

Contents

Review Articles

International Tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda: Doing More Good than Harm
by William A. Schabas Page 6

The Politics of International Law
by Colin J Harvey Page 8

Pawns for the U. S. neo-imperialists? The Media, Human Rights and Kosovo
by Ian R Mitchell Page 9

Reviews

Ethnicity and Nationalism

Karl Cordell (ed.), *The Politics of Ethnicity in Central Europe*
reviewed by Kathleen Dowley Page 11

Einar Braathen, Morten Bøås, and Gjermund Sæther, (eds.), *Ethnicity Kills? The Politics of War Peace and Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa*
reviewed by Victor T. Le Vine Page 11

Paul Gilbert, *Peoples, Cultures and Nations in Political Philosophy*
reviewed by Grainne Walsh Page 12

Leon S. Sheff, *The Future of Tradition: On Customary Law, Common Law and Legal Pluralism*
reviewed by Cyril Belshaw Page 12

Crawford Young (ed.), *Ethnic Diversity and Public Policy*
reviewed by Tony Gallagher Page 13

Louk Hagendoorn, György Csepeli, Henk Dekker and Russell Farnen (eds.), *European Nations and Nationalism: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives*
reviewed by Anna-Kaisa Kuusisto Page 14

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, *Sri Lanka Tamil Nationalism: Its Origins and Developments in the 19th and 20th Centuries*
reviewed by Alan Bullion Page 14

John Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games*
reviewed by Rogelio Alonso Page 15

Transitional Politics

John Darby & Roger Mac Ginty (eds.), *The Management of Peace Processes*
reviewed by Corinna Hauswedell Page 16

Ronald A. Francisco, *The Politics of Regime Transitions*
reviewed by Edward Newman Page 16

Geoffrey Pridham and Tom Gallagher (eds.), *Experimenting with Democracy: Regime Change in the Balkans*
reviewed by Florian Bieber Page 17

Gregory H. Fox and Brad R. Roth (eds.), *Democratic Governance and International Law*
reviewed by Colin Harvey Page 17

Martin Westlake, ed., *Leaders of Transition*
reviewed by Scott W. Webster Page 18

Rae McGrath, *Landmines and Unexploded Ordnance: A Resource Book*
reviewed by Koenraad Van Brabant Page 19

Jayantha Dhanapala, Mitsuro Donowaki, Swadesh Rana, & Lora Lumpe, *Small Arms Control: Old Weapons, New Issues.*
reviewed by Sami Faltas Page 19

The Politics of Memory

Marie Smyth and Marie-Therese Fay (eds.) *Personal Accounts from Northern Ireland's Troubles: Public Conflict, Private Loss*
reviewed by Cathie McKimm Page 20

Ifi Amadiume and Abdullahi An-Na'im (eds.), *The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice*
reviewed by Paul Gready Page 21

Barrington Moore Jr., *Moral Purity And Persecution In History*
reviewed by Marcia Byrom Hartwell Page 21

Guenter Lewy, *The Nazi Persecution Of The Gypsies*
reviewed by Pierre L. van den Berghe Page 22

Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*
reviewed by Brandon Hamber Page 23

Conflict Theory and International Relations

**Salim Rashid (ed.), "*The Clash of Civilizations?*"
*Asian Responses***
reviewed by Su-ming Khoo Page 24

**Michael Cox, Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds.)
*The Interregnum: Controversies in World Politics 1989-1999***
reviewed by Martin Shaw Page 24

Martin Van Creveld, *The Rise and Decline of the State*
reviewed by Helen Morris Page 25

David Newman ed., *Boundaries, Territory, and Postmodernity*
reviewed by Anna-Kaisa Kuusisto Page 26

**Barbara F. Walter & Jack Snyder (eds.),
*Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention***
reviewed by Nana Poku Page 26

Bill McSweeney, *Security, Identity and Interests*
reviewed by Thomas Ambrosio Page 27

Susan L. Carruthers: *The Media at War. Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*
reviewed by Despina Dumitrica Page 27

Karin von Hippel, *Democracy By Force: US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World*
reviewed by David W. Roberts Page 28

Ingrid Lehmann, *Peacekeeping and Public Information: Caught in the Crossfire*
reviewed by Oliver Richmond Page 28

Migration

**Floya Anthias and Gabriella Lazaridis (eds.),
*Into the Margins: Migration and Exclusion in Southern Europe***
reviewed by Ioannis Armakolas Page 29

Thomas Faist, *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*
reviewed by Jeff Handmaker Page 30

Riccardo Faini, Jaime de Melo, and Klaus Zimmerman (eds.), *Migration: The Controversies and the Evidence*
reviewed by Helen Leigh-Phippard Page 30

Reginald Appleyard (ed.), *Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries: Vol: IV The Arab Region*
reviewed by Rossetos Fakiolas Page 31

Geddes, Andrew & Favell, Adrian eds., *The Politics of Belonging: Migrants and Minorities in Contemporary Europe*
reviewed by Ulf Hansson Page 32

**Leonard Dinnerstein & David M Reimers,
*Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration***
reviewed by Roger Mac Ginty Page 32

**Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen eds,
*Migration Diasporas and Transnationalism***
reviewed by Eva Østergaard-Nielsen Page 33

Human Rights and Humanitarianism

Carla Hesse and Robert Post (eds.), *Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia*
reviewed by Pamela Dickson Page 33

David P. Forsythe, *Human Rights in International Relations*
reviewed by Samuel M. Makinda Page 34

Alison Brysk, *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America*
reviewed by Miles Litvinoff Page 34

Claire Pirotte, Bernard Husson & François Grunewald (eds.), *Responding to Emergencies and Fostering Development: The Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*
reviewed by Liam O'Hagan Page 35

Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic, *Women, Violence and War: Wartime Victimization of Refugees in the Balkans*
reviewed by Nigel Hunt Page 36

Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic, *Women, Violence and War: Wartime Victimization of Refugees in the Balkans*
reviewed by Robyn Lui Page 36

Asia

Nunn, Rubin, & Lubin, *Calming the Ferghana Valley: Development and Dialogue at the heart of Central Asia*

reviewed by Alan Bullion Page 37

William A. Callahan, *Pollwatching, Elections and Civil Society in Southeast Asia*

reviewed by Mohamed Awad Osman Page 37

George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation*

reviewed by WPS Sidhu Page 38

Peter Marsden, *The Taliban: War, Religion, and the New Order in Afghanistan*

reviewed by Sue Williams Page 39

Africa

Musah, Abdel-Fatau and J. 'Kayode Fayemi, (eds.), *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma*

reviewed by Stephanie Donlon Page 40

Donald Petterson, *Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict and Catastrophe*

reviewed by Andrea Bartoli Page 40

Kanya Adam, *The Colour of Business: Managing Diversity in South Africa*

reviewed by Pierre L. van den Berghe Page 41

The Middle East

Meron Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948*

reviewed by Marwan Khawaja Page 41

Aharon Klieman, *Compromising Palestine: A Guide to Final Status Negotiations*

reviewed by Simona Santoro Page 42

Europe

Heinz Kramer, *A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States*

reviewed by Oliver Richmond Page 43

Adrienne Heritier, *Policy Making and Diversity in Europe: Escape from Deadlock*

reviewed by Fiachra Kennedy Page 43

Eric D. Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia*

reviewed by Ioannis Armakolas Page 44

Sydney Elliott and W.D. Flackes with John Coulter, *Northern Ireland: A Political Directory 1968-1999*

reviewed by Nicholas Whyte Page 44

Susan McKay, *Northern Protestants: An Unsettled People*

reviewed by Andy White Page 45

Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, *The Politics of Force: Conflict Management and State Violence in Northern Ireland*

reviewed by Mike Ritchie Page 45

Post Soviet

Aklaev, Airat R. *Democratization and Ethnic Peace: Patterns of Ethnopolitical Crisis Management in Post Soviet Settings*

reviewed by Ross E. Burkhart Page 46

Gerald M. Easter, *Reconstructing the State: Personal Networks and Elite Identity in Soviet Russia*

reviewed by Nick Baron Page 47

North America

Yossi Shain, *Marketing the American Creed Abroad: Diasporas in the U.S. and their Homelands*

reviewed by Michael Schneider Page 48

William Julius Wilson, *The Bridge Over The Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics*

reviewed by L. Kendall Palmer Page 48

Gustavo Leclerc, Raul Villa & Michael J. Dear, *La Vida Latina En L.A.: Urban Latino Cultures*

reviewed by Kristina A. Boylan Page 49

America Rodriguez, *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class*

reviewed by Patience A. Schell Page 49

Stuart Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the fight for civil liberties*

reviewed by Samuel Haber Page 50

The Ethnic Conflict Research Digest Volume 3, Number 2; Editorial

Welcome to Volume 3 Issue 2 of the Ethnic Conflict Research Digest. This is the sixth edition of the Digest, and I trust you will agree that it is now a well-established and valuable tool in the field of ethnic conflict and conflict resolution.

