion, and politics and by associating themselves with 'the glorious deeds of distant real or imagined ancestors' (p. 64).

This book is an interesting sociological and political study of the re-building of ethnic identities in the former Soviet Union. It gives a good foundation for understanding the different challenges faced by the groups within the region, including brief histories of the groups and region. The section on ethnopolitics and group boundaries gives a thorough presentation of the identity politics in the region, with particular attention paid to the role of the state. The final part of the book focuses on language as an indicator of ethnicity.

The book's contribution to ethnic conflict studies is that it presents an analysis of where there was, and is, a great potential for ethnic conflict. However, the primary focus of the book is not ethnic conflict itself, but rather the re-emergence of ethnic identities in the former Soviet Union and the potential tensions associated with it.

Kate Robertson

National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine

Ilya Prizel

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 443pp. index
ISBN 0-521-57157 X £50.00. Pb.: 0-521-57697-0 £16.95.

In this book, Ilya Prizel offers a far-reaching comparative survey of the relationship between national identity and foreign policy in Poland, Russia and Ukraine. He probes deeply into the historical past and concludes with observations about the relevance of national self-concepts in each country for their contemporary foreign policies. The author masterfully summarizes large bodies of literature produced in each country in order to draw out the dominant motifs in the debates over each country's historic character and destiny. Prizel's general conclusion is that the messianic forms of nationalism prevalent in

earlier eras are largely past, as a result of the reshaping of Europe's map by war and by communist rule; they have been replaced by a more realistic acceptance of each nation's international position. However slow and tentative this process may have been for Poland and Ukraine, it has been far more protracted and uncertain in Russia because of the difficulty of finding a non-imperial concept for Russia's state. Reinforcing the general argument about the interaction between national myths and ideologies, on the one hand, and the impact of participation in international political relations, on the other, is the fact that national identity, and indeed statehood, have been highly interdependent among the three countries: their status as independent national states is extremely recent.

Prizel treats national identity as relatively fluid and subject to constant reinterpretation through the interaction of elites and masses, intellectuals and political leaders, and international relations. Yet at the same time, he argues, national identity exerts a real impact on foreign policy. The relationship between national identity, as an observer might define it, and the foreign policy strategy of a political leadership at a given point in time is far from easy to measure, of course, and the book should be seen as Prizel's own interpretive reconstruction of the ideological influences on foreign policy in his three cases. But the interpretation Prizel offers is deeply erudite, sympathetic and insightful. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the book is its ability to remain dispassionate toward all three of the countries treated: Prizel avoids the temptation to cast one into the role of eternal victim and another as victimizer. As a result, he goes a long way toward helping us understand the two-way process of interaction between the hard realities of the international system and the efforts by thinkers and policy makers to define their countries' place in the world.

Thomas F Remington
Emory University

Belarus: A Denationalized Nation

David R Maples

(Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999) 130 pages; ISBN 90-5702-343-1 (paper) EUR 17 / GBP £12.95 / USD \$19.95; ISBN 90-5702-342-3 (cloth) EUR 28 / GBP £21 / USD \$33.

The promise of a Europe whole and free has not come to pass. New divisions between East and West have been established and authoritarian governments still darken the Continent. Maples' book examines a case in the heart of Europe: Belarus. This book is a useful primer to the

history of Belarus and its current political constellation, which has been dominated by the creeping dictatorship of Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka.

Maples's central question is "whether Belarus can survive as an independent state." His main thesis is that Belarusian nationalism is underdeveloped because of its historical evolution; intermittent Soviet practices; the political, social, and economic chaos associated with the post-Soviet period; and the active policies of the post-Soviet period. This book is neither an anthropological nor sociological investigation into the meaning of Belarusian national identity; it largely concentrates on political and economic indicators and extrapolates from them. Nevertheless, his research is sound and Maples does a good job at demonstrating the validity of his argument.

The book is divided into six chapters on a roughly thematic basis. Because there is some chronological overlap between the chapters, a quick read may lead to some confusion. The first is a brief, but excellent, overview of Belarusian history until 1985, stressing the lack of a coherent national base to sustain Belarusian independence during and immediately after World War I. Chapter two focuses on the Belarusian economy, environment, and demographics from 1985 to 1996. While the first two might seem out of place in a book ostensibly about nationalism, it is necessary to help explain why many Belarusian politicians have promoted a union with Russia. The next chapter examines Belarusian political development from 1985 to 1993 and stresses that the leaders of Belarus in the immediate post-Soviet period were never truly committed to independence. Chapters four and five focus on the rise of Lukashenka and the consolidation of his dictatorship. The final chapter examines Belarus' relations with Russia and the moves to form a Slavic Union between the two countries. As Maples shows, talk of a Russia-Belarus union is not necessarily indicative to a return to Russian imperialism and might actually help foster political reform in Belarus.

The absence of a proper conclusion, however, detracts from the overall argument of the book and certainly needs to be added in any future edition (also some editing problems need to be corrected). In addition, Maples largely ignores the geopolitical factors driving Moscow and Minsk closer together; instead, the process is made to appear almost solely driven by domestic factors. Nevertheless, this book is highly recommended and both scholars and lay-persons will find it readable and informative.

Thomas Ambrosio
North Dakota State University

The European Union in the World Community

Edited by Carolyn Rhodes

(Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998) Distributed by the
Eurospan Group. 259pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 1-55587-780-X
£41.50

This book reviews several policies of the European Union (EU) in the world. It assesses more precisely the extent to which there is an EU 'international presence'. As is the case with most edited volumes, the quality is uneven. The book also suffers from the fact that most chapters are too short. The selection of case-studies also avoids the rather trickier questions such as the EU's record in former Yugoslavia. Thus, both Stefan Schirm's chapter on the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and to a lesser extent, Alberta Sbragia's account on the Transatlantic Relationship, would have produced different conclusions. Antje Herrberg's account of EU-Russia relations also underplays the dominant role of the USA and Germany, as well as problems that the former Soviet Union experiences internally and in its near-abroad. Some chapters are simply repeating information that is already available elsewhere (Olufemi Babarinde's contribution on EU relations with the South) or overlap too much with each other (the three chapters by Schirm, Fraser Cameron, David Allen & Michael Smith). Cameron's contribution does not amount to much more than a catalogue of the EU's external relations and of several treaty provisions which are available in any official EU pamphlet.

The book makes two major contributions all the same: first, there are some very good case-studies: Alan Mayhew's sharp and balanced account of EU relations with Central and East European countries rightly points out that the EU's early 'enthusiasm (which is costless)' (p.106) is simply not good enough for the problems raised by the collapse of Communism and the Soviet bloc. Allen and Smith build on the framework they had first developed in their 1990 *Review of International Studies* article for assessing the international impact of the EU. Madeleine Holsi assesses the international implications of EMU. The second strong point of this book is to show that there is still room for greater coherence in several external activities of the Union where more unity would have been expected on the grounds that there are specific treaty provisions which allow majority voting (and a major European Commission input). The chapters by Sophie Meunier (GATT, agriculture) and Joseph Jupille & James Caporaso (environmental policy) offer good illustrations of the limits of European integration in areas where one would expect more convergence. They show that institutional arrangements are not enough. As long as there is no political will to achieve a common policy, it is not possible to legislate and expect a result. Therefore, even

if there is little doubt that nowadays the EU does possess an international presence, the key issue remains whether the EU is a fully-fledged international actor. In that respect, there is still a long way to go.

*Dr Stelios Stavridis,
Jean Monnet Chair in the International Dimension of
European Integration, The University of Reading*

The Divided Economy of mandatory Palestine

Jacob Metzger

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). 275pp.
Index. Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 0-521-46550-8.

This is an extremely useful review of the dual economy - Jewish and Arab - in Palestine during the years in which it was a British Mandatory territory. Anyone specializing in economies sharply divided by ethnicity will find it of interest. It contains a stimulating review of the arguments about what we mean by dual or divided economies as well as a close review of what we know about economic change in Palestine in the inter-war period.

Metzger's employs a fairly straightforward economic definition of a dual economy: the circuits of trade, employment and investment in one community were largely distinct from those of the other and there were significant differences in factor endowment between the communities. High levels of immigration and capital import drove economic growth in the Jewish economy to unprecedented levels before World War II and still largely without equal since. The Arab community was by no means stagnant but did not experience the constant inflow of human and physical capital that accrued to the Jewish community.

Students of institutions will note that the book pays appropriate attention to the role of Zionist institutions in making economic dualism work. There is a careful analysis of two controversial topics in the historiography: the maintenance of wage differentials and the economic and social consequences of Jewish purchases of Arab land. Metzger's technical discussions are clear and highlight the institutional innovation that allowed Jews to purchase land in a free market and then hold it so that it could not be sold back. Technically this suggests the possibility of modeling land purchases as a Markov process in which Jewish ownership is an absorbing state; it would be interesting to evaluate Palestinian fears that Jews would buy up the entire country by estimating relevant transition matrices.

Beyond its status as an archetype of economic ethnic dualism, Metzger's careful computation of factor inputs makes us aware of another dimension of the divided economy of Palestine. In the debate about contemporary economic development a dispute has arisen about the relative importance of factor inputs as opposed to growth beyond the measured inputs themselves, so-called total factor productivity. The experience of the Palestinian economies is not conclusive but it is certainly suggestive that very high levels of investment are crucial. Whatever the sources of total factor productivity (from learning by doing to increasing returns to "embodied" technological change), it only works if levels of factor investments are high for prolonged periods.

Metzger concludes with a brief glance at the present situation in Israel and the Occupied Territories. His conclusions, though understated, are not encouraging not least because he suggests that Israeli economic policy toward the territories now "resembles, more than any other facet in the history of Arab-Jewish economic coexistence, the economic dynamics observed in the European settlement colonies" (p. 211).

Ellis Goldberg

Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on US Middle East Policy

Kathleen Christison

(Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999) 370pp.
Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$40.00; £24.50; ISBN0-520-21717-9.

