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The Ethnic Conflict Research Digest
Volume 4, Number 1; Editorial

Welcome to Volume 4 Issue 1 of the Ethnic Conflict Research Digest. Once again we have been able to review a wide range of books in the field of ethnic conflict and conflict resolution. As in the previous edition of the Digest the reviews are structured thematically, again with the proviso that many reviews could quite easily have found a home under two or more of the chosen themes.

A number of books under review deal with the complex, but related, issues of ethnicity, identity and nationalism. The majority of these deal with the contested nature of identities and the relationship with violence. We also review some important new books on the theme of conflict resolution and as usual a number of books on the broad theme of human rights. Related to this theme there are a number of books that deal with issues of prejudice, particularly in various European countries. In part these problems reflect tensions caused by migration which, of course, is often a result of war and conflict. Events in the Balkans region have been at the centre of these inter-related issues over recent years and a large number of books have been written which examine various aspects of the conflicts in the area. A selection of these books is reviewed in this issue.

Our review essay in this issue has been written by Dr Emile Sahliyeh of the University of Texas. In his paper, Dr Sahliyeh examines the development of scholarly work that has attempted to theorise ethnic protest. He then looks at this scholarship as it applies to the Middle East and concludes that there is no consensus on the causes of ethnic conflict in this area. Finally he calls for the type of empirical analysis and rigorous hypothesis testing that can, 'enrich the scholarship on ethnic protest in the Middle East and contribute to the broader theoretical debate on the cause of ethnic political activism.'

Let me take this opportunity to thank all the reviewers who are ever willing to contribute to the Digest. Thanks also to Lyn Moffett for her work on the production of the Digest. Finally let me thank the publishers who provide the material for review and particularly those who have supported us through advertisement. Anyone who is interested in advertising in future issues should contact me at the address below.

As always your comments, on any aspect of the Digest, are most welcome. Those wishing to review for the Digest are encouraged to get in touch, specifying your area(s) of interest.

The Digest on the INCORE website

Finally let me draw your attention again to the INCORE website. All the reviews are available at http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/ecrd/index.html

The Digest can be downloaded at this address in pdf format. Individual reviews are also available here and this section is continually updated. Therefore reviews are available here, in some cases months, before the hardcopy edition is published.

You may also be interested in perusing our Conflict Data Service (CDS) which can be found at http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/cds/index.html
The CDS is an information provider on ethnic conflict and conflict resolution. Our country guides are particularly popular and we have recently added new guides on El Salvador, Guatemala and the Basque Country. We also have a section on peace agreements that includes the original texts of over 200 agreements. These texts are all available to download in pdf format.

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Explaining Ethnic Protest: The Case of the Middle East

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Introduction

One of the paradoxes of the contemporary global system is that despite the presence of transnational forces and technology that increase interdependence, reduce distances among states, and help create ties among individuals of different societies, separatism, social fragmentation, and local loyalties remain strong and well spread. In many cases, the profusion of the means of communication helps to sustain, and even create, national identities more than a sense of international or global solidarity. In this connection, the post-World War II era has witnessed waves of political action by numerous communal, ethnic, and nationalist groups. Some of these political movements have been motivated by grievances such as the denial of the particular group of the opportunity of state-building, the loss of one's homeland, the opposition to economic exploitation, and the demands for individual and collective rights. Other political movements have been driven by the yearning to establish one's own state and recover lost territory, the desire to protect the group's identity, its culture, language, religion, territory, and life-styles against the intrusive demands of others.

Among the regions of the world, the Middle Eastern ethnic groups have been most active. The primary aim of several of these groups is not to seek national integration but separation. According to Ted Gurr, political action can be nonviolent protest, violent protest and rebellion. In the Middle East, the trend has been away from nonviolent to violent protests, verging more toward rebellion (Gurr 1993:116).

As a result of the political protest and violence of these groups, many of the countries in the Middle East are weak and vulnerable. The weakness of these states is not in the military realm but rather in the fact that the ruling elite does not have commanding loyalty and allegiance among significant sectors of the populations and that the political stability of these states is undermined by inter group communal conflicts. Some of these groups including the Palestinians, the Kurds, the Cypriot Turks, and the Southern Sudanese seek to create their own states.

This article explores the causes of communal conflict in the Middle East and seeks to find if there is a consensus among the community of scholars concerning the conditions necessary for ethnic protest. It will also assess the contribution of these writings to the broader literature on ethnic conflict. To facilitate these tasks, I will briefly survey the main theories and models for the explanation of ethnic conflict. My conception of the Middle East is broad and consists of 27 Middle Eastern countries including the 22 members of the Arab League and Afghanistan, Cyprus, Turkey, Iran, and Israel.

Explanatory Models of Ethnic Activism

The literature on ethnicity reveals the presence of several competing perspectives for the explanation of the phenomenon of group ethnic identity and protest. One of the oldest perspectives is the **primordial perspective**, which conceives of ethnic nationalism as an indication of an enduring cultural tradition based on a primordial sense of ethnic identity. The proponents of the primordial perspective (Charles F. Keyes 1981, Joseph Rothschild 1981, Richard A. Schermerhorn 1970, and James McKay 1982), posit that the presence of a common culture, language, religion, a distinct social origin, race, and region are essential for the rise of communal identity, ethnic awareness, and the differentiation among assorted social collectivities.

The dissatisfaction with the primordial perspective allowed for the rise of the **instrumentalist approach**. In his description of this perspective, Abner Cohen (1974) attributes the emergence of ethnic feelings to instrumental considerations and regards ethnicity as "an exercise in boundary maintenance." He further points out that the instrumental perspective assumes that ethnic identity serves the practical needs and interests of the members of the community and that ethnicity is an effectual response to differential treatment. Because of the functional nature of this perspective, ethnic identity is not a closed system, as outsiders can be incorporated into the ethnic group.

Like the primordial model, the instrumentalist perspective does not explain accurately and completely the scope and the intensity of the political protest and rebellion of ethnic groups. The discontent with the two models prompted the scholars on communal conflict analysis to introduce the relative deprivation and the resource mobilization models. **The collective grievance and relative deprivation model** ascribes the ascension of ethnic nationalism to the multifaceted crises and the socioeconomic, psychological, and political grievances and frustrations that an ethnic group experience collectively. The political action of a communal group is inspired by the group's feeling of unjust treatment and its marginal status in the society or the discriminatory treatment it experiences in its place of residence. In particular, the supporters of this perspective suggest that sentiments of separation along ethnic lines may also arise from the interaction of the group with other outside rival groups. In this regard, Dov Ronen (1979) states that external dangers to the security and survival of the group reinforce the feelings of ethnic solidarity among the members of that community.

The critics of the grievance and deprivation model (Charles Tilly 1978, Louise A. Tilly and Charles Tilly 1981, and R. Aya 1979) point out that the aggrieved individuals are too weak and helpless to engage in political action. The political activism of ethnic and communal groups therefore should be explained by employing a **resource mobilization model**. This model assumes that the group is the focus of political mobilization and action by leaders who formulate the group's political interests and express the group's grievances and political aspirations. The advocates of the resource mobilization model (Jeffrey A. Ross 1981, Charles Tilly 1978, Louise A. Tilly and Charles Tilly 1981, and R. Aya 1979) emphasize the calculated mobilization of group resources in response to changing political opportunities.

The resource mobilization model contains three components. First, a communal group's activism is not possible without the presence of political space and opportunities. Second, the political vigor of a communal group depends on the presence of an assortment of resources including political leadership, organizational structures, communication networks, manpower, funds, ideology, and external encouragement. These assets determine the nature and the degree of the reaction of the aggrieved persons. Third, such ethnic groups cannot be mobilized without the presence of motives and incentives including the desire to alleviate the widespread social, economic, and political inequities among the members of the group.

The relative deprivation and resource mobilization models were treated in the literature as competing and separate perspectives. In his *Minorities At Risk project*, Ted R. Gurr incorporates the two competing theoretical models as well as some aspects of the primordial perspective to bring about an **ethnic communal mobilizational model**. In his model, Gurr delineates four group traits, which allow for the endurance of group grievances and define their responses to mobilizational exertions. The first such trait involves the presence of a gap between the aggrieved population and the governing groups. This gap is generated by policies that discriminate against the deprived group and limit their material well-being and their admission to political power. Gurr hypothesizes that the greater the discrimination experienced by a group, the more the group would feel the grievances, and the more would be the group's potential for political mobilization.

The second trait is the strength of group identity for political mobilization. Gurr maintains that the identity of the group rests on shared historical experiences and on the presence of one or more of the following attributes: ethnic origin, common language and religion, and region of residence. Group identity is also a function of cultural and social variations between the afflicted group and the dominant or enemy groups. Such differences allow for the political mobilization of the communal group and enable the leaders to articulate the demands and the interests of the aggrieved groups. Gurr proposes that little prospect exists for political mobilization if the grievances and group identity are weak and that strong group identity advances the chances for group political action.

The third trait involves the interconnectedness of the group, which is a function of the political organization of a group and its convergence in one region. According to Gurr, the potential for political activism is greater when there is a higher degree of cohesion among the members of a communal group.

The fourth trait highlights the degree of repression of a subordinate group by the dominant group. Gurr suggests that the potential for political mobilization varies inversely with the intensity and level of government oppression. He further proposes that though subjugated groups harbor profound grievances, they are reluctant to immerse themselves in open violence.

In addition to the four group traits, Gurr outlined three other factors that would increase the opportunities and incentives for political action of aggrieved ethnic and communal groups. First, a disadvantaged communal group's potential for political action is increased by the dispersion of its members among a number of neighboring countries. The political activists in one country can have a safe sanctuary among their fellow nationals in adjoining states and usually can count on the kindred groups diplomatic, political, economic, and military support. Second, the communal groups benefit from the presence of widespread international networks, which share similar traits and conditions. Such networks provide their members with a myriad of resources, including ideology, leadership, organizational skills, material inducements, and a forum for publicizing the group's grievances and political demands. Third, the absence of democracy hinders the process of assimilation and the accommodation of the interests of the ethnic groups and therefore keeps the group's grievances alive and amenable to mobilization.

The Causes of Ethnic Protest in the Middle East
In light of the preceding discussion, I will devote the rest of this paper to examine the causes of ethnic protest in the Middle East. The bulk of the literature on ethnicity and nationalism is descriptive and surveys the various ethnic groups and speculates on the reasons behind their protest. No consensus, however, exists among the Middle East area specialists on the causes of ethnic protest. The three perspectives of primordialism, grievance and depravation, and resource mobilization models dominate much of this literature. My classification of the Middle East area study in to these three models is rather arbitrary. Many of the

writings used in this paper belong to more than one model. Indeed, the majority of the writers do not employ a theoretical framework in their analysis of the causes of ethnic protest in the Middle East.

One group of writers (Davidson 1992, Golan 1994, and Bill and Springborg 1999) maintain that religion, nationalism, and ethnicity in the Middle East and North Africa have played both an integrative and a divisive role. They attribute much of the domestic violence and interstate conflict in the Middle East and North Africa to the opposing role of ethnic nationalism and credit the political turmoil of countries like Lebanon, Algeria, Sudan, and Afghanistan to the presence of ethnic and religious conflicts. In this connection, Geshekter (1994) maintains that the contradictory role of ethnicity and nationalism is well exemplified in the case of Somalia, where nationalism provided the initial mechanism for integration and unification but later on it led to the disintegration of the country. Still, for countries like Saudi-Arabia and Iran, religion, ethnicity, and nationalism have served a unifying role and a locus for political allegiance while for Algeria and Egypt they initially functioned as a vehicle for liberation and independence but later on served as a source of internal instability.

Other writers (Harik 1994, and Lesch 1985, 1987, 1988) ascribe the rise of ethnic separatist sentiments to the presence of group distinctive primordial attributes including language, religion, geographic region, economic disparities, and a particular standard of living or distinct way of life. They note that such primordial features created a deep wedge between the Cypriot Turks and Greeks, the Israeli Jews and Palestinians, the Lebanese Muslims and Christians, and the Sudanese Muslim and non-Muslims. They also observe that the civil strife between the Cypriote Turks and Greeks, Lebanese Muslims and Christians, and Muslim Arab Sudanese and non Muslim Sudanese were fueled by religious, linguistic, economic, and ethnic cleavages.

It should be noted, however, that in societies where religion and language are not crucial distinguishing traits, ethnic communalism does not always lead to severe internal dissension or erosion of state sovereignty. For instance, while language has differentiated the Iraqi Kurds from the Iraqi Arabs, the communal self-awareness of the Shi'a of Southern Iraq does not have separatist overtones.

Another manifestation of the contradiction between loyalty to the nation-state and to primordial sentiments and identities may be observed in the inconsistency between ethnicity and state geographic boundaries. Indeed, much of the domestic violence and interstate conflict in the Middle East region can be attributed to the incongruity between ethnic lines and state boundaries. Transnational loyalties to clan and ethnic groups remain strong particularly because many of these groups are ethnically divided across, rather than within national borders. Because the borders of many Middle East countries were drawn by former colonial powers—Britain and France—they are generally inconsistent with the ethnic composition of the populations in many of these states. The boundaries of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, Israel, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Sudan, and the North African countries are inconsistent with the ethnic composition of their populations.

The disparities between ethnic and state lines and the religious and ethnic composition of the twenty-seven countries included in this paper are presented in Table 1. The table denotes that many of the Middle Eastern countries comprise ethnic and religious groups that are scattered across national boundaries. Afghanistan has thirty eight percent Pashtuns and twenty five percent Tajik. Approximately ninety percent of the Iranian population is Shi'is of Persian origin, while 10 percent is Sunni. In addition, Iran has a small Turkmen minority. Table 1 also shows that the Kurds are dispersed across state boundaries, where they are divided among Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Armenia. Approximately 17 percent of the population of Iraq and twenty percent of the Turkish population claim Kurdish identity.

The Shi'a is also another transnational religious group that are found in different parts of the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia. They make up 90 percent of Iran's population, they constitute the majority of the people in Azerbaijan and they have a sizable presence in Afghanistan and in some of the Central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union. There are also eighteen million Shi'a who live in the Arab World. In addition to being the majority in both Iraq and Bahrain, a significant number of The Shi'a live in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Syria.

Table 1 further indicates that in some countries, such as Sudan, Cyprus, and Israel the ethnic demarcations coincide with religious divisions; while in other countries like Iraq, Syria, and Bahrain, the minority religious groups are in control of the government. It also shows that some of the Gulf countries have a significant number of Asian workers ranging from 50% of the UAE population, to 13% of Bahrain, 10% of Saudia-Arabia, and 9% of Kuwait. Table 1 also reveals that the Christians are scattered around several countries. They constitute 30%, 10%, 8%, 6%, and 5% of the population of each of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and Sudan.

The Grievance-Deprivation Explanation

The primordial explanation of the rise of ethnic separatist sentiments is closely linked to the grievance model in the writings of many Middle East area specialists. The proponents of the grievance explanation contend that the pervasiveness of authoritarian regimes exasperates ethnic and religious sentiments. They claim that the political exclusion of the ethnic and religious minorities is a primary cause of violence in Algeria, Cyprus, Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey, Somalia, Afghanistan, Sudan, and some of the Central Asian republics (Ann Mosley Lesch 1986, Samir Al-Khalil 1989). These scholars suggest that some of the multiethnic Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Sudan have used invariably primordial and group traits to relegate their ethnic, religious, and geographic minorities to a subordinate economic, political, and social position. Such regimes oppose granting meaningful political concessions to their ethnic groups, as they fear that any loosening of their control over the country will split the society into competing factions. They insist upon maintaining a powerful central government that can preserve order and national unity.

The ethnic groups political vision clash with their government's policy of forced assimilation. The representatives of these groups call for a new social contract that defines citizenship by place of birth, rather than a particular religion, language, or culture, that would grant them self-autonomy, and that would recognize their ethnic identity. They also want their respective governments to redress the existing economic, social, and political inequities. In particular, they demand a decentralized system of government and the redistribution of economic resources among the various ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups.

The advocates of the grievance-deprivation explanation observe that the political exclusion of the Kurds, the Shi'a, and the non-Moslem non-Arab population of Southern Sudan led to political turmoil in Iraq, Turkey, Sudan, Bahrain, and Lebanon. In this connection, Ann Lesch maintains that Sudan has experienced incessant internal discord and division over the place of ethnicity, language and religion in the determination of one's membership in Sudan's polity. Sudan's central government has been reluctant to grant the ethnic and religious minorities complete self-autonomy, fearing that a step of this sort would undermine the Arab-Islamic character of the country, its political stability, and territorial integrity.

Likewise, Augustus Richard Norton (1987), Joseph Kostiner (1988), John L. Esposito (1990) ascertain that the Shi'as feeling of deprivation and marginalization relative to the political, social, and economic advantages of the Sunnis are behind their political activism and protests. In this context, Norton states that for the Shi'a living at the margins of the Arab World, Shia'ism proved to be a potent symbol for political action. An individual's status as a Shi'a often corresponds with lower economic and social standing and political subordination. In addition to the protest of the poor, the relatively well-educated middle and lower middle Shi'a classes also resent the dominance of the Sunni Muslim community.

Esposito suggests that the Shi'a demands for democratization and equal representation in their place of residence, their linkage to Iran, and the resort to violence of some Shi'i groups, increase the anxieties and distrust of countries such as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Lebanon. As a result, these governments view their Shi'a minorities as an Iranian fifth column.

Samir Khalil attributes the political agitation and activism of the Kurds to their sense of historical injustice. Following the dismantlement of Kurdistan after World War I, the Kurdish people found themselves dispersed within Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Armenia, where they are denied basic political and civil rights including the rights to preserve their separate cultural and ethnic identity, and the rights for political autonomy and economic equality. As early as 1924, Kemalist Turkey passed laws forbidding the teaching of Kurdish in school. Article 89 of the law that governs the formation of political parties and associations in Turkey stipulated that such organizations "must not claim that there are any minorities in the territory of the Turkish Republic, as this would undermine national unity." The Turkish government has escalated its denial of cultural autonomy for the Kurds to the military dimension. Since the early 1990s, the Turkish army has been conducting a severe military campaign against the PKK (the Kurdish Workers Party), where thousands of Kurds have been killed.

In neighboring Iran, the Shah's troops crushed the attempt to form a Kurdish Republic in 1945 and executed its leaders. Samir Khalil, however, observes that the Kurds have suffered the most at the hands of the Iraqi government. The Iraqi rulers feared that the Kurdish quest for autonomy would increase the potential for the breakup of Iraq into three separate regions: Kurdish, Shiite, and Sunni. The area of Kurdistan contains fertile lands, as well as two-thirds of the country's oil fields and oil reserves.

The Resource Mobilization Explanation

The literature on ethnic protest in the Middle East includes two explanations that are encapsulated in the resource mobilization model. The first explanation ascribes ethnic protest in the Middle East to the presence of resources and assets which are derived from the modernization process. Writers like E. Harik (1994), Michael Hudson

(1968), Augustus Richard Norton (1987), and Alfred Manfred (1958) contend that the process and effects of modernization including the spread of education, exposure to the mass media, advancements in transportation and communications, employment opportunities, and industrialization, heightened ethnic self-awareness and intensified communal differences. In addition to providing a sense of political identity, modernization has increased many groups' awareness of their low socioeconomic status and political exclusion from the rest of society. The Lebanese Shi'a, the Southern Sudanese, the Cypriot Turks, and the Kurds exemplify this point. The failure on the part of the Lebanese, Sudanese, Cypriot, Iraqi, and Turkish governments to accommodate the demands of their minorities forced these groups to resort to violence to effect an equitable redistribution of political and economic resources.

Another group of writers, (Laurie A. Brand 1988, Emile Sahliyeh 1997, 1995, 1990, Kemal Kirisci 1986, William B. Quandt at al 1973), emphasize the role of organizational cohesion and the leadership class and highlight the relevance of the role of external actors in promoting ethnic political activism. They propose that the rise of the Palestinian national movement would not have been possible without Arab and international political, financial, and military support, and the presence of kindred groups in neighboring states. Likewise, the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq and Turkey and the Shi'a political agitation would not have been possible without such an outside intervention. For many years, the Shah of Iran encouraged the Kurds to rebel against the Iraqi government and Iran's Islamic revolution after 1978 assisted in the crystallization of a Shi'a political identity.

In his analysis of the political situation in Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad (1997) makes it clear that the civil conflict in Afghanistan is the result of external intervention. He remarks that the fragmentation of Afghanistan was the direct result of the Soviet invasion in 1979 and its policy of using ethnic groups against one another. The counter support of the United States, Pakistan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia to the Mujahidin further intensified civil violence. Although the Soviet invasion eventually failed, Afghanistan was left with ruined infrastructure and a legacy of factional infighting.

Concluding Remarks

In attempting to determine the factors that could explain ethnic political activism in the Middle East, I referenced five perspectives—the primordial, instrumental, grievance-deprivation, resource mobilization, and the ethnic communal mobilization. In their analysis of the causes of ethnic protest and rebellion, the Middle East area scholars were influenced initially by the primordial

and the grievance perspectives. The majority of these writers, however, did not employ a theoretical framework to explain the causes of ethnic protest in the Middle East. In the late 1980s, the mobilization model became popular with a number of scholars thus offering more insight into the political activism of ethnic groups.

Yet, within this body of scholarship, there is no consensus on the causes of ethnic protest in the Middle East. The literature offers a variety of explanations ranging from incongruities between ethnic and state boundaries; to state cultural, religious, and political and economic discrimination; to the level of state autocracy; and to the role of outside powers and organizational cohesiveness. Much of this literature is also descriptive, qualitative, and subjective, providing neither the empirical measures necessary for rigorous hypothesis testing nor even a theoretical foundation necessary to identify the extent and the conditions for ethnic rebellion in the Middle East.