This is my first edition as editor and I want to thank all those who have put much hard work into establishing the Digest; in particular Roger Mac Ginty, Cathy Gormley-Heenan and Lyn Moffett. Terry Curran is responsible for our fresh new design. I also want to thank all the readers who replied to the questionnaire, which I sent out with *Volume 3 Issue 1*. I was pleasantly surprised by the large number of replies and have taken on board all your comments.

One of the main aims of the Digest is to try to bring together a mass of literature in the field of 'ethnic conflict and conflict resolution'. All of the materials under review fall under this broad umbrella. In this edition, I have organised the reviews under different themes. This proved to be a difficult task. Obviously, it is not the case that because one review is placed under the 'ethnicity and nationalism' theme that it has no relevance to 'human rights'. On the contrary all of the books reviewed could quite easily have found a home in an alternative thematic section. I hope, however, that readers find the thematic approach useful in terms of organisational clarity. Perhaps this structure will also help us to question what are the important issues in the field and indeed to think about the parameters of the discipline.

A broad range of books is reviewed in this issue. The persistence of a variety of types of conflict throughout the world is evident. Two of the consequences of conflict are often flows of people across state borders and abuses of human rights. The relevance and importance of migration and human rights in a range of contexts is reflected in the number of books on these subjects. Likewise for those areas supposedly coming out of conflict many difficulties remain. The complex nature of transitions out of violence, and in many cases 'towards democracy', is reflected throughout the literature.

Another change that I have implemented in this edition is to have a number of longer articles written. In the first of these William Schabas examines the role of the

International Tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda. On a related theme, Colin Harvey highlights the political nature of international law, with a particular focus on some recently published books on human rights law. Finally, Ian Mitchell examines two contrasting views of recent events in the former Yugoslavia. I aim to continue with similar articles in future editions.

I particularly want to thank all the reviewers and publishers who are ever willing to contribute to what I am sure you will agree is an informative and useful publication.

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.

Redesigned INCORE website

Finally let me draw your attention to the INCORE website. Mike McCool deserves special mention for his efforts in redesigning and reorganising the site.

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 will be continually updated. Therefore reviews will become 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, thematic guides, and section on peace agreements are particularly well used.

Liam O'Hagan, Editor

International Tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda: Doing More Good than Harm

by William A. Schabas

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Human Rights Law, National University of Ireland,
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Rights.

REVIEWING: Paul J. MAGNARELLA, *Justice in Africa, Rwanda's
Genocide, Its Courts, and the UN Criminal Tribunal*,
Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, xii, 154 pp. Index. Biblio. Hb.:
£35.00; ISBN 0-7546-1073-x;
Aleksandar FATIC, *Reconciliation via the War Crimes
Tribunal?*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, ix, 117 pp. Biblio. Hb.:
£35.00; ISBN 1-84014-487-4.

IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 1990s a window of opportunity opened for the United Nations Security Council that generated a flurry of innovation within the scope of its mandate under Chapter VII of the *Charter of the United Nations*. One of the more intriguing if ephemeral experiments was the establishment of *ad hoc* international tribunals to deal with serious human rights in the Former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda. Since then, sclerosis has returned to the Council, and more recent suggestions to create additional tribunals for the Cambodia, East Timor and the Congo have floundered on the classic obstacle, the threat of a veto by one of the five permanent members.

The two existing tribunals are now thriving international institutions. Together they consume nearly a quarter of a billion dollars each year. The tribunals were in many ways a spin-off of long-standing attempts to create a permanent international criminal court. They actually made an indispensable contribution to the process that engendered them, serving as a laboratory for a variety of procedural and substantive issues, and providing a reassuring model of an independent but responsible international prosecutor. In July 1998, the *Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court* was adopted, completing a process that began at Nuremberg in 1945. Even if the Security Council is now incapable of creating additional *ad hoc* tribunals, at least for the time being, we have the promise of a permanent institution, expected to begin operation in 2001 or 2002, once sixty States have ratified the *Rome Statute*.

Whether *ad hoc* or permanent, international tribunals venture onto terrain that has traditionally been the domain of diplomats and warriors. Their *raison d'être* is much the same as that of the Security Council, to

promote international peace and security, allegedly encouraging reconciliation of transitional societies by methods of accountability hitherto reserved principally for common criminals acting individually. Does this work? These two rather brief monographs produced by Ashcroft Publishing suggest some preliminary answers.

Paul Magnarella's study of efforts to prosecute those responsible for the Rwandan genocide is by far the better of these works. Magnarella provides a useful overview of the background of the Rwandan genocide, then looks at the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda as well as the noble if frustrating efforts of Rwanda's own justice system. There is nothing particularly earth-shaking in his observations, but as a concise introduction to the problem it does the trick.

A pair of chapters at the end of the book describes the first two judgments of the Trial Chambers of the Tribunal, which were issued during the first week of September 1998. Essentially, Magnarella paraphrases the texts of the decisions, which are in any event readily available on the internet. He unfortunately seems unaware of the debates, both factual and legal, provoked by the Tribunal's first rulings. Elsewhere, too much of the work seems based uniquely on journalistic sources, apparently culled in a troll of the Lexis data base. For example, his discussion of the debates that led to the establishment of the Tribunal is drawn from a story in the *Washington Post*. Yet the *procès-verbal* of the Security Council, which is nowhere cited, offers a more complete – and accurate – account.

There are also some really unacceptable mistakes. At page 45, he says that "[b]ecause the Security Council is not a legislative body, it had no competency to enact substantive law for the Tribunal." In fact, he should say precisely the opposite. Because article 25 of the *Charter of the United Nations* gives the Council law-making powers, it was able to create the Tribunal. Moreover, the Council had the power to proscribe acts that were hitherto widely believed to escape international criminal sanction, namely violations of the laws and customs of war committed during non-international armed conflict.

But alongside the Fatic book on the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Magnarella's modest work looks positively stellar. Aleksandar Fatic's pamphlet – there is no better word for it – is riddled with errors, unsupported claims and unconvincing polemic. It seems inconceivable that Ashgate Publishing submitted the manuscript for peer review, or even had it vetted by a knowledgeable editor. Fatic is based in Belgrade, and his appreciation of the work of the Tribunal largely echoes that of more nationalistic Serb journalists and politicians. Basically, he claims the Tribunal's work has been distorted by an unfair focus on Serb atrocities, whereas others – Croats and Bosniaks – ought also to be targeted if the real

goal is reconciliation. Fatic seems unaware of this, but extremist Croat journalists and politicians say the same thing.