This book is a damning indictment of the U.S. policy in the Middle East. The author of this book, Kathleen Christison, finds this policy too biased in favour of Israel. She explains this position of Washington on the derogatory manner in which the Americans held the Palestinians. The author in this well-documented book has meticulously demonstrated the ignorance of the Palestinians by the American politicians and decision-makers, which successfully resulted in the strong pro-Israeli bias in American policy in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The analysis made in this book clearly demonstrates that "In a frame of reference that so enthusiastically envelopes Israel and so automatically approaches the conflict from the Israeli point of view, there has been little room (in the US) for the Palestinian perspective" (p. 3). As a result of the disparaging view of the Palestinians held by the Americans, Washington felt that the Palestinians' national claim were artificially and mischievously inspired. Therefore, it could

be ignored; that it was unreasonable for the Arabs to refuse to accept Israel's existence; that there was no real grievances against Israel arising from the Palestinians' displacement. The American obsession with the Israeli point of view is so complete that even now the US officials and the media have no qualm in adopting terms used by Israel itself: 1948 war is called the War of Independence; 1967 War is the Six-Day War and 1973 war is the Yom Kippur War.

For a long period of time, a strong pro-Israeli position prevented Washington from playing the role of an honest broker in the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. It received a 'kick-start' only when there were some signs of change in Washington's pro-Israeli position. This fundamental shift came about in the US policy only when the Bush administration decided finally to deal directly with Palestinians and listen to their point of view. In the author's own words this shift in American position "loosened constraint on (American) thinking and on policy that had impeded progress for decades... (and) forever altered the framework that shaped both public discourse and policy on Palestinian-Israeli issues." (p. 270). The author records these changes but the readers are left with few explanations as to what had led to these fundamental changes in American perceptions toward the Palestinians.

The author writes with passion but with objectivity. All those interested in Middle East affairs should read this book. The book broadens the understanding of the complex Palestinian-Israeli peace process.

Dr Ishtiaq Hossain
National University of Singapore

Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel

Israel Shahak & Norton Mezvinsky

(London: Pluto Press, 1999) 208pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-7453-1281-0 Pb.: £11.99; ISBN 0-7453-1276-4

In this deeply disturbing book Shahak and Mezvinsky highlight the dangers that Jewish fundamentalism poses to democracy in Israel. Using Hebrew sources previously untapped by Western researchers the authors elucidate the religious philosophy that underpins the politics of Shas, the National Religious Party and like-minded settler parties; political groups that have an increasingly influential role in Israeli politics.

The picture they paint is a shocking one. Pulling no punches they liken the "intolerance" and "hatred" of Jewish fundamentalist thought to Nazism (p65) and

contend that both the Israeli public and their politicians have been too indulgent of the religious parties. In a similar vein to the recently published *Murder in the Name of God: The Plot to Kill Yitzhak Rabin*, the authors charge the religious establishment with inciting and stoking the atmosphere that led to the former Prime Minister's assassination. The examples they cite of fundamentalist writings are unsettling. Women are routinely referred to as "witches, bitches and demons" (p37) while many writers hold non-Jews as the earthly manifestation of Satan (p66).

These, it is important to bear in mind, are not the views of marginalised parties on the electoral extremes. Jewish fundamentalist parties are integral elements of the present government and have been important components of past administrations. By way of further illustration, Rabbi Yoseph, the religious leader of Shas, the largest religious grouping in Israel with five portfolios in Ehud Barak's government, believes that Israel should demolish all Christian churches within its territory. (p. 16) Illuminative, insightful and accessible this is an important book that deserves as wide a readership as possible.

Gordon Peake
St. Antony's College, Oxford

Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age

R Stephen Humphreys

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 314pp.
Index. Bibl. Pb.: 0-520-21411-0. \$29.95

In *Between Memory and Desire*, R. Stephen Humphreys, an American historian of the Islamic world, offers an introduction to contemporary Middle Eastern politics and ideology in the light of 1400 years of Islamic history. Throughout, Humphreys seeks to dispel the myths and stereotypes which inform much discussion of Islam and the Middle East, and to replace them with nuance and complexity. The first six essays cover topics as varied as the demography of Muslim societies, Arab nationalism, and foreign policy; the final four explore the relationship of Islam and politics, Islamic political theory, the concept of *jihad*, and the role of women in public life.

The book is directed at a literate but non-academic audience, which is not to say that academic readers would not benefit from acquaintance with Humphreys erudition and wonderful writing style. However, it is also directed largely, if unselfconsciously, at an American audience whose preconceptions are not necessarily shared elsewhere.

Humphreys offers some wonderful insights. He dismisses the “Myth of the Middel East Madman”, noting that the goals of leaders such as Nasser, Saddam Hussein, and the Ayatollah Khomeini, are not impenetrable but simply “not the ones we want them to have” (p.83.). On the relationship between Islam and politics, he observes that, for most Muslims, Islam is simply what Muslims actually do and believe, and not a prescriptive set of political injunctions. Likewise, he distinguishes the early history of *jihad* as an aspect of the expansionist phase of early Islam, from its more recent manifestation as a defensive response to foreign incursion and domination of the Muslim world.

The very ambition and scope of this book is its main failing. In seeking to cover so much of Muslim history and Islamic theory, Humphreys time and again sacrifices complexity of analysis for broad overview, despite his avowed intention to do otherwise. Despite this, *Between Memory and Desire* is filled with rewards for any reader, academic and layperson alike.

*Dr Vincent Durac
 Queens University, Belfast*

State Building and Conflict Resolution in Colombia, 1986-1994

Harvey F Kline

(Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999) 240pp.
Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8173-0943-8.

The main contribution of this book is to provide strong empirical support for what most observers of the last decade of Colombian politics know very well. Violence increased in Colombia during the Presidencies of Virgilio Barco and Cesar Trujillo Gaviria, 1986-1994. The book demonstrates the failure of the policies of the two governments towards guerilla, paramilitary and drug violence. The author calls these public policies: “conflict resolution”. It is difficult, however, to see where government policies fit under this rubric as generally understood. Both governments did attempt various elite-level negotiations with armed actors. Each had some limited success. The demobilisation of the M-19 guerilla group and its reintegration into the political realm took place under Barco, and Gaviria had some success with the Medellin drug militia; three other smaller guerilla groups also demobilised during this period. However, elite negotiations produced no other positive results, and the two major guerilla organisations, the FARC and the ELN, grew in strength. As did the paramilitary groups, although Kline’s book does not pick up on this until the epilogue. Drugs mafias were as strong as ever come the mid to late

1990s, while drug production and export increased and was financing all the actors of the conflict as well as members of the political elite. Although to be fair, the book only covers the two Presidencies, it was published in 1999 yet doesn’t really explain why since 1994 violence in Colombia has escalated to such an extent that today the country is deemed by some to be in a situation of actual civil war.

It is hard to conceive the government sponsored negotiations in the years covered by the author, as a serious effort at “conflict resolution”, unless this term is to mean only elite-level deals. The government was certainly no “independent” third party negotiating an end to conflict. Significant members of the government armed forces were known to be involved with paramilitary groups or to be tacitly assisting them, and drugs money had had a severely corrupting impact on government security forces as well as high ranking politicians. Controversy surrounds the precise relationship between government, army and paramilitary groups. The government had done nothing to ensure civilian control over the army or bring armed offices accused of human rights violations to justice, or to investigate the large body of evidence that the army “allowed” the paramilitary groups to operate in conflict zones. Some would argue that the government was unable to control the armed forces, others that it remained ambivalent towards their counter-insurgency tactics even when they cost the lives of civilians, ultimately tolerating what they felt was necessary to defeat the guerillas. While the Gaviria government was paving the war for negotiations with the FARC in 1990, the army attacked the guerilla group’s headquarters in Casa Verde. It will never be known whether the President had or had not been informed in advance of an offensive which would cost a huge amount of the trust necessary to convince all parties to seek a political not military solution to the conflict.

Given these facts, the most important question to examine would be the nature of the Colombian State and its relationship to Colombian society. Why was it that reforming initiatives foundered so quickly after each new President’s early efforts? And why was there always an essential ambivalence towards any peace negotiations, which meant that all sides ultimately stuck to military solutions?

Kline does make the Colombian State a focus of his book, but his argument is much less analytically developed than the work put into the empirical overview of the policies of the two Presidents towards armed groups. Indeed, his conclusions are fairly obvious ones: “Clearly, then, Colombia lacked a strong state at the beginning of the time span this study covers. It might have been slightly stronger at the end of the Gaviria government, depending on the results of the reform of the national police. However, the state was not then, and still is not, strong enough to meet its challenges” (pg. 195)

Is the real problem that the Colombian state is not strong enough? Or, as Kline and others have argued, a modern state has never existed in Colombia? Superficially, it is

possible to look at violence in Colombia as a problem of order, of the failure of the State to establish control over all its territory. However, taking the other word in Weber's classic definition, that of "legitimacy", perhaps we can come a little closer to the problem. The Colombian state has performed for certain sectors of society. The powerful coffee growers federation have been able to operate a virtual state within a state. The two traditional parties have fended off efforts to democratise and open up the political system, and have protected the interests of a narrow political class. The electoral system is about competition for votes amongst an electorate that is deeply disenchanting with the political system and which mostly abstains at election time. Elections can be won by the purchase of a relatively few number of votes in each locality.

The kind of politics that is missing in Kline's description is that of the people who don't believe in the formal political process and seek other forms of non-violent participation to express their profound rejection of the way power operates in Colombian political life. The urban trade union and rural peasant organisers, for example, municipal social and civic reformers, students who have not taken the armed road but seek serious social, economic and political reform. It is not just armed actors who have died in the violence of recent years. The deaths from political violence are mostly of these civilian campaigners. Their civic social and political protest have put them in more danger than the actions of armed actors who have weapons to defend themselves, in a political system closed to legitimate social protest and political opposition outside the two traditional parties. Sometimes, new parties have been formed to express this discontent with the prevailing political order. In the case of the Patriotic Union, originally an attempt by the FARC to develop a competitive political wing, it cost the lives of literally thousands of electoral candidates and local representatives.

It could be argued that rather than a problem of a weak state. Colombia's problems reside in the lack of a legitimate, democratic and representative State, capable of incorporating the interests of all social groups rather than just those of a few. Those who argue that the problem is one of order, pave the way for what is one of the greatest challenges to the Colombian political system to date. That is not the army per se, nor the guerilla groups and drugs cartels as such, but it is the rise of an authoritarian response to the country's problems, which appeals to the profound fear of the middle and lower middle classes, who have been touched for the first time in the 1990s by the violence that most of rural Colombia and poor urban Colombia has always known. This authoritarian response has found expression in the rise of Carlos Castano, now heading a paramilitary force with a coordinated and national project of extremely authoritarian character.