Needless to say, the conduct of empirical analysis and rigorous hypothesis testing would enrich the scholarship on ethnic protest in the Middle East and contribute to the broader theoretical debate on the causes of and conditions for ethnic political activism. For instance, to my knowledge, no research has been initiated in the Middle East area study to utilize Ted Gurr's data set *Minorities At Risk* (1996) and to test the relevance and the validity of his hypotheses and prepositions to ethnic protest and conflict in the Middle East. This data set contains 456 variables and covers 268 groups.

Finally, no consensus exists among the community of Middle Eastern scholars as to whether the primordial, relative deprivation, or the resource mobilization models that dominate Middle Eastern scholarship, has better explanatory power of ethnic conflict. The current scholarship also leaves many questions unanswered and does not inform us if the mere presence of grievance provides enough grounds for people to express discontent. It also does not address itself to whether the inequalities between communities adequately explain the presence of conflict in the Middle East. Likewise, it does not explain the causes behind the variance in the intensity of protest by the different ethnic groups or even determine which of the resource mobilization variables provide the necessary and the sufficient conditions for ethnic activism and protest.

Table 1 : Percentage Composition of Religious and Ethnic Groups in Middle Eastern Countries (Numbers Represent Percentages).

Country	Religious Groups				Ethnic Groups		
	Muslims Shia	Sunni	Others	Christian	Largest	Minority	Other
Afghanistan	15	84	1	-	38 Pashtun	25 Tajik	37
Algeria	-	99	1	-	99 Berber	-	1
Bahrain	75	25	-	-	63 Bahraini	13 Arab	14
Cyprus	-	18	4	78	78 Greeks	18 Turkish	4
Dijbouti	-	94	6	-	60 Somali	35 Afar	5
Egypt	-	94	-	6	99 Egyptian	-	1
Iran	89	10	1	-	51 Persian	24 Azer	25
Iraq	63	34	-	3	80 Arab	17 Kurds	3
Israel	-		82	4	82 Jews	18 Arab	-
Jordan	-		-	8	51 Arab	49 Palestinians	-
Kuwait	40	45	15	-	45 Kuwaiti	35 Arab	20
Lebanon	23		17	30	10 Palestinians	90 Arab	-
Libya	-		-	3	97 Berber	-	3
Mauritania	-		-	-	40 mixed Maur/black	30 Maur	30 Black
Morocco	-		-	1	64.1 Arab	35 Berber	0.9
Oman	12		75*	-	75 Arab	-	25
Qatar	-		-	10	40 Arab	10 Persian	50
Saudi Arabia	15		-	-	90 Arab	-	10
Somalia	-		-	-	85 Somali	10 Arab	5
Sudan	-		25	5	52 Black	39 Arab	11
Syria	16**		-	10	90.3 Arab	9.7 Kurds	-
Tunisia	-		-	2	98 Berber	-	2
Turkey	-	99.8	-	0.2	80 Turkish	20 Kurds	-
UAE	16		-	4	23 Arab	50 Asians	27
Yemen	80***		-	20	80 Arab	-	20

Source: *CIA World Fact Book, 1997/98*

* is Ibadhi Muslims

** is Allawites

***is Zaydi Shias

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Identity and Nationalism

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William Safran & Ramón Máiz (eds.)

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In most cases, the state and nation are not congruent. The management of different conceptions and obligations of public life – be they economic, educational, linguistic and political – is thus a perennial challenge. This volume considers this in a variety of contexts. It highlights the evolution of national identity and citizenship, making ever more complex and sensitive the processes and compromises inherent in organizing the institutions and values that are used in plural societies. The 12 chapters raise and address such issues through both theoretical and case study analysis. Spanish experiences receive most attention, although there are also chapters on Kosovo, South Asia, and British Columbia. On the theoretical side, Safran compares territorial and non-territorial approaches to autonomy and considers the reasons for different institutional and policy choices for different minority/majority identity challenges. He untangles the meanings – and sometimes misunderstandings – of 'autonomy' and identity, which are not necessarily territorially based: hence 'functional autonomy', when substantial minorities pursue their lives together in large cities through shared institutions, schools and associations, for example, ignored/left alone by other groups. Ramón Máiz examines the potential for managing autonomy issues through constitutional engineering, envisioning a federal arrangement that combines cultural pluralism and political unity.

Other chapters consider the relationship between local, national, and intermediate forms of government and administration (Luis Moreno), which discusses the impact of the information revolution, globalization, migration, and the development of transnationalism and supranational forces upon sovereignty. In the context of the EU, this leads to 'cosmopolitan localism': regions and nations can feel autonomous within the EU, without having to be preoccupied with independence from the 'dominant' identity of the state. This seems to work for Scotland, and less so for the Basque country.

Francesco Llera, who considers the latter case, outlines the competition between party politics and violence. In terms of possible solution – depending upon the context – an array of possibilities is forwarded through the area studies. Partition, dual citizenship, federalism, and consociational structures are amongst them. Shaheen Moaffar and James Scarritt's analysis of Africa questions the feasibility of territorial autonomy in Africa, because

ethnicity is only one of many identities. Autonomy would lead to chaos – the creation of hundreds of unviable units, and always the potential for a minority within a minority to seek autonomy in turn. Yet as Caroline Hartzell and Donald Rothchild observe, a major cause of 'ethnic' conflict is the domination of society by a single ethnic group to the detriment of rival groups. This, collection, based upon a journal special issue, is a well edited piece that will be valuable for students of nationalism and identity, as well as the specific cases considered.

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Citizenship and National Identity

David Miller

(Oxford: Polity Press, 2000) 220pp. Index. Pb.: ISBN 0-7456-2394-8.

This book is a collection of essays, most of which were published by Miller over the previous ten years. It approaches the themes of citizenship and nationality from numerous perspectives. This width has both strong and weak points as to how the book succeeds as an organic unit. On the plus side, there is much to prompt and challenge, and on the minus there is the difficulty of seeing all the threads together. A small point of structure is an example of this difficulty. Deliberative democracy is examined from one perspective in chapter one and another at chapter nine, a thread obviously separated by a considerable amount of detailed argument.

The book deals with ethnicity matters directly and indirectly. An example of the latter is his analysis of the various types of citizenship, for example, republican, bounded (i.e. within national political communities) and cosmopolitan. There is much detail and argument that will help those interested in ethnic identity matters. It is clear that where there are tensions around ethnic identities, they will not automatically ease by simplistic reference and call to 'citizenship' as a set of minimum agreed values and responsibilities. Miller's analysis reveals a complex phenomenon, facets of which will still collide with, for example, migrant identities and those forged at, what has been described as, the 'ethnic frontier'.

A direct, and cogent, reference to ethnicity is Miller's treatment of inclusion and the politics of recognition (pp 70-5). Debating Iris Young's appeal to 'affinity groups' he highlights the difficulties of multifaceted identities, for example, a blend of ethnic / race with gender, class and religion. Group rights, where there is a multiplicity of groups face, as Millar puts it, identity politics' inability to be "infinitely flexible" and societies that can only designate certain groups for political recognition. He goes on to argue the strength of common nationality and a "plurality of

private cultures" co-existing. Space does not permit full analysis here but I immediately reflected on the scenario whereby nationality, *per se*, was at the heart of the problem. Nevertheless, there was much in his treatment that adds to the debate.

Deliberative democracy is also well aired. Miller constructs a case outlining how social choice, in the liberal democratic system, is restricted by the arbitrary nature of choosing (voting, opinion polls etc) and strategic manipulation. Deliberative democracy, by contrast, allows for preferences therefore greater formation of opinions by the people. My immediate reaction was that of a laudable project confronted, even in the era of e-communications, by the harsh practicalities of decision making on the 'big' political questions and also in polarised arenas. I am sure there is more to be said on this concept.

The last chapter is 'National Self-Determination and Global Justice' with Miller viewing justice as 'distributive'. One chapter for such a broad topic and one 'review' paragraph of comment from me is insufficient to say the least. Nevertheless, I felt that Miller's conclusion of a world in which nations could "independently pursue their own conceptions of social justice …" while simultaneously respecting internal and external rights (179) can be stridently challenged. For example, intellectual property rights and the numerous border / territory disputes immediately confound divisions into 'internal' and 'external'.

Much of the material is accessible elsewhere but it is still a commendable collection.

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Social Conflicts and Collective Identities

Patrick G. Coy and Lynne M. Woehrle (eds.)

This interesting collection of essays dedicated to Louis Kriesburg examines the theoretical and empirical aspects of the relationship between collective identity construction and reconstruction and conflict resolution approaches. It examines the way in which identity both shapes and is shaped by conflict and how conflict resolution approaches may make a useful contribution to the unravelling of the complexities that result, based upon the premise that conflict can both be a destructive and constructive social phenomena. Based in part upon the contribution Kriesburg has made to the investigation of the relationship between the social construction of identity and various forms of conflict, this study examines how '…people create conflict

as part of their definition of themselves and of the groups to which they belong, and to achieve what they need to survive and develop. Conflict is this part of the construction of our social reality.' (p.2.)

The introduction by Lynne M.Woehrie and Patrick G. Coy examines the development of conflict analysis in this context, pointing to the general exploitation of identity formation by power brokers who tend to believe that their objectives can be furthered if they can persuade their constituents to ignore the needs of other identity groups (p.8.). Part One looks at the construction of the 'other' and its role in creating conflict, with a contribution from Gina Petonito on racial discourse in the case of Japanese internment in WWII, which illustrates how easily enemy images can be created and receive wide endorsement. This is followed by an examination of the role of emotion in the Falklands conflict by Nora Femenia, in particular in the construction of stereotypes of the other. In Chapter 4, Ross A. Klein looks at the disproportionate 'power' of small states in the context of the conflicts over fishing rights between Iceland and the UK, and Ecuador, Peru and the US, particularly in the formation of collective identities. In Chapter 5, Sean Byrne looks at the impact of conflict on children in the case of Northern Ireland, and how power politics exploits ethno-religious and national identity formation processes at this level. Part II of the book looks at the construction of identities in conflict resolution. Celia Cook- Huffman looks at the framing of social identity and gender in a Church-community conflict, illustrating how shifting identities can be a response to, and also cause, conflict. Verna M. Cavey examines the Quaker separation in 1827 and how groups can break down into sub groups because of internal conflicts despite the fact that they may have their own institutional conflict management mechanisms. In Chapter 8 Brian Polkinghorn examines how collective identities are exploited to simplify negotiating positions in environmental protection negotiations, and more generally how identity politics can be used to enfranchise and disenfranchise certain groups. In Chapter 9 Christine Wagner looks at the relationship between politics, patriotism and gender and demonstrates how factors of exclusion can strengthen identity formation in the face of adversity. In the final chapter Richard Kendrick looks at peace movement recruitment and how social movements may appeal to identity needs in order to draw attention to critical social issues.

This is a valuable and pertinent addition to the literature on identity and conflict, and examines a diverse range of actors, levels and issues, in a phenomena that is now global. Perhaps my one criticism would be that there is little engagement throughout the book with how the various micro-level or regional conflicts which emerge because of the shaping and reshaping of identies have a global impact, through abrasion with the states-system at a conceptual level and through the constant [re] construction of binary identity which it promotes.

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State, Identity and Violence: Jammu. Kashmir and Ladakh

Navnita Chadha Behera

In a well-knit ten chapters, Behera addresses the core problem of social formations in terms of religion, ethnicity, and cultural and linguistic identities and their politicization , especially in the context of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. The first chapter deals with concepts of state and identity as far back as the 19th century. Behera purveys a detailed survey of the identity issue from pre-colonial India through its national freedom movement to the birth of India as an independent state in August 1947. At the end , she concludes that "the levers of state power tends to alienate and marginalise the sub-regional identities."(p.30). It is a sweeping and simplistic conclusion.

In the second chapter , Behera traces the genesis of the identity problem in the state of Jammu and Kashmir from ancient times when "an individual's loyalty was primarily to the tribe, clan or caste group…"(p.35). Behera tries to explain how the rulers of Jammu and Kashmir continued suppressing the voices of workers and peasants. She blames the Hindu King Hari Singh for suppressing factory workers who had opposed his "oppressive attitude of authorities".

In chapters three to nine, Behera returns to her main theme to prove how discriminatory policies practised against the Muslims from the days of the Dogra rulers have contributed to the process of the construction of the Kashmiri Muslim identity. After accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union in October 1947, ruling elites of both State and Centre failed to address socio-economic problems of Kashmiri Muslims. As a result of which, as Behera has rightly pointed out, they could not "secure the emotional integration of Kashmiris into the Indian nation"(p.134). Also she seems to be correct that the failure of the Centre including ruling leaders of the state to address developmental problems of the Valley, ultimately resulted in an ever deepening internal unrest, and consequent upon Pakistan's direct hand in sponsoring militancy in the Kashmir Valley since 1989. In her last chapter, Behera recommends that it is vitally important to "remodel state structures and transform the relationship with the sub-national identities.."(p.302). But how? It is for readers to find out.

Although the book does not offer fresh ideas or any innovative approach to deal with the problem of identity, it provides an excellent analysis of events in the historical context with a rich bibliography and valuable appendices indispensable for scholars and informed readership.

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Dynamics of Violence: Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts. Sociologus - a Journal for Empirical Ethno-Sociology and Ethno-Psychology, Supplement 1

Georg Elwert, Stephan Feuchtwang and Dieter Neubert (eds.)

"He maintains that war needs to be looked at beyond cultural essentialism and that three sets of ideas allow for a differentiated analyses of violence: war as practice, as performance, and as discourse", Heike Schmidt quoting Paul Richards in her contribution, (Heike Schmidt: *Neither War nor Peace: Making Sense of Violence:* 212), to this volume's collection of high profile articles on escalating and de-escalating violence in a range of settings around the world.

The whole volume can be read and understood as a collection of differentiated analyses of violence and violent conflicts. Divided into three parts (1. *the logic of violence*; 2. *auto-regulation of violence and escalation;* 3. *de-escalation and treatment of violence*) it contains twelve articles from mostly German and a few English scholars, all of whom are focusing on an anthropological perspective. This provides an essential and important reading and a most valuable addition to any research on peace, conflict and violence.

Far from delivering only political analyses of various conflicts around the globe, these articles explore the basic dynamics of conflicts and violence but always focus on a bigger picture; the understanding of 'why' and 'how' conflicts escalate and lead to (sometimes extreme forms of) violence. Furthermore focus is given to the fact that procedures and strategies to contain violence exist in various societies and social settings. With this focus the authors dispute the notion of violence as random, wild, uncivilized, uncontrollable and somewhat primordial.

Dieter Neubert very clearly shows how in the case of the Rwandan genocide of 1994 the violence didn't just erupt as part of an 'ethnic' and 'backward' tribal conflict, but was manufactured, planned and then acted out. Propaganda played a major role in this event, and it is worthwhile taking a look at the language used in the built up to this mass murder. In this regard I also recommend looking at Victor Klemperers *Lingua Tertii Imperii*, which is available in English: *The language of the 3rd Reich.*

The four articles in the theory section provide theoretical approaches to the anthropological (but also general) study

of violence. Trutz von Trotha lays out a typology of violence, defining and distinguishing raids, total wars and wars of pacification. Peter Waldmann looks at different societies in civil war, especially Colombia and Northern Ireland, and the development and auto-dynamics during these conflicts. Among the features he discovers are the ritualised and sacred notions of violence and the state's lack of control of the violence. The latter point is very much debatable, as the state in both countries is not lacking any control. Rather they are also major participants in violence and mustn't be seen as helpless third party bystanders in what are falsely labelled as ethnic conflicts (especially Northern Ireland). Georg Elwert takes an economic approach as he looks at conflicts as *'markets of violence'* which come into being when monopolies of violence disintegrate and new agents appear on the scene that gain economically from the rising violence and the absence of its control. Elwert stresses the need to look at conflicts from an economical perspective as *'economic imperatives cannot be bypassed'* and *'even non-economical loyalty breaks down, if troops are no longer fed'* (93). Elwert's arguments are indeed essential for any analysis that wants to look beyond the cliché of ethnic-tribal-primordial labeled conflicts to the background of a global economy with far reaching consequences for what appear to be local conflicts.

These three major contributions, which contain much substance for further discussions and debate, are followed by analyses and accounts from a variety of backgrounds. Among these is Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers' report on the development, history and current state of a feuding system in Albania and Tim Allen's examination of the relation between *War, Genocide and Aid* in the Rwandan genocide.

The volume is surely an outstanding collection of articles on the topic of violence and of immense importance beyond anthropological circles. It will provide many researchers with valuable information and discussion material and will enrich any debate or indeed research on these issues. Its focus on the mechanisms and dynamics behind the often-misleading politics and well meaning but often wrongly applied reconciliation strategies makes it important. It is to be hoped that despite the (somewhat inconceivable) high price, it will find many readers, especially outside the anthropological community.

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Hegemony and Resistance: Contesting Identities in South Africa

Thiven Reddy

Hegemony and Resistence explores two dimensions of South African identities. Abstractly, Reddy engages with social theorists such as Derrida and Foucault to explore discursive hegemony (and to a lesser extent resistance) in South African historiography. More concretely, he illustrates some of the discursive practices of discrimination and apartheid. This historical reinterpretation begins with European exploration and covers up until the 1980s.

Reddy's analysis teases the reader with the potential for systematic rethinking of the discursive basis of apartheid power but fails to deliver. By trying to cover both a critique of historiography and a new historical reading, Reddy never clearly identifies the relationship between the two. For example, does this book seek to overturn class-based analysis of apartheid, or does Reddy see the discursive construction of class-based identity as a complement to marxist approaches? Perhaps he is less concerned with explaining South African social history than with using South African examples to illustrate the insights of his theoretical perspectives. Either is a laudable goal, but he leaves us with a book that does neither convincingly.

Particularly if Reddy seeks to enhance our understanding of identities in South Africa, the argument would be strengthened by more systematic historical work. His overview of colonialism, for example, would benefit from more detailed analyses of sailor narratives, court documents, and missionary reports — sources that he occasionally mentions in illustrative fashion. We would understand segregation and apartheid better if Reddy looked directly at labor legislation, land policies, and commission reports, rather than relying almost exclusively on secondary materials. The power of discourse would come through more clearly if he linked explicitly the ways in which categorizations of race, ethnicity and class (and tensions between them) translated into the institutions of apartheid, such as the form of the state apparatus and the consequent demarcation of space through labor and work regulations (for example).

Last but not least, Reddy would make a stronger case by integrating an analysis of discursive responses to hegemony into each of these chapters, rather than leaving resistance to the end. In retrospect, based on this book, we should indeed be shocked by the 1994 transition, because we haven't been offered analytical tools to explain

the overthrow of discursive hegemony — or perhaps its persistence in the post-apartheid era. That indeed would be a provocative work.

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Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations

Miroslav Hroch

(New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) 220pp. Index. Pb.: £11.00; ISBN 0-231-11771-x.

This work, first published in German in 1968, had already become one of the classic studies of nation-formation when it was revised and translated into English fifteen years ago. The book has since become standard reading for any university course exploring the origins of the modern nation. It stands out from many other treatments of the subject by virtue of its undogmatic and subtle Marxist interpretation, its meticulously researched and empirically detailed comparative approach, its original and provocative thesis of a three-phase development of national revival, and its suggestive typology of national movements.

The author's preface to this new edition of the 1985 text stresses that his work was intended to elucidate not the "nebulous and omnipresent" concept of "nationalism" (p. xiii), but the historical conditions under which small nations began to form, specifically the circumstances under which "national agitation was accepted by members of the nondominant ethnic group and achieved the status of a mass movement" (p. xiv). In other words, how small, oppressed and socially fragmented peoples discovered that they in fact comprised larger, oppressed and socially coherent units called nations. Much of the book is concerned to investigate the "social and territorial origins of national activists" and to relate the origins, character and consequences of their patriotic agitation to each region's progress in its transition to capitalist market relations. It was out of each population's new awareness of belonging to the nation, which in Hroch's understanding is constituted 'objectively' by diverse integrating relationships, that nationalism developed (not vice-versa, as many scholars would argue).

Much of the criticism of this work has assumed that it aspires to conceptualise and comprehensively explain the full range of nationalisms and nation-building processes. In fact, its analytical acuity derives from its limited focus: on the second phase of national development (that of national agitation) among a number of small, nondominant ethnic groups (Norwegians, Bohemians, Finns, Estonians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Flemings and Danish) which proceeded to form modern nations. The book does not deal with the historically "greater" state-nations (like the French, Dutch or Portuguese) or with smaller peoples who failed to achieve nationhood; it does not seek to explore in detail the first phase of national awakening among intellectuals; it does not pursue the third phase of mass nationalism in the twentieth century; it does not strive to reduce nation-formation to a pure function of economic relations or to assert an invariable teleology of national development. Appreciating the book's modest scope and aims will help new readers avoid many of the misunderstandings and misuses to which its generalisations and typologies have been subject.

Nick Baron
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In the thirty years since this classic work on nationalism was first published and the fifteen years since the English language edition was released, the study of nationalism has undergone considerable evolution on both theoretical and empirical fronts. Nevertheless, Hroch's work remains a seminal work in the field and is released here with its 1985 text intact, accompanied by a new preface from the author.

Few would argue that the strength of Hroch's argument lies in its theoretical construction. In the forward to the new edition, he suggests that, rather than attempting to develop a new theory of nationalism, his goals were "far more modest: to determine just which social circumstances were favorable for the successful spread of patriotic feelings among the broad masses of the population" (xi).

Whatever Hroch's "modest" goals, his analysis is noteworthy for its use of the comparative method and his success at evaluating the conditions surrounding the acceptance of national agitation by non-dominant ethnic groups in eight "smaller nations." His conclusion that exchange relationships among various segments of society are at the root of this phenomenon (particularly for the petty bourgeoisie, who he suggests functions both as a "prospective vehicle for national consciousness" and a "potential source for the ruling class" (137)) is borne out by the framing of his argument and the evidence he cites.

Hroch's argument dovetails nicely with other explanations of nationalist awakening that were published in the early

to middle 1980's (Gellner, Breuilly, et al.) and helped to develop a new context for research in this field. This generation of scholarship ascribed new roles to development, communication, and social mobility in the emergence of national movements. Hroch, however, specifically discounts both primordialism and the power of ideas as explanatory forces in the mobilization of national groups, suggesting instead that economic and social relationships lie at the heart of these movements.