Many parts of the book have little to do with the Tribunal itself. For example, the final chapter, entitled “NATO and the ICTY”, seeks to demonstrate some connivance of the Tribunal in the pursuit of NATO’s Kosovo agenda. After pages of criticism of NATO, much of it legitimate by the way, he concludes by alleging what he promised to prove, namely that “NATO appears to play the initiating, the enablement [*sic*] and the controlling role for the ICTY”. But nowhere is what Fatic calls “political synergism” between NATO and the Tribunal actually demonstrated. Another chapter is devoted to “The First Indictments and What They Show”. Here, Fatic painstakingly lists the initial indictments of the Tribunal; in most cases, he doesn’t even tell us the nationality of the accused. Then, in another unsupported conclusion, he charges that “[t]he ICTY has so far demonstrated little or no divergence from the foreign policies of the great powers, especially the USA”.

Nowhere does he consider or discuss the actual bread and butter of the Tribunal, namely its trials, of which there have been several. Some description of the important *Celebici* trial, whose accused were all Croats, would have been in order, although it would hardly have supported Fatic’s hypothesis. Also he might have considered the showdown between the Tribunal’s Prosecutor and the Tudjman regime over orders to produce documents considered by the government of Croatia to raise matters of national security in the *Blaskic* case. Poor Blaskic, a loyal Croat general, has thus far received the stiffest sentence of all, forty-five years, and most Croats now believe that the Tribunal is picking on them!

As is sometimes the case with overly polemical academics, once the allegations are stripped away, the little substance that remains is misleading and even incorrect. He makes a foray into public international law, attempting to describe the crimes over which the Tribunal has jurisdiction. But when he states that the Statute criminalizes “breaches of the 1907 Hague Convention”, Fatic seems woefully unaware of the Tribunal’s seminal decision, the *Tadic* jurisdictional ruling of October 2, 1995, that greatly enlarged the scope of such serious violations of the laws and customs of war to go far beyond the narrow terms of the 1907 Hague Convention. He doesn’t even mention the term “crimes against humanity” in his discussion of article 5 of the *Statute*, obviously ignorant of its significance. There are many other legal errors. The Genocide Convention was adopted, not signed, in 1948, and it is article VI, not article IV, that calls for the creation of an international criminal court. The Tribunal was established by Security Council Resolution 827, not Resolution 808. Here Fatic is clearly in over his head,

although this doesn’t seem to temper his pontificating. *Caveat emptor*. Any reader seeking a brief but authoritative summary of the Tribunal is hereby warned.

Fatic criticizes the Tribunal because of unequal prison conditions for convicted war criminals, noting that some will be sent to “civilized” penal regimes in Europe while others may be lodged in less attractive establishments in Pakistan and Turkey. This is simply not true. At the time of publication of Fatic’s book, only one convicted prisoner, Dusan Erdemovic, was serving a sentence, and he was purging his five-year term in Norway. All of the other accused were still in provisional detention in The Hague under conditions that rank among the best in the world.

The Fatic book ought never to have been released by a reputable academic publishing house. Unfortunately, therefore, the intriguing question that is announced in the title of the work goes unanswered. Of course, aside from reconciliation, the Tribunals are also expected to deter. Criminologists know the difficulty of demonstrating whether deterrence is actually effective. How can we prove that were it not for the Tribunal, a crime would otherwise have been committed? Certainly the threatened prosecution of Serb leaders, announced by Louise Arbour prior to the Kosovo bombing campaign, seems to have little effect on the Milosevic regime.

Hostility within the Former Yugoslavia to the work of the Tribunal is discouraging, though perhaps inevitable. After all, post-war Germany took many years to accept the legitimacy of the Nuremberg trials. Within Rwanda, the promised dividends of international justice for civil society seem more positive. In September 1998, when the first judgment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was released, I found myself lecturing in criminal law to young Rwandan law students at the national university in Butare. We suspended the regular class and spent the day listening to the judgment of Jean-Paul Akayesu on the radio, then discussed and analysed it. It seemed to me that after years of frustration with justice as a method of accountability, young Rwandans finally felt that the truth had been established. Scurrilous claims that the 1994 genocide had been exaggerated for political ends were put to rest. The authoritative voice of historical accuracy was a Tribunal whose judges were above reproach and whose independence and impartiality was impeccable. The wounds in both Rwanda and Yugoslavia will take decades to heal completely. But from this perspective, judgments like those in the *Akayesu* case, or the equivalent pronouncements of the Yugoslav tribunal, seem to be doing more good than harm.

The Politics of International Law

by Dr Colin J Harvey

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REVIEWING: Philip ALSTON and James CRAWFORD (eds.)
The Future of UN Human Rights Treaty Monitoring
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 563 pp.
Index. Pb. £19.95; ISBN 0-521-64574-3. Hb.: £55.00; ISBN
0-521-64195-0; Chaloka BEYANI *Human Rights Standards
and the Movement of People Within States* (Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 2000) 164 pp. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-
19-826821-1; Michael BYERS (ed.) *The Role of Law in
International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
364pp. Index. Hb.: £50.00; ISBN 0-19-826887-4.

All of the works under review grapple, in a variety of different ways, with the relationship between international law, politics and enforcement. One of the problems with international law is that it is weak when it comes to effective enforcement. It remains the case that it still relies on the consent of states to work. There are of course many actors in the international community and a bewildering number of new mechanisms, but the traditional model retains a significant grip. This is evident in the contributions to the Alston and Crawford collection in particular. So although all these works are different, they all have important things to say about the current state of international law and politics.

The contributors to the Alston and Crawford collection provide a wealth of detail on the practical operation of the current human rights treaty monitoring systems. This includes insights from those with practical experience of their operation. There are interesting contributions from: Henry J. Steiner (Human Rights Committee); Michael Banton (Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination); Mara Bustel (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women); and Andrew Clapham (NGO perspective). The inclusion of sections on national influences and regional perspectives is very useful. The contribution by Anne Gallagher is particularly good, as she gives priority, correctly, to the 'national' level. The chapters on practical problems are also insightful for the outsider wishing to know the severe problems with these mechanisms. In the conclusion the editors believe that the contributors have given us an empirical and critical view of the issue. Oddly, they then decry the paucity of conceptual theoretical work in this field. Could they not have made the effort of including such a dimension? One wonders on what basis contributors are selecting their claimed critical in this work

in any substantive sense and unfortunately this is not the exception in human rights law scholarship. We are taken by the hand through the avenues of human rights monitoring institutions by those 'in the know'. This is fine as far as it goes and quite interesting. It is however hardly the stuff of real critical legal scholarship.

The same difficulty is evident in Chaloka Beyani's slim volume. Now this is an area where there are interesting things to say. Beyani examines the rules on free movement within states generally, as well as looking at the treatment of minorities, indigenous people and refugees. While it is useful to have a general statement of the legal position, this has been done before. A chance to say something interesting is missed here. This is not to say that the book is without merits. It offers a description of current rules. But a clear thesis is missing and the author never makes any of his theoretical premises explicit.

The final work is particularly good and addresses many of the gaps in the other works reviewed. The Michael Byers' collection is excellent and makes a real contribution to thinking on the role of law in international politics. This is because the contributors address the political directly. In impressive contributions by Martii Koskeniemi, Christine Chinkin and Anne-Marie Slaughter we are treated to examples of what scholarly work in this area should look like. Koskeniemi analyses an important debate from the Weimar Republic involving Carl Schmitt and Hans Morgenthau. He places modern arguments in historical context and thus highlights the value of historical retrieval. Slaughter has made an important contribution to our understanding of transnational networks. In her chapter she explores economic regulation. Her message to international lawyers will not be a welcome one. It will require them to abandon their traditional views of the rule of law to focus on horizontal networks. She is of course correct, one wonders how the message will be received in practice though.

International law is political. There is no escape from contestation. Hard lessons indeed for lawyers who wish to escape the indeterminate nature of the political. For those willing to endorse this, the opportunities are great. The focus then shifts to interdisciplinarity and the horizontal networks which function in practice in ways rendered invisible by many standard accounts of law. This of course has important implications for how we conceive of law's role in ethnic conflict. We must abandon the myth that with law we enter the secure, stable and determinate. In reality we are simply engaged in another discursive political practice about how we should live.