In conclusion, Kline's book offers a useful overview of two important Presidencies and their efforts to negotiate with armed actors. It is less helpful as an analysis of their failure and why Colombia is today more polarised and violent than ever. In excluding from the analysis the many societal movements and actors that have risked their lives

for a more peaceful Colombia from the grass-roots, the author contributes to the vision of Colombia as a contest amongst elite armed groups with only the Presidents attempting to end the violence. It is then too easy to conclude that the failure of those Presidents is simply a failure of the state. It is rather the closed and unrepresentative nature of that state that is the problem, and the solution lies in democracy not order.

Dr Jenny Pearce
University of Bradford

Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru

Kenneth M Roberts

(Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998) 370pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: £32.50; ISBN 0-8047-3193-4. Pb.: £11.95; ISBN 0-8047-3194-2. Distributed by Cambridge University Press.

Students of Latin American democratization have focussed their studies on three general questions. Why did democracy ensue in the midst of an economic crisis in the 1980s? Is democracy consolidating? Is democracy deepening? This book addresses the last question by assessing the role that the Left played in Chile and Peru during the process of democratization in the 1980s and early 1990s.

The author makes a few arguments in the Introduction that shape the analysis of the deepening of democracy in Latin America. The first is that there is an incongruence between the political agenda that is needed to deepen democracy and the structural and institutional environment of contemporary Latin America with its neoliberal agenda. The second is that structural and sociological factors rather than ideological or voluntaristic ones account for the success or failure of the Left to deepen democracy. Third, the democratic dilemma in Latin America is that democracy either engenders instability by empowering popular majorities, and thus, generating authoritarian responses by the elite; or democracy loses its vitality in the pursuit of political stability.

To access different strategies followed by the Left, the book discusses different political parties and organizations in Chile and Peru. These two countries share in common a democratic transition that was preceded by social mobilization; and in both cases the Left became an important player in the democratic regimes. In Chile, the Socialist Party joined a broad opposition coalition against General Pinochet led by the Christian Democrats, and in so doing, it was constrained by political and economic factors in its efforts to deepen democracy. In Peru, where

the Left had been gaining ascendancy during the early 1980s, contradictions within the *Izquierda Unida* — United Left (IU) between the moderates and the hard liners led to the decline of the Left.

To remain alive, the moderate sectors of the Left have emphasized the notion of a deepening of democracy brought about by organized popular subjects, including new social movements that transcend class-based action. These would include gender, ethnic, and religious-based groups. The problem is, says Roberts, that in practice leftist parties adopt electoralist orientations that are targeted at voting individuals rather than to group action.

The book provides a rich and detailed analysis of the issues, strategies, and transformations of the Left in Chile and Peru. What remains unclear is the definition of the deepening of democracy. What does it mean? Does it refer mostly or exclusively to political rights and institutional design issues? Does it encompass socio-economic rights as well? When has democracy deepened enough? How do we assess progress and failure? Another problematic assumption is the argument that the Left helps the deepening of democracy. If the Left in Latin America was never very democratic or pro-democracy as the author points out, why should we assume that it will help to deepen democracy in spite of its recently adopted pro-democracy stand? True, the experience of social democracy in Western Europe supports the argument that there is a connection between the actions of the Left and the deepening of democracy if we mean by it extending social rights. But for Latin America, what is the scope of public policy innovation that could coexist with a relatively stable democracy? In turn, can democracy be deepened under the socioeconomic constraints imposed by international trade, austerity programs, currency devaluations, debts and unfair taxation? As the book concludes, here the answers remain uncertain.

Rosario Espinal
Temple University

**Lost Lives: The stories of the men,
women, and children who died as a
result of the Northern Ireland
troubles**

David McKittrick, Seamus Kelters,
Brian Feeney & Chris Thorton

(Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1999) 1630pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: £25.00; ISBN 1-8401-8227-X

Of the hundreds of books written about various aspects of the Northern Ireland conflict, this one will be ranked as one of the most important. At 1,630 pages it is an
page 30

impressive publication that is reasonably priced and I would recommend it to anyone with an interest in 'the Troubles'. Academic researchers will find it indispensable.

The book contains details, listed in chronological order, of 3,637 deaths arising from 'the Troubles' (from 1966 to July 1999). In addition to basic information on each person killed, almost all entries contain a short account of the individual and the manner of their death. These accounts are partly comprised of text written by the authors. This original text is supplemented with extracts from contemporary newspaper or television items based on interviews of the relatives and friends of those killed, and in some cases information from eyewitnesses.

While other lists of deaths have been produced in the past, it is the detail in the accounts of the people killed that make this book unique. Contained within the pages is the basic human tragedy of 'the Troubles'. All the deaths are treated in an impartial, non-judgemental way. In addition to the 2,037 civilians killed, the book covers the deaths of security force members and those who belonged to Loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups. Over and above the information on the people killed, the text often provides an insight into the suffering of family members and friends. Another feature of the book is that links between deaths are also highlighted. The book does have some minor errors, for example a few of the dates of death were incorrect, but these don't detract from the overall value of the work.

Arriving at a total number of deaths from the conflict is not as straightforward as it might first seem and difficult decisions have to be taken about what constitutes a conflict-related death. Judgements about whether or not to include accidental shootings or traffic accidents involving military vehicles will affect the total figure. As mentioned above a number of groups and individuals have produced lists of those killed since the conflict began. Each of these lists has arrived at a different total depending on the assumptions made. Prior to the publication of 'Lost Lives', the last comprehensive list of deaths that was published commercially was the book 'Bear in Mind These Dead ... An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland 1969-1993' by Malcolm Sutton (1994; now out of print). Recently Sutton's data was revised, updated, and made available on-line at the CAIN web site (<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton>). There has also been a comprehensive study of the conflict-related deaths by the 'Cost of the Troubles Study' and extracts from all the resulting reports and publications are also at the CAIN site (<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/cts>).

The authors of 'Lost Lives' mention in the introduction that they hope to produce a version of the book on CD-ROM. This would be a welcome addition because of the extra facilities that the technology would allow.

Martin Melaugh
University of Ulster

Defenders or Criminals: Loyalist Prisoners and Criminalisation

Colin Crawford

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1999) 188pp. Index. Bibl. £12.99;
ISBN 085640649X

Crawford's book attempts two things. Firstly, to ascertain the reasons behind the British Government's decision to end special category status for paramilitary prisoners in Northern Ireland. and secondly, to analyse the effects of imprisonment on the political psychology of paramilitary prisoners. focusing largely on the Loyalists; Loyalists being those paramilitaries who engage in violence in support of the Union with Britain and in opposition to Irish Republicanism.

The first section of the book is abrasive in its denunciation of prisons policy in Ulster and its place in the overall political strategy of the government. The criminalisation of paramilitary prisoners, who up until 1976 enjoyed status and privileges comparable to those of prisoners of war, in conditions which Crawford refers to as "humane containment," (p. 26) is described in terms of a psychological weapon "introduced to ruthlessly discount and delegitimise the prisoners not only as political prisoners but as human beings." (p. 21) Crawford's reasoning for this British engagement in psychological warfare is direct and provocative. His contention is that the Government was pushing for withdrawal from the province, but could not openly do so because of the constitutional guarantee to its citizens. In British eyes, this necessitated a situation in which the conflict would be escalated to near anarchy by severely provoking the most important constituency within the paramilitary organisations. the prisoners. In the miniature civil war that would follow, the British could thus be seen "to be forced out, to have had no reasonable choice." (p. 65) Crawford's conspiratorial analysis has something of the *X Files* about it. Like all good conspiracy theories it contains a seed of truth, but the problem lies in the weak and rather infertile empirical medium within which it germinates. From 1974 - 75 there were widely held suspicions that the British Government was considering withdrawal, with some basis in reality, but the Government was not using the prisons issue as a means of fomenting disorder in pursuance of a slippery exit. There is evidence that the Government did attempt to steer Loyalist paramilitaries into a type of "Ulster Nationalism" in which they might break the Union themselves, but the effect was faltering and doomed to failure. The real germ of British criminalisation policy can be found in the Gardiner report of January 1975, an official report into prisons policy in Northern Ireland and a document for which there is inexplicably no reference in Crawford's work. The Gardiner report concluded that special category status gave political credence and the propaganda edge to terrorists; was insufficient as a

deterrent and fostered the destabilising belief that an amnesty might occur. Following the collapse of various political initiatives, the British Government put the emphasis on a security policy of "normalisation" that might at least contain terrorism and deprive it of credibility, and within ten months the Gardiner report was largely being implemented. Criminalisation was a ham fisted and futile attempt at grafting a veneer of normalcy onto the conflict but it was not an attempt at British withdrawal. After all, criminalisation reached crisis point during the Hunger strikes of 1981 and can anyone seriously believe that Mrs. Thatcher was pursuing a policy of troops out?

The second half of the book is excellent however and extremely illuminating in defining the political thinking of Loyalist prisoners. The defensive, communal and largely amateurish nature of their campaign and the ideological processes within it is underlined by the author, in contrast to the more politically sophisticated, if equally militant, approach of Republicans. The empirical basis of this section is in the form of questionnaire data and excerpts from interviews with prisoners and highlights the counterproductive nature of criminalisation in subduing paramilitary violence. The interviews with former prison officers graphically illustrate the brutality involved in criminalisation when used as psychological warfare. The book is worth reading for part two alone, but the contention that criminalisation was British withdrawal by stealth, rather than an inept strategy for the suppression of terrorism is questionable.

Kris Brown
The Queens University of Belfast

Battling for Peace

Richard Needham

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1999) 344pp. Index ISBN 0-85640-637-6. Pb.: £12.99; ISBN 0-85640-654-6.

Richard Needham was a British government junior minister in Northern Ireland between 1985 and 1992. This well written book covers that period and provides an interesting, if partial, account of trying to run an economy in a situation of low-intensity warfare. As such it is a useful addition to earlier books on Northern Ireland written by the British politicians Merlyn Reese and James Callaghan.

This book can be read in a number of different ways. As a political autobiography, by a minor British politician out of sympathy with his party leader, Margaret Thatcher, it is entertaining but is of only minor historical interest. However, as an account of the difficulties which are faced by a government minister trying to run a region that is facing violent opposition in an ethnic conflict it is compelling.