However elegant the construction of his argument, though, Hroch's analysis does fall short in its ability to account for alternative explanations, particularly in his narrow treatment of some key components of the argument. For example, he avers that social communication as a product of the marketplace predominates (and predates) other important forms of communication, most notably those which emerged from the development of educational systems (174).

In the preface to the new edition, Hroch speaks to several issues that he concedes as having received incomplete attention in the text. At the same time, he provides some context to what others have perceived as an over-reliance on Marxist ideas in his approach. The shortcomings alluded to in the preface and in this review are minor quibbles, however. Hroch's book provides scholars with a well-conceived explanation for the emergence of national movements that both serves as a methodological blueprint for further inquiry and provides insightful conclusions in its own right.

While the study of nationalism has "moved on (along with the author, as Hroch notes)," this book rightly retains its status as an innovative and enduring text.

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Kritik des Ethnonationalismus
(Critique of Ethnic-Nationalism)

Detlev Claussen, Oskar Negt, Michael Werz, (eds)

Why a critique of ethnic (or ethno-) nationalism? According to the editors of this volume of articles, there have been important changes in the political and ideological landscapes since the autumn of 1989, when the Berlin wall fell and the soviet empire broke apart. Since then, the argument continues, the world has seen the development of a new framework of political, ideological and cultural orientation around the world. As the existing model of east vs. west didn't work anymore, the vacuum was very soon filled with a new model - that of ethnic nationalism.

Ethnic nationalism is seen by the editors as modern ideology, an everyday religion that is different to the 19th century nationalism, as it doesn't use nation state as its reference, but is all about ever changing perceptions of cultural belonging (pp. 7-9). The background today is a world, which is globalised by the market, and whose borders and frontiers are constantly challenged by individual mobility of various kinds. And as borders have become so vulnerable, they have to be maintained and secured by new ideologies (p. 9).

The volume brings together a broad range of different accounts on the wider issue of ethnic nationalism, geographically as well as thematically. Two of the contributions deal with the ethnic politics of the former Soviet Union. They examine the effects this had, and still has on concepts of ethnic nationalism in some of the Soviet republics turned nation states in Central Asia (Detlev Claussen and Victor Zaslavsky).

The articles by David A Hollinger, Berndt Ostendorf and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson are concerned with America. According to David A. Hollinger, America has not been given much attention in the general discussion on nationalism. Nonetheless, he argues that America is of vital importance for such a debate, as it is one of the oldest constitutional regimes and was able to incorporate/ integrate many different ethnic groups throughout its existence (p. 110). Ostendorf takes a wider perspective on this and discusses the role of American nationalism for America in front of a global perspective, while Waldschmidt-Nelson looks at some of the contradictions of this nationalism in analysing the political representation of the black minority in the USA.

The remaining articles deal with the topic on a more abstract level. Dan Diner analyses the historic constitutional process of ethnos and nationality and without doubt contributes the most interesting article in this volume. Also excellent is Bruno Schoch's piece on Switzerland as an example of a nation, which is an exception in almost all regards as to what is generally believed to constitute a nation. The piece by Benedict Anderson, whose seminal work 'Imagined Communities' (1991) set standards in the discussion of nationalism, is somewhat disappointing, as it tells us nothing new and merely repeats what he already pointed out in his rather well known book. The very short, but to the point, essay by Paul Parin is more anthropological in nature as it successfully argues that a universal principle of revenge and retaliation is not an inherent part of human nature.

The book is an interesting and helpful introduction into the subject, especially for those who have not previously studied the subject of nationalism in depth. Although

history is a big part of many of the articles, the book also shows that the issues at hand are of very current concern across this planet. Notwithstanding the quality of the articles, one book on which many of the articles and indeed the concept of this volume seem to be based, shouldn't go unmentioned, i.e. Eric J. Hobsbawm's "Age of Extremes". Hobsbawm's earlier work on ethnic nationalism and his recent analyses of the 20th century, the break-up of the Soviet Union ('Age of Extremes') and the changes after 1989 are crucial to understanding the current situation that this volume attempts to discuss.

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Edward Said: a Critical Introduction

Valerie Kennedy

(Oxford: Polity Press, 2000) 192pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-7456-2019-1.

Kennedy explores the impact of Edward Said's contribution to academia primarily through "Orientalism" and "Culture and Imperialism". His upbringing as a Christian Palestinian through to his education at Princeton and Harvard has given him a unique insight through his field of literary studies into the cultural heritage of the Western world. His public defence of Palestinian rights and his contribution to the debate on the role and responsibilities of academics has made him a controversial figure. These aspects of his work are discussed in Kennedy's overview of his work to date. Perhaps more relevant to this review though is her discussion of his contribution to the field of culture. As a professor of literature Edward Said published his groundbreaking book "Orientalism" (1978) which highlighted the imperialist roots of Western culture and its enduring influence in Western perceptions of itself and its attitude towards non-western cultures. By exposing links in our own cultural heritage, he forced Western academics to analyse and redefine how issues of race, culture and ethnicity are approached. "Culture and Imperialism" (1993) went on to build upon his earlier work by further emphasising the link between politics and literature through the commentaries of nineteenth and twentieth century writers. His emphasis lay in the resistance found to imperial and postcolonial power with contradictions and dual loyalties of many of the writers lying at the heart of these texts. His ability to connect the disciplines of literature, history and politics offers a radical engagement to narratives of British, French and American colonial experience. Said's work continues to be influential, primarily in the field of postcolonial studies. His vision and engagement on these

issues has done much to shape the discipline and further Western cultures recognition of its roots more broadly. For Kennedy, Said's work goes far beyond even this. She considers his influence to be "a major factor which has forced the West to recognize the place of the non-Western world in its creation and its image of itself and, perhaps, to begin to do justice to it, however belatedly" (p148). Kennedy does highlight and address two important criticisms levelled at Said's writings, firstly that he does not address the issue of gender and secondly that his position as a Western academic compromises his authority to comment on issues on non-western culture. A valuable introduction to the vision and ability of an individual and influential thinker.

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Ethnicity and Globalisation

Stephen Castles

(London: Sage Publications, 2000) 240pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: £16.99; ISBN 0-7619-5612-3.

Stephen Castles book is a collection of essays that span almost his entire career as a researcher and scholar of migration, racism and identity. So despite the title, the book's main focus is on migration. But Castles makes quite clear why this happens to be: "Why give migration such prominence? Because it plays a key part in most contemporary social transformations" (124), among which ethnicity and globalization can be found as either a cause, an effect or subject of change.

And to view and review these transformations Castles presents us with empirical data and theoretical analysis from over 3 decades of research. Starting with a section of essays he gives a theoretical account of the beginning of migration to the industrialized countries of Western Europe in the 50s, 60s and early 70s, where much labour was needed to rebuild the war affected countries, especially in Germany, one of his main areas at that time. These essays give a good overview of what impact labour migration made on Germany and other European Countries during that time. 'The guests that stayed' is a phrase that catches the situation many European countries were facing, when they started migration, thinking it was temporary but it was in fact permanent.

He goes on from there to study the phenomenon comparatively, with studies on Britain, Canada and especially Australia, the latter getting special attention in one of the chapters on multicultural citizenship. Migration in the Asia Pacific Region as well as the relation between globalization and migration in the 90s are discussed.

Throughout his essays, although not written as one book, Castles never looses sight of the important elements which make his work strong. These are the role of racism, the complexity of migration and effect these processes have on peoples identities in the receiving as well as in the sending countries, given the changes that occur over time. Seeing migration as a process which changed many countries and eventually led to a variety of multicultural societies throughout the world, this collection of essays also documents the theoretical changes that have taken place in migration and identity research over the past 30 years, on which he reflects in his introduction.

Given the wide range of years from which the articles are drawn while focusing on the same subject, there are some repetitions throughout the book, which for someone with experience in this field may not be too interesting. As for others that want to get an overview on the topic, this is an excellent book. The book is not only be a historical account of migration research, it also serves as a starting point for future research, providing good and new ideas for research on a very complex matter, i.e. the relationship between globalization, migration and racism.

Its only weak point is its discussion of the subject of ethnicity itself, which comes up many times, but never really is discussed or defined, given the fact that this is a hard task to do. Although claiming to have an interdisciplinary approach, he is sometimes lacking an anthropological understanding and a more cultural driven notion of ethnicity. But other than that, this is a good and worthwhile read.

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Predatory Globalisation: A Critique

Richard Falk

The author of this book presents a vivid analysis of the effects of economic globalisation (aptly termed 'predatory globalisation') and argues that one of the major effects of this ongoing process has been that of eroding the social contract forged between state and society with particular reference to the question of welfare provision. A new alignment of forces has crystallised in the form of market, technological, and ideological developments while the state system has gradually lost control of policy. The central problem outlined is that 'there is little, or no, normative agency associated with this emerging world order' (p.36) to offset the drive of business and finance to subordinate social policy to the criteria of profitability and capital efficiency.

The suggested solution is that of establishing a regulatory framework for global market forces that is people-centred rather than capital-driven. Such a solution is located in the process of resistance to predatory globalisation and the social construction of this process, also identified as 'rooted utopianism' or 'global realism', can be understood through the distinction made by the author between 'globalisation-from-above' and 'globalisation-from-below'. The former process involves the conjuncture of largely non-accountable power and influence exerted by global financial capital while the latter process involves attempts at the local and transnational level to create mitigating options through the democratisation of global institutions, increased accountability and the establishment of procedures for wider participation in governance.

According to the author ideology has played a relevant role in allowing for the negative effects of globalisation to go unchallenged as it is stated that 'globalization from above would have different, and generally more positive, normative impacts if the prevailing ideological climate were conditioned by social democracy rather than by neo-liberalism' (p.130). An alternative unifying ideology capable of mobilising and unifying the disparate forces that constitute global society and to provide political energy associated with the process of globalization-from-below is provided through the notion of 'normative democracy'. The elements that constitute normative democracy are: citizens' representation; rule of law; human rights; meaningful participation in political life; accountability of government; public goods agenda; transparency; and ethos of non-violence.

A critical and refreshing view of the process of globalisation is adopted here and the analysis presented if far from utopian. If it is true that capitalism has now spread to the ninety per cent of the world population (it is pointed out that only twenty years earlier such conditions were those of only twenty per cent of the world population) the conditions of 'global apartheid' whereby a small percentage of the world's population uses most of the earth's processed energy and mineral resources have remained unchanged and unchallenged. The rising power of transnational capital and the advent of new politics have been previous topics of discussion in political science texts but what is new in this book is the focus on the process of 'globalisation-from-below' and the refreshing and outspoken approach critical of established theoretical approaches that deny any possibility of challenging the status quo. The book sometimes lacks a definite structure but the picture can only be sketchy as the analysis centres on the processes and forces emerging to redefine the question of sustainable economic development. This is a very well written and refreshing text focusing on a realistic analysis of the most pressing issues and the focus on normative aspects of international relations theory away from a world of pretence realism is very much welcome.

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Conflict Resolution

Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflict

Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham, and Tom Woodhouse

(Oxford: Polity Press, 1999) 345pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: ISBN 0-7456-2034-5. Pb.: 0-7456-2035-3

This text evocatively sets forth conflict resolution options to resolve violent disputes in international and local arenas. The authors effectively argue that though conflict resolution faces similar dilemmas to those of traditional methods (including the role of coercion, force, inequality, oppression, intervention and autonomy) there is new hope on the horizon.

First, the nature of conflict and its resolution is placed in the context of the international community. An overview of conflict resolution models and available statistical data on "deadly quarrels" is provided in the introduction. Chapter Two describes conflict resolution as a distinct field of study, providing a brief history of the development theories and practice, in various contexts, illuminating the strengths and weaknesses of this "new" discipline. Chapter Three shifts focus to the contemporary situation, offering a concise overview of the theories and frameworks to understand and manage conflict and protracted "social" struggles, indicating a shift in focus from state-centric to societal levels of analysis. Sources of "international-social conflict," including methods for mapping and tracking disputes completes this complex segment of the book. Chapters Four through Six discuss violent conflict causes and prevention, working in war zones, war economies and cultures of violence, and the challenges of ending violent disputes. Numerous case studies are provided from the hottest spots in the world today, including Kosovo, Rwanda, Israel-Palestine and Northern Ireland. Chapter Seven defines post-settlement peace building and the challenges therein, both in the immediate aftermath and over the long term. A brief ten year analysis of United Nation's post-settlement peacebuilding missions in offered, concluding ". . . overall that the experiment has not been shown to have failed . . . ." (p. 214) Numerous informative tables and maps pepper the text. The conclusion paints a depressing yet hopeful picture of a global community drastically in need of dedicated and well-trained peacemakers.

This book is clearly and well written and researched. I only wish the text were expanded, especially Chapter Three's discussion of theory development and sources of social conflict, mapping and tracking, and Chapters Four through Six. Nonetheless, its structure makes it accessible to both experts in the field and those new to it. It would make an excellent text for any college level course on global conflict resolution, and I intend to use it next term. It makes an important contribution to the field. Hope is on the horizon.

The longed for tidal wave
Of Justice can rise up
And hope and history rhyme . . . .
Seamus Heaney, extract from *The Cure for Troy* in *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* by Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, p. 216.

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Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND

Johan Galtung and Carl G. Jacobsen

(London: Pluto Press, 2000) 296pp. Paperback £15.99; Hardback £45.00 (ISBN 0-7453-1614-1613-1 and 1614-x).

The use of medical metaphors to describe social disorders has plenty of precedents. Roger Fisher and his colleagues at Harvard, for example, use it as a central metaphor for treatment of deeply divided societies. It is again enthusiastically embraced in this book. The forty cases cited by Johan Galtung in the body of the book are approached under three headings, Diagnosis, Prognosis and Therapy.

The principal danger in this conceit is that the analysts are often the equivalent of medical consultants rather than general practitioners. Their knowledge and skills lie more in the general state of the art than in the details of their patients' condition. Clearly such knowledge is necessary to advance general understanding, but the edifice is sometimes constructed on imperfectly understood data. The Northern Ireland ailment, for example, is treated by an embarrassingly superficial set of prescriptions. These include the introduction of a version of the Euro for Northern Ireland, in apparent ignorance that the Irish and British currencies have significantly different values and fluctuate on a daily basis; it is further suggested naming it an 'ulster', in apparent ignorance that this is a disputed term. It is equally difficult to see either demand or function for another of their proposals, the creation an Ulster passport. In the case of Sri Lanka the section on Therapy

concludes: 'it can only be hoped that the Sinhalese will produce a leader capable of thinking the unthinkable, a Tamil state, and doing the so far undoable; and that the Tamils will join in a giant reconstruction and reconciliation operation'. Fine, but it falls a long way short of a convincing prescription.

The book is structured in four parts. The two chapters in Part 1 provide an overview of recent developments in peace research and peace-making, and the defining parameters of war culture. They present a useful review of similar material to that covered recently by Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (Contemporary Conflict Resolution, Polity, London, 1999), and would provide an excellent introduction for Graduate courses in conflict and peace studies. The second part, entitled Conflict Formations for the Twenty-first Century, has a short introduction by Galtung and three geographical surveys of Russia-China, Eurasia and South Asia by Jacobsen. A Practice for Peace, the third and longest part, is a celebration of forty years of the TRANSCEND approach, which is closely associated with Galtung; it classifies forty conflicts in which the TRANSCEND ('a network of scholars-practitioners, doing action/training/dissemination/research within fifteen programmes') approach was applied. The two chapters in Part 4, by Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen and Finn Tschudi, speculate about new approaches and new actors.

Galtung's writing always provides succinct and important insights. He stresses, for example, that 'conflicts cannot be prevented, but violence can be prevented' (p.107). He also identifies what he describes as three basic mistakes in 'conflict practice': the liberal fallacy, which refuses to confront real contradictions; the conservative fallacy, which believes that behaviour can only be modified by putting the lid on aggressive action; and the Marxist fallacy, so obsessed by the contradiction between labour and capital that it ignores the personal costs involved (p.208).

In the end, however, sharp observations are not enough. Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND may be seen by some as a magisterial book, by others as a lazy one. In some chapters the citations are quite inadequate. There is insufficient willingness to be critical of, or even to evaluate, the TRANSCEND approach, so the reader is left unconvinced of its impact. The index contains 58 references to TRANSCEND (not to mention another 97 to its three components, Diagnosis, Prognosis and Therapy. The United Nations merits a grand total of 18.)

Nevertheless, the book has appropriate and important targets: it seeks to uncover the general truth among the particular complications; it does not draw back from

proposing courses of action; it confronts serious tasks. Unfortunately, it does not quite accomplish them.

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Peace Agreements and Human Rights

Christine Bell

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 416pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-19-829889-7.

This is an important book. It examines the human rights component of peace agreements reached in four conflicts with an ethnic dimension: South Africa, Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and Bosnia Herzegovina. The book is detailed, scholarly and authoritative, yet maintains an engaging narrative style and concentrates on the moral dilemmas associated with contemporary peace accords. Chapters on negotiations; human rights institutions; refugees, land and possession; and prisoners, accountability and truth follow the case studies mentioned above.

The conceptualisation of peace processes (pp. 16-19) is a little brief and rests on the view that peace processes are value judgements of attempts to end/win a conflict. In other words, they are heavily dependent on perception. This much is true, but a more detailed framework of contemporary peace processes, perhaps resting on objective criteria such as longevity of a peace process and the inclusion of key actors, may have sat more easily with the detailed consideration of the content of peace agreements that follows. This is a minor point and the book views peace accords as transitional constitutions – a useful starting point.

The book is not a dry legal tome, Instead it places peace accords in their human context and is aware of variegated and simultaneous pressures that contribute to the development of accords. So, for example, increased legal trends towards individual accountability and punishment are juxtaposed with prisoner releases. Noting the international community's often contradictory attitudes to self-determination, Bell reasons that 'An alien from Mars (with an interest in political science) would be hard pressed to understand why "bantustanization" was internationally unacceptable in South Africa, but perhaps acceptable in Palestine; or why consociational government was considered vital internationally in the divided society of Bosnia Herzegovina, permissible in Northern Ireland, but unnecessary in South Africa.'(pp. 189-90).

Bell concludes by highlighting the importance of comparison and cross-fertilisation between agreements: 'The stories of peace processes should continue to be told.'(p. 321) True to her word, this is followed by a lengthy appendix of peace agreements reached in the 1990s: from Afghanistan to Yemen. This in itself is a magnificent resource and I would recommend this book for graduate courses on peace and conflict.

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Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution

Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham (eds.)

(London: Frank Cass, 2000) 279pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £42.50; ISBN 0-7146-4976-7. Pb.: £17.50; ISBN 0-7146-8039-7.

This book is timely indeed. As the field of peacekeeping is changing so rapidly, with many new actors committing themselves to peacekeeping, and new regional arrangements developing, it is fitting that the authors have chosen to bring to our attention many of the issues which are shaping current approaches to peacekeeping. In particular the book focuses on the necessity to ensure that current approaches to conflict resolution are taken into account when considering future developments in the field.

The issues are all here. To begin with, Tom Woodhouse takes us through the various recent critiques of conflict resolution, and in particular the role of peacekeeping interventions, arguing that many such criticisms arise from a lack of communication and respect between the field, which needs to be significantly addressed. Philip Wilkinson, speaking with the authority of his previous military background gives an extremely thoughtful overview of peacekeeping necessities, which points to the need to consider the overall results for the populace in terms of conflict resolution, and not just the military objectives achieved. The new recognition for the necessity of post-conflict, i.e. in 'making the settlement stick' is well articulated by Oliver Ramsbotham, with a useful and comprehensive framework which outlines the practical necessities for UN post-settlement peacebuilding.

Beth Fetherson revisits key concepts and many of the debates pertaining in the field using in particular the insights of Jabri, Foucault, Burton and Lederach and Habermas against which to develop her discourse. She finally arrives at the need to develop a post-hegemonic

world that will legitimate a multiplicity of social meanings as realities, and in doing so, hopefully mitigate and prevent conflict. Tamara Duffey, writing from her experience in training peacekeepers in the field, warns against the problem of perceiving any peacekeeping force as a homogeneous group, and of the necessity to keep their differing national mandates, staff procedures, and cultural differences etc. in mind as operations develop. In addition, Duffey points to the need to understand the cultural conceptions of the conflict prevailing at local levels. She points to cultural differences within the Somali peacekeeping force, as well as the misunderstandings of Somali culture as contributing significantly to the failure of the peacekeeping mission.

Stephen Ryan offers a useful view of where peacekeeping has been, setting it in the context of contemporary models of conflict resolution approaches, and a look to its future. He suggests that the current trend may be away from UN peacekeeping, and that such activities may in the future be subsumed within the various developing forms of global governance.

For those who are coming fresh to the field of peacekeeping, for those who want to revisit the field for a state-of the art review of many current issues in the field, and above all for those who want to know how far the debate on peacekeeping/conflict resolution has progressed, this is an excellent reference book.

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Peace Operations Between War and Peace

Erwin Schmidl (ed.)

(London: Frank Cass, 2000) 184pp. Index. Hb.: £37.50; ISBN 0-7146-4989-9. Pb.: £16.50; ISBN 0-7146-8052-4.

This is a somewhat unusual collection of articles on peace operations. It contains a wide range of studies whose only common denominator is their focus on various aspects of peacekeeping, enforcement, or other forms of peace operations. The introductory overview by Schmidl covers the familiar conceptual and historical ground on the evolution of peace operations. He has also produced a summary analysis for the book. The reader would benefit more by reading the more comprehensive and important analyses of peace-maintenance tasks by Jarat Chopra and his co-authors than the summary provided in this book.

The most interesting contributions in the book come from somewhat unusual perspectives. Thus, Thomas Mockaitis

explores peace operations from the vantage point of counterinsurgency warfare. The author's approach is conceptually muddled and ethically troublesome, but he seems to make an important point by comparing especially the operations in Somalia in terms of counterinsurgency. In fact, this perspective may help to explain why Somalia became such a debacle.