Pawns for the U. S. neo-imperialists? The Media, Human Rights and Kosovo.

by Ian R Mitchell

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REVIEWING: Philip HAMMOND and Edward S. HERMAN
(eds.) *Degraded Capability: The Media and the Kosovo
Crisis* (London: Pluto Press, 2000) 256pp. Index.

Biblio. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-7453-1631-X.;

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

“A media needs to be fostered which provides balanced
information and represents all the peoples of society...”
(Briza, 30)

Herein lies the common ground between two approaches
to understanding the role of the media in the crisis that is
the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia. While it is only one
of several recommendations made by Briza in *Minority
Rights in Yugoslavia*, Hammond and Herman argue in
Degraded Capability that the same can be said of the media
in a majority of the 19 NATO countries (Greece a notable
exception) which participated in the 1999 bombing
campaign against Yugoslavia.

How one understands the motives of the
international community for the intervention in Kosovo
is at the root of the contrast in perspectives inherent in
these two books. It is a clash between a liberal concept of
the state, one which puts a primacy on human rights at the
expense, if necessary, of sovereignty, with an ‘autonomist’
concept, where the sovereignty of a political community
(crudely defined as the state) is essential to democracy, to
reconciliation in the aftermath of conflict, and to the
avoidance of a kind of neo-colonial extension of American
hegemony, all in the name of the protection of human
rights. In turn, this is built upon much deeper assumptions
of what it means to be democratic at the turn of the century.

The editors of *Degraded Capability* seek to put
questionable media practice during the bombing campaign
in the context of what they argue is a perversion of
democratic practice, that is, NATO’s wider ideological
project. They preface their discussion of the media’s
activities surrounding the crisis in Kosovo, with a 60-page
section on ‘The West’s destruction of Yugoslavia’. It
attacks an international political order in which the United
States, with its British cheerleader, pursues its national
self-interest under the guise of protecting the citizens of
Yugoslavia from their own government. The book

questions the effectiveness of international intervention,
suggesting that it robs citizens of the former-Yugoslavia
of the capacity to reconcile their differences. Further, they
suggest that the Western project of democratisation and
economic reform lies at the root of the violence in
Yugoslavia.

Once need not be a supporter of the international
protectorates in Bosnia and Kosovo to see the last point
as amounting to an excuse for the violent, exclusive
nationalism responsible for ‘ethnic cleansing’. The
reductionist simplicity of defending state sovereignty
avoids the possibility that the erosion of state sovereignty
aids the purpose of defending, not defeating, citizens of
authoritarian regimes. Too much of what is written in this
first section (notably the forward by Harold Pinter –
‘NATO is America’s missile’ (p. ix) echoes an earlier era
when ideological confrontation tinged (the much-needed)
criticism of American foreign policy objectives.

This is not to suggest that *Degraded Capability*
is without merit as an analysis of flaws in Western media
coverage of Kosovo. On the contrary, they identify the
pathetic weakness of the mainstream media for
oversimplification of the conflict, the ‘Nazification’ of
the Serbs, a working relationship with the military which
minimizes independent verification of stories and accepts
the notion of ‘disinterested humanitarianism’ with little
question. Fully half of the book is dedicated to an
assessment of media responses to the conflict in different
countries. However, some are thin on analysis, and rather
too strong on restating evidence that supports the larger
contention of a US liberal political/economic expansionism
as the root of the crisis in Kosovo (and beyond).

Degraded Capability’s focus on Great Power
political gamesmanship extends to a critical analysis of
the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia
as an ‘arm of NATO’ (pp.31-38). Criticism of the way the
Tribunal has approached, or ‘consistently violated’ (p. 207)
legal norms merits further discussion. In contrast with
theories which deem due process of law as an aid to conflict
resolution and reconciliation, Hammond and Herman
suggest the Tribunal impedes this process as it ‘stands
outside’ Yugoslav society ‘unlike most national courts
which are accepted by the majority as having a proper
role’ (p. 36).

The Minority Rights Group report begins its
analysis of minority group rights in Yugoslavia from the
perspective that to promote human rights is to promote
peace. It observes that the international community
‘appears to have decided to dismantle the Balkan ‘powder
keg’’, with NATO intervention in ‘Milosevic’s regime’ as
the first step (p. 4). It is quick to criticize the Stability
Pact for its ‘tokenistic attention to minority rights, civil
society and inter-ethnic cooperation’. The report, stating
in general a point it goes on to make in more detail for

each of Kosovo/a (their usage), Vojvodina, Sandzak and central Serbia, calls these rights ‘central issues for stability in the region; they are not peripheral issues’ (p. 3).

The report prefaces an examination of the minorities in the different regions of Yugoslavia, and of the constitutional guarantees available to them through with an explanation of the nationalist’s path to ‘the creation of a unitary and ethnocentric state – Greater Serbia’ and place particular emphasis on the regime’s role in sowing fear and hatred through the media. Briza is explicit in emphasizing the distinction between minority rights *de jure* and *de facto*, and makes concrete recommendations to this effect for both the Federal government and the international community. While not advocating military intervention, Minority Rights Group is certain that the act of helping Serbia to achieve democracy, establish civil society and the rule of law is a positive one.

While *Degraded Capability* is a useful reminder of the ideological nature of much of the news available to us in the west, there can be little doubt that the privileging of liberal values over autonomy inherent in the Minority Rights Group approach has been less a destruction of the state of Yugoslavia than an attempt to save it.

Ethnicity and Nationalism

The Politics of Ethnicity in Central Europe

Edited by Karl Cordell

(London: Macmillan Press. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000) 224pp. Index. Hb.: ISBN 0-333-73171-9.

Though an edited volume, this does not appear to be the product of a conference or workshop, but instead an organized attempt to examine the problem of "ethnicity" in Central Europe through what the editor calls the "prism of Silesia." The goal in exploring the history of Silesia is to better understand why ethnicity has been the focus of so much conflict in the region, while disavowing primordial, biological explanations of that phenomena. It begins with two theoretical chapters, one describing the evolution of nationalism and the national idea in the east compared to the west, and the second on the debates surrounding the status of minorities in the states of Poland, Germany and the Czech and Slovak Republics today. These are followed by chapters on the deep history of the region, i.e. the place of Germany in pre-modern Central Europe, the emergence of Silesian identity in the "modern" era, and finally, several chapters on the fate of Silesia during the interwar and post World War II periods. Throughout, the authors provide empirical evidence to demonstrate the fluidity of identity in a region that has been contested by a number of empires and modern states. Most of the work focuses on Upper Silesia, which has been subject to alternating German and Polish assimilationist policies. Evidence is drawn convincingly from censuses taken by various governing bodies to demonstrate that Silesian national identity has indeed been quite fluid and responsive to both the larger processes of economic change as well as "political expediency". The authors make an effort not to favor one national interpretation, and in the end come down most positively in favor of the possibilities of European Union. In concluding chapters, they suggest that support for multi-levelled EU institutions seems to encourage the articulation of multiple identities and loyalties, seeing these as preferable to what Cordell and Kamusella refer to as their "monistic national counterparts"(p. 198).

What perhaps limits the appeal of this well-researched and edited volume is the unsexiness of the case study itself in a region fraught with so many others to choose from. But this is perhaps also the best rationale for choosing it for adoption in a graduate or sophisticated undergraduate level course on the politics of ethnicity, nationalism or nation-building in East Central Europe. Precisely because the region was once prone to conflict but now seems to have moved beyond it, the case could be reasonably paired with readings on the worst-case scenario, the Balkans. We

learn as much about where conflict is likely to emerge from looking at cases where it *hasn't* as much as from places where it has. Indeed, Rogers Brubaker made a similar argument for exploring in more detail a conflict that has *not* reoccurred between Romania and Hungary. As a comparativist working on ethnopolitics in the regions, I only wish the authors had made some of these cross-national comparisons more explicit.