Needham initially establishes his own Anglo-Irish background and also makes clear both his unionist sympathies and the moderate conservative beliefs which led to his political exile in Northern Ireland. He also outlines the difficulties of governing a region in which the majority community's political representatives, the unionists, were trying to overturn a key policy (the Anglo-Irish Agreement) while at the same stage there was on going paramilitary violence.

His primary thesis is that along side security policy in Northern Ireland there was also an economic war directed against the paramilitaries. Therefore he gives an account of the interventionist economic policy that he was able to pursue in Northern Ireland using large subsidies to try and both encourage outside investment and promote local entrepreneurship. This was intended to try and increase the levels of employment in the deprived areas where the paramilitaries thrived and thus deal with the problems of social marginalisation which he blamed for the conflict. He also charts the attacks made by the paramilitaries against economic targets that he felt were designed to thwart this strategy. Further, through redevelopment initiatives disused industrial land, such as the bank of Belfast's river Lagan, was regenerated and improved to make the region more attractive.

This book is of interest primarily to those scholars who want to get an inside view of British strategy in Northern Ireland during the 1980s. It provides interesting and detailed accounts of the difficulties of government in the region as well as many of the personalities in Northern Irish politics. Ultimately, however, it is of only limited relevance to people primarily interested in ethnic conflict although his account of attempting to regenerate Northern Ireland's economy does deserve wider consideration.

Dr Michael von Tangen Page
King's College, London University

Through the Minefield

David McKittrick

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1999) 213pp. Index. Pb.: £11.99;
ISBN 0-85640-652-x

Through the Minefield is the fourth collection of *Independent's* award-winning journalist David McKittrick's coverage of the Northern Ireland conflict. In this volume, McKittrick's key articles from the most recent period of the conflict's history are reprinted, covering events from the ending of the IRA cease-fire with the Canary Wharf-bomb in February 1996 to the murder of Catholic solicitor Rosemary Nelson in March 1999. Besides a chronology of the episode, McKittrick's reportage offers an excellent analysis of events and individuals in the peace process, such as three separate

Drumcree crises; the death of Billy Wright and the loyalist violence that followed; the Good Friday agreement and the referendums; the Omagh bomb; and the new assembly.

Although McKittrick's analysis of Northern Ireland is not framed in a theoretical context his informed journalism provides interesting insights on the dynamics of a peace process. For example, it illustrates how a change in one of the main parties of the conflict – that is when Tony Blair came to power after the election of a new British government in May 1997 – served to break the logjam which had followed the ending of the IRA cease-fire. Furthermore, McKittrick's articles portray the dual role of violence in a peace process. For example, the continuation of punishment beatings posed a threat to the peace process, McKittrick argues, since it "caused many to question the worth of the peace process and the value of the efforts to lead former paramilitaries on a journey away from bombs and into the democratic processes" (p. 199). At other times, violence functioned as a catalyst for peace, such as in an incident during the Drumcree crisis in 1998, in which three children of a Catholic mother were burnt to death by fire-bombs thrown by loyalists. However, the articles are not long enough to provide any extensive elaboration on the different issues. Instead its strength lies in that it catches the spirit of that certain time period, describing the hopes and the fears which are present simultaneously in a peace process. By and large, however, McKittrick's reportage facilitates the understanding of the Northern Ireland peace process in an incisive and accessible fashion.

Kristine Hoglund
University of Kent, Canterbury

Identity in Northern Ireland: Communities, Politics and Change

Cathal McCall

(London: Macmillan, 1999) 230pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-312-21844-3. £42.50.

In *Identity in Northern Ireland*, Cathal McCall takes an unusual look at the oft examined problem of the prospects for peace in that troubled region by examining the extent to which changes in the political, economic, and cultural structures of the UK, Ireland, and Europe have affected the identities of Irish Nationalists and Ulster Unionists. In a Postmodern critique of modernist notions of identity, he examines changes in the cultural, economic, and territorial identity resources of both communities in the contexts of the burgeoning EU and the 'axis' of Anglo-Irish cooperation in seeking a solution to the Troubles.

The main feature of McCall's argument regarding the new postmodernism in Europe surrounds the principle of subsidiarity in the EU, the availability of economic

resources on the regional level, and the acceleration of regional cultural linkages as alternatives to state-centered and state-sponsored initiatives. The willingness of the EU to create forums for regional action and association leads, in McCall's opinion, to new forms of identity and to sources of identity that are not constrained by modernist, state-centered and territorial dictates. At one level the reality of these postmodern forces is quite clear, however, the lack of cultural linkages for the Unionist community—as well as the continuing reliance of many members of both communities to frame their identities in territorial terms—lends credence to McCall's realization that only 'intimations' of postmodernism rather than sweeping forces are present in the conflict.

One difficulty with his argument is the proposition that communal identity is best represented as being made up of a finite number of resources - political, economic, and cultural - that change over time. While this may in fact be a viable breakdown - even if it ignores psychological theories of identity—McCall's decision to embody possible changes in identity through interviews with officials from the main parties tends - in this author's opinion—to ignore the contributions of grass roots movements such as the Women's Coalition and the many inter-community projects run by concerned citizens and ex-paramilitaries from both sides of the conflict.

Despite the lack of an earth-shattering breakthrough Identity in Northern Ireland does live up to many of the author's promises. It examines the conflict and peace initiatives in Northern Ireland within a larger context - both showing the promising movements forward as well as the 'modernist' difficulties impeding a final resolution. Through his interviews with mainstream party representatives McCall shows that many are contending with the facts of a 'postmodern' European climate, even though many believe that the politics of nationalism will continue to rule the day. Although the book's projections tend to be as tenuous as the current peace process, its analysis brings up many salient points that a student of Northern Ireland would do well to know.

Landon Hancock
ICAR, George Mason University

The Northern Ireland Question: Nationalism, Unionism and Partition

Edited by Patrick J Roche & Brian
Barton

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 206pp. Index. Hb.: £39.95 ISBN
1-8401-4490-4

The two co-editors' third volume on the Northern Ireland Question focuses on the interrelationship between (Irish) nationalism and (Ulster) unionism and the resulting

partition of Ireland. Although the book's contributors, all of which are highly experienced in Northern Irish affairs, present rather detailed factual accounts, a basic knowledge of Irish history and Anglo-Irish relations on the part of the reader is assumed. The volume's eight highly readable and informative essays form an important contribution to the academic literature on Northern Ireland.

In their respective essays on pre-partition nationalism and unionism, Brian Girvan and D. George Boyce provide the frameworks for the entire book. Brian Barton's piece on partition is a very well written contribution which brings back to life the forces that so decisively influenced the course of events in this formative period. Subsequently, Dennis Kennedy convincingly argues that nationalism's early "addiction to rhetorical purity" (p.79) sealed partition and that its continued emphasis on the symbolism of cross-border bodies obstructs rather than promotes the rapprochement between nationalists and unionists today. The two pieces by Graham Gudgin and Sydney Elliott - the former looks into issues of discrimination before 1972 and the latter into the North's electoral system - are valuable contributions, yet somewhat remote to the main theme of the book. J. Esmond Birnie's "The Economics of Unionism and Nationalism" offers valuable new insights, but it remains questionable whether the economic dimension is part of the core problem. In the concluding essay Michael Cunningham takes up the difficult task of presenting present-day unionist and nationalist thinking, at a time in which both are in a state of flux. His excellent analysis, therefore, is of provisional character.

One could criticize that the book fails to identify Irish nationalism and Ulster unionism as two antagonistic forms of ethnically-based nationalism. Thus the Northern Ireland Question is presented as an isolated problem rather than as part of the global phenomenon of inter-ethnic conflict. Since the editors deliberately chose to focus on Northern Ireland, this criticism is not valid. Yet, it might serve as a suggestion for the theme of a fourth volume on the subject.

Norbert Schnitzler
Harvard University

Politics and Contemporary Performance in Northern Ireland

Edited by John P Harrington &
Elizabeth J Mitchell

(Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999)
234pp. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 1-55849-196-1. Pb.:
£15.00; ISBN 1-55849-197-X.. Distributed by Eurospan.

This collection, emerging from the American Conference for Irish Studies, offers nine essays covering what in the broadest sense might be taken to be the 'performance' of

political identity in Northern Ireland. Four of the authors (Marilynn Richtarik, Helen Lojek, Maureen S. G. Hawkings and Jennifer C. Cornell) are concerned with tackling this from the point of view of dramatic companies and plays, whether they be featured in theatre or on television. Bill Rolston discusses the inter-play between loyalist songs and loyalist political identity. Four more pieces focus on the power-play currently unfolding, whether it be gauged in terms of 'new' loyalism (James White McAuley), policing (Roger MacGinty), the dynamics of forgiveness (Mícheál D. Roe, William Pegg, Kim Hodges, and Rebecca A. Trimm) or local government (William A. Hazleton).

For students of Irish studies anxious to keep abreast of the issues of cultural production and political change in Northern Ireland, this book will provide considerable comfort. The range of material covered in this volume suggests a multitude of ways in which the threads of interdisciplinary thought may be tied together. However, that process would depend on an imaginative reader alert to the possibilities presented in this volume. For while the editors John P. Harrington and Elizabeth J. Mitchell offer 'performance' as a binding concept available to both the literary and political analyst, the writers - particularly the political analysts - are less forthcoming.

Writers keen to elucidate the politics of literary production, particularly drama, have long been alert to the significance of contextualizing the material they study. Marilyn Richtarik's typically informative study of Stewart Parker, the first essay in the collection, is a case in point (indeed Richtarik's work pervades all the writing on theatre here). Bill Rolston, likewise, produces a sometimes shocking insight into the loyalist song lyric, which draws on techniques of literary criticism and political analysis. If rather under-theorized, Rolston's is an essay that offers clues as to the direction of such interdisciplinary work.

The same cannot be said of the more purely political contributions. Although one might expect the writers here to expand on such issues as the use of media or rhetoric, or to explore 'display' as a trope in public debate, they largely refrain. What Mac Ginty calls the 'conscious politicisation of the parades issue' for example, though ripe for such treatment, remains unelaborated.

What emerges, then, are two unconnected collections bound together, where one more interesting and integrated collection might be imagined. Unless political commentary is prepared to meet literary criticism or media studies half way, one feels, the common ground of 'performance' is likely to remain only a play on words.