The book also contains a comparison of experiences in Srebrenica and Somalia by Chris Klep and Donna Winslow. They provide a reflective analysis of the difficulties faced primarily by the Canadian and Dutch forces in these violent places. The authors refer to inadequate training, logistical problems, unclear rules of engagement, political complexities, and other factors as reasons for the international failure in Srebrenica and Somalia.

Moreover, both the Dutch and especially the Canadian peacekeepers became involved in clearly criminal acts in Sbrebrenica. Klep and Winslow conclude, however, with a happy note that both governments started a soul search and have mended their peacekeeping practices since then. Unfortunately, there seems to have been much less multilateral learning from Somalia which has rather prompted unilateral reactions, especially in the United States.

The latter problem is addressed indirectly by Christopher Dandeker and James Gow who explore the impact of "strategic peacekeeping" on military culture. They recognize that, in addition to the problems of interstate coordination in peacekeeping activities, the need for robust operations also poses challenges to the traditional national military culture. As there is, in peacekeeping, no Clausewitzian binary choice between victory and defeat, military cultures must become more flexible, while at the same time civil-military relations may have to be redefined.

The effects of peacekeeping on established military cultures and practices are, in part, due to the different environment compared with war. Fabrizio Battistelli, Teresa Ammendola and Maria Grazia Galantino link up in their intriguing contribution the indeterminacy of peace operations to the postmodern nature of its environment which is fuzzy, in the cybernetic sense of the word. Although the correlation established, for instance, between the "postmodernity" of soldiers and their motivation to become engaged in peace enforcement seems to be dubious, the article is refreshingly different from the standard studies of peacekeeping.

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International Relations

World Politics: Progress and its Limits

James Mayall

(Oxford: Polity Press, 2000) 184pp. Index. Pb.: £11.99; ISBN 0-7456-2590-8.

How will an "international society", which can contribute to the prevention or peaceful resolution of ethnic conflict, be constructed? This book, which consists of four parts (11 chapters), explores the meaning of the new millennium from the viewpoint of international relations and, in particular, perspectives on the construction of a useful international society.

In the first part, the author considers the meaning and history of "international society", a key concept for the "English school" on international relations such as Martin Wight or Hedley Bull. He highlights conceptions of "pluralism" and "solidarism" of international society and insists on a necessity of their harmonisation; but it is shown that we have been faced with its limit.

The next parts discuss three important global issues, sovereignty, democracy and international intervention, where ethnic conflict and nationalism are treated as one of the major problématiques. We can understand that the domination of Western standards on the international stage has made it more difficult to reform international society (ex. the Gulf War).

How should we then analyse present and future international relations? There are three grand approaches in this academic field: the realist, liberal rationalist and revolutionary. All of them are plausible according to Professor Mayall. In the short run, in order to deal with such an uncertain future, it is indispensable to pay more attention to what is real in the world, avoiding a necessarily optimistic or pessimistic point of view. And governments must continue to struggle to reform international society while never evading the responsibility for each of their actions.

This book lacks detailed analysis of ethnic conflicts themselves, but it will be able to offer some hints on how to best approach such conflicts from a global point of view.

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Intervention: The Use of American Military Force in the Post Cold War World

Richard N. Haass

(Washington: Brookings Institution Press, revised edition, 1999) 295pp. Index. Pb.: $18.95; ISBN 0-8700-3135-X

In this volume Haass performs two valuable services for anyone interested in the use of force as a foreign policy tool in the post-Cold War world – he offers an insider's view into the world of American foreign policy making; and in a comprehensive set of appendices he presents us with 'documents that are highly relevant but not always easy to find.'(p.xii) An introduction to the post-Cold War world and the consequences of this environment for military intervention is followed in the main body of the text by analysis of 12 cases of American intervention. The chapter on the vocabulary of intervention, highlighted with case-study examples, is particularly interesting and informative. However, chapters on whether and how to intervene are frustratingly brief. Indeed, this is one of the major shortcomings of the work as a whole. A bare 180 pages (excluding appendices) is not sufficient to do justice to the ambitions and claims of the outlined topic material. This is particularly evident in the rather short shrift given to the additional five years covered by the "revised addition" – little more than a twenty page afterword, despite the author's admission that, if anything, the pace of intervention has picked up.

Whether as a result of the brevity of the work as a whole, or the author's personal and professional biases, the analytical framework is also limited in its reach. Despite at times touching on literary traditions as diverse as just war theory, international law, humanitarian intervention, the work of major strategists, and authors of works on limited war and international society, the normative debate that is perhaps the key identifying element of post-Cold War international relations is sadly truncated. While it is acknowledged that Realist tenets such as sovereignty and national interest have come under increasing attack, the case study analyses resolutely focus on the policy statements of members of various American government administrations. Strategic and policy considerations are emphasises to the virtual exclusion of the normative debate. Thus the question "when is it right to intervene?" is invariably answered in terms of when it is right for American interests and forces rather than when it is morally acceptable. Hence the conclusion *'legitimacy must reside in the policy and derive from the ends and means of the intervention, not from some external organization or international court of law.'*(p.151) Furthermore, the author's pro-American and Republican bias shows through in his analysis of policy initiatives. I found his claim that 'the Qaddafi government carried out the destruction of Pan Am flight 103, resulting in the deaths of 270 innocent people' (p.27) with no consideration of the evidence and

in anticipation of a verdict which if anything is likely to disprove Libyan collusion, disquieting.

This book is certainly not without merit, but would have benefited from a more comprehensive second edition rather than a revised addition that fails even to update the language and context of the earlier cases.

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The Balance of Power in South Asia

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(Reading: Ithaca Press; United Arab Emirates: The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2000) 142pp. Index. Biblio. ISBN 0-86372-267-9.

The nuclear tests by India and Pakistan in May 1998 have implications for national security beyond the Subcontinent, and this collection of essays purports to look at their impact on the Arab Gulf. It begins with an informative 'Introduction' by Michael Krepon which explores why the two countries' tested, rightly highlighting how primarily domestic political considerations drove Prime Ministers Atul Behari Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif, respectively, to give their go-aheads. 'The Limits of Realpolitik in the Security Environment of South Asia' by Marvin G. Weinbaum also finds both countries guilty of 'largely unreconstructed views of strategic defense and national interest' (p. 11); that is, living in a bygone world where acquiring nuclear weapons matters more than socio-economic improvement.

The security perceptions of the Asian nuclear players themselves are covered by the next three essays. In 'Nuclearization and Regional Security: An Indian Perspective', Jasjit Singh explains how Vajpayee opted to test because of the lack of progress on world nuclear disarmament, need to insure against existing nuclear-armed states, and danger that a growing global non-proliferation order might soon prevent India from establishing a 'defensive, no-first-use' (p. 37) nuclear deterrent. Interestingly, Singh, the long-serving Director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, Delhi, appears unconvinced that the decision to test was correct.

In contrast, Najam Rafique, a senior research fellow at the Institute for Strategic Studies, Islamabad, argues that 'maintaining a nuclear capability is...an imperative that Pakistan can hardly choose to ignore' (p 69) given India's 1998 tests. Perhaps he is correct. Certainly, Rafique's 'Pakistan and Regional Security in South Asia' reflects the current simplistically reactive state of Pakistan foreign policy decision-making. Readers also may wince at his casual India-bashing (always guilty as regards Kashmir!) and forgetful Pakistan-promoting (wither the Bangladesh genocide?) statements.

China's foreign policy considerations could not be more different, argues Christian Koch in 'China and Regional Security in South Asia'. The pre-eminent Asian nuclear weapons power in Asia worries first about Japan, then Taiwan, the United States, Central Asia and, finally, Russia. 'In a nutshell, China is more important for South Asia than South Asia is for China' (p 81). The addition of nuclear weapons to its south finds Koch untroubled for, he argues, China will inevitably be drawn further into international compromises in an attempt to maintain a high level of economic growth (and thus preserve the current regime). I would not be so sanguine.

Nor, in his 'The Future Strategic Balance in South Asia', is Eric Arnett-but this time about the Pakistani elite's capability to understand the implications of the May 1998 tests:

a militarily and confident and ascendant India facing a declining Pakistan that sometimes appears to verge on desperation...makes clear that war is still possible....[Therefore,] Convincing the Pakistani elite that they must be more realistic about the strengths and weaknesses of deterrence...is imperative (pp 106-107).

Similarly, the book's 'Concluding Remarks' argue that the Gulf states-mainly for reasons of geographic proximity-need somehow to help contribute to preventing further nuclear weaponization and/or proliferation in the region. Let us hope they are successful.

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Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms

Lora Lumpe (ed.)

(London and New York: Zed Books, 2000) 256pp. Index. Hb.: £49.95; ISBN 1-85649-872-7. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 1-85649-873-5.

Owing to their intractability, pervasiveness and the threats they pose to sustainable peace within states and the entire global system, small arms are without doubt one of the biggest defining elements in the international world order. The contributors to *Running Guns: The Global Black Market in Small Arms* have attempted to provide an understanding of illegal arms trafficking. In this respect, the book does succeed in introducing the reader to the players of the global black arms market, how it is conducted and the repercussions of the same. In Part 4, S Meek and T Leggett present in their way forward, suggestions on what can be done to curb the pandemic trade.

Following the introduction to gun-running, B J Thomas and E C Gillard explain in detail the legal framework that surrounds the transfer of weapons. It is important to note their observation that besides the ECOWAS moratorium, there have not been any other cases of outright bans of transfer of small arms and light weapons. What does this mean? Should we not now accept that the continued proliferation of small arms is in some ways a direct result of the complacency of governments and other regional bodies? In Part 2, the forces of supply and demand are dealt with - although not in that order. It would provide better reading were W Cukier and S Stropshire's article on *Domestic Gun Markets: The Licit – Illicit Link* to come before the article by L Mathiak and L Lumpe on *Government Gun-Running to Guerrillas* and P Abel's *Manufacturing Trends: Globalising the Source.* That not withstanding, this part of the book is the most informative. Abel's detailed write-up on the different countries' production of both licensed and unlicensed small arms is crucial particularly for policy makers. Indeed, his entire section on Licensed Production Agreements is a must-read for those who seek to understand the magnitude of the problem at hand. Besides the illicit trafficking of small arms, we are now faced with the additional question of how to deal with the Licensed Production Agreements that are directly responsible for the steady increase in the number of manufacturing countries and companies worldwide. Can these "Production Agreements" be delegitimized in one way or the other? Part 3 of the book deals with the technical aspects of the trade. The striking of deals, the movement of small arms, the role of brokers and shippers and the financing of the illegal trade are all discussed. Suffice to say that anyone who thinks that "... *illegal deals involve men with black eye patches exchanging valises stuffed with $100 in a smoky bar..."* *pg. 159* is way off the mark! Payment mechanisms are much more complicated and involve the negotiation of complex offset packages.

Essentially, this book looks chiefly at the methods by which gun traffickers circumvent the law. The fourth part of the volume contains viable suggestions on how the law enforcement bodies can make it difficult for black arms traders to get away with gun trafficking. The writers, T Leggett and S Meek also present ways through which the international community can work together and assist in subduing the trade.

I wish to reiterate the fact that the book serves as a good introduction to the intricacies of the global black arms market. It should encourage other theorists, researchers and practitioners to continue with the discussion on this very important and multifarious issue of global concern.

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States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua and the Philippines

Misargh Parsa

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 336pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £37.50; ISBN 0-521-77337-7. Pb.: £13.95; ISBN 0-521-77430-6.

This book is a comparative study of the revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua, and Philippines and as such appears to be almost unique . The author seeks to explain why there were differences in the capacity of elites to mobilise sections of the population into revolutionary activity. Drawing critically on the different models of revolution set out in the first chapter, Parsa aims to develop an analysis of revolution that is not rooted exclusively in the Marxist tradition. Parsa rejects the thesis that a high level of working class mobilisaton and an ideological shift against the capitalist class is necessary. Indeed, it is suggested that the failure of the revolutionary activity in Nicaragua and the Philippines in the 1970s was down to the absence of capitalists from the coalition of students and workers.

Parsa makes the claim that where there is a high level of state repression the focus of attacks by students and workers is the state as such rather than simply the capitalist class. In the absence of a repressive state there is evidence that the focus of peoples attentions is on the capitalist class. In Nicaragua the second phase of the revolution involved the imposition of martial law by the Chamorro regime. The result was the redirection of energies towards the regime itself. Consequently the involvement of the capitalist class contributed, according to Parsa, to the success of the revolution. Elsewhere the reversal of this situation, a less repressive state, impeded class coalitions.

Importantly in this work, the key factor which unites all of the examples cited by Parsa is the role of the upper class. Rejecting Theda Skocpol's thesis that the defection of the upper-class from the regime presented opportunities for mobilisation, Parsa argues that such a defection was not the overriding factor in the cases cited. Primacy cannot be given to upper class politics because, argues Parsa, their politics are affected not only by the state but by their relationship with the working classes. The role of the working classes and in particular, their politics, crucially affects the upper class's role in an insurgency.

This book is a key text for those interested in the comparative study of revolutions. As a comparative study it is strong. Solid in theoretical analysis and empirical research the book is ambitious but effectively argued.

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Women and Politics in Latin America

Nikki Craske

(Oxford: Polity Press, 1999) 224pp. Index. Biblio. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-7456-1547-3.

There are many books which try to serve two audiences - the undergraduate and the academic - but few do so with such coherence, engagement, clarity and enthusiasm for the subject as Nikki Craske's book. I used this text on a module last semester and *all* those who used it found it to be clear, comprehensive and fascinating, as did I.

This extremely useful book examines women's political participation in Latin America during the twentieth century, focusing in particular on the last thirty years. Craske's key theme in the book is the tension between two potent symbolic devices: motherhood and citizenship. Both are employed by political actors of all hues and have immense social and political resonance, precisely because they are founding blocks in the creation of women's (and society's) political identity. This becomes evident in the subsequent chapters which examine the formal political arena, the economic sphere, social movements, revolutions and feminist activity. Common to each is an approach which asks how and why women participate and whether they benefit from such participation, through the satisfaction of needs ('practical gender interests'), or through the promotion of substantive improvements ('strategic gender interests') via empowerment, mobilization and legal or cultural change. Craske has a generally positive interpretation of women's impact on the political, economic and social world. She argues that there has been a real improvement in women's legal status as citizens, a valorization of women's domestic roles and enhanced access for women to new political and economic opportunities. However, Craske also points to the tendency of formal political agencies to promote 'harmless' change in order to maintain gender relationships through cosmetic alteration, and to the resilience of skewed patterns of power in gender relationships.

This book has a lot to say, then, to scholars of Latin American politics, to those interested in 'progressive' political change and to those who study gender. What makes it a good read in particular is its firm foundation in fieldwork research which lends the book a sense of engagement and intimacy with the protagonist(a)s as well as analytical authority. As such it is also a thought-provoking read for both students and their lecturers; put it on the reading list, and save a copy for yourself.

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Religion and Conflict

Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence, and Peacemaking

Marc Gopin

In his path-breaking work on religion and conflict resolution, Marc Gopin blends together insights from his training as a religious and ethics scholar with his practical and scholarly experience in the field of conflict resolution. His central thesis speaks to the dearth of literature in conflict resolution regarding religion and religious actors in conflict. He acknowledges the propensities within religious traditions to motivate violence, or what he terms the anti-social values, and peace, or the pro-social values. Gopin proposes that the key is to balance two competing human needs: a need for integration and a need for uniqueness. This central thesis – that successful peacemakers are those who are able to retain their unique identity as rooted in a particular religious tradition, but who are able to see the best in other traditions as well – forms one of the recurrent themes of the book.

Gopin proposes that conflict resolution strategies must incorporate and resonate with a religious ethos and vocabulary in order to engage religious actors. He calls for a hermeneutic reinterpretation of religious texts that emphasize the prosocial values within religions, but acknowledges that change will inevitably be slow. To illustrate, he devotes several chapters that analyze Judaism and its peacemaking ethic, and that outline how various texts may be reinterpreted to yield a peacemaking ethic. Gopin's historical and theological analysis of Judaism is enlightening and useful but sometimes too advanced for those more unfamiliar with Jewish traditions or religious scholarship. Nonetheless, his own experience and scholarly analysis yield crucial insights into the Arab-Israeli conflict. His overall analysis extends to Islam, Eastern, and Christian traditions, with one chapter that analyzes Mennonite contributions to conflict resolution.

Although he does not speak directly to ethnic conflict, his insights about religion are relevant for students and analysts of ethnic conflict. His central thesis could well be applied to some ethnic conflicts that are religiously-motivated, and even to those that are not. Conflict resolution in secular contexts could also include a reinterpretation of historical texts and myths to nurture prosocial tendencies.

Gopin's book is an important contribution to the fields of religious studies and of conflict resolution. While his final chapter outlines practice and policy suggestions related to interventions in religious conflict, some of these remain difficult for others to translate into practice. As he indicates, this is one of the tasks that remains for those who follow.

Larissa Fast
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The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation

R. Scott Appleby

Scott Appleby has produced a work of considerable scholarship as he seeks to explore the painful and paradoxical relationship between religion, destructive conflict and peace in the contemporary world. On the one hand religion has legitimated and exacerbated so many violent conflicts around the world, acting as one of the key identity markers by which people seek to distinguish themselves as a 'people', and providing the necessary mythological legitimacy to claims of primordial rights to self-determination and national territory. But religion has also provided the vision and the promise to inspire peace-makers and peace-builders throughout the world in their efforts to transform deadly quarrels and promote processes of reconciliation and reconstruction.

Three overarching questions guide the study. Under what conditions do religious actors become violent? Under what conditions do religiously motivated actors challenge the extremists' commitment to violence as a sacred duty? And under what conditions do nonviolent religious actors become active agents of peacebuilding?

The nature of religious extremists who consider it a sacred duty to pursue an exclusivist truth and their particular version of justice by means of violence has been explored in many studies and this volume adds little to our understanding. Furthermore, there have been numerous studies of religious pacifism and the belief systems that sanctify nonviolent resistance to tyranny and oppression. The real ground-breaking value of this work lies in the exploration of the variety of roles performed by religious institutions, communities and individuals in conflict transformation. Illustrated through a range of case study material we can learn about the witness and truth-telling of groups like the Christian Peacemaker Teams now based in Hebron and the protective accompaniment work of para-religious groups like Witness for Peace in Central America. Other religiously motivated communities and institutions have concentrated on human rights and advocacy roles, whilst others have focused on developing conflict management training and related workshops. Then there is the mediation and 'good offices' work performed by religious professionals and para-religious networks within and across the fractures of divided societies, whether it be at the grass-roots or the inter-state level at which the Community of Sant' Egidio has operated. Historically religious institutions and communities offered 'safe havens' for those seeking sanctuary. The contemporary variant of this is the healing and reconciliation work that can take place within the religiously sanctioned safe spaces where people from different communities can attempt to come to terms with the pain of the past.

There is a growing interest in the role of religion in international affairs, and this volume will be central to this field for some time.

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Prejudice and Politics

The Outsider: Prejudice and Politics in Italy

Paul M. Sniderman, Pierangelo Peri, Rui J. P. de Figueiredo, Jr and Thomas Piazza

(Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000) 222pp. Index. Biblio. Hb.: £18.95; ISBN 0-691-04839-8.

Sniderman and his co-authors have provided serious students of prejudice and politics with a refreshing and methodologically innovative approach to understanding prejudice against immigrants in Italy.

The book describes an exploratory study of immigrants from North Africa and Eastern European countries who have settled in Italy where they have become an outgroup and aliens in a country where prejudice is evident. Sniderman critically reviews classical theoretical contributions from Tajfel, Adorno, Asch and Sherif, and explores the theoretical and empirical limitations of these approaches in relation to explaining the roots of prejudice between the Italians and the immigrants.

In the opening chapter the concept of prejudice as an exclusively psychological phenomenon is displaced by Snidermans contention that it is irrelevant and inadequate in todays world. There is little space in Snidermans thinking for social psychological processes or social cognition as dominant theoretical models to explain ingroup versus outgroup hostility. Whilst political and ideological self conceptions, he argues, provide the impetus for prejudicial attitudes between the Italians and immigrants, his advanced state of the art methodology is severely limited in that he has not tapped the multidimensional nature of individual self concepts. His approach could well be accused of being heavily reductionist in the socio-politico -economic sense of the word.

In his second chapter the authors impeccable scholarship acknowledges a major paradox in that competing theories of prejudice do not advance our understanding of prejudice between ingroups and outgroups. He contends that they have lost their explanatory power to explain the changing nature of prejudice. Sniderman, however, utilizes Tajfels social identity theory and Adornos authoritarian personality theory together with Sherifs realistic conflict theory to generate a uniform and more comprehensive theory of prejudice in Italy. This reformulation comprises an eclecticism which is evaluative encompassing class interests, education, competition for jobs and housing as major features of prejudice. The problem with such an evolutionary approach such as this is that compromise is a distinct reality. At what cost theoretically and conceptually do we allow ourselves to generate comprehensive models of conflict?

The authors reconceptualize the concept of prejudice and utilize a multiformat, multitrait approach to measure prejudice between the Northern and Southern Italians and both against the immigrants. Whilst marginalizing the significance of Adornos personality indices the irony is that Sniderman uses a confirmatory factor analysis to extract factor loadings which assess Italians evaluative consistencies and personal attributions of prejudice towards the immigrants.

The findings do shed new insights into the measurement of prejudice and conflict but at the expense of theory and multidimensional self concepts. They show clearly that to be different is to be an Outsider. This is the heart of the matter. We have learned much from Snidermans approach, theories are in a sense only theories, what the authors need to do now is to consider what are the most appropriate research questions to ask. Retrospectively, Sniderman could well consider how to replace the full stops with question marks.

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Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination

Allan Pred

(Berkeley and London: The University of California Press, 2000) 338 pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: $18.95, £11.95; ISBN 0-520-22449-3.