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Ethnicity Kills? The Politics of War Peace and Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa

Edited by Einar Braathen, Morten Bøås,
and Gjermund Sæther

(New York: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 2000) 223pp. Index.
Biblio. Hb.: ISBN 0-333-77381-0.

The key to the book's argument is the question mark in the title: the editors and contributors intend to make the point that the cause of conflict and violence in Africa "is not some kind of automatic 'ethnicity kills' process facilitated by ethnic identity, but the expansion and then retreat of the [post-colonial] neo-patrimonial state, followed by widespread social exclusion." (p.193) They argue that there are two turning points in this development, one when the post-colonial state halts its expansion (when it becomes too powerful and/or loses its integrative/institutionalizing/legitimizing aspects and mechanisms), and two, when the struggles resulting from the first turning point are militarized. The six case studies (on Somalia, by Ahmed Samatar; Rwanda, by Antoine Lema; Congo-Brazzaville, by Anne Sundberg; Liberia, by Gjermund Sæther; Nigeria, by Morten Boas; and Mozambique, by Michael Cahen) are careful, well-documented analyses on these themes, all supplemented by a superb "Meditation" on the politics of war by V.Y. Mudimbe, and an excellent introduction and conclusion by the editors. Of particular value was Ahmed Samatar's essay on Somalia: rather than simply retell that story and recast it in his own terms, he explores the various explanations and narratives offered for the Somali disaster and suggest a framework which, for once, makes sense of Somali "ethnicity." At all events, these essays tie well together and provide an excellent contribution to the continuing debates about the ethnic factor in African politics. If there is a criticism to be made about this collection it is that it has a blind spot: the link between ethnic and religious identity, and how those elements can conjoin to make a politically incendiary, and sometimes explosive, mixture. After all, identity almost never depends on just one element; in all of us the elements of identity are layered, with those of greatest salience (like

ethnicity) on top. Where religious identity has such salience and is associated with ethnicity, as has long been the case in Northern Nigeria, highly politicized events such as the introduction of *sharia* law in some Muslim states, can help ignite inter-religious/inter-ethnic violence - as they did recently in Kaduna. Those elements are also very much present in the Sudanese civil war, and need to be taken into consideration in any broad discussion of ethnic conflict on the continent.

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Peoples, Cultures and Nations in Political Philosophy

Paul Gilbert

(Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) 223pp. Index.
Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 0-7486-1091-X.

Who is entitled to citizenship? How can we justly restrict immigration? How can people of different cultures live in the same state? When are people entitled to secede from the state?

In *Peoples, Cultures and Nations in Political Philosophy* Paul Gilbert has set upon the difficult task of equipping us with the philosophical tools to answer these challenging questions. In outlining the philosophical context of contemporary debates on issues of culture, ethnicity and nationality, Gilbert focuses on the primary question as to how cultural, ethnic and national groups can be accommodated into political arrangements of states.

The first section aims to clarify concepts of identity such as race, ethnicity, cultural identity and nationality and evaluates the relevance of these concepts to the state and citizenship. The second section examines rival political theories of citizenship and political organisation. Gilbert is critical of the functionalist assumptions and cultural arrogance of Anglo-American political philosophy. Quoting Fredrik Barthes, he argues that it is a mistake to assume "a world of separate peoples, each with their own culture and each organised in a society which can legitimately be isolated for description as an island to itself"(211).

Gilbert then explores continental Marxist and Postmodernist ideas as a challenge to Anglo-American dominance. However, he concludes that postmodernism, particularly the work of J Kristeva, which develops aspects of the French republican tradition, may not be applicable outside of that tradition (142). The final section aims to combine aspects of the previous sections to evaluate their

application to critical contemporary issues – multiculturalism, immigration, citizenship and indigenous peoples, secession and self-determination.

Gilbert concludes with the assertion that while "the moral claims of territorial groups to political recognition can be strong, ethnicity in itself has no moral standing, its necessary exclusivity is morally repugnant, a source of conflict and a bar to co-operation in facing up to a common fate" (211). This is at odds with David Miller for example, who argues that 'nationality' in fact facilitates co-operation and a sense of ethical duty towards others (see Miller, 1995: 49-81). Using the Balkans as an example, he argues that great caution should be exercised in recognising the political demands of various groups and that each case needs to be evaluated on its own merits mindful of objective facts about human needs and social harmony (214).

A key and welcomed feature of this work is Gilbert's criticism of the underlying cultural and political assumptions that shape western political philosophy and his scepticism as to whether it can provide us with answers to contemporary dilemmas. While no comprehensive theoretical alternative is offered, Gilbert deliberately avoids the postmodernist trap of uncritical relativism and pessimism and calls for a focus on people rather than peoples. Whether such a reorientation would successfully address our list of questions is the subject of another debate.

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The Future of Tradition: On Customary Law, Common Law and Legal Pluralism

Leon S. Sheleff

(London: Frank Cass, 2000) 512 pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £45.00/
\$64.50; ISBN 0-7146-4853-8; Pb.: 0-7146-8012-5.

Here we have a masterly, comprehensive and erudite survey of most of the legal issues which arise when a polity contains members of several ethnic communities and political strata whose central values differ from one another. Some would define a polity as the largest central government which contains more than one ethnic community - which distinguishes it from a tribe.

The values of each continuing community are reflected in possibly unwritten but well established "custom", codes of conduct and legal systems (e.g. Islam) which, within the polity, must find ways of co-existence. Polities differ in the degree to which they enforce the predominance of

the state ethos and law; or find accommodations which allow co-existence. The situation is fraught with potential tension, misunderstanding, evolving case law – that is possibilities of conflict. It is thus a central theme for ethnic conflict research.

Sheff has mastered a broad sweep of examples, from colonial experiences (from which much of the sophisticated jurisprudence emerged) to modern day issues from Canada to India, and much more – and of course the underlying concepts of common law which provide the Roman Law under-pinning, and concepts such as the French idea of “personal law”. Naturally, he concentrates on the usually understood concept of ethnic variation – but the principles he adduces can be and are applied to other sub-cultural elements, such as professional ethics and arbitration. He opens discussion of the modern intrusion of customary practices such as healing circles into the paraphernalia of state law and juridical practice. His sub-themes examine “The local tribe in the global village”, land, family, holy ritual, women and children, the power of shame, and the issues involved in proving customary rule or “accounting for the past”. He could perhaps have given more attention to the ideas of the jurist Julius Stone and the anthropologist Hoebel – that law is not about “justice” but about returning society to stability. There is an extensive bibliography.

It is no criticism of Sheff to remark that it is impossible for one writer to master the total literature on each of the almost infinite ethnographic examples. In this, he honorably follows Toynbee and Levi-Strauss. To take but one of many – the land issues of Fiji, much in the current news. His sources correctly point to the colonial inspired dominance of the practices of one tribal group amongst many in the creation of land law and land registration, and the problems thus created for the security of tenure of the non-indigenous Indian population – leading to intense political unrest. But there is much more to be said. First, the tensions are not limited to Fiji-Indian, but are a simmering source of political disruption among Fijians and Rotumans, behind the recent coup, and stimulating calls for Western Fiji and Rotuman independence. Second, in Western Fiji practice has simply ignored the rules of registration, permitting traditional dynamics in land ownership and use to over-ride the stasis of the official system.

If Sheff had delved deeply into this issue, and others, however, he could never have written his survey.

Which leads me to a suggestion. Would that the book were available in on-line form. Would that specialists in specific areas could then communicate possible modifications, even newly arising data, to Sheff. Would that Sheff or his assistants could then amend his on-line text as a permanent but ever-amended almost universal record. This is the future of such work, for a valuable study such as this is worth continuous presentation and currency.

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Ethnic Diversity and Public Policy

Edited by Crawford Young

(London: Macmillan Press in association with UNRISD,
1998) ISBN 0-333-65389-0.