Ben Levitas
The Queens University of Belfast

Women's Work: The Story of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition

Kate Fearon

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1999) 184pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.:
£11.99; ISBN 0-8564-9653-8

Kate Fearon, Political Advisor to the Women's Coalition has taken the lead and become the first author of a book about the remarkable birth and growth of the NIWC. As an insider involved from the beginning she tells the story from that perspective having supplemented her own observations with many interviews with other key personnel. I suspect many of those involved directly and certainly those of us who observed events with interest will read this book with delight. For those interested in both the Peace Process in Northern Ireland and in women's participation in democracy the book is essential reading.

The speed with which the decision was taken to launch the party and the subsequent sharp learning curve for all those involved must have meant that few had time to reflect on the processes they were involved in. This book describes in easy prose the process of setting up the party, the first election and team building. Details on participation in the Forum and the Talks are presented and finally putting the Agreement to the People and the process of election to the Assembly where Monica McWilliams and Jane Morrice were elected is detailed.

As a descriptive account the book provides sufficient detail and is a valuable contribution to contemporary history. The energy, excitement and hard work of all those involved are recorded and the whole resounds of a vibrant and invigorating process. It is hard to believe, however, that there were not more days when despair ruled; when the negativity of other parties wore the NIWC down; and when it was impossible to believe that the aims they had set themselves would ever be realised.

The goal of making sure women's voices would be heard has been met, with a cross-community ethos the NIWC has ensured a presence for women in the Assembly and it is to be hoped that this is the start of increased political participation for many more women.

Gillian Robinson
Research Director, INCORE

Rethinking Unionism: An Alternative vision for Northern Ireland

Norman Porter

(Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 1998) New Updated edition.
252pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: ISBN 0-85640-643-0. £11.99

Rethinking Unionism simultaneously attempts to explain Unionist politics, its philosophies, and its meanings for existence, and to replace the present day form with an upgraded version. The title of Mr. Porter's book is enough to give a reader pause to think. For some readers, understanding Unionism may not be an easy task, but Mr. Porter's explication of both Cultural Unionism and Liberal Unionism will assist readers in deconstructing the arguments both branches put forward to justify their past and present actions. The author is not shy in criticizing Unionism's policies and actions, and he is very candid about his bias, for his heritage is strongly tied to Unionist politics. Indeed, the author's near confessional declaration is instrumental in lending legitimacy to his scathing rebuke of Unionism's failure to serve all the people of Northern Ireland during its tenure at Stormont.

Mr. Porter's chapters walk the reader through an overview of Unionism as a whole, and then divide Unionism into two, a process that eventually leads to the dissection of these divisions. The author brings to light the premises for each form of Unionism, and then neatly dispatches both, arguing that neither Cultural Unionism nor Liberal Unionism are relevant to the new Northern Ireland that is being born as we speak. Instead, Mr. Porter offers Civic Unionism, a near-hybrid version, which is grounded more in the political needs of all Northern Ireland citizens. He frequently argues that cultural needs of the province should be given "due recognition," but be put "in a different place."

This division of the political and cultural needs of the people of Northern Ireland is a theme that permeates Mr. Porter's book. He sees these forms of identity as being quite separate and distinct, that the political needs of Northern Ireland's citizens should not be mixing with something as quite as messy as culture. In that regard, he would disagree with many scholars and practitioners in the conflict resolution field who believe that the cultural is political and the political is cultural. Mr. Porter presents a concrete and convincing, and at times amusing, argument as to why Unionism needs to be redefined, reframed, and if relevant, repositioned. Whether Civic Unionism is the answer remains to be seen, and to be fair Mr. Porter acknowledges that Civic Unionism does not hold all the answers. Yet, by examining the foundations of Unionism, both Cultural and Liberal, and questioning their present-day relevance, Mr. Porter invites the people of Northern Ireland to think outside the box of traditional Unionism, to brainstorm the options, and to imagine the possible outcomes.

Linda McLean Harned
ICAR, George Mason University

Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction

J Morgan Kousser

(Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999) 590pp. ISBN 0- 8078- 4738- 0.

In August 1965 President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law. Widely regarded as the high watermark of the struggle against racial inequality in the United States, the act sought to empower a black population that had been stripped of its political rights since the late nineteenth century. By 1990 the number of adult blacks registered to vote had reached rough parity with whites, 59 per cent compared to 64 per cent. During the 1970s and 1980s Congress extended the act to allow for the redrawing of electoral district lines. The intention was to ensure that African Americans and other racial minorities underrepresented in the political system had an opportunity to elect their own representatives. As a result, the United States witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of black elected officials.

Yet in more recent years the political tide has turned with a powerful vengeance. In 1993 the United States Supreme Court ruled in favour of North Carolina whites who argued that they had been effectively disenfranchised by the redrawing of electoral district lines. According to the decision reached in *Shaw v. Reno*, preferential treatment for African Americans reinforces the racial divisions that the civil rights struggle sought to eradicate. Officials elected in such districts would consider it their sole interest to represent the needs of their black constituents. In the opinion of the court this could only impede the already slow and painful progress towards a colourblind society.

Yet according to J. Morgan Kousser the decision sets a dangerous political precedent and should be reversed. *Shaw v. Reno* represents a conservative counter revolution that threatens to destroy the victories of the civil rights movement. Kousser condemns the court for having established a blatant double standard. In the wake of the decision, disenchanted whites only have to establish that some racial distinction was made in the redrawing of electoral district lines. Minorities must demonstrate not that racial discrimination is not only the effect but the direct intent of redistricting. As Kousser demonstrates through a series of case studies this is almost impossible to prove since redistricters resort to any number of devious practices in order to disguise their motivations. The consequence of the decision is therefore that in future the redrawing of electoral district lines will restore white political supremacy and marginalise minority representation. This

is a brilliantly researched and passionately argued work of public history that powerfully demonstrates the lessons of the past to throw light on contemporary political issues.

Clive Webb
University of Reading

Autobiography and Black identity Politics: Racialization in Twentieth- Century America

Kenneth Mostern

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 280pp.
Index. Bibl. Hb.: £37.50/\$54.95; ISBN 0-521-64114-4. Pb.:
£13.95/\$19.95; ISBN 0-521-64679-0.

Kenneth Mostern analyzes the use of autobiography by a select group of black intellectuals to construct identity politics, derived from, and aimed at, the racial imbalances of the American order. Projected as a microscopic representation of collective experience, the autobiographical genre became the framework for, "simultaneous self-creation and self-emancipation." (p11) William E. B. Du Bois's writings and autobiography offer insights into the dynamics of black identity politics. They trace his ideological transitions—from a color-blind, liberal vision, through a black essentialist/racial one, to a Marxian class perspective. As race assumed dominance, Du Bois embraced a global Pan-Africanist identity. He contends that racism mandates racialist constructions of identity by blacks.

Ida B. Wells Barnett, James W. Johnson and Walter White construct identities in opposition to lynching. Johnson affirms the centrality and essence of black culture. This exaltation of black culture notwithstanding, lynching compelled Johnson to adopt a liberal, non-racialized posture, by identifying with the lynchers (whites), rather than the lynched (blacks). Conversely, the probability of being lynched shaped the racialized identity and political activism of Wells Barnett, and Walter White. Thus, while Johnson advances race-effacing identity, and liberal individualism, Wells Barnett, Du Bois and White, advocate racialized identities. Zora Neal Hurston's identity emanates from a celebration of black culture, in contrast to Wells Barnett's racialized identity. Mostern thus underlines fundamental disagreement among blacks on the relative significance of race and culture.

Paul Robeson and Malcolm X defend a global political perspective on black identity, and manhood. Malcolm X provides a systemic representation and critique of racism, favoring a black essentialist identity. He exalts black masculinity, and espouses a humanism that justifies violence. Malcolm X's black masculinity, ironically reinforces the dominant patriarchal culture.

Nikki Giovanni and Angela Davis criticize black masculinity and patriarchy. Their radical defense of gender constituted a negation of the black masculinity, and the identity politics of Malcolm X, Robeson, and the Black Power generation. bell hooks depicts black masculinity as constituting both a rejection of white supremacy and affirmation of patriarchy. Black women autobiographies, Mostern demonstrates, inherited identity politics that challenged both racism and black masculinity.

Mostern underscores the multi functionality and complexity of black autobiography. Particularly revealing is the ideological differences, conflicting perceptions of identity, and discords on the relative significance of race and gender. Mostern's selections, however, place undue emphasis on gender divide. Blacks manifest far greater degree of ideological convergence across gender lines than is reflected here. Beyond gender differential, however, knowing other explanations for the conflicting constructions of identity politics would help.

Tunde Adeleke
Loyola University, New Orleans.

Black Globalism: The International Politics of a Non-state Nation

Sterling Johnson

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) 262pp. Index. Bibl. £40.00; ISBN
1-85521-895-X.

Black Globalism is a well-written narrative of African Americans' views of Africa and their interest in it since 1619 when the first slaves arrived. Sterling Johnson begins by explaining how remnants of African culture as seen in language, religion, storytelling, etc., were important factors in helping slaves cope with the system. Furthermore, the memory of Africa was often a catalyst for slave revolts and conspiracies, like Denmark Vesey's in 1822 in Charleston, South Carolina. Finally, the African memory was the basis for the assertion that a worldwide Black brotherhood to which African Americans belong exists. This belief Johnson calls PanAfricanism.

Next, Johnson discusses why the issue of the African-American relationship to Africa has been controversial so often. Historically, most African-Americans consider America their homeland, and as David Walker's Appeal of 1829, shows have agitated stridently for equality here. At the same time, this view was challenged, especially in the pre-Civil War years, by Blacks who felt that they could only fulfill themselves in their own homeland, a position which Johnson calls PanNegro Nationalist. Most often, Africa was the proposed homeland, and Johnson tells how

Blacks like Martin Delany, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, and Chief Alfred Sam, pursue this goal into the 20th century. Some whites for a variety of motives held the same view, and organized the American Colonization Society (1816-1910), which started a colony for freed Blacks in Liberia in 1822.