Dealing with the phenomenon of 'cultural racism', Allan Pred challenges the image of Sweden as a society of tolerance, social equality and solidarity when dealing with Muslim or non-European immigrants. By drawing on a broad pallet of sources he creates a mosaic of voices, including his own, that serve to expose underlying structures and mechanism of Swedish racisms. To paste together this montage the author uses examples from media, political discourse and social interaction, showing how overt racism is used as a scapegoat in order for Swedish society to avoid facing its deeper cultural racism. Pred concludes that past and present policies dealing with integration of immigrants into Swedish society need to address the deeply embedded structures of cultural racism in order not to repeat past failures.

As I myself am of Swedish non-immigrant origin this book has not been easy to review, especially since the text in many parts is designed to provoke new thinking by questioning basic social 'truths'.

The montage structure presents the reader with a multitude of discourses with the goal of making the reader a part of

the overall discourse on cultural racism. The transgressions of boundaries: conceptual, academic, linguistic etc., serves to create metonymical links between the text and its subject. But even though this is a very interesting approach, the text itself often overpowers the discourse(s) blurring the boundary between the academic and the polemic. Conversely it can sometimes feel like the author is quite absent from the text, leaving the discourse to the *collage* and the reader. The result is a tension between expression and conclusion which could be traced to an inherent limitation to post-modern discourses.

With this kind of transgressionary approach comes a certain degree of denial of the humanity of classification and juxtapositioning as processes of identification. Calling for the reframing or restructuring of all social discourses, central power relations, state bureaucracy, economic redistribution, popular history and the habits of the mind (pp. 283f) balances on the border between an active civil society and public paranoia. If we are to eliminate existing boundaries, where are the new lines to be drawn and on what basis? How are 'bad' classifications to be isolated from 'good' ones? In which situations should difference be highlighted/ignored/explained? In short, were do we draw the boundary between (cultural) racism as a social problem and/or as a human problem?

In conclusion it can be said that, while this book may be inappropriate for those seeking answers, it is certainly a goldmine for those who seek questions on the subject of racisms in liberal democracies.

Christer Grenabo

The Politics of the Extreme Right: From the Margins to the Mainstream

Paul Hainsworth (ed.)

(London: Pinter, Continuum Publishing Group 2000) 336pp. Index. Pb.: £15.99; 1-85567-459-9.

This volume is particularly timely, given the concerns about a right-wing domino effect in Western Europe, that were prevalent in the wake of the accession of a coalition government in Austria that included the FPO. The case studies are well-documented analyses, rich in detail of the electoral performance and key personalities involved in each of the prominent extreme right-wing parties across Europe. As a result, this volume answers one of the complaints that Eatwell has made, namely that the political dimension has been lacking in previous analyses of such groups.

Taking each chapter on its individual merits, substantive research has been carried out, demonstrating the specific peculiarities of each party on a national stage. The only exception is the chapter on the Vlaams Blok, which offers

only a microanalysis of the city of Antwerp. Yet, its greatest strength is also its biggest weakness. The volume lacks a concluding chapter, which draws on the themes expressed in most of the chapters. Without it, the reader is left to draw their own conclusions from a quite disparate collection of cases. Rather than attempting to tie them together, each emphasises its own national peculiarities, making analysis of the wider subject more difficult. Hainsworth attempts to outline some of the general themes in one chapter, but these are occasionally lost within a welter of case-specific details. As such, the volume occasionally lacks a conceptual centre.

The title of the volume is also ambiguous. What exactly is meant by the mainstream? Very few cases, save the FPO and the MSI in Italy, have made the electoral journey from the wilderness to government. While success cannot be judged solely in electoral terms, as these parties have had a significant influence on the parameters of debate (especially on immigration), electoral results are used as the main standard in most of the chapters. Perhaps Hainsworth's point concerning their status as anti-establishment parties suggests that these parties are by definition, better served by being in opposition rather than government. The examples of both the FPO and the MSI seem to suggest that the 'extremist' programme that they have promoted in opposition is rarely honoured in government.

Finally, while Hainsworth criticises the use of the term 'extreme right' in his own submission, suggesting that it is not applicable in all cases, it is used constantly throughout the rest of the book and is even contained within the title.

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Challenges to Democracy: Essays in honour and memory of Isaiah Berlin

Raphael Cohen-Almagor

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 344pp. Index. Hb.: £50.00; ISBN 0-7546-2095-6.

Democracy does not remove hatred from society; it does not prevent the violent and intransigent conflict of interests and of competing visions of public life; it does not guarantee that every individual or group will abide by the democratic rules of the game. Yet democracy is almost universally accepted as the basic form of legitimate governance. This book gives excellent insights into some of the most sensitive questions confronting democracy as it evolves in certain regions of the world today. Moreover the questions are posed and addressed by scholars at the

sharp end of these ideas. How should democracies (based upon freedom of movement and expression) deal with intolerance and political extremism (which in turn can undermine democracy)? What are the limits of toleration, especially when the ideal of pluralism is tested by the realities and tensions of heterogeneity? How should democracies deal with illiberal challenges? In more specific terms, how can Israel, in a state of security crisis and composed of disparate ethnic groups and religious visions, sustain a viable democratic project? In times of crisis or emergency, what enforcement actions by the states – such as administrative detention, emergency powers and curfew – are permissible whilst maintaining a democratic system? How to uphold a system of democracy without undermining the spirit of democracy?

The editorial lead is that political and religious extremism are growing concerns to liberal democracies around the world where groups exploit the opportunities that democracy provides. As democracies struggle with the realities of ethnic, political and religious heterogeneity, the book attempts to honor Berlin's legendary espousal of liberty, tolerance and pluralism. Although this is essentially a book about challenges to democracy in Israel rather than in a wider sense (and, for that matter, not so much a book about Isaiah Berlin, despite the sub-title) the quality of the papers provides plenty of relevance for other societies facing similar challenges. The standard of writing and scholarship – and particularly by the editor – is very high, and the depth of political understanding shines through. There is no coherent set of conclusions, although a number of points stand out, most notably that we should not take democratic rights and freedoms for granted, nor allow them to be destroyed in the struggle against intolerance and extremism. Moreover, one never knows where the challenge to democracy will come from: Rabin was killed by a fellow Jew and citizen.

This is a rather eclectic collection of revised conference papers based upon a 1997 conference – with chapters on political assassination, freedom of speech, emergency powers in times of crisis, tolerance and emotions, democracy and multiculturalism, Canadian liberal democracy, political culture, constitutional dictatorship, controlling civil disorder, and the media. The project was undertaken at the University of Haifa and most chapters are written directly on Israel; the thinking behind the inclusion of chapters on other countries, such as Canada, is not entirely clear. The chapters do not attempt to apply or engage with Berlin's theses; indeed, the re-printed 'personal impression' of Berlin, describing his years amongst the dreaming spires of Oxford, appears quite remote from the rest of the volume. Nevertheless, this is a highly interesting collection, most useful for its exploration of academic debate in Israel at this difficult time.

Edward Newman
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Despite the rather general indication of the title, the actual focus of this volume is on rights and the EU, including both current and future members. The essays examine a variety of perspectives looking at a wide range of rights from civil and political to socio-economic. The perspectives of the essays range from looking at rights in a general sense to more particular areas of inquiry with a number of contributions dealing directly with minority issues.

In particular, Stefan Auer provides a discussion on minority rights in Central Europe. He describes the efforts at finding ways for different ethnic groups to live in peace as one of the most pressing problems in the post-communist era. His study demonstrates the problems which arise with strategies of indifference – where ethnic differences are ignored, or equally the pitfalls faced in an active policy of recognising differences. His conclusion is that while we can look to a wide range of theorists and commentators for suggestions as to how a multi-ethnic society should be ordered, ultimately it will come down to the particular context and strategies of the society in question. Some may be disappointed in the lack of conclusions in Auer's work but as Martin Krygier's essay makes clear, when it comes to issues of rights in post-communist Europe there are more questions than answers. Krygier's piece further demonstrates that while we can make use of universal ideas and practices for the protection of rights we must be able to accommodate fundamental social and cultural particularities if the rights project is to be useful. Two further contributions dealing with women, immigration and nationalism, in France show that the problems of accommodating ethnic differences are equally a problem in the current Member States of the EU.

The individual essays in this collection are in themselves interesting and useful pieces. However there is some question as to whether the essays come together in a single coherent volume dealing with human rights in Europe. The included essays deal with a theoretical undertaking about conceptions of rights, an empirical based study of economic rights, a detailed study of the accession process that is more about the economics of membership than rights or cultural issues, a look at the ECHR and its limitations as a legal tool in the hands of the courts and a piece on the new International Criminal court which is far from clear on how it relates to rights in Europe. The title of the volume promises a good deal, but unfortunately the content does not deliver.

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Devising an Adequate System of Minority Protection. Individual Human Rights, Minority Rights, and the Right to Self-Determination

Kristin Henrard

Should I ever be charged with devising a system of minority protection on a remote island and be simultaneously constrained by airline baggage allowances, Henrard's book would certainly be among the essentials I would take along – for what she provides is one of the most comprehensive treatments of minority protection from a legal perspective that I know of.

The book is divided into four chapters, preceded by a short introduction and followed by an even shorter conclusion. What I found particularly reader-friendly is the fact that Henrard spared me from yet another extensive discussion of historic developments of minority protection, but provides instead a five-page summary of the most important developments with rather extensive footnotes referencing the key works that can be consulted for further reading. Equally brief but nonetheless informative is the discussion of the more fundamental issue of what exactly a minority is. From the outset, Henrard acknowledges that there is no universally agreed definition. She examines the most influential definitions thus far –Capotorti and Deschênes at the UN level (pp. 21-24), and various proposals at the European level (pp. 25-30) – and derives from them a list of components that a majority of these definitions include. These components (different ethnic, linguistic, or religious characteristics; numerical position; non-dominant position; nationality requirement; subjective component; official recognition; loyalty requirement) are then individually assessed in their importance and a working definition is provided (p. 48). After elaborating on the use of qualifying terms, such as ethnic, racial, religious, linguistic, and national, Henrard provides her own definition which is, unsurprisingly, similar to those previously examined, but omits both the nationality (citizenship) and loyalty requirements that can be found elsewhere.

Following this groundwork, chapters II to IV respectively cover the contribution of individual human rights, minority rights, and the right to self-determination to an adequate system of minority protection. The extensive discussion and analysis of the relevant international documents (at UN, OSCE, and European level) in each of the chapters is substantiated by an examination of court cases, primarily in relation to Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Yet, Henrard doesn't stop at the level of analysing legal documents but goes further and elaborates on current debates among legal experts on such crucial issues as 'special rights' (pp. 218-233) and

group rights (pp. 233-243) and relates them to those aspects of minorities' identities that are often the 'focal point of their [i.e., minorities' – S.W.] more concrete demands' (p. 244), such as language, religion, culture/ethnicity, education, media, and political participation.

A similarly enlightening analysis of the more fundamental issues that have informed the legal as well as the political discourse on minority protection is conducted in relation to the right to self-determination. A brief discussion of the internal and external dimensions of self-determination (pp. 296-306) is then followed by a more detailed examination of federalism (pp. 308-311), autonomy (pp. 311-313), and power-sharing (pp. 313-314) as forms in which the internal dimension of the right to self-determination can be realised.

Finally, Henrard looks into the relationship between minority rights and the right to self-determination (pp. 314-316) and between the latter and individual human rights (pp. 316-319). Acknowledging that the issue of secession has 'coloured this debate [on the right to self-determination] in the most negative way' (p. 314), she recognises that minority rights are not always sufficient 'in their contribution towards an optimal protection and promotion of the minorities' right to identity' (p. 316). This leads her to conclude that 'there is an intrinsic connection between minority rights and an internal right to self-determination' (p. 316), while she considers the right to self-determination a human right itself and 'a necessary condition for the exercise of all other individual human rights' (pp. 316-317).

Thus, Henrard's book is an invaluable resource guide for anyone interested in the protection of minorities, be it from an academic or a practical perspective. At the same time, she also delivers a clear argument in support of the use of the whole range of legal instruments available for the protection of minorities, or, as Henrard herself would phrase it, for the 'accommodation of population diversity'. This argument culminates in her assertion that 'it seems justified to conclude that individual human rights, minority rights, and a right to (internal) self-determination are all three needed and interrelate for the elaboration of an adequate system of minority protection' (p. 321).

The only slight disappointment with the book is the fact that, especially given its rather exorbitant price, more care could have been invested in the copy-editing process. Spelling and punctuation mistakes are quite frequent, and given that Henrard herself is not a native speaker of English, responsibility for these shortcomings lies with the publisher alone. In any revised edition, which in some years from now may be necessary as international and national law systems will evolve, these issues should be addressed. On the other hand, the book is presented in a solid and apparently durable hardback edition which will guarantee it a sufficiently long physical life in libraries where it is sure to be consulted frequently for its thematic comprehensiveness, intellectual rigour of analysis, and clarity of argument. What is more, especially for the non-

lawyer, neither Henrard's argument nor the book as a whole are overly technical in their vocabulary, and thus allow political scientists, sociologists, and others working in the field easy access to the legal discourse on minority protection. This, too, should ensure the wide and positive reception this book deserves.

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People Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century

Ted Robert Gurr

(Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2000) 448pp. Index. Pb.: $29.95/£21.50; ISBN 1-929223-02-1.

Peoples versus States examines specific situations in the world for conflicts and indications of conflicts between state leadership and various unanimity groups, be they ethnic or religious in nature and cause. The different case studies all contribute to form a complex yet understandable parallelism. The analysis of data in the book is quite impressive.

In the first chapter, the writer highlights the fact that one of the ways of reducing intrastate conflict in Germany is by incorporating the Turks into German society by effecting citizenship policies that favor the Turks and discriminatory social practices. This is a principle that holds potential for other countries which have big numbers of immigrants and refugees.

As is noted by Gurr in the second chapter of the book "…the cresting wave of ethnopolitical conflict at the beginning of the 1990s does not have a simple explanation…" pg 56. Essentially, this observation forms the basis for understanding the trends of intrastate conflicts in the 21st century. Marion Recktenwald's contribution: The "Russian Minority" in Ukraine is a valiant attempt at assessing the ethnopolitical conflict therein. However, one is left somewhat in limbo because there are no propositions or augmentative observations made at the end of the article.

I wish to question the rather bold conclusion made by both the author as well as by Richard H Solomon who wrote the book's foreword. This is with reference to statements that allude to a worldwide decline in intrastate conflicts. For example "…Comparative evidence shows that ethnonational political conflict subsided in most world regions from the mid-through the late 1990s…" pg. x. Does this mean that on average there is less ethnopolitical conflict or is the conclusion derived from a region by region study? Speaking from an African perspective and on the basis of researches done on the same, there appears to be no decline in ethnonational conflicts in the region. Citing the examples of Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda all from the Eastern African region and all currently experiencing the said conflicts. For a conclusion of such magnitude and optimism, as is portrayed by the book to be made, there is need for homogeneous research. The issue should be researched further, or at the very least, conclusions should be situation specific.

The third chapter is without a doubt one of the most expedient in the book. It outlines the groundwork from which a hypothesis for ethnopolitical conflict can be built. Four key factors are discussed as the basis for the framework: identity groups, mobilization, timing of action and choice of strategies of participation, protest or rebellion. The arguments brought forth by the author are convincing and the proposed framework can be used to identify groups that have great probability for ethnopolitical conflict in the future.

The sketch done on *Political Rivalries and Communal Vengeance in Kenya* (chapter 7) raises a number of questions. To begin with, the only bearing that the sketch contents have on the Chapter title *Assessing the Risks of Future Ethnic Wars* is a vague reference to the 2002 General Elections in Kenya. "…intensified political conflict with ethnic overtones will be provided by the 2002 ethnic clashes…" Is this all that pertains to the assessment of the risks of future ethnic conflicts in the Kenyan context? Secondly, the writer's reference to ethnic conflict in Mombasa in 1997 is lacking in detail. Who were the parties involved? Through out Ms Pitsch's write up, the full blame for the Kenyan situation is placed squarely on Moi and his government. How true is this? The judgement appears to be one-sided. Doubtless, the most conspicuous omission by the writer is the failure to discuss, or at least mention the pastoralist conflicts in Kenya. These account for over half the conflicts that exist in the country. Moreover, they are ongoing and have had extremely adverse effects over the past decade (s). Most of the omissions in this piece could be attributed to the sources. Rigorous research and analysis should be done to obtain factual information and an objective overview.

This notwithstanding, it is an arduous task to write a book such as this one. The writers in their various studies have, on the whole, done a meticulous job in terms of depth and detail. *Peoples versus States* is a plus to existing publications on intrastate conflicts. It is highly recommended and both scholars and non-scholars will find it readable and informative.

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Aid and Refugee Issues

Psychosocial Wellness of Refugees: Issues in Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Frederick L. Ahearn, Jr.

In a time when refugee assistance is a paramount concern for government and nongovernmental entities, this volume provides a thoughtful guide for researching psychosocial wellness of refugees. As current therapies for helping traumatized refugees are many and diverse, this work answers the need for methodological tools to gather data on best practices for assisting refugees to recover from the trauma of displacement. The editor, Frederick L. Ahearn, Jr., takes a positive approach to refugee mental health, seeking ways in which humans overcome adversity in order to survive extraordinary circumstances. The authors of this volume stress wellness as a way of studying the psychological consequences of displacement because it underscores the perspectives of strength, resilience, and independence. This work effectively moves from defining wellbeing and critiquing quantitative and qualitative methods of studying it. The first section addresses broad theoretical issues involved in conducting research with refugees and in evaluating psychosocial programs. The authors suggest multi-method approaches to studying refugee psychosocial wellness. These chapters set the stage for case studies from experienced investigators that address pertinent issues in the field. Case studies cite examples of refugees from Afghanistan, Cambodia, Vietnam, Palestine, Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti, Eastern Europe, Bosnia, and Chile.

The strength of this work lies in the personal anecdotes in refugee research that illuminate considerations for the researcher, such as the utility of particular research methods and cultural appropriateness. Patricia Omidan describes cultural lessons from her work with Afghan refugees. She stresses the importance of triangulating data through various data collection methods to avoid inaccurate interpretations. For instance, in a study of dental hygiene practices of Afghan refugees, responses reflected a high level of care in brushing and flossing. However, 'brushing' actually meant running a finger over ones teeth after meals and flossing was only used to remove a food particle from around one's tooth after eating, or using a strand of woman's hair in lieu of commercial floss. This example served to validate the need for quantitative techniques, such as participant observation, to enhance qualitative findings. Another important reflection is the way in which the researcher must deal with the emotions of a traumatized individual, and the researchers' emotional repercussions of absorbing negative emotions.

By critiquing tools of research and guidelines for researchers who must consider their own response to accounts of torture, humiliation, and killing, this volume provides a thoughtful and thorough guide for assessing the psychosocial wellness of refugees. I recommend this volume as a comprehensive basic text for students of conflict studies, forced migration, or practitioners involved in refugee research and assistance.

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Kosovo's Refugees in the European Union

Joanne van Selm (ed.)

The focus of this book is the EU response to the refugee crisis created by the war in Kosovo. The various chapters describe and analyse the approaches which a selection of EU governments took towards the displaced of Kosovo. The seven case studies discussed in the book are; Germany, The Netherlands, The UK, Sweden, Austria, Italy and France.

The discussion is placed within the context of both domestic policies and European Integration. It examines the EU member states' approach to protection of Kosovars both as a step in a process of altered political thought on the need and means of refugee protection, and as a step on the way to an EU common approach to this subject.

The book seeks to describe and analyse what they refer to as the vacillation of EU member states concerning the management of this European refugee crisis. It also reflects on the stance of the respective EU state with regard to issues such as; their reputation with regard to asylum and immigration policies generally; approaches to the matter of "solidarity" or "burden-sharing" at the EU level as a tool for accomplishing a common approach; geographical spread with regard to proximity to the Balkan region; and stances on NATO intervention and involvement in that intervention

The seven chapters to some extent vary in approach and in focus, but are all built around four main themes;

- The lessons of the reception and statuses accorded to Bosnian refugees and how it was drawn on in dealing with the displacement of Kosovars,
- The national debates on asylum and immigration within which the crisis found a place and which influence policy-making,
- Wider theoretical issues related to the issues discussed,
- The way EU integration (or not) on the subject is impacting policy-making in the different states.

The discussions throughout the book build upon the assumption that the EU countries have a responsibility to protect and accept refugees in times of crises.

This book is valuable to anybody who is interested in questions surrounding migration and the acceptance of refugees within the EU. The different chapters bring to attention both the difference in the approach taken within each EU member states towards the reception of asylum-seekers in general, as well as the effect this had on their dealing with the Kosovar refugee crisis. A recurring issue in every chapter is the fact that although the Bosnian experience had challenged existing policies towards refugees, and in a number of cases led to legal changes regarding their status, few states were ready to deal with the crisis created by the massive displacement of refugees from Kosovo during the spring of 1999. The book clearly demonstrates the lack of a co-ordinated European approach towards such crises, and highlights the problems surrounding the status granted to refugees. While the majority of the displaced from the war in Kosovo would qualify under the definition of a refugee in the 1951 Geneva Convention, most countries introduced a temporary status. This raises a lot of questions about whether status was defined according to political criteria, with focus on the security need of the receiving state, or humanitarian criteria, safeguarding the rights of the displaced person.

The discussion in the book raises more issues than it answers. This is perhaps not strange, since it was published in 1999, while the long-term implications of the Kosovo refugee crisis still remained unclear. The focus is very much on the *reception* of the Kosovar refugees, and less so on long-term concerns such as repatriation and/or integration. The issues that are raised, however, are crucial not only to the manner in which the EU member states are dealing with this particular crisis, but also towards their handling of similar mass displacements of people in the future, and towards the creation of a more co-ordinated European approach to questions surrounding migration.