In 1995 the United Nations organised a World Conference on Social Development. As part of the preparations for the conference the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) organised a series of programmes on the theme of social integration. One of the programme themes focused on policy knowledge and experience related to the accommodation of ethnic diversity and this, in turn, comprised two elements. The first was a series of papers focusing on broad policy and theoretical concerns across a range of specific areas. The second involved a series of detailed country case studies of policy for dealing with ethnic diversity. The papers on each element have been published in two books. The first of these is the present volume under review, while the second was published in 1999.

The chapters in the first volume cover a range of policy areas and can broadly be divided into two sections. Three chapters focus on aspects of government policy, including decentralisation, electoral systems and education, while three other chapters focus on action towards specific groups, including indigenous peoples, immigrant minorities and disadvantaged ethnic groups. An overview chapter is provided by the editor, Crawford Young. For the present we will concentrate on the first set of chapters.

Yash Ghai examines policies of political decentralisation, a strategy which he describes as ‘a balance between those who want a tight, unitary system of government and those who may prefer separation’ (p67). In a related theme Kingsley de Silva considers alternative forms of electoral systems. An important dimension of his argument is that no specific electoral arrangement guarantees ethnic harmony unless it is also accompanied by a democratic ethos. The corollary, of course, is that some electoral systems promote zero-sum thinking and heighten tensions.

Jagish Gundra and Crispin Jones focus on education and highlight an important conundrum. Whereas the traditional role of mass schooling has been to promote national unity by highlighting homogeneity, the reality of modern states is better represented by ethnic diversity. However, they question the extent to which education systems have taken on board the need to reflect plurality and complexity, in part because of the resistance of those who would eschew the relativism of some postmodernist arguments in the fear that they would negate any direction or purpose for schools. Nevertheless, they argue, dealing with complexity and plurality remains a crucial task for education and may

represent a fundamental test of the ability of states to accommodate ethnic diversity.

The decision by UNRISD to focus on ethnic diversity proved to be timely as the importance of this issue to the global agenda increased as the 20th century came to a close. The book offers a number of general lessons that, no doubt, will maintain their significance as we enter the 21st century. Not the least of these lessons is the need for 'patience and perseverance' (p27) in a policy area that is often complicated by deep-seated emotions. One might add to this the firm conviction that working towards the accommodation of ethnic diversity is both necessary and possible if our new century is to be less bloody than the last.

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European Nations and Nationalism: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives

Edited by Louk Hagendoorn,
György Csepeli, Henk Dekker and
Russell Farnen

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 546pp. Index. Hb.: £57.50;
ISBN 0-7546-1136-1.

"...nationalism is very challenging subject of study, but then again, the greater the challenge, the higher the probability that the subject of discussion will be interesting (even timeless) one, which nationalism surely is (p.512)."

The question of nationalism is important and fascinating especially in the current era. State power, citizenship and ethnic minorities are thought of and discussed in the many European nation-states. The authors of the book under review aimed to produce a comparative study of European nations but while this became technically impossible a book of case studies was launched. It has to be said that in a way the first goal also was achieved because, at least for me as a reader, the book provided much information from different historical, social and political contexts in which nationalism has survived and flourished in Europe. In other words, even without strict cross-comparisons the book made me realise the great diversity on which the European nation-state structures are laid on.

The book contains seventeen chapters out of which the first and the last provide general theoretical discussions and the rest focus on the different case studies on nation-

states in the European context, or maybe we should say the formation of these nationally framed units. All the case studies provide an overview to the historical development of a state, economic and social transformation, political structure and the issues around citizenship, state and nationalistic symbols. The case studies are provided from post-communist states such as Poland and Ukraine to the Nordic countries such as Sweden and some of the leading countries of contemporary Europe such as Britain, France and Germany. The great variety of examples provided is advance of this book.

European Nations and Nationalism, however, does not provide in-depth analysing of nationalism. In terms of theoretical approach the book could be much better. I would argue the usefulness of this book for the students and teachers of nationalism. The case studies, instead, give short and easy overviews of different nations and nationalisms for any reader. In terms of ethnic conflict research one of the main ideas this book provided for me was that any nationalistic conflict needs to be seen in its context. There cannot be a solution, not least because the essence of the issues and structures involved varies depending heavily on the context.

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Sri Lanka Tamil Nationalism: Its Origins and Developments in the 19th and 20th Centuries

A Jeyaratnam Wilson

(London: Hurst and Company, 1999) 203pp. Index. Bibl.
Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 1-8506-5338-0. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN 1-
8506-5519-7.

In this short history, Wilson gives a succinct yet comprehensive historical and contemporary overview of the genesis and subsequent trajectory of Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka. He is arguably the leading expert in the field and his analysis is informed by first-hand knowledge of the situation in Sri Lanka. He has also come into contact with many of the actors who are discussed in the book.

Wilson gives an excellent encapsulation of the situation prior to independence in 1948, which is sometimes overlooked by other authors. Indeed, Wilson amply demonstrates that no serious account of the contemporary conflict on the island can be complete without consideration of its antecedents in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He also cogently examines the caste dimension of the Tamil Question and how this has influenced the development of the post-independence

movement towards federalism, and later the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) from the mid-1970s onwards.

This book fills a much needed gap in the market, in that it provides both a concise and incisive introduction to the Tamil crisis in Sri Lanka, but also successfully avoids being overloaded with academic jargon. In contrast with some recent edited collections of conference papers, Wilson does not presume too much prior knowledge on behalf of the reader. The book can therefore be highly recommended to those who are either new to the subject or are studying South Asia at undergraduate level. Postgraduate students will also benefit from his summaries and insights.

My only cavil would be that Wilson does not say more about events since the election of Chandrika Kumaratunga as President in 1994. Although there is a highly informative and trenchant personal account of the civil war given in Chapter 9 by the Reverend A.J.V. Chandrakanthan, I would also like to have read Wilson's views on Kumaratunga's so-called 'peace through war' strategy, which was adopted after attempts at peace talks failed in early 1995. The escalation of the conflict between the armed forces and the LTTE, and its cost in terms of lives lost and arrested economic development means that there is still ample scope for a definitive account of Chandrika's first presidential term.

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Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games

John Hargreaves

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 178pp. Index.
Biblio. Pb.: ISBN 0-521-58615-1.

This book shows the intimate connection between sport and nationalism through the example of a major event like the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games. Hargreaves approaches the subject in a very thoughtful and thorough manner, exposing the influence the Games had on the relationship between Catalan nationalism and the Spanish state.

In the first chapter the author prepares the ground studying how Olympism had previously been used by different players as a means of mobilizing support for various causes in an attempt to legitimise their case internationally. Thereafter his main argument, that Catalan nationalism was stimulated by the Olympics, is built through an

interesting account of the Games based to great extent on his personal account and enriched with some useful interviews.

The specific chapter on Catalan nationalism would have benefited from the consideration of other peripheral nationalisms within Spain, notably the Basque one. There are other important omissions in a book which allegedly tries to go beyond the particularism of one major event like the Olympics. Thus the author ignores the controversy about the attempts by Catalonia and the Basque Country to have their own football national teams along the lines of Scotland and Wales. Moreover it is equally disappointing to find only two brief references to Barcelona Football Club given its major role in the identity of Catalonia. In addition to this, Hargreaves fails to mention the ongoing debate on the so called policy of linguistic normalization and the controversy about the dubbing of films into Catalan. These factors are all of key relevance in the development of Catalan nationalism which certainly have a more permanent effect on that ideology than the ephemeral 1992 Olympic Games had.

The conclusion provides a very illuminating analysis of the inclusive character of Catalan nationalism. This, along with the rigorous examination of the deployment of national symbols around the Barcelona Games offered by Hargreaves in the previous chapters, are the most insightful parts of this work.