Johnson suggests that Pan-Africanism supplanted PanNegro Nationalism as the dominant method which African-Americans used to relate to Africa from the early decades of the 20th century to the 1970s. Included in the former category are Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X. However, it is here that one encounters a theoretical confusion that continues in the rest of the book. For example, Washington, DuBois, and Malcolm X, never took the notion of an African American return to Africa seriously, whereas Garvey did. Thus, Garvey is closer to PanNegro Nationalism but is classified as PanAfricanist. Furthermore, what caused the shift in thinking to PanAfricanism? Johnson fails to clarify these issues.

Finally, Johnson describes how since the 1970s—the era of Black Globalism—African-Americans despite their lack of representation in the State Department and economic weakness, through institutions like Randall Robinson's TransAfrica and the Black Congressional Caucus, etc., have become more assertive in foreign policy matters. Unfortunately, what distinguishes the period of Black Globalism from previous eras remains unclear. Overall, the book is a solid contribution to Black Nationalist literature.

Dr John McCartney
Lafayette College

Shades of Freedom: Racial Politics and presumptions of the American Legal Process

A Leon Higginbotham Jr

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 304pp. Index. Hb.: ISBN 0-1950-3822-3 Pb.: ISBN 0-1951-2288-7.

Judge Leon Higginbotham Jr.'s *Shades of Freedom* provides a dramatic, passionate account of the legal roots of racial oppression in the United States. By tracing state, federal and supreme court rulings in both upholding and striking down oppressive, racist laws from the 1600s to the mid 1990s, Higginbotham draws correlations between slave codes, laws and the social and moral attitudes of the white majority to the idea of African American inferiority.

Of the many cases cited, two of the most infamous are *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1857) and *Plessy v. Ferguson*

(1896). In the majority decision against Scott, a slave who sued for his family's freedom when his master moved to a free state, Supreme Court Justice Roger Taney referenced inferiority of African Americans 21 times, thus codifying inferiority at the highest level (p. 65-67). The Scott case set the tone for *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which set forth the idea of "separate but equal," a concept that would remain in place for 62 years before the landmark desegregation case, *Brown v. Board of Education*. Higginbotham also cites stories of white allies, including Justice Louis Brandeis, who said to a cafeteria manager at the Supreme Court in the 1930s regarding an African American lawyer, "If this man is not served, I will leave the Supreme Court." (p. 155) While the United States has made clear progress, Higginbotham mentions recent racially charged political campaigns to show that the United States still struggles with the insidious notion of inferiority.

If Higginbotham were to make a recommendation to conflict resolvers, it might be this: because the concept of inferiority is deeply embedded in American legal and social history, it is essential to explore, at a systems level, how it is perpetuated and how it can be addressed when conflicts are resolved.

Rachel Barbour
National MultiCultural Institute, Washington, DC

Broadcasting Freedom: radio, War, and the Politics of Race 1938-1948

Barbara Dianne Savage

(Chapel Hill, NC: university of North Carolina Press, 1999) 391pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £39.95; ISBN 0-8078-2477-1. Pb.: £15.50; ISBN 0-8078-4804-2. Distributed by Eurospan.

Barbara Dianne Savage addresses an unexplored subject—the contributions of radio to discourses on American race relations. She discusses how African American activists, public officials and intellectuals, attempted to redefine, and construct new images designed to facilitate integration in the World War 2 era. The growing concern over the potential threat to the nation's war efforts posed by domestic imbalances and problems of ethnic minorities, convinced federal officials of the political expediency of fostering a broad notion of inclusiveness, and emboldened African Americans to demand justice. Radio emerged in the 1930s as a formidable instrument for mass information, and a forum for debates about racial inequality.

The book is divided into two parts. The first (chapters 1-3) highlights official radio programming about African Americans produced by the federal government, and broadcast by the national networks. Collectively, these

programs [Americans All; Immigrants All; Freedom's People; My People; Negroes and the War] offer inclusive, state-supported version of American history, that situated the immigrant experience within the mainstream of national development. Immigrants were deemed deserving of the rights and privileges of American citizenship. African Americans used these episodes to criticize segregation, and construct an integrationist identity, underscoring their historical/cultural worth, and American citizenship.

The second part (chapters 4-6) discusses programs by non-governmental and educational institutions (the National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the University of Chicago) that promoted the cause of freedom, equality and integration [America's Town Meeting of the Air; University of Chicago Round Table; New World A'Coming; Destination Freedom]. The Urban League's programs attacked discrimination in employment, underlined the contributions of black women to the nation's history and war efforts; and advocated the abolition of racism, and inequality. Town Meeting and Round Table enabled blacks to rebuke racism in the strongest terms. New World and Destination Freedom, elevated black history and culture, thereby offering a political statement for equality.

Savage underlines the depth of the problematic of racism. Despite the favorable context of the war, and the seeming determination of white liberals to end racial intolerance, strong opposition to equality persisted nationwide; and governmental agencies betrayed reluctance to confront the racial problem. There was consequently little change in public perceptions of race. Yet, the programs, and the collective efforts of African Americans, and white liberals, compelled greater Presidential commitment to civil rights; heralding a systematic dismantling of segregation. The book shows that radio prefigured the role that television would later play in the 1960s. Savage locates the roots of the civil rights movements in the discourses generated by, and moderated through the medium of, radio in the 1930s and 1940s.

Tunde Adeleke
Loyola University-New Orleans

Black Men and Divorce

Erma Jean Lawson & Aaron Thompson

(Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999) 259pp. Index. Bibl.

Black Men and Divorce cites an absence of research and the need for a "holistic" theoretical approach to the study of divorced Black men in a postmodern racist US society as the authors' incentive to write the book. It proposes

developing a theoretical model to assess the impact of historical, cultural, social, economic and political forces on this marginalized and maligned group. Interviews with 50 recently divorced Black men, all working class and middle class, furnish data for analysis.

The men's accounts of their own experiences, described by the authors as storytelling, gives voice to African American males. Revelations of the men's attachments to children, ex-wives, and extended families contradict pervasive stereotypes and stand as the book's greatest achievement. Theoretically, however, the book falls short in its efforts to develop an alternative theoretical model and to relate those 50 personal experiences to a meaningful structural context. Shallow references to the capitalist system, consumerism, and hedonism not only fail to critique the system that marginalizes Black men, but also fail to offer an analytical framework for the men's experiences. Consequently, despite the book's criticism of pathological deficit models for the study of the Black family in America, it does not provide a much-needed alternative.

The book oversimplifies the Black historical experience in America and the continuing social consequences of that experience. Assumptions that black family problems date from the time of slavery ignore historical evidence challenging myths of weak family structures (see Fogel and Engerman, *Time On the Cross*; and, Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*). The authors also ignore their own data showing a dramatic increase in divorce since 1970 (p. 2). They fail to explain the effects of economic restructuring and deindustrialization that has occurred since the 1970s.

The book may be useful for family scholars looking for evidence to refute negative stereotypes of Black males and Black families. Those who seek innovative theoretical and methodological strategies to improve their understanding of Black men in American society, and to achieve social justice, will be disappointed.

Wanda Rushing
University of Memphis, Center for Research on Women.

Oriental: Asian Americans in Popular Culture

Robert G Lee

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999) 271pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$27.95; ISBN 1-56639-658-1

Robert Lee has written a marvelous book for both scholar and layperson. Using popular songs of the nineteenth century, magazine stories and illustrations, musicals, dramas, movies and pulp fiction, Lee shows that although

specific images of Asian Americans created throughout the last 150 years of American pop culture have been different, the overriding paradigm is nevertheless constant. Asian Americans are always regarded as Orientals—aliens in their American homeland. Asian immigrants overcame their alien legal status in 1952, when they were finally granted the right to become naturalized citizens one hundred years after their first settlement. But their alien cultural status has remained as salient as ever. Asian Americans are permanent aliens in the “common understanding” shared by “real” Americans. And who “real” Americans are is defined by a process of struggle in the arena of popular culture at any given historical moment.

Lee identifies six specific constructions of the Oriental, each appeared at a time when changes in class relations and the accompanying cultural crisis necessitated a redefinition of American nationality in terms of class, gender, race, and sexuality. These constructions are the pollutant (mid-19th century), the coolie (1870s and 1880s), the deviant (late 19th century), the yellow peril (turn of the century), the model minority (since the 1950s), and the gook (1970s). Each of these constructions is discussed in detail, and buttressed by an abundance of quotations and illustrations which make a very interesting read.

While the book is rich in descriptive and literary materials, Lee’s contributions go beyond the identification and demonstration of Asian American stereotypes in popular culture. By relating the origins and persistence of these cultural constructions to the political economy of specific historical moments, Lee has provided an analytical framework and a methodology with which to examine the constructions of other categories of race and ethnicity.

Lucie Cheng
UCLA

Nisei/Sansei: shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics

Jere Takahashi

(Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998) 261pp. Pb.: \$19.95. ISBN 1-56639-659-X.

Jere Takahashi has written an innovative, nuanced work that should be widely read by students of race relations or Asian American history. His book, *Nisei Sansei: Shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics*, examines the diverse political styles of Japanese Americans spanning three generations and fifty years. The two-fold strength

of the book is Takahashi’s ability to simultaneously view Japanese Americans as agents of social change and as subjects limited by structural forces, and to contextualize their political actions within specific conditions and time periods.

Through Omi and Winant’s racial formation theory, Takahashi paints a picture of Japanese Americans as political actors. This contrasts with the typical monolithic portrayals of Japanese Americans as “Quiet Americans” or “model minorities.” It also contrasts with ethnicity-based approaches that examine how societal forces impinge on people of color, forcing them along the path of assimilation into dominant society.

By mixing historical documents, demographic data, and case studies, *Nisei Sansei* captures the interplay between the individual actor and social institutions. The neoconservative politic of some younger Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans) is shaped by their middle-class position—first granted when the expanding postwar economy opened up lower-echelon white-collar jobs to Japanese Americans. Their conservatism functioned to “justify and defend [their] privileges” (p. 142). Despite the rebellion of some Nisei progressives and radicals, most older Nisei, especially Nisei leaders, “adopted a defensive and often conservative style emphasizing the law and the courts, hard work, and a gradualist approach to racial change” (p. 201). In the context of strong anti-Japanese hostilities, the older Nisei leaders felt they had to submerge their ethnicity to prove their American loyalties. To a large degree, their political style coincided with that of their parent’s generation, who “without the vote, numbers, and political contacts...devised a defensive political style rather than a direct confrontational one” (p. 198). It was the next generation of Japanese Americans who adopted radical politics and directly confront institutional racism. The Sansei came of age during the 1960s when the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movements were challenging the racial hegemony and changing the method of protest. Though Sansei activists were a minority within their generation, their militancy shaped the political discourse of Japanese America and challenged people to consider other avenues of resistance.