Although each chapter offers a slightly different approach to the main themes under discussion in the book, the collection of papers works quite well, and appears coherent. The book could have gained from offering a clearer definition of its use of the word refugee and alternative terms applied to define the displaced people under discussion. Despite the fact that the status accorded to people seeking protection within EU states is one of the main themes in the book, some of the authors qualify their use of the word refugee by referring to Bosnian 'refugees' and Kosovar 'refugees', without explaining why they do so. In doing this, they fail to explain to the reader how they define a refugee in a more general sense, as well as why they qualify the use of the term in relation to the above mentioned groups.

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War, Money and Survival: Forum Series

International Committee of the Red Cross

(Geneva: ICRC, 2000) 110pp. Sfr 20.

This is the second in ICRC's new Forum series which brings together a variety of writers to address a humanitarian issue of the moment. The first was on water. This one is on the political economy of war and humanitarian assistance. And its editors, Gilles Carbonnier and Sarah Fleming, deftly step through the minefield of 1990s humanitarians' great discovery - "war economy".

As a genre, the Forum series is rather bizarre. They look and read like a sort of humanitarian *Vanity Fair* with serious analysts writing in a glossy format interspersed with excellent photographs. I kept expecting to turn the page to find an advertisement for Rolex with a picture of the UN's Sergio Vieira de Mello saying why he would never go into a war zone without his!

But this glossy format is perfectly suited to its subject matter because the contributions in this book are all about the grisly meshing of slick global capitalism, vicious local violence and racketeering humanitarian NGOs. It is indeed a credit to ICRC that they should leave the safe territory of conventional humanitarian response to delve into the capitalist drivers which cause, structure and exploit today's post-modern conflicts. It is good to see them addressing economic protection and leading on livelihoods as well as lives - all concerns affirmed as humanitarian in the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols and now taken up by ICRC's new Economic Security Unit.

The book is in four parts. Part one is a global view with, amongst others, a sharp piece by Zaki Laidi on globalisation and war. There is a section on the economics of war at national and sub-national level with interesting pieces on corporate behaviour and responsibility in war and a good look at transnational security companies (TSCs) by Kim Richard Nossal. David Keen struts his stuff about the "rationality" of civil war - a view that has helped many of us in the 1990s think more clearly about the economic functions of violence. There is a fairly conventional section about how people cope and survive in and around war by living by their economic wits - legally or illegally.

Finally, there is a section arguing that NGOs and the new breed of corporates providing humanitarian assistance are just in it for the money. NGO-bashers (and some people in ICRC) will like this bit best. Those who deplore the crowded field of humanitarian action will find satisfaction in having the majority of NGOs portrayed (once again) as shameless profiteers who often do more harm than good. And to this end, Robin Davies puts the boot in well. But it is a boot with generalisations for toe-caps and cliches for heels.

So what should we make of it all? The political economy of war and humanitarian response is a hugely important subject that has come along way in the 1990s. Its analysis

must now be central in all humanitarian and peace work. But economics is not the whole story and it would be disastrous for conflict studies and humanitarianism if they became dominated by a theory that said that it was. This is why my favourite piece in this book is by Thandika Mkandawire who takes apart the excessive "rationality" of some of today's political economy theorists. He warns as much against imposing a total economic logic as a wholly chaotic logic on the extreme personalised violence of these terrible wars. A wise man.

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NGOs and Civil Society: Democracy by Proxy?

Ann C. Hudock

(Oxford: Polity Press, 1999) 140pp. Index. Biblio. Pb.: £11.99; ISBN 0-7456-1649-6

Much has been written about civil society, democracy and the role of NGOs in resolving ethnic conflicts, but few books have explored the links between them. This short volume is a first attempt to redress the balance.

Hudock argues that in order to be effective in their aims, NGOs need to be more comprehensive, coherent and coordinated in their activities. They need to concentrate on building genuine foundations for democracy and civil society and not just on creating a democratic façade. In order to achieve this, she argues, the focus of NGOs must shift towards encouraging local ownership of policies and working with civil society at grassroots level.

However, according to the author, this failing cannot be put down solely to a lack of will or efficiency. Instead, she argues, promoters of democracy and civil society have too often assumed a role that in most cases has been marked more by a proliferation of interests than a genuine desire to resolve conflict and build a durable peace. As a result, many areas of ethnic tension in desperate need of outside help are littered with ill-conceived projects often conducted by agencies that are unaware of local circumstances and take little – if any – account of local input.

This circumstance, Hudock claims, is down to the relation between what she terms 'southern' and 'northern' NGOs i.e. those NGOs located in less-developed countries beholden to those organisations in developed countries and which control the purse strings. The relation is one of power and bureaucracy and it is here that Hudock aims to make an original contribution to NGO literature. By drawing on organisational theory and theories of power relations, Hudock aims to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the operational strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and constraints of much NGO activity and to highlight the political nature of their activities. In so doing, she aims to draw out strategies to make NGOs more independent of their benefactors and thus allow them to contribute more effectively to the development of civil society.

The project is admirable and Hudock manages it in clear and accessible language that avoids the didactic tones often found in such analyses. However, despite this, the author's achievements are in fact quite limited. Throughout the book, the analysis is confined to an examination of one subset of NGO activity – that of NGOs working in the field of international development – and the author's choice of illustrations is often limited to an examination of the activities of one NGO, the Association for Rural Development (ARD), for which Hudock worked as projects assistant. As a result, many interesting areas in the book are insufficiently explored and, at times, appear superficial. This is a shame since, as the structure and acknowledgements of the book belie, the work obviously stems from a more substantial doctoral thesis.

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Civil Society, NGDOs and Social Development: Changing the Rules of the Game

Alan Fowler

(Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2000) 76pp. Biblio. ISBN 92-9085-021-3.

This study has been published as Occasional Paper 1 of "Geneva 2000: The Next Step in Social Development", a project of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). It reviews the role and contribution of non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) in promoting social development and makes some recommendations about ways in which their performance and the institutions might be improved.

The first section tries to 'unpack' the concept of 'civil society' in relation to NGDOs and concludes (in a footnote) that, "for our purposes, civil society can be understood as the realm of citizen's informal and formal private association to pursue non-economic interests and goals." (p. 3) The author is critical of the tendency by aid agencies and the aid system in general to, "adopt a formal, uniform and historical view of civil society in relation to international development", which "misrepresents how the poor associate in order to cope and survive informally through intricate trust-based webs of familial and other networks". (p. 6) Further, he make the point that "civil society encompasses contending power relations and group interests that can both advance and impede poverty reduction, equity, inclusion, justice and other social development objectives." (p. 7) He then elaborates on the "complex nature of NGDOs" with respect to differences in their origins, goals and behaviours in different socio-political contexts. He makes broad distinctions between historical experiences on the different continents and how these have influenced the natures of NGDOs on each continent.

The second section is focused on what NGDOs have actually achieved in social development. Based on intentions expressed at the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995 and publications from the official aid system, he lists a summary of what NGDOs are expected to contribute to social development, including that they "will have a positive influence within (civil) society." (p. 12) He then draws upon a variety of studies and assessments to compare the achievements of NGDOs with these expectations, and highlights a number of shortcomings and constraints (both internal and external) on their performance and impact. In the realm of "civic impact", he concludes that "NGDO-supported groups tend to remain isolated from each other and from other civic formations. Mobilization or aggregations of local organisations into substantive civic actors has been poor." (p. 16) In relation to "policy leverage" by NGDOs, he states: "Concern is being raised about NGDO legitimacy and accountability as policy actors" and that "NGDOs using multilateral bodies to gain leverage on their own governments … can undermine local political processes, erode sovereignty and weaken (local) governments' ownership of initiatives." (p. 17)

The third section begins with a list of factors that the author believes condition the "evolution and activities" of NGDOs. He summarises these as *Tolerance, Civic life, Profile of poverty and exclusion, Governance, Reform, Decentralization and Aid*, and describes the use of these seven factors for a kind of 'mapping' of the situation in particular countries with respect to the strengths or weaknesses of each of these factors. As someone who does a lot of 'mapping' of situations in relation to conflict, I find this an interesting suggestion which might be a useful tool for analysing conditions for promoting political development as well as social development. The section continues with an examination of the nature and range of relationships that NGDOs have with communities, 'partners', the wider civil society, government at various levels and with each other.

In the final section, the author makes a number of recommendations about "changing the rules of the game", including "repositioning aid", moving toward more "authentic partnership", "involving an honest broker" (an Ombudsman or mediator), "preventing a development monoculture", "improving NGDO practice" by enhancing organisational capacity, "expanding engagement with civil society beyond NGDOs" and "institutional reform".

Although the study does not focus specifically on ethnic conflict, I found the discussion about complexity in the nature of civil society and about the different factors and constraints in different contexts to be relevant. This study will be of interest primarily to those who are concerned about the impact of development programmes with respect to social development, the quality of relationships between international and local development organisations and the wider 'civil society', and the nature of the international aid system.

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Narrative and Conflict

Bear in Mind: Stories of the Troubles

An Crann/The Tree

'Because what is forgotten cannot be healed, and that which cannot be healed easily becomes the source of greater evil'.

Lionel Chircop's quote sets the tone of a book containing over a hundred stories of ordinary people's experiences of the Troubles. These are stories that contain the reality of a 30-year conflict that has tainted a whole community with fear, anger and a deep sense of grief. The collected stories come in the form of poems, drama extracts, interviews and letters and come from a cross section of the community including RUC officers, soldiers and relatives of the disappeared. Issues discussed include internment, policing, the blanket protests and most poignantly the issues of futility and lost innocence.

In this wonderful yet harrowing collection An Crann/The Tree has recognised that in the early stages of a post settlement agreement, now is the time for the silenced voices to be heard. That collective (and individual) healing can only begin when the people's pain is listened to and acknowledged without fear of a competing victim-hood. Everyone's story is real, valid and true. Pain and loss is a cross-community experience.

'Bear in Mind' is not an easy read in terms of subject matter. You can't read more than a few stories without feeling a real sense of the trauma that the community has experienced. I certainly needed time away from the book for some of the stories to settle ~ in particular a deeply moving account of one mans experience of Omagh entitled 'End Of My Immunity' (p46).

With this book An Crann/ The Tree has powerfully embedded the importance of story in the healing process. To end I highlight an extract from an interviewee, who eloquently explains the significance of people as 'story sharers' rather than 'message carriers', and creates a sense of why this book is so important:

' It's hard to get over what's been bred into you, so you need to always be aware that it's been bred into you, because if your first thing about people is to be suspicious of what they say, then actually you have little respect for them and their integrity.
I've never had any kind of formal structures for dealing with this ~ sometimes suspicion just really has to be lived through ~ and again…this is where sharing the stories can help, because the stories also challenge. They can challenge our prejudice and they can challenge the collective memory of a culture, allowing a different story to come into people's consciousness' (p124).

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Doing What Had To Be Done: The Life Narrative of Dora Yum Kim

Soo-Young Chin

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999) xi + 229pp. Index. Photos. Hb.: $65.50; ISBN 1-5663-9693-X. Pb.: $21.95; ISBN 1-5663-9694-8.

This biography depicts the long, active life of Dora Yum, born in 1921 in California to Korean immigrant parents. The story continues to the mid-1990s, by which time Dora been designated a "Living Treasure" for her lifetime achievements. Her biographer is an anthropologist at the University of Southern California. The work contributes to the interesting discussion on differences between European and Asian conceptions of autobiography: that the Western autobiography implicitly promotes the subject as a dynamic, individualized, almost independent entity; by contrast, many non-Western cultures place much more emphasis on a sense of self or identity diffused through a community.

Dora's life embodies changes that have taken place in Asian communities in the USA since the 1920s. A virtual apartheid system operated until the 1940s: "I grew up with discrimination. Discimination affected every aspect of my life…I never thought of Chinatown as a ghetto. We just couldn't live anywhere else" (p. 17). The Second World War brought changes, mainly because of the increased demand for military and industrial personnel. Also, new legislative reforms reflected the antipathy to Nazism and began to erode white supremacy: soon after the war, Asians moved into higher education, professional employment, and wealthier neighbourhoods.

The success of earlier immigrants paved the way for a large influx in the 1970s: it is estimated that in the San Francisco area alone, the number of Koreans jumped from about 100 in 1965, to perhaps 100,000 by the mid-1990s. In Los Angeles and New York, the growth was even more spectacular. It was with these new arrivals that significant tensions arose, particularly with the Black communities.

Dora has a number of observations to make about the Korean-Black animosity which led to violence in recent years. While believing that many Blacks were envious of Asian success, Dora also criticizes her own community. She sees most Koreans as clannish, narrow-minded, and deeply involved in factional squabbling; inevitably they feel little solidarity with other sectors of the community. Proximity and contact have increased, for example because of the numerous small Korean businesses in Black districts; but mutual antipathy seems to increase rather than decline (p. 133). However, apart from this major problem, Dora's story illustrates the remarkable achievements of the Asian community in the USA.

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Violence and Subjectivity

Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphele, and Pamela Reynolds (eds.)

(Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press, 2000) 389pp. Index. Pb.: £12.50; ISBN 0-520-21608-3.

It is easy in conflict resolution research and practice to lose sight of the individuals: the constant barrage of media reporting can induce a kind of trauma fatigue, and popular, essentialist explanations for violence see individuals as only metonymic of larger tribal, ethnic or sectarian groups at war with one another. The editors attempt to bring individuals and subjectivity back into focus through this collection of conference papers on violence in South Africa, Guatemala, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, the Balkans, Nigeria, and the United States.

As with most cross-disciplinary and edited collections, the result is mixed. On the one hand, the collection provides an interesting overview of social scientific attempts to come to terms with subjectivity, something that anthropologists Veena Das and Arthur Kleinman define as "the felt interior experience of the person that includes his or her positions in a field of relational power"(p. 1). Thus, the authors draw from the conceptual repertoires of their various disciplines (political science, sociology, history, and anthropology) to link the subjectivities of individuals and their families, individual activists, and entire generations, to violence occurring on local, state and international levels. But even with a good introductory essay, its hard to walk away from the collection with a coherent sense of how to apply these disparate conceptual frameworks to new settings.

Still, for the patient reader, several essays are particularly insightful for the conflict resolution researcher and practitioner. For example, Jonathan Spencer's essay about a young Sinhala activist gives a thought provoking answer to the question of why some in communities affected by violence (here Sri Lanka) choose *not* to become terrorists. Susan Woodward, in a cogent critique of the concept of intervention, draws our attention to how Western states

and international organizations had begun their interventions into the everyday politics and lives of Balkan citizens well *before* the breakup of Yugoslavia. Pamela Reynolds moves expertly from an individual illustration, to a small group of respondents, to her results from a large-scale survey of children, to describe the impact of state violence on children and their support networks in South Africa. And Kay Warren and Murray Last remind us of the difficult place of history in individual's experiences and understanding of violence. To some, like the pan-Mayan activist/scholar described by Warren, the mythified nationalist history of the Spanish Conquest became a critical vehicle for understanding the impact of the more recent Guatemalan Civil War on contemporary Mayan populations, and for his advocacy of a new Mayan political identity during the negotiations leading to the Guatemalan Peace Accords. In contrast, Murray Last suggests that some people may not want to remember histories of violence; a critical insight he uses to distinguish between the purposely non-interested "bystanders" and interested "watchers" of Nigeria's civil war over Biafra's attempted secession (1966-1968). There, the effect of the state's efforts to bring about an end to the war and a post-war recovery varied depending in part on the relevance of memories, both public and private, to these different groups.

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Europe

Intercultural Europe: Diversity and Social Policy

Jagdish Gundara and Sidney Jacobs (eds.)

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 390pp. Index. Hb.: £49.95; ISBN 1-85742-346-1.

Overall, this is an excellent contribution to the field of social policy study in Europe. Its breadth and depth should be a great resource to many as the diversity of expertise among the many contributors is impressive. It would be impossible to refer to all the chapters but they range from the historical introduction, ethnic diversity, migrant communities, identity politics, lessons from N Ireland, health, trade unions issues to racist violence in Europe.

There were two drawbacks. Firstly, the structure of the book called out for a short concluding chapter. The editors gave a very impressive introductory chapter and with the range of succeeding material it would have been a great asset to identify the common and disparate themes and 'cluster' the specific issues to be addressed in the immediate future. Secondly the impact of the latter chapters was perhaps less than some of the earlier contributions.

That said, some of the high points were as follows. Jacobs treatment of race and racism was an excellent reminder and illustration of the depth of the problem to be addressed. Allied to Gundara's work on the political context and Coussey's chapter on ethnic diversity in the EU we have excellent base point material. But interestingly these three chapters actually highlight the need for a concluding chapter. Much commentary and flagging up of issues is provided but less so the proposals and/or ideas for collective policy approaches to combat the problems. An exception to this general observation is Coussey's call for a review of the legal framework so that immigrants, ethnic and national minorities can exercise political rights and have security of residence (p91).

There are strong contributions by Rex and Hansen which when considered together highlight a confluence of major importance to the EU. The former studied migrant communities, one facet of this being the 'cultural hybridity' of the migrant. There are many variations on this theme but essentially the migrant blends aspects of host country culture with the 'communal culture of the migrant ethnic minority group' (p68).

Juxtaposition this with Hansen's chapter on the 'cultural short cut' of trying to garner EU legitimacy on cultural identity, the problems are well highlighted. If citizenship of the Union is the cornerstone of EU identity, how can citizenship rules exclude many in the EU? Ally this to

'cultural hybridity' and longstanding and strong national identities, it is argued that a European culture and identity is restricted therefore, popular legitimacy of the Union is under pressure (pp105-6). Add considerable EU expansion to the 'menu' and the problem obviously grows. Hansen strongly argues for 'a process of democratization' to balance the current approach of cultural identity.

A core issue is 'mentioned' in the introduction to the book i.e. 'reform from above' without enough listening to those on the sidelines (p12). Social policy in intercultural Europe is well analysed in this book but the next stage may be articulating core ideas on how those on the sidelines are included through social policy and its implementation.

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East Central Europe in the Modern World: the Politics of the Borderlands from Pre-to Postcommunism

Andrew C. Janos

(Stanford, CA and Cambridge: Stanford University Press, 2000), 488pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £37.50/$65.00; ISBN 08047-3743-6.

This volume is a formidable work of scholarly synthesis, weighing in at just under five hundred pages and boasting a forty-five page bibliography. The author's arguments are presented clearly and developed cogently, and his use of evidence convinces if not by deft deployment of the 'telling fact', then certainly by attrition. In terms of the author's intentions, this work succeeds with aplomb. The book, as he states in the first sentence of the 'Introduction', represents "political history written by a social scientist" (p1). Its aim is to formulate a cogent theoretical framework to elucidate the last two centuries of political and economic development among the states of East-Central Europe. The model which the author adopts is derived from a world-systems approach with its three-tier functional and structural differentiation of 'core', 'periphery' and 'semi-periphery'. This enables him to engage in lucid and persuasive comparative histories, based largely on secondary sources, of the small states of the region in relation both to their neighbours and to more distant centres, and to identify a dynamic of frustrated development in the persisting "relative deprivation" of peripheral states. Within this system, the motive force of modernisation on the periphery is provided by the "demonstration effect" of material progress in the core. In the nineteenth century, for example, the striving of élites of peripheral states to emulate the material progress of their peers in western nations resulted in a pact with the devil, whereby the political classes renounced liberal political aspirations in return for an assured place in the state apparat and support for their rent-seeking activities. In the twentieth century, the states of the borderlands continued to develop in the thrall of regional hegemons and imperial powers which defined the aspirations of the politicised masses and dictated the objectives of corrupt state machines.

The author convincingly describes the consequences of this system both in spatial terms - expectations diminish over distance and are mediated by diverse cultural perceptions in different places, and in temporal terms - the modalities of change within the whole system and its constituent states vary according to historical conjuncture. In particular, he stresses the enduring imprint of historical experience on the states under survey, attributing in part the divergent development patterns of the northwestern tier of societies, such as Poland, Bohemia and Hungary, and the southeastern societies, such as Romania, Bulgaria and the Balkans, to their distinct traditions of Western Christianity, legalism and elective authority as opposed to Byzantine Orthodoxy, commonality and autocratic paternalism. Throughout, a balance of analysis and narrative serves to mitigate the social scientific impulse to generalise with close attention to the specificities and idiosyncrasies of geography and history.

The reader finishes this work with a sense of both its grand design and painstaking detail. Inevitably, some specialists will notice the occasional inaccuracy (for example, the statement on p. 155 that the Finnish uprising, which occurred in early 1918, was "fomented" by the Comintern, although this organisation was established only in 1919), but this does not detract from the achievement. What does, to some extent, is the author's leaden prose and the relentless, encyclopaedic density of the book. Because the value of this work resides in its analytic framework and argument, its impact would have been greatly strengthened if the narrative had been cut by half. Nevertheless, this volume can be strongly recommended for readers with stamina, and for those without, the clear and comprehensive index, combined with precise citations of secondary sources and the extensive bibliography, makes it invaluable for reference.

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Turkey's Transformation and American Policy

Morton Abramowitz (ed.)

(New York: The Century Foundation, 2000. Distributed by Brookings Institution Press) 298pp. Index. Hb.: $24.95; ISBN 0-87078-453-6.

This study provides a useful examination of US policy towards Turkey and the key issues that are involved in this somewhat fraught relationship, including developments within Turkey, and its foreign policy problems. Morton Abramowitz provides a useful overview of these areas in the introduction. Heath W Lowry looks at the development and weaknesses of Turkey's political structure in Chapter 2 and argues that the Ataturk legacy

is now outdated and the cause of many of the problems of the state.   Philip Robins then examines the Kurdish issue and argues that there is now a golden opportunity for a solution. Ziya Onis looks at Turkey's economic prospects in Chapter 4 and makes the case that there are now some grounds for optimism. Cengiz Candar looks at Turkish perspectives of US policy in Chapter 5 and points out that Turkey has not felt sufficiently appreciated by the international community or US in the past, and indeed has been particularly suspicious of the west's interests in the country. Morton Abramowitz looks at the complexities of US policy towards Turkey in the following chapter, and in particular how Turkey can be aided to reform. In the penultimate chapter, M. James Wilkinson examines the importance of Greece in this relationship and calls for a more decisive US stance on the issues which dog Turkish foreign policy with Greece and Cyprus. In the final chapter Alan Makovshy examines different scenarios for US policy issues and Turkey, including a deterioration in Turkish democracy, a return to power of the Islamists, conflict with Greece, the emergence of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq, and a decline of US interests in the region.