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Transitional Politics

The Management of Peace Processes

Edited by John Darby & Roger
Mac Ginty

(London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000) 276 pp. Index. Bibl.
Hb.: £47.50; ISBN 0-333-80039-7.

The fact that we are discussing the 'management' of peace processes, points in itself at remarkable changes in the academic and political fields of peace research and conflict resolution: the availability of a profound basis of international comparative data, a shift of analysis towards the causes of peace, and an increasing 'positive pragmatism' in evaluating the structures of peace-building.

With their book, an excellent team effort based on the 'Coming out of Violence' project, the authors have considerably contributed to all these levels. Monitoring five peace processes – South Africa (Pierre du Toit), Northern Ireland (John Darby/Roger Mac Ginty), Israel/Palestine (Tamar Hermann/David Newman), the Basque Country (Ludger Mees), and Sri Lanka (Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu) – over a period of two years they identified those factors which foster or prevent political progress in deeply divided societies. Six variables and their influence on the success or failure of a peace process were at the core interest of the study: Violence and security issues, the economy, external actors, public opinion, symbols, and progress towards political settlement.

Observations and findings are drawn from a primary analysis of these six themes with the last one of them, progress towards political settlement, bridging to the secondary analysis which focuses on the dynamics of negotiations, before and during the talks, and into the phase of post-settlement peace-building. Violence and progress towards a political settlement, and here a 'sufficient inclusion' of ex-militants, also to neutralise spoiler groups, proved to be the most determinant factors of the peace processes. A surprisingly low influence of economic factors was found in all the five cases. The role and kind of external involvement differs from case to case, with Northern Ireland and Israel top-scale, and Sri Lanka and the Basque at the bottom. The importance of symbols and rituals was evident for unifying the conflicting parties in South Africa, but for undermining the process in Northern Ireland. Most disputed appears the factor of public support on the ground in advancing the process. All five cases resulted from leaders accommodation rather than from peace movements, with some exception in the Basque case. Despite their different histories and socio-economic profiles the five conflicts share a number of common characteristics: the relatively narrow time frame, the focus of resolving essentially internal ethnic dispute, the fact that none of the settlements was UN-brokered.

The authors successfully create an analytical framework, a consistent set of tools to make cases of conflict settlement comparable, which vary considerably in other relevant aspects. Understanding peace processes "as the state of tension between the custom of violence and the resolution of differences through negotiation" (p.260) the study may enable other actors involved in peace processes to draw lessons and carefully create models for their own needs. The mainly descriptive focus on the dynamics of negotiations does not always allow explanations for failures which occurred in the five cases, but the concise and stimulating book makes the reader curious about the in-depth case studies which are promised as follow-up publications of the project.

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The Politics of Regime Transitions

Ronald A. Francisco

(Oxford: Westview Press, 2000) 177pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.:
£50.00; ISBN 0-8133-8851-1.

This carefully written volume attempts to examine democratic transition in the context of internal dynamics, and how these condition the relative 'success' or otherwise of a transition. The author is healthily critical of the inevitability of transitional missions towards democratic polities. He chooses a diverse array of 40 countries that reflects a wide variety of cultural, social and political contexts, and with it, political traditions. He attempts to demonstrate what factors determine the nature of a successor regime and through this the book is organized into sections on regime collapse, transition, the challenges of creating democracy, economic restructuring, and external factors – particularly the attempts of other countries to affect the direction of regime transition. The strength of the book comes in identifying the variables that condition the nature and results of transition: the level of economic and industrial development, the relative strengths of organized interests – such as the church, the military – international forces, and existence of conflict, and the coherence of society.

Francisco expresses caution at the euphoria of a new wave of democracy: "the trend throughout the last two centuries is strongly toward greatly autocracy, not democracy" (p.15), and is wary of celebrating on the basis of recent experience. Founding his analysis upon historical perspective, he identifies typology of transition – regime collapse; protest and revolution; structural vulnerability; civil war; coup; and international war – and observes that popular uprising and revolutions are becoming a markedly more common phenomenon.

In transitional situations, what institutions and structures are conducive to peaceful societies, in particular in

communities divided by ethnicity, religion, language, or ideology? This focus – albeit rather small – is particularly pertinent given the increasingly significant role of democracy promotion in international politics. Francisco suggests that majority rule may be inappropriate, but consociationalism is less stable than majority rule, and subcultural disputes are not amenable to federal solutions. He favours regional solutions; governments can cultivate regional development and manage autonomy issues. Similarly, language disputes have increased since 1945, and the trend is to monolingual states – and this is a factor in fragmentation. His findings are rather grim: partition seems to be the more likely, rather than accommodation, in many of the divisive issues he examines.

The chapter on international dimensions could have benefited from more attention on UN assistance, and the section on reconciliation – how democratizing societies confront the dilemmas of ‘transitional justice’ in dealing with a history of human rights abuse – may not satisfy some readers. Nevertheless, this is a solid volume that does much for its slim size. The central conclusion is that transition does not automatically give way to stable plural democracies. On the contrary, it gives rise to contention, and sometimes violence and uncertainty – which can often undermine democracy! The management of this conflict is not addressed in depth.

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Experimenting with Democracy: Regime Change in the Balkans

Edited by Geoffrey Pridham and
Tom Gallagher

(London: Routledge, 2000) 286 pp. Index. Hb.: £55.00;
ISBN 0-415-18726-5.

This excellent volume tackles the incomplete political transition in Southeastern Europe over the past decade systematically and comprehensively. It combines chapters on theoretical aspects of democratization in the region, including nationalism, political culture, economic transformation and the media. These are supplemented by case studies of (most of) the countries of the Balkans. Tom Gallagher systematically explores the relationship between nationalism and democracy in this part of Europe (pp. 84-111), which takes into account authoritarian traditions, but pays particular attention to ‘nomenclature nationalism’. He demonstrates convincingly the usage of nationalism and ethnic polarization to disguise authoritarian tendencies in several countries of Southeastern Europe (i.e. Serbia and Romania) and their partial abandonment after the policies of ethnic radicalization either spiralled out of control or could no

longer harvest sufficient political support. Gallagher’s outlook remains pessimistic: without security and some level of prosperity the prominence of malign nationalism is unlikely to decline (p. 108). His exploration of Balkan nationalism and democracy is an interesting and comprehensive piece; however, a stronger emphasis on theoretical approaches to nationalism would have benefited the article. Bianchini fills this gap in his discussion on political culture, which touches on some aspects of nationalism in post-communist Southeastern Europe (pp. 65-83). He emphasizes the importance to distinguish between the *self-presentation* of nationalist movements, which often appear to be antagonistic to the ‘West’ but structurally emulate important elements of Western political tradition and serve as “a tool for the organization of support conducted through the media by policy-makers...” (p. 80).

The exploration of the Balkan countries is varying in quality and depth. Unfortunately, Bosnia-Herzegovina is not discussed at all in this volume. Ivan Vejvoda offers an excellent chapter, which covers both Croatia and Yugoslavia. However, more space should have been devoted to both. Subsequently Kosovo and Montenegro receive only passing attention (not even one page each), which is frustratingly little in a volume covering the Balkans. Besides these occasional gaps in covering the region, the most obvious chapter missing in this volume is the role of minorities in the past decade. A comparative analysis would offer some interesting insights not only for understanding of nationalism in the region, but also of democratization (or the failure thereof).

Altogether this book offers a broad and well-researched coverage of recent developments in democratization in the Balkans. While focusing on democratization; nationalism and ethnic conflict play a prominent role in this volume due to the unfortunate developments in large parts (but not all) of the Balkans.

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Democratic Governance and International Law

Edited by Gregory H. Fox and Brad R.
Roth

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 585 pp.
Index. Hb.: £65.00. Pb.: £22.95; ISBN 0-521-66796-8.