Through a careful study of the heterogeneity of political styles within and across generations—though more attention could have been paid to gender dynamics—Takahashi demands that we consider how specific historical, economic, and cultural forces influence one’s responses to racism and simultaneously how one’s racial formation impacts US race relations.

Diane Fujino

The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America

Edited by Arthur Gribben

(Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999) 268pp.
Pb.: \$16.95; ISBN 1 - 55849 -173 - 2

In recent years publishers have been reluctant to take on collections based on academic symposiums. Often they are multi- or interdisciplinary in nature and the quality of individual contributions can differ markedly. The editor of such collections is at the mercy of his most indolent author so that the publication comes long after the symposium. Some of these traits fit the present collection. The symposium occurred in 1993 and the book appeared in 1999. Happily that might be an advantage on this occasion because in the meantime the 150th anniversary of the Great Famine was commemorated in Ireland and that allowed for some sort of national debate to take place. Part of that debate is reflected in these pages and the book is enhanced as a result of that.

It is true too that this volume of essays is interdisciplinary and that may broaden its appeal. Many of the contributors here are rightly celebrated for their impeccable scholarship. It will be read chiefly by historians and those with a particular interest in this tragic episode in Irish history which set in motion a tradition of sustained emigration unparalleled in the modern world. In itself that fact gives the famine a universal appeal - not for nothing has it been described as the 'Irish holocaust'. And that is where its interest will lie for readers of this bulletin. In particular two aspects of research are worth noting. One concerns the whole role of diasporas in ethnic conflicts. Anyone with even a passing notion on the Northern Ireland conflict will know that a lot of the action centred on the sidewalks of south Boston and the Bronx as well as the influential portals on Capitol Hill. It is impossible to envisage the Good Friday Agreement without the sustained campaign conducted in Irish-America.

The second aspect concerns the role of "memory" in conflict. It can be used to sustain a conflict - the decision in 1998 of the Irish Famine/Genocide Committee in New York to put the government of Lord John Russell - he had been in power 150 years earlier - on trial for genocide is a case in point. But it can also be used as a form of censorship: 'Silencing the Past' (the title of Michel-Rolph Trouillot's insightful book on the slave-led Haitian Revolution) has happened in Ireland too, as the novelist Colm Toibin has demonstrated recently. Gribben's collected volume begins to address these issues. For that alone we should be grateful.

Paul Arthur
University of Ulster

Race, Police and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department 1900-1945

Edward J Escobar

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 372pp.
Index. Hb.: \$45.00; ISBN 0-5202-1334-3. Pb.: \$17.95; ISBN
0-5202-1335-1.

Escobar examines the relationship between the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and the Mexican-American community as it evolved during the first half of the twentieth century. In this period, the LAPD shifted from a private union-busting force serving LA's industrialists to a 'professional' force concerned with theories of crime and policing. Meanwhile, the Mexican-American community grew in size and political clout as the demographics changed from a community of predominantly first generation immigrants to mixed community with many native-born US citizens.

This study combines the history of the Mexican-American community with the institutional history of the LAPD. The LAPD's role in quashing political radicalism and unionisation efforts by Mexican-Americans combined with racism to make the force view Mexican-Americans as inherently suspect and criminal. Relations between the LAPD and the Mexican-American community deteriorated from the 1930s onward as 'professionalism' made the department less accountable to the public. The LAPD's crime reports and a high arrest rate of Mexican-Americans influenced the wider public: flawed statistical evidence and sensationalist reporting depicted a minority community that threatened 'white' LA. For the Mexican-American community, police brutality and harassment forced a defensive politicisation. Organisations, such as defence funds, formed around particular incidents of police abuse and eventually ensured that the Mexican-American community had direct access to the city's political power structure.

While his analysis and scope are excellent, Escobar could have held the LAPD up for closer inspection. At several points (pp.60, 135, 262), Escobar mentions Mexican- and African-Americans working on the police force, but he does not follow up on what could have been an instructive discussion of institutional attitudes towards minorities who were also police. Still, Escobar's work presents an excellent example of the importance of local histories,

while his research and theoretical framework can serve as a model for future histories of urban minority communities. The importance of this work goes beyond this one case of a relationship between a police department and a minority community: it is significant because most explanations of the hostility between the two groups have ignored historical processes. Perhaps even more importantly, Escobar's study demonstrates that the Mexican-Americans as a group have not been passive victims of the police but rather political actors who demanded equal treatment before the law and justice.

Dr Patience A Schell
King's College London

American Conversations: Puerto Ricans, White Ethnics, and Multicultural Education

Ellen Bigler

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999) 289pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: \$59.95 ISBN 1-56639-688-3. Pb.: \$19.95 ISBN 1-56639-687-5.

In 1995, U.S. social analyst Henry Louis Gates suggested that we should consider American culture as a "conversation among different voices. . .that some of us weren't able to join until recently." Using the frame of reference described by Gates, the author of this book describes the roots and conflicts of these American "conversations" by focusing on a specific conflict that occurred in a small, upstate New York town over school curricula in the early 1990's.

The book's focus is a well-researched analysis of a community charged with the task of integrating multicultural curricula in their public schools as mandated by the New York State Education Department. In 1991, a major conflict in the community erupts as a result of disparaging comments against Latinos made by one of the city's school board members who was asked to comment on the proposed multicultural curriculum changes. The school board member's comments provoke a public uproar among both the Latino (predominantly Puerto Rican) and Euro-Americans (mainly senior citizens) of the community.

According to the author, the reaction by both groups highlights their "contrasting discourse" (p. 5) which has deep roots extending far beyond the parameters of the curriculum debate at hand. It is this analysis of the roots and contextual backdrop of the conflict that is the strength of the book. The author provides extensive historical and theoretical explanations of how the two communities hold fundamentally different views of social reality which affect their perceptions of each other. The older, Euro-Americans represent predominantly second-generation immigrants who benefited greatly from the post WWII expanding economy with plentiful jobs and opportunities for high quality education. The Latino population on the other hand, is "newer, poorer, and have less formal education" than their Euro-American counterparts (p. 29).

In addition, the author contends that the community has changed dramatically since the 1950's – the period when most of the older Euro-Americans were using the schools and working in the thriving industrial labor market. The community is in its third decade of economic decline, while the local political and educational leadership is dominated by a vociferous group of Euro-American senior citizens who perceive the growing numbers of Latinos (about 12% of the city's population) as a threat to their quality of life. Moreover, the author argues that the tensions in the community exist within the context of the enduring American myth, which holds that U.S. public schools are meritocratic institutions that serve as the vehicle for immigrant groups to achieve upward mobility and incorporation into the mainstream. Thus, given that the Latino community is not excelling in the public school system, nor behaving as many in the older, Euro-American community consider "American," such as speaking English in public places, there is much distrust and misunderstanding between the two groups.

Proponents of multicultural education, which aims for equal recognition of the histories, perspectives, and cultural expression of nonmainstream groups in school curricula, see multicultural educational policies and curricula as part of a larger agenda for social change. Given that by 2020, students of color will make up almost one half of the total U.S. school population and as global migration continues to skyrocket, the subject matter of this book could not be a more timely and relevant issue for educators and policymakers.

Heather McPhail
Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, DC

Impacts of Affirmative Action: Policies and Consequences in California

Edited by Paul Ong

(Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1999) 224pp. Index. Hb.:
£31.00 ISBN 0-7619-9055-0. Pb.: £14.99 ISBN 0-7619-
9056-9.

In 1996, California was at the center of a heavily politicized national debate over affirmative action when it became the first U.S. state to pass an initiative (Proposition 209, the “California Civil Rights Initiative”) banning “preferential treatment” of individuals based on race and gender in government programs. Adding to the expanding literature on affirmative action, this important new contribution provides a fascinating analysis of the backdrop to Proposition 209 by exploring the effects, impacts, and outcomes of California’s affirmative action programs over the last half century. The writers of this edited volume also attempt to answer the difficult question of what will be the impact of ending affirmative action in California, a state representing one-third of the total foreign-born population in the U.S., and the eighth largest economy in the world.

To date, there have been no comprehensive evaluations of affirmative action policies at the national or California state level due to the complexity of issues involved in trying to measure the impact of these policies. Given both the dearth of research in the field and the emotionally-charged nature of the issue, the book’s writers choose to employ a targeted approach in the development of a framework by which to understand the impact of affirmative action. The authors use California-specific data to limit their analysis to public-sector practices, which include government employment and business opportunities, as well as admission to colleges and universities in the state. The result is a well-researched, fair analysis of the current debate, which effectively moves the highly polemical rhetoric surrounding the issue to a substantive discussion of some of the strategies available to address discrimination-based inequality.

One of the most interesting features of the book is its treatment of the question, “Why California?”. According to the authors, there are many factors which contribute to the fact that California is the first U.S. state to pass such an initiative. By the mid-1990’s, California was in the midst of a prolonged economic recession. The authors contend that California was “fertile ground” for such an initiative since it was undergoing an “immigration-driven demographic re-composition that created a backlash from an increasing number of whites who felt uneasy and displaced by the cultural changes”(p.21).

Apart from the economic and nativist reasons, the authors also pose a more provocative explanation as to why Proposition 209 represented the first of many recent state initiatives to scale back affirmative action programs across the country. They rightly point out that affirmative action policies are not typically the product of a public plebiscite or broad public opinion, but rather of Presidential or executive action. The authors argue that historically, civil rights and affirmative action policies were “often moderated by other concerns and priorities, and conceded as a compromise to maintain social order.” (p. 10). Given this historical legacy, it should be no surprise that while the majority of Californians, and Americans believe that minority groups and women face discrimination, there is great controversy over the government’s role in addressing that discrimination—especially during times of economic recession. This book serves as an excellent primer for understanding the essential issues involved in the debate of whether to end affirmative action programs, and should be a point of departure for further scholarly research in the field.

Heather McPhail

Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, DC

Contemporary Native American Political Issues

Edited by Troy R Johnson

(Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1999) 324pp. Index. Hb.:
£32.00; ISBN 0-7619-9060-7. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-7619-
9061-5.