This is an excellent contribution to the literature on Turkey and the various problems it faces for a number of reasons. Firstly, it highlights in a detailed and careful manner the fraught relationship between Turkey and its neighbours, as well as its internal weaknesses in the context of western and particularly US foreign policy goals. Secondly, though clearly sympathetic to the problems that Turkey faces and to the generally accepted need of the US to court and support Turkey, it also does not ignore Turkey's propensity for self-aggrandisement and indeed is critical of its internal and external policy making machinery. Thirdly, it does much to undermine the myth that the US cannot afford to alienate Turkey and thus cannot push too much in an attempt to force it to comply with western norms vis-à-vis relations with neighbours, human rights and press freedoms.

This is clearly with the proviso that, as Morton Abramowitz points out in the introduction, many Turks are not interested in the west and not least the EU because they fear a loss of sovereignty that heightened relations may provoke which they fear may lead to an internal break-up. However, while he is of the opinion that the EU will have to court Turkey (p.4.), this merely seems to reflect a US preoccupation with Turkey's strategic position rather than obligations as a member of a regional community and global society of states. Turkey has been a thorn in the side of European regional stability for quite some time, particularly vis-à-vis its relationship with Greece and Cyprus. Its other borders also provide cause for concern, as does its historical relationship with Russia and the Turkic world more generally. It is for these reasons that this book argues for a balanced relationship between the US and Turkey, between reform and support. It is clear that facilitating change in Turkey and in its foreign policy requires sensitive handling and a long term view, given the internal proclivities of Turkish politics.

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The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Féin

Brendan O'Brien

(New York: Syracuse University Press, 2nd edition 1999)
Pb.: $19.95; ISBN 0-8156-0597-8.

This is the Second Edition of Brendan O'Brien's book on Irish republicanism and like the previous updated edition, takes us up to 1999 when the dust had yet to settle after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement. The author's extensive experience within Irish journalism stretches over two decades and has included a particular emphasis on the conflict in the north of Ireland. Not so much a comprehensive history of Sinn Fein and the IRA (for this see Tim Pat Coogan's book on the subject), O'Brien's work is concerned more with the recent Irish peace process and the role of Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness in modern Irish republicanism.

The ideological and tactical shifts within Irish republicanism in the last three decades are examined in depth, showing how circumstances such as the cease-fires of the mid 1970s and the failure of Sinn Fein to make an impact in southern Ireland in the 1980s led to a more sophisticated and pragmatic approach to the pursuit of a united Ireland, as well as a greater attempt at understanding unionist sentiment. The book contains interviews with many of the important figures plus a valuable appendix of milestone documents.

While the conflict in Ireland is not an ethnic one as such, it does contain elements relevant to the subject and O'Brien looks at how the various government initiatives such as Sunningdale in the 1970s and Hillsborough in the 1980s made some attempt to address relationships on the island. In greater detail he deals with the tortuous negotiations in the run up to the Good Friday Agreement and the various mechanisms built into it to help ensure that as many nationalist/republicans and unionists as possible could feel comfortable enough to work the compromise. There is also a chapter on unionist/loyalist attitudes to Sinn Fein and the IRA. More perhaps could have been written on the importance of demographic change as a factor in the current peace process and on the reasons behind and enormous impact of the British government's 'Ulsterisation' policy when locally recruited forces largely replaced the regular army on the front line. Such a policy helped form the view among the international community that the conflict was essentially an ethnic one.

In the large library on the subject however, 'The Long War' is one of the better accounts of Irish republicanism.

Martin Campbell

Rituals and Riots: Sectarian Violence and Political Culture in Ulster, 1784-1886

Sean Farrell,

(Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000) 254pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: $34.95; ISBN 0-8131-2171-X.

Rituals and Riots provides new insights into the sectarian violence and political culture in pre-famine Ulster. Sean Farrell begins the discussion with the troubles in Armagh and mid-Ulster in 1784-1798 and finishes with the Belfast riots which took place some hundred years after Armagh. The theoretical framework focuses on the concept of moral economy first introduced by E. P. Thompson. Moral economy emphasises the role of community, their perceptions of legitimate history and communal action, and also the cultural context of violence. In Northern Ireland sectarian moral economy centred on an exclusivist definition of loyalty and citizenship (p.13). Farrell argues that the Protestant community based their worldview exclusively on sectarian moral economy in order to hold on to superior status. On the other hand, the Catholic worldview was based on sense of dispossession. It gained its legitimacy from a particular view of Irish history, a narrative which focused on the status and power lost to Protestant conquest. Catholic understanding of Ireland's future was not based on moral economy, quite the contrary they tried to resist the status quo created by Protestant sectarian moral economy.

Farrell's book discusses the history of violence in Ulster. It aims to clarify the sources and reasons for the violent outbursts and moreover go beyond the institutional explanations. This means that communal expectations, contested worldviews and sense of fear among the communities have much greater effect on the appearance and collective support for violence than is often acknowledged. The six chapters of the book discuss, for example, the differences and similarities of the Orange Order and Catholic resistance in 17th and 18th century. They also examine how violence is not just tribalism but carefully constructed in ritual contexts and tied to local and national political life. Farrell illustrates how rituals shaped the style and substance of party violence, experienced during and after the sectarian festivities. A particularly interesting chapter of the book focuses on urbanisation and riots in Belfast and Derry. Urban territories and segregation changed the nature and the geographical place of violent confrontations from rural Armagh to the cities of Ulster.

Generally, the book is a compact and illustrative work on the use of violence in organising community relations in pre-famine Ulster. Farrell is critical of several previous areas of research on the topic and in many points is able to convince the reader with new, well-founded explanations. However, at times I was left with a feeling that deeper discussion would have been required. *Riots and Rituals* is a book with an historical approach, but it has much relevance in understanding the contemporary Northern Ireland. It was rather frightening to notice that the same circle of violence, politics and confrontation has been on-going in Ulster since the 16th century. Cynically we can ask, when do we learn the lessons of history?

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The Balkans

The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention

Steven L. Burg and Paul S. Shoup

(Armonk, NY and London: ME Sharpe, 1999) distributed by The Eurospan Group. 504pp. Index. Biblio. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 1-56324-309-1.

Steven Burg and Paul Shoup established their credentials as experts on Yugoslavia long before that country imploded in 1991. They have collaboratively crafted a finely detailed account of how the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav crisis played out in Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH), focusing on the period between end-1990 (the republic's first competitive elections) and end-1995 (the Dayton Peace Agreement).

This is a solid, serious book. Unlike the legions of sensation-seekers and/or self-appointed moral crusaders who have produced tendentious tracts on the Bosnian tragedy, Burg and Shoup do not seek to deny or caricature, but rather engage and explore, the many complexities of the land called Bosnia-Herzegovina and the conflict that tore it apart between 1992 and 1995. That, perhaps, is the singular achievement of their effort.

The book consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 summarily sets out the complicated moral and practical issues surrounding international intervention in the Bosnian war. Chapter 2 is a fine survey of the competing, indeed intermingled traditions of conflict and coexistence in Bosnia's modern political history, and covers events until early 1991. The organization of the book thereafter (Chs. 3-7) follows a chronological pattern, covering in the process a cataclysm of events from the outbreak of war in Croatia (second half of 1991) and the failed Lisbon talks on Bosnia's future (March 1992) to the *denouement* at Dayton, Ohio in late 1995. The intervening material includes a detailed narrative of the war in various regions and localities of BiH, and careful assessments of international diplomatic efforts to end the war mounted at various points in time. The authors deserve credit for their carefully considered and convincing evaluations of such hotly debated peace proposals as the Vance-Owen plan (1993). The final chapter discusses the difficulties of effective international intervention at various points in the Bosnian conflict and contains interesting if brief reflections on the fractured country's post-Dayton future.

Throughout the book, Burg and Shoup demonstrate a keen understanding of the historical and institutional contexts of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the positions and agendas of the contending factions (and various sub-factions thereof). A relatively minor trade-off of this depth

and solidity is a style of presentation that is overly dense at times, and masses of detail (sometimes simply summarizing conflicting claims made by propagandistic sources representing the perspectives of the warring factions) which could be confusing to any but the most attentive and advanced readers. This book, 500 pages in length, could have been significantly shorter without any significant loss of substance or analytical insight. Occasionally, one also gets the impression from the text that the authors, despite their undoubted expertise and formidable research, have not spent substantial time on the ground in either wartime or post-war Bosnia & Herzegovina.

Burg and Shoup's approach to the engagement of the "international community" with the Bosnian war is, however, exceptionally clear-eyed. In particular, United States policy towards the post-Yugoslav crises in Bosnia and Croatia consistently emerges in a rather poor light in this work written by two American scholars. The irony, of course, is that no international strategy to end the Bosnian war could succeed until it integrated a credible threat of punitive force (against non-compliance) with a fair approach to the demands and fears of all three combatants, i.e., including the Bosnian Serbs. As Burg and Shoup argue, "that integration appears not to have been achieved until 1995, when the chief proponent of use of force—the United States—became convinced of the need for a realistic political settlement that addressed Serb interests" (p. 262). That intervention ended the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it came too late for countless innocent people caught up in its maelstrom, and has left as its legacy a broken country suspended in a strange limbo between *de jure* union and *de facto* partition. Five years on, despite a major post-conflict statebuilding intervention by Western countries and international agencies, Bosnia-Herzegovina's post-Yugoslav future is still tenuous in almost every sense.

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Minority Rights in Yugoslavia

Jan Briza

(London: Minority Rights Group, 2000) 34pp. Pb.: £6.70; ISBN 1-897693-08-7.

Minority Rights in Yugoslavia is another in a series of reports from Minority Rights Group International, an organization devoted to securing "rights for ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities worldwide." This small report (only 32 large pages!) provides exhaustive coverage of minorities in Yugoslavia. Particular attention is paid to key multi-ethnic regions of Yugoslavia – the well-known conflict zone in Kosovo/a, but also the less publicized regions of Sandzak and Vojvodina, as well as Montenegro.

What drives the text in each of the main sections is the separation between *de jure* and *de facto* rights for minorities. For each region, a detailed account of the rights of each minority group – in law and in implementation - is given, with special attention paid to education, official use of the language and alphabet, political life, cultural life and the media, and economic life. I learned a great deal about less prominent minority groups in Yugoslavia such as Roma, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Macedonians, and even Germans – a very nice touch. Each section is packed with facts and figures about each minority group, though the figures are quite often, not surprisingly, outdated and suspect, as Briza readily acknowledges.

The report closes with a series of recommendations, first to the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and then to the international community. These recommendations in themselves are not surprising, ranging from respecting human rights standards and strengthening the independent media for the FRY government to strengthening civil society for the international community. What is surprising, though, is the disconnect between these recommendations and the rest of the text. No systematic attempt to make connections is made. Instead, the recommendations seem quite separated from the remainder of the work.

For readers looking for an in-depth argument linking minority situations to policy recommendations, *Minority Rights in Yugoslavia* is not the right choice. However, *Minority Rights in Yugoslavia* is an excellent report for understanding the distribution of ethnic minority groups in Yugoslavia and the issues they face. In contrast to the political framing of this information, these distributions and issues are unlikely to have already changed with the new administration in Yugoslavia.

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The Road to War in Serbia: Trauma and Catharsis

Nebojsa Popov

(Budapest, Central European University Press, 2000) 711pp. Bibl. Index. Pb.: £17.95; ISBN 963-9116-56-4.

In this book the authors try to understand, explain and provide an insight into why so many turn - even by their own free will - to nationalism as an ideological practice. About twenty scholars - social and political scientists, historians, economists, lawyers, statisticians, scholars of ethnology and language, and theologians - investigate 'the Serb side of the War' after the breakup of Yugoslavia. Not because this was familiar territory to them, or it affected themselves more immediately but out of "repudiation of the usual tactics of imputing blame to those of other creeds,

nations, countries, or in fact the whole world for causing the war and all it entailed" (p.2).

The book consists of four parts. The first part is a collection of essays concerned with the broader outline of the theme and essays that examine the roots of the trauma. The essays within the second part analyse the role of the cultural and political elite and of scientific, cultural and other institutions. The third part's essays focus upon the role and influence of the media. The final part consists of an essay on the efforts of international organisations to help to arrive at compromise and to end the war. Although the book concentrates mainly on the period before the breakup until the first years of conflict (1987-1993), it does not address the period thereafter and therefore a knowledge of what the consequences of the war meant for culture, economy and society is lacking.

For Pesic (pp.9-49), the war was inevitable- a self-fulfilling prophecy - as a consequence of the absence of a loyalty towards a collective state and the extreme positions taken by the political elites of the different republics. It was caused by the creation of new national states in which the leadership brought them into conflict over the distribution of Yugoslav territory, borders and ethnic boundaries (a struggle over power and over the national question). Nevertheless, Popov argues that it could have been avoided (pp.81-105). But many took a more defensive view on the future of Serbia and the Serbian People. Not only politicians, but also academics, writers, the church and economists became protectors and/or instruments of anti-democratic government. Although it was a reflection of its time, the 1974 Constitution contributed to the war as "an ornamental piece of rhetoric and a justification for dictatorial (largely totalitarian) rule" (V. Dimitrijevic, pp.399-424). Even the opposition did not oppose the Greater Serbia idea at the time of the breakup of Yugoslavia; "unity between the national programmes of both the Serbian opposition and the government indicates that the Yugoslav Wars were not a post-Communist phenomenon, but that their causes were deep and their essence lay in the struggle for domination in these regions" (D. Stojanovic, pp.449-478).

Also the media contributed to the outbreak of the war. By serving politics and rejecting autonomy, it contributed to the creation and spreading of an authoritarian society which left no opening for a democratic solution to the conflicts and made all Serbs into victims (Z. Markovic, pp.587-607). The breakup of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo question nationalized everyday life in Serbia (S. Milivojevic, pp.608-629). Even international intervention could not alter this; instead it enhanced it.

Although the book is very descriptive and gives no general conclusion, it is of importance because it tries to give us insight into the processes of nationalism and (anti) democratization within Serbia and into causes of ethnic conflict. Not only does it explain why extremist nationalistic politics for a long time was - and perhaps

even is - common sense in Serbia, but it can also help us to find strategies and means for change. In order to help them to democratize we need to be more aware of these processes and their consequences. Therefore, the book is well worth reading. To the authors it is important that, "if research show that the avalanche of fear, hatred and violence was *produced* by the concrete action of individuals, groups, institutions and organizations, that it was not the result of some kind of automatism of fate or nature, there is even less possibility for alternatives to the avalanche to emerge by some kind of automatism. ... It is necessary to *create* the appropriate values, institutions, organizations and procedures" (p.4).

For us it shows the complexity of the situation and the long way and difficult task that lies ahead. If we do not do it right this time, ethnic conflict might occur again in the future.

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Identity and Security in Former Yugoslavia

Zlatko Isakovic

Zlatko Isakovic has produced a serviceable book focusing on societal security in the successor states to the former Yugoslavia. Drawing on the 1993 work of Ole Waever in "Societal security: the concept" in Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre (eds.) Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe (London: Pinter Publishers Ltd.), the author defines societal security as the ability of a society [read: ethnic group, nation or nationality] to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. The threats to a nation's identity, Isakovic explains, may range from the seizure by others of the society's historic territory and the deportation or killing of its members, to the suppression of expressions of its identity and to interference with its ability to reproduce itself, either by forbidding the use of the society's language, ethnic names and traditional attire or by closing its schools and churches. If the "nation" is not the same as the state – and Isakovic explains that in the former Yugoslavia that was the case for all peoples who are now in successor states – threats may come not only from forbidding ethnic "markers" but also by allowing them, since they can undermine the homogeneity of the state, e.g., the markers of Serbs in Croatia, Albanians in Serbia and Macedonia.

For Isakovic, studying societal security in the successor states requires looking at the way the elements of national identity are weighted and combined among the several

ethnic groups and noting whether or not the group is a majority or minority community in the successor state in which it now resides. After an introduction on the theme and methodological approach to societal security, there follow five individual chapters on the successor states, with attention given for each resident ethnic group to widely held myths, shared memories of a common origin and ancestry, traditions of statehood, religious affiliation and commonalities of language and culture. The final chapter sums up what has been presented and offers prognoses for the future.

The bibliography is rich and detailed and its usefulness in reflected in the many generally impressive footnotes. It is, however, disconcerting to see superficial articles in the Encyclopedia Britannica cited and quoted as well, particularly with reference to the early history of the various peoples. Better sources were obviously available to the author, who has a good command of the literature.

The work shows many of the drawbacks of a hastily processed dissertation. The editors did not serve Isakovic well in allowing to pass errors of grammar and syntax as well as intrusive infelicities of language that make the reading harder. For all that, the book is worth reading, offers some fresh insights into the post-Yugoslav successor states and has its uses as a compendium of what should be known and thought about.

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Bosnia the Good: Tolerance and Tradition

Rusmir Mahmutcehajic

(Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000) 236 pp. Biblio. Index. Pb: 13.95 GBP; ISBN 963-9116-87-4

The book is an elegantly formulated rejection of the projects to split Bosnia during the 1992-1995 war (and subsequently) in to "ethnically homogeneous" units. Mahmutcehajic, one of the most prominent Bosnian and Bosniac intellectuals, attempts to define Bosnia as a paradigmatic case of a society based on diversity of religions, traditions and nations. He locates this diversity less in the Western discourses of Multiculturalism of such authors as Charles Taylor or Will Kymlicka, but rather in the traditions of the region and Islam.

In fact, the book takes a critical position of both the predominant Western view of Islam and Bosnian Muslims/ Bosniacs, and even more so in relation to the two "Western"/"Christian" national ideologies—Croat and Serbian nationalism—which threatened to rip Bosnia apart in the early 1990s. The author argues that the nationalist demands for the separation of Croats, Serbs and Bosniacs,

as pursued during the war, contradict the historical legacy of Bosnia. Mahmutcehajic highlights elements of Bosnia identity and cross-communal historical traditions that could point to the development of an over-arching loyalty and identity structure in Bosnia.

Bosnia the Good highlights the dilemma which faced the Bosniacs throughout the 1990s and before. On one hand, it acknowledges the need for a non-national(ist) Bosnian identity which is based on the country's diversity. On the other hand, it offers only little clues how such an identity could develop outside the Bosniac nation. Mahmutcehajic outlines in detail how the Bosniac community and its national and religious identity fit into a larger identity, but offers only few hints how Croats and Serbs could be included into such a project. This difficulty is highlighted both in the limitation of Bosnian identity under Austro-Hungarian rule (Kallay) to the Muslim community and the limitation of success of multi-national parties in recent years to Bosniacs.

While not resolving the complex topic of identity in Bosnia, the book offers some valuable insights on cross-cutting traditions of tolerance and co-operation which were not only denied by nationalists, but also by many Western observers who focused exclusively on the break-down of co-existence, ignoring the rich tapestry of cross-community contacts and joint life for most of Bosnia's history.

The value of the book lies not only in an alternative view on the destruction of Bosnia and—in consequence—of the flaws of the post-Dayton state, but also in highlighting some of the moral dilemmas associated with post-conflict state-building in general on how to accommodate demands by political leaders advocating their groups (supposed) interests through the use of violence.

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Civil Resistance in Kosovo

Howard Clark,

(London: Pluto Press, 2000) 288pp. Biblio. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-7453-1574-7. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-7453-1569-0.

The vast majority of the books, articles and monographs published in the past year on Kosovo have concentrated on the province's recent history. After short context-setting histories, most quickly gallop on up to the late 90s and the rise of the Kosovo Liberation Army, the mass displacement of the province's Albanian majority, the NATO campaign and the establishment of the United Nations interim administration in the aftermath of the war.

Clark's book is an exception in terms of time period and subject matter. The author- a veteran peace activist who has been involved for years in facilitating Serb-Albanian dialogue- focuses on the ten years of Albanian non-violent resistance preceding the conflict. It is a fascinating topic and sheds light upon an overlooked period of Kosovo history. As bloody wars of secession were raging in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, Clark describes how Kosovo Albanians adopted a strategy of pacific opposition. They established a parallel political system under the nose of the Milosevic regime. With their own parliament, presidency and ministries the internationally unrecognised Republic of Kosova collected taxes, and effectively ran health and education services. At the same time, the author argues that Kosovars were being individually, sectorally and collectively empowered through their non-violent opposition. He examines actions –strikes, marches and exhibitions – and describes organisations – student unions, sports clubs, newspapers, that are often held up as being emblematic of a strong and flourishing civil society.

Clark is no utopian. He pulls no punches in his criticism of Kosovo's embryonic institutions. Arguing that the alternative political institutions often did not function properly and sometimes not at all, he lambastes Kosovar politicians for their failure to build on their institutional base and let them stagnate. He is also scathing of Western diplomacy. Assuming that no violence equalled no problem, they ignored Kosovo throughout most of the 1990s, leaving a problem to fester until its tragic eruption into violence.

In writing this book, Clark has ensured that a non-violent chapter of the province's recent past is given due importance and not written out of history. Nevertheless, his book could have been much better. The writing could have been much tighter and the book better structured, especially when he talks about societal empowerment. There are, for example, too many itsy-bitsy sections on disconnected events, making it difficult to join the dots and come up with a big picture. Drawbacks aside, however, this is an extremely worthwhile book and a valuable corrective to the perception that Kosovo's history has been perpetually violent.