This important collection brings together eleven essays by contemporary Native and non-Native scholars, each of whom addresses one of the book’s four organizing themes: nationalism and sovereignty, international indigenous rights, economic development, law and justice, repatriation, and activism. Though the collection is slightly uneven, some essays more polemical than scholarly, most of the work is extraordinarily rich. All of it is accompanied by concise, clear contextual essays by the editor.

Among the most important essays are those dealing with economic development, with justice, with repatriation, and with activism. In the first case, Ronald Trosper explores key differences between Native and western capitalist economic concepts while Gary Anders offers a fascinating consideration of the knotty issues involved with Indian gaming practices. In the section “Law and Justice,” Donald Green redefines Native American criminality, explaining how overcultural ideas which shape federal, state, and local

practices with regards to Indian communities, together with day-to-day neglect by local law-enforcement agencies stimulates continuing conflict on reservations. Carole Goldberg then explores and explains the vexed situation suffered by California's non-federally recognized tribes under Public Law 280. In the following section, "repatriation," Goldberg extends her exploration to issues involving repatriation in California. In that same section, Robert Peregoy's "Nebraska's Landmark Repatriation Law" provides a stimulating and path-breaking discussion of the first state law governing the repatriation of Native remains and burial objects. This essay's depth makes it one of the best in the collection. Last, "Activism" offers a single essay, co-written by Troy Johnson, Duane Champagne, and Joanne Nagel. Here the authors argue for a much more complex understanding of Native American resistance movements, dating the contemporary movement not to the take-over of Wounded Knee by AIM in 1973 but rather to the take-over of Alcatraz Island in 1969-71. In addition to this revision of what has become popular culture's understanding of the contemporary "Red Power" movement, they explore the important and neglected links between modern politics and the long history of organized Native resistance, particularly those movements usually characterized as "religious revitalization movements." That these, too, were mass movements of resistance and revolution finally makes clear to non-Native scholars what Native intellectuals have known for some time. Spirituality is not separate from politics (or culture, or life) in the Native world.

Patricia Penn Hilden
University of California, Berkeley

British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800

Colin Kidd

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 302pp. Index.
Hb: ISBN 0-5216-2403-7

"British Identities Before Nationalism" provides a very exciting and detailed journey to the early modern British world. Colin Kidd discusses, by using many fascinating examples, the presence and the status of ethnicity in the British world between 1600-1790. The most important thing before reading any further from this review or Kidd's book, is that ethnicity is not understood in the same way as it is in a contemporary situation. "The value of ethnicity was not ethnological in the modern sense, but it laid within the theology of evidences, where it functioned as a vital weapon in the defence of Christian orthodoxy and the authenticity of the Scripture from heterodox assaults" (p. 10).

The book contains three main parts. The first part introduces the theological context: in early modern Britain the Bible and the Noachic heritage were the main definers of "ethnic" origin. The second part examines the ethnic composition and relations of the three kingdoms of the British Isles: England, Scotland and Ireland. The main focus of that time was moving a bit further from religion. The new effort was to find a historically legitimate form of constitution, which would define ethnic identities. The emergence of Anglo-Saxon political culture is also discussed along with Gaelic dilemma in Scottish political culture and the question of Irish identities. The last part of the book focuses on points of contact, where the uniting imaginary of the British nation is discussed in terms of Gothicism and creation of "otherness".

The ethnic identity in early modern Britain played a secondary role in political argumentation. Moreover, ethnicity was defined by the respect of the authority of the Bible, one's confession and the established institutions such as church and state. Kidd also concludes that there can not be found straightforward correspondence between ethnicity and nationhood. This was illustrated for example in the case of the Irish Protestant nation. In general, the early modern British did not think in terms of ethnic difference, rather their understanding of nations was based on the process of differentiation from a common ethnic background.

Kidd's book provides an in-depth analysis of the early modern communities in the British Isles. It gives not only an historical view but it offers background knowledge to understand many of the current ethnic discourses in Britain. Occasionally, the detailed text makes it difficult to follow the overall scarlet thread. However, everyone who aims to understand the contemporary political and ethnic situation in the British Isles, should read this historically oriented piece of work.

Anna-Kaisa Kuusisto
University of Joensuu, Finland

Crime and Immigrant Youth

Tony Waters

(London: Sage, 1999) 233pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £29.00; ISBN
0-7619-1684-9. Pb.: £12.99; ISBN 0-7619-1685-7.

The main value of this pithy, edgy little book, is in its contention that criminality amongst immigrant youth corresponds predominantly with a boom in the size of the youthful male cohort. But size is not everything, and the extent of immigrant youth crime will depend upon how it interacts with patterns of social cohesion, socio economic status and perceptions of law. In particular, a high population of young males combined with a

misinterpretation of the law will result in a wave of youthful crime. Based upon 100 years of immigration records, mainly from California, Waters study is especially critical of criminology and its inability to differentiate between the experiences of different groups of immigrants, and for ignoring migration as a process. Further, Waters suggests, these studies were often carried out in milieus that were exclusively immigrant, and vague notions such as “intergenerational conflict”, while possessing some considerable clout at a common sense level, were used as blanket terms that succeed in masking the differences between immigrant and non-immigrant groups.

Waters argument is careful and subtle, affording considerable weight to the ability of immigrant communities to generate eras of considerable social cohesion that can counteract the force of demographic evidence, and create non delinquent identities based on maintaining traditional communities, as in the case of Hmong [Laotian] communities of California’s Central Valley. Alternatively East Los Angeles Mexican community should, according to demographics, have seen the crime wave that commenced in the late 1930’s to have continued to the early 1960’s. However it ceased in the early 1940’s with the enlistment of Mexican American males into the armed services, and the post war movement of this age cohort out of at risk neighbourhoods as a result of the G.I. Bill. Waters also points out, with some irony, the role of education in socialising immigrant youth to the values of the host country, therefore creating, particularly amongst second generation immigrants, intergenerational conflict and with a large population of young males, the ideal context for crime.

Given the importance of Thrasher in the study of delinquency, and in particular youth gangs, this reviewer was surprised that more attention was not paid to this seminal work particularly in relation to the assumptions made concerning the temporary nature of gang membership. These assumptions have been hugely influential during the golden era of industrialism, and warrant some re-evaluation in the light of, for instance, Hagedorn’s ethnographic work that considers Thrasher’s work in the context of the collapse of the labour market and the emergence of a permanent underclass.

Waters conclusions are pessimistic, and he shows an admirable disregard for the liberal orthodoxy of policy driven happy endings. This book is to be commended for bringing the process of migration into the focus of those with an interest in youth crime. It is not a book exclusively about California, and its relevance both theoretically and methodologically should spread to those societies experiencing post colonial migration and the drift westward of fragmented East European communities whose youth are unlikely to merge seamlessly with resentful host cultures.

Dick Hobbs
University of Durham

Helping Out: Childrens Labor in Ethnic Businesses

Miri Song

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999) 247pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: \$59.50; ISBN 1-5663-9708-1. Pb.: \$19.95; ISBN 1-5663-9709-X

A review of this very useful book starts best with a description of what the book is not. While the title makes reference to child labor, this is not a book chiefly devoted to the profoundly difficult ethical issues raised by working children. Moreover, despite the title reference to ethnic business, this is not a book on business theory or applications. Instead, Professor Song has authored a careful case study, from a sociological perspective, of children working in ethnic, family-operated businesses. The focus of the case study is relatively narrow: the book considers the operation of twenty-five Chinese take-away restaurant businesses in urban England. In addition, the case study focuses on nuclear families as opposed to extended family units. To produce the data for the book, Song conducted a series of in-depth interviews with the families operating these establishments. Based on these interviews, the book provides fascinating insight on the nature and extent of the labor provided by children in ethnic, family businesses. It also considers the ways in which children value and allocate their time and effort in support of the family business, as well as school and other components of their lives. The book endeavors as well to determine whether ethnicity is an important factor in assessing children’s labor and the ways of and reasons for providing and utilizing it. Finally, the book reflects on the interesting nature of the contract between children and parents in family-run ethnic businesses and the reciprocal responsibilities created by these unwritten, but time-honored contracts. Song writes clearly and with feeling about the children who come to see great value in “helping out” as parties to a “family work contract.”

The book will appeal to many audiences beyond the student of sociology. While it is not primarily an ethics text, the book contributes significantly to the conversation on child labor, providing a nuanced and interesting context for that debate. In addition, despite the fact that it is not a business practices book, the text provides a very interesting business case study. The book is splendidly bibliographed, contains extensive and very useful notes and is carefully indexed.

Professor Thomas D. Cavenagh
North Central College, Illinois

Ethnic Conflict
Research Digest

The Ethnic Conflict
Research Digest

Edited by

Cathy Gormley-Heenan

Welcome to Volume 3 Issue 1 of the Ethnic Conflict Research Digest - the first Digest of the new Millennium and the first under the editorship of myself, Cathy Gormley-Heenan. Many thanks to Roger MacGinty and Lyn Moffett for their help and unending patience in making the transition a smooth one! Unfortunately, the transitions in the ethnic conflicts worldwide have not been so smooth, and this issue of the Digest is a reflection of that. Books focusing on identities and nationalism are on the increase, as are those examining the related issue of human rights, and the increasing numbers of refugees. With the literature ever expanding, it is surely a sign as we enter the new Millennium, that the field of ethnic conflict research will become more mainstream across a wide range of disciplines. Reader's suggestions, and reviews, as always, are very welcome!

Cathy Gormley-Heenan

INCORE
INITIATIVE ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND ETHNICITY

The Ethnic Conflict Research Digest

INCORE

INCORE (Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity) was established in 1995 following a joint initiative from the United Nations University and the University of Ulster. INCORE carries out research into the dynamics and management of ethnic conflict. For more information contact INCORE, Aberfoyle House, Magee College, University of Ulster, Londonderry, Northern Ireland, BT48 7JA. Tel: +44 (0)28 71 375500. Fax: +44 (0)28 71 375510. Email: incore@incore.ulst.ac.uk

The Ethnic Conflict Research Digest is edited by Cathy Gormley. The full text of each issue of the Digest is available at: <http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/ecrd/index.html>



The United Nations
University

ISSN no: 1464-3219

INCORE

INCORE is a company limited by guarantee with charitable status.
Company number NI 29515

INCORE Conflict Resolution Limited in association with
the University of Ulster and the United Nations University.