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Making Peace prevail. Preventing violent conflict in Macedonia

Alice Ackermann

Macedonia represents in many respects an unusual country. Since its independence in 1991, the small Balkan state managed not to get involved in the Yugoslav war unleashed by the politics of nationalist hatred. Burdened with the economic legacy of communism, she had to cope with two Greek embargoes. Macedonian minorities in Bulgaria and Greece were denied their cultural rights and the use of the Macedonian language. The Kosovo crisis led to a massive influx of refugees; fears of destabilisation seemed reasonable since the country's Albanian minority amounts to 23%. Despite these burdens Macedonia was capable of keeping internal peace. Moreover, her sound foreign policy based on the programme of 'Europeanization of the Balkans' and the continuous tight co-operation with EU, OSCE and UNO made her a stabilising factor in the Balkans. The crucial element of Macedonian politics, however, was the prevailing political will of the ethnic communities' leaders to implement measures of accommodation and co-operation. Macedonia therefore is an almost perfect, but certainly a unique example of preventive diplomacy.

What does preventive diplomacy mean and how can we make peace prevail? Ackermann offers an important and valuable insight to the issue of ethnic conflicts. Her investigation is therefore recommended reading for everybody interested in the Balkans specifically and international politics in general. The analysis of the Slovak-Hungarian, Rwandan and Russian-Estonian conflicts demonstrates the importance of internationally supported preventive diplomacy at an early stage. Ackermann's approach to conflict resolution is two-dimensional: 'deliberate implementation of measures ...' shall prevent the outbreak of violence at the early, nonescalatory stage, while measures such as rapprochement, reconciliation and institution-building aim at the prevention of conflict renewal in the postconflict stage (p. 19f.). The detailed assessment of Macedonian conflict accommodation by the communities' leaders offers the basis for the conflict prevention model (p.169f.). The model suggests concrete policies and pragmatic measures to be implemented by the actors of the four distinct levels (Top-leadership; leaders of ethnic groups; Third party actors – international/regional organisations; NGOs and other grassroots). The crucial factor, however, concerns primarily the top-leadership: the political will of the actors in charge remains the *conditio sine qua non* of successful conflict prevention. If this will is lacking at the top leadership level, what can be done to foster its emergence in the light of the fact that state sovereignty is legitimised by Public International Law?

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The Middle East

Compromising Palestine: A Guide to Final Status Negotiations

Aharon Klieman

(New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) 284 pp. Index. Pb.: £ 11.50; ISBN 0-231-11789-2

Aharon Klieman pursues two arguments in this book: The first is that Israeli-Palestinian negotiations have arrived at a crossroads where difficult decisions no longer can be postponed. Ambiguities that may have been constructive, and even necessary, at earlier phases of the peace process, now stand in the way of progress. The second argument is that any 'final' settlement needs to acknowledge the fact that the Israeli and Palestinian communities are interconnected and deemed to continued coexistence, and therefore dependence, within the confines of historic Palestine. Although physical and political separation, however painfully may have been established as the principle on which a settlement must be based, the two communities have so far failed to accept that the 'facts on the ground' (geographic and demographic determinants) stand in the way of a clean cut partitionist settlement resulting in two ethnically homogenous and independent areas.

In addition to exposing the complexities involved in applying a clear-cut partition principle, Klieman presents an alternative guideline for future negotiations. Klieman's approach, 'partition plus,' is a softer version of partition combining political distinctiveness with elements of integration and coordination.

Not disputing that partition may be the only way out for the Israelis and Palestinians, Klieman nevertheless expresses the hope that rather than an irrevocable divorce, partition will turn out to be a transition phase, a trial separation. After a (much needed) cooling-off period, and when the two communities have (re)gained a sense of security and self-confidence, they may want to reengage with each other and engage on a project of joint custody over this disputed land. As Klieman concludes, "There can be an end to the Israeli-Palestinian' conflict. But not to the ongoing Arab-Jewish encounter"(p. 244).

Klieman's book should be of interest to any student of Israeli-Palestinian relations. On this subject the reader may find that the Israeli perspective is subjected to a more nuanced scrutiny than the Palestinian (a fact also acknowledged – and regretted – by the author who takes more care than most authors in revealing his own biases). But the book is also a valuable contribution to the more general discussion of partition as a strategy for ethnic conflict resolution, a long discredited notion that in the 1990s experienced something of a revival. Here Klieman's contribution lies primarily in his demonstration that

partition rather than *a strategy* represents a continuum of *strategies* with varying degrees of integration and separation.

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The New Israel: Peacemaking and Liberalization

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled (eds.)

(Oxford: Westview Press, 2000) 294pp. Index. HB; £44.95; ISBN 0-8133-3567-1

The Middle East peace process has generated a vast amount of literature since 1991. The focus, however, has been on conflict resolution, negotiations and politics. In contrast, this edited volume *The New Israel: Peacemaking and Liberalization* looks at Israeli history and peacemaking from the economic angle, analysing the link between the liberalisation of the Israeli economy since the mid-1980s and the effects of globalisation upon Israel's decision to "explore the option of peace." The main argument of the book, which is well supported by the individual contributions, is that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict remained at an impasse as it had been viewed solely in security terms, but became "solvable" when it was reconceptualised in economic terms. Israel could only compete in the global market if Israeli businesses were fully integrated, and Israeli businesses would only ever be fully integrated once the Arab boycott had been lifted as a result of negotiations and peace agreements.

The book is divided into three parts. The first focuses on Israel's state-centred economy, the second on liberalisation, and the third, on the peace process. The most interesting aspect of the first part, which is a historical discussion of labour relations between Arabs and Jews, is its contribution to the on-going Israeli historiographical debate. The second part of the book, while dealing predominantly with the process of Israeli economic liberalisation, picks up on the split Arab-Jewish economy theme. For instance, Michael Shalev's chapter shows that liberalisation really only meant state contraction and that the split model could be upheld through the Occupied Territories which provided more markets and cheap labour. Indeed, he maintains that a radical restructuring of the labour market only occurred in the early 1990s with globalisation, the peace process, and the introduction of foreign, non-Arab, *Gastarbeiter.*

The last part of the book reinforces the overall argument, looking at the emerging independent businesses which are profiting from and consequently sustaining the drive for peace. Thus, *The New Israel* shows that economics is capable of providing a different paradigm for Arab-Jewish relations which is worth re-examining in light of recent political difficulties.

All together, this book is recommended to anyone with an interest in the peace process, especially those looking for a different angle. It also is a treat for economic historians and political economists. As a whole, it is well written, documented and argued, which, for an edited volume, is an achievement in itself.

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The Difficult Road to Peace: Netanyahu, Israel and the Middle East Peace Process

Neill Lochery

(Reading: Ithaca Press, 1999) 350pp. Biblio. Index. ISBN 0-86372-248-2.

This book analyses and chronicles the developments of the various tracks of the Middle East peace process, and in particular the Oslo accords, under the Likud government led by Binyamin Netanyahu between 1996 and 1998. Two main themes are presented by the author. Firstly, it is argued that the difficulties that the peace process has encountered under Netanyahu are not a matter of specific party politics or a specific style of leadership and would have also occurred under a Labour government. Secondly, it is argued that a number of internal restraints have considerably influenced Netanyahu's policy towards the peace process. Internal restraints acquired increased salience as a result of changes in Israel's electoral system in 1996 aimed to enhance the power of the prime minister through direct elections. It is argued that such changes may have actually had the opposite effect as they resulted in a fragmentation of the Knesset with decline in support for both parties and the subsequent difficulty of managing an unruly government coalition.

The book is divided into five sections: Section I analyses changes in the Israeli political system and how they have produced restraints on Netanyahu's scope for action. Section II focuses on the Palestinian track of the peace process and in particular security arrangements in the West Bank and Gaza strip, the question of Palestinian refugees, the final status of Jerusalem, and the economic dimension of the process in terms of possible peace dividends for the Palestinian and the Israeli economies. Section III pays specific attention to Israeli relations with the Arab states and in particular to peace negotiations with Jordan and Syria as well as relations with Lebanon and Turkey. Section IV analyses the role of external actors in the peace process with specific emphasis on the United States. Finally, section V attempts to draw lessons from the Middle East process applicable to other areas of high conflict potential and territorial dispute.

The arguments presented in this book are valuable because of the specific attention paid to domestic factors in influencing foreign policy making. The domestic level of

analysis has been very much dismissed by international relations theory since neorealists such as Waltz have charged foreign policy analyses adopting such an approach with reductionism. However, much of current international relations theory has had problems in explaining satisfactorily the main sources of major post-Cold war changes, which have undoubtedly occurred at the domestic level. Moreover, domestic factors are of particular importance in explaining the difficulties encountered by both Israeli and Palestinian Authority leaders.

However, the causal argument linking the internal constraints variable (influence of religious parties, coalition constraints, etc.) to the foreign policy variable (Netanyahu's attitude and policies towards peace process) is rather weak. Moreover, the author states that there is 'a direct relationship between the formation of Israeli policy toward the peace process and ... changes in Israel's method of electing its governments' (p.xv). Such a relationship is far from direct and self-explanatory. Netanyahu's weakened position in the Knesset may have been the result of variables not related to changes in the electoral system and the strict system of proportionality adopted in the Knesset is already a major factor leading to fragmentation. Moreover, changes in policy towards the peace process under Netanyahu could be imputed to factors other than the domestic level of constraint. By adopting a mere speculative view of what would have occurred under a Labour government, the author fails to convince the reader of the significance of the variables purported as explanatory.

This book helps to understand one important aspect of problems with the implementation of the Oslo agreements related to some constraints on Israeli policy making. Moreover, the final chapter represents an excellent (albeit somehow rushed) effort to spell out crucial factors and mechanisms which may increase or decrease the chances for a successful diplomatic settlement of problematic territorial issues. The sections dedicated to the advantages of secret diplomacy; problems related to interim stages in agreements; role of external parties; and the importance of peace dividends and reconstruction are particularly interesting and may constitute an excellent framework of analysis for future studies.

However, one major shortcoming of this work (perhaps because of the sources of primary and secondary material employed) is its over-sensitivity towards policy views and needs of the Israeli government. The underlying assumption throughout the book that the Oslo agreements cannot be fulfilled (p. 55, 58, 239); the use of the term Jerusalem to indicate Israel (p. 218, 226) and the emphasis on the United States as the exclusive mediator of the process (pp. 223-225) are some of the factors which throw doubts on the objectivity of the work. This book should be regarded more as an analysis or even a portrayal of Israeli foreign policy rather than a comprehensive view of the possibilities for implementation of the Oslo agreements.

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Transitions: Russians, Ethiopians, and Bedouins in Israel's Negev Desert

Richard Isralowitz and Jonathan Friedlander

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 158pp. Hb.: £40.00; ISBN 1 84014 512 9.

The photography is the first thing that strikes one about this book. Ron Kelly's photographs draw one into the great barren expanses of Israel's Negev desert, but they also show that the desert is bristling with new development. Much of this development is connected with the government-sponsored settlement of Russian Jews, Ethiopian Jews, and Bedouin. *Transitions* is about this settlement program, and about how these groups experience life in the Israeli state.

The nine articles in this volume illuminate the subject from very different angles, and in very different styles, some academic, some personal, but two overarching themes emerge. The first is the disjunction between what Israeli governments intend for the Negev and what their policies make possible. It has been the policy of successive governments to encourage the economic development and population of 'peripheral' areas such as the Negev. In the 1950s ten 'development towns' were built in the desert for immigrants. In the 1980s and early 1990s a second wave of mass immigration took place. 40,000 Ethiopian Jews were airlifted to Israel from their drought-ridden country, and 360,000 Russian Jews arrived from the collapsing Soviet Union. Many of them were settled in the Negev. But in order to establish a settled population it is not enough to build houses. People also need jobs, transport, education, health, and welfare services, otherwise they will be driven to leave.

The second theme of *Transitions* is that the experience of Ethiopians, Russians and Bedouins in the Negev is largely determined by how they are perceived, officially and unofficially, to fit into the Israeli State. The Bedouin experience is dominated by the fact that, as Arabs, they are treated as if they do not have a right to be there at all. The government resettlement program forces the Bedouin to live in specially designated, very poor, townships by making it illegal for them to live anywhere else. This causes great resentment. However, Ethiopian and Russian immigrants may not feel they belong either, even though they are Jews. Despite being a small nation with limited resources, Israel is committed to a policy of unlimited immigration for Jews. Isralowitz and Abu Saad point out that this is a source of social conflict. The poorer elements of society, including the Bedouin, see the immigrants as a threat, as competition for jobs. The Ethiopian immigrants also have to contend with the racist attitudes of Russians and even of Absorption bureaucrats. Moreover, as *Transitions* documents in words and, perhaps more eloquently, in photographs, the immigrants' cultural and ethnic differences alone give rise to feelings of alienation. As one of them put it, 'There we were Jews, and here we are Russians'.

Rose Hankey

Africa Since Independence

Colin Legum

(Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999) 106pp. Hb.: ISBN0-253-33588-4. Pb.: 0-254-21334-7.

This is a skilful scholarly attempt to tackle a wide and complex topic such as *Africa since Independence* in a very short, condensed and readable book. Colin Legum analyses the struggle for democratic governance and economic growth in the African continent in four main parts: the post-colonial romantic period, the period of disillusionment, the period of realism and the period of renaissance. The evolving of the nation state in Africa during the second half of the twentieth century was marked with turmoil, corruption, wars and ethnicity, but Africa is no exception. Europe underwent similar predicaments during the Hundred Years' War and the Napoleonic conquest. The bitterness of the American Civil War and attempts to reconsolidate the new state exceeded the miseries of episodic violence in the twentieth century Africa. However, Legum points out two important differences. First, the period of reconstruction in the West was a time of rapid economic growth, though partially dependent on colonial natural resources. Second, Africa is unique in the speed with which reconciliation occurs in the aftermath of conflicts; Biafra and South Africa are cases in point.

Ethnicity is responsible for the eruption of many conflicts in the continent, yet, Legum rejects Western stereotype view of Africa as a society of pre-modern tribes acrimoniously involved in continuous conflicts for merely tribal causes. In his opinion power struggle dominated major conflicts and civil wars in the continent and the contribution of regional and international factors to Africa's post-colonial wars was quite significant.

Legum concludes with three predictions for the future of Africa. First, the majority of African states will adopt democratic constitutions. Second, one half of the continent will enjoy democratic governance and economic growth while the rest will remain under autocratic and corrupt governments. Under the third scenario the existing democratic structures will have collapsed and economic growth will have returned to the 1960s' level of negative growth. However, for Legum the only credible prediction is that by the year 2050 Africa will resemble the early twentieth century Europe: a range of states with different levels of stability, wealth and modernisation.

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Voting for Democracy: Watershed Elections in Contemporary Anglophone Africa

John Daniel, Roger Southall, and Morris Szeftel

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 284pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £40.00; ISBN 1-8552-1996-4.

Voting For Democracy explores the recent movement toward democratization in Anglophone Africa through examination of recent "watershed" elections in seven states. Using elections for the Constituent assembly in Namibia in 1989 and the historic all-race election in South Africa in 1994 as bookends, the volume looks at both failures and successes in democratic elections in the region during this five-year period.

Elections are a result, not a cause, of democracy, and this volume doesn't attempt to argue otherwise. Nigeria's truncated democracy, and its aborted presidential election in 1993, illustrate this. Indeed, one of the best chapters, Rok Ajulu's examination of the 1992 multi-party election in Kenya, examines the results of what could well be considered in isolation as a true democratic election heralding a new sprit of pluralism. However, after winning the election Moi reimposes the old order and continues to govern as an authoritarian. Indeed, the argument can be made that winning a multi-party election creates the very legitimacy that allows Moi to further consolidate his authority. As Moi demonstrates, democracy will not last if political elites will work to undermine it.

Even elections which are relatively free and fair are meet with justifiable suspicion. The 1993 election in Lesotho and the 1994 contest in Malawi were widely viewed by African observers as true watershed events - the first free elections in both states in over 30 years. Yet the results, as the various authors report, tell a different story. Civic societies which lack concepts such as a loyal opposition and a free press, and the desire for unity among contending and mutually distrustful groups in a society, may well undermine the results of any election, regardless of how free and fair the actual electoral process was.

One important lesson for democracy in Africa may be ascertained from the example in Roger Southall's chapter concerning Lesotho. The authoritarian regimes which had governed Lesotho had been able to do so because of the support of the white-minority government in South Africa. When this support vanished, so largely did the ability of the authoritarian state to maintain itself. This might be an important lesson in the recent elections in Anglophone

Africa covered here. Either explicitly or implicitly authoritarians support authoritarians. While the elections in the region may be seriously flawed, or the aftermath questionable, the fact that they are occurring in close temporal proximity may be important. While it is too simplistic to say that democracies create democracies, like authoritarianism democracies do offer at least implicit support for the pluralist alternative. Perhaps the very number of states involved can create a "critical mass" of at least avowedly pluralist states which could facilitate a true systemic shift in the region. While the initial results of any movement in the direction of democracy may be imperfect, or even seriously flawed, it may shift states in the region from the historical path of authoritarianism to one of greater pluralism.

One criticism that may be levelled at this otherwise ambitious work is the very use of the adjective "watershed" in the title to characterize the elections studied. As the authors themselves note, at best the elections covered are but a first step toward true democratic reform. As current events in states covered here demonstrate, even constitutional changes which allow for multiparty elections may not significantly contribute to long-term democratic reform against entrenched oligarchs with a vested interest in authoritarianism. It is perhaps still too early to determine if the elections covered here are true watershed events, constituting "founding elections" in a sense that they redefine political norms in these states, or if elites will continue to undermine pluralist democratic ideals in favor of narrow self-interest. Chudi Okoye, in his chapter on Nigeria sums up the problem of democratic transition - a broad-based elite pact on issues of power sharing, the distribution of natural resources, and, indeed, the modality of the transition itself, is a necessary pre-condition for any sustainable democratization. (p. 181) This is true not just for Nigeria, but all states attempting the difficult transition from authoritarianism to pluralism.

This volume is an excellent source in the far too often overlooked topic of democratization in Africa. While much has been written in recent years concerning democratization in Latin America, the process in Africa has been largely ignored Utilizing both general theoretical and specific case-studies, it offers both introductory and more experienced African scholars insight into this difficult process. The elections covered here are not only valuable in their own right, but will serve as an important starting point for further comparative research in African elections and democratic transitions.

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The United States

International Politics and Civil Rights Policies in the United States, 1941-1960

Azza Salama Layton

Recent protests at WTO and IMF meetings highlight a trend that few scholars have focused upon in the past decade, that is, the linkages between international politics and protest movements. Layton synthesizes these two disparate theoretical perspectives to illuminate US race politics.

Layton offers precise mechanisms which link the international and domestic political spheres. She develops an international dimension to the concept of "opportunity structure," a core component of social movement theory. Anti-communist ideology during the Cold War, for example, framed the discourse of the US debate about racism. Consequently, some policies became more desirable — or costly — as weapons in the competition between the US and Soviet Union over newly-independent states in the Third World, the leaders of which cared about racial discrimination, both in principle and because it affected them personally during visits to the US.

After laying out the theoretical reasons for thinking that the Cold War might influence the civil rights agenda, Layton systemically addresses alternative explanations to highlight the gaps in the civil rights story that can best be explained by taking international context seriously. First she demonstrates that black activists in the US saw themselves as operating in an international arena, not solely a domestic one. Leaders went to the United Nations, for example, to raise the question of racial discrimination, linking US policies and practices to broader critiques of colonialism. That is, they used this discursive framework to make transnational allies and to generate international pressures on the US government.

The next piece of her puzzle revolves around whether US policy-makers took these pressures into account, and if so, the extent to which they changed policy as a result. Here Layton deftly separates the question of effect into component parts that can be distinguished from the predictions of alternative explanations. For example, she uses State Department correspondence to illustrate both that the federal government was aware of international

criticisms and that various branches of the government heeded these concerns. Furthermore, she disaggregates US civil rights policy to demonstrate that international pressures motivated changes in only some areas — those most visible to outside critics — but not necessarily the ones that domestic critics cared about the most.

The result of this superb research design and archival work is an important reinterpretation of the US civil rights story. Scholars interested in social movements, international relations, US politics, race relations and human rights should read this excellent book.

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Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State during World War II

Daniel Kryder

Daniel Kryder's *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II* is a careful examination of race policies during WWII. While substantial attention has been given to race relations during the periods of "Reconstruction" and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 60s in the United States, scant attention has been given to race relations during WWII. This book explains how the crisis of World War II, and federal administrators' efficiency and electoral concerns resulting from this crisis, created attitudes toward reform that were not simply reducible to white racism or white egalitarianism. Kryder systematically analyzes the strict policies of racial segregation in the armed forces that aggravated racial tensions, the black migration from the south, the racial climate on southern farms, and the development of the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). Moreover, while interpreting the motivations of the "central state," he integrates a thorough and refreshing analysis of war time race relations into a discussion about presidential politics.

According to Kryder, the war's immediate effect was political and economic rather than ideological. A reelection imperative motivated President Franklin D. Roosevelt to confront the race problem. In addition, he was inspired to initiate race reforms to stop blacks from spontaneously disrupting production, hence undermining the efficiency

of the war mobilization efforts. Kryder details how Roosevelt's "conflict-adjustment" measures were largely symbolic and not substantive.

In Chapter One, Kryder offers the reader an insightful critique of Gunnar Myrdal's 1944 classic book on race relations, *An American Dilemma*. Myrdal predicted the multiple forces of WWII would lead to black liberation and equality. Contrary to this hypothesis, Kryder states that Myrdal underestimated the "chameleonlike" adaptability of racist attitudes in the U.S.

Throughout the book, the author outlines how Roosevelt was consistently forced into initiating race reforms. He was forced to sign Executive Order 8802, which outlawed discrimination in the federal civil service and in defense contracting, by A. Phillip Randolph's proposed *March on Washington*. He was pressured by black leaders to create the FEPC.

The author's meticulous effort in supporting his discussion with numerous primary references represents sound scholarship. Throughout the book, Kryder supports his hypotheses. His narrative is insightful and informative. He clearly adds something seminal and substantive to the literature on race relations. This effort departs from many works on the subject because of the author's analytic research methods. In fact, the reader gains a substantial amount of knowledge on the issue by reading the author's reference notes. The content of this book is clear, engaging, and comprehensive.

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