It has taken international lawyers some time but at last they have turned their attention to democratic governance. The traditional position was that international law had nothing to say about the internal structures of the state. This was a matter purely within the domestic jurisdiction

of the sovereign state. Given the multiple forms of modern day interventions it is no longer possible to hold strictly to the traditional view. This impressive collection of essays, by some of the leading scholars in the field, is an important contribution to the debate. It is essential reading for those interested in the law and politics of democratization.

As the editors and other contributors note, democratization is increasingly viewed as a way of preventing internal armed conflict. At the heart of much internal conflict today is a legacy of exclusionary politics. The collection is structured reasonably coherently around five themes: the normative foundations of a right to political participation; democracy and inter-state relations; democracy and the use of force; democratization and conflicting imperatives; and critical approaches. The contributions include those supportive of what is termed the “democratic entitlement thesis” and those against. I found it difficult to single out one contribution in particular and, unusually, the edited collection is of a consistently high standard.

This book recognises the intrinsic link between law and politics. However, what is of interest in terms of ethnic conflict is the defence mounted in this work of the contribution that legal analysis can make to this area. It is always fashionable to criticise lawyers, but the normative underpinning of the right to democratic governance has real meaning for those struggling for inclusive democracy and human rights all over the world.

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Leaders of Transition

Edited by Martin Westlake

(London: Macmillan. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.,
2000) 178pp. Index. Hb.: ISBN 0-333-73394-0.

Articulating his self-image as a man of action rather than of stasis, the American civil war general and president Ulysses S. Grant once chortled, “I think I am a verb instead of a personal pronoun.” The same grammatical compliment might be paid to the six men examined in editor Martin Westlake’s *Leaders of Transition*: Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union, F.W. de Klerk of South Africa, Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland, Neil Kinnock of Great Britain, Achille Occhetto of Italy, and Adolfo Suárez of Spain. Despite rising to power through orthodox channels, each man turned iconoclast. Each helped initiate significant change in his national government and/or political party, yet each failed to make himself the immediate beneficiary of the transformations he engendered.

In this cruel circumstance Westlake finds not simply the human drama of foiled expectations, but “the very rare phenomenon of political altruism” (p. xix). He labels the leaders under scrutiny “ethical actors” inasmuch as they conducted themselves “with reference to a set of higher moral values – be it patriotism, loyalty, or commitment to parliamentary democracy” (p. 170).

Gorbachev liberalized the political and economic pillars of the Soviet Union, leading to that country’s eventual disintegration. de Klerk ended more than three centuries of white rule in South Africa in 1990 when he released Nelson Mandela from prison and lifted the ban on the African National Congress. Jaruzelski, despite having imposed martial law in 1981 as Poland’s prime minister, permitted semi-democratic elections in 1989. Kinnock was instrumental in weaning Britain’s Labour Party away from extremism and union-dominated politics toward a center-left philosophy which appealed to the mainstream electorate and which foretold Tony Blair’s triumph in 1997. Occhetto dissolved the largest communist party in the west, the Italian Communist Party, and replaced it in early 1991 with a new non-communist party, the Democratic Party of the Left. And Suárez, as Spain’s prime minister from 1976 to 1981, helped cement the country’s transition from dictatorship to democracy.

Leaders of Transition offers tantalizing portraits as to how and why these men undertook the actions they did, even if readers familiar with the events being recounted will find little that is particularly new. What is new, and what renders the volume especially useful, is Westlake’s effort to pluck common themes – and to do so despite the apparent incongruity of case studies pertaining to authoritarian regimes on the one hand and to liberal democracies on the other. One of the most provocative of these themes is all the more delicious because it is also entirely counterintuitive: That the reformists “most likely to succeed are those who come from the heart of the system they wish to reform” (p. 164).

The brevity of the sketches in *Leaders of Transition* and the predilection of some authors to explain “change” by accentuating individual personality at the expense of historical context are but minor misgivings about an otherwise well-conceived and stimulating book.

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Landmines and Unexploded Ordnance: A Resource Book

Rae McGrath

(London: Pluto Press, 2000) 288pp. Index. Hb.: £55.00; ISBN 0-7453-1264-0 Pb.: £17.99; ISBN 0-7453-1259-4.

The signing and ratification of the Ottawa Treaty banning the production, stockpiling and deployment of anti-personnel mines by many countries (but not e.g. the USA) may give the impression that landmines as a major threat to people and an obstacle to reconstruction, reconciliation and economic recovery are now under control. That is not entirely correct. The possibility to significantly reduce the threat of the millions of mines still in the soil of many places in the world exists. But it will take an unnecessarily long time to realise that possibility, if humanitarian mine-action programmes continue to be designed and funded the way they are today. This book explains why we are not doing very well now, and how we can become far more cost-effective. It also, rightfully so, draws attention to the neglected problem of unexploded ordnance or UXOs.

The subtitle 'A resource book' is appropriate. Its chapters provide comprehensive coverage of all topics that those working in mine-affected areas and involved in mine action programmes need to know: what mines are and what military thinking inspired their growing deployment; what impact they have on individuals, communities and countries; the different levels of surveying a mine problem and planning mine-action in accordance; the techniques and practical attention points when clearing mines and UXOs; the question of how to design effective national demining programmes and give them a sustainable management structure; and the imperative to work much more effectively with communities living in mine- and UXO-infested areas, beyond, often inappropriately designed, mine awareness programmes. The book concludes with a list of contacts and selected readings.

Busy practitioners, policy-makers and staff in donor aid administrations making funding decisions around mine-action programmes tend not to read books, because they have no time. That argument should not be used here. First of all, the book reads very easily. It is well structured, very well written, and full of insights yet never hard to absorb. This is because it represents a publisher's dream: an author with vast practical knowledge, who has analytically thought through his experience, who writes very well and argues sharply and convincingly. A second reason is that it regularly made me laugh - and occasionally cringe with pain. The pain comes when reading the few stories of people victimised by mines, which bring the reality starkly home to the remote reader. The laughter is provoked by McGrath's readiness to dispense with diplomatic niceties and cut through all the rhetoric that

covers up a fair amount of ignorance, incompetence and ineffectiveness among those funding, organising and implementing humanitarian mine action programmes. Admittedly, the 'targets' of McGrath's 'confrontational honesty' (p. 171), donors, UN organisations, occasional NGO personnel, arms manufacturers, commercial demining companies, might therefore cringe where it makes me laugh (a natural reaction in response to the enriching oxygen that a "let's call a cat a cat" style releases). It would be shortsighted however therefore to retrench into a defensive position and put this book aside. Because we cannot laugh over the reality that mine-victims have to live with. And that is McGrath's starting point and end point for what is a principled combat, inspired by a deeply felt sense of humanity and justice.

The key message of the book is that many actors have jumped on the International Campaign to Ban Landmines bandwagon and that the mine-action sector has become a bit of a cult industry - with the concomitant amount of wastage and empty gestures. McGrath wants to put the 'development engineering' aspect of mine action back where it belongs: at the centre of any mine-action programme. This will require a renewed emphasis on proper surveying to inform operational planning, on risk reduction not just through clearance but also through marking, the indigenisation and integration of mine awareness with other mine-action activities, the extension of practical emergency aid training to communities, learning from different country-programme experiences and the reduction of political interference in mine action programmes. These points are elaborated through chapters which are written almost as a reference manual, and underpinned by convincing examples and arguments. Reading this book for many will not be optional but a professional obligation.

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Small Arms Control: Old Weapons, New Issues

Jayantha Dhanapala, Mitsuro
Donowaki, Swadesh Rana, & Lora
Lumpe

In association with UNIDIR (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999)
322pp. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-7546-2076-X.

WHY THE FUSS ABOUT SMALL ARMS?

Light, cheap and deadly weapons like the AK-47 have been around for a long time. They are the weapons of choice in civil wars, the most prevalent form of mass violence, in which many of the victims and combatants

are civilians. None of this is new. So why the recent fuss about small arms and light weapons? There are several reasons. Today diplomacy and public opinion pay greater attention to civil wars because they are less preoccupied by tensions between the great powers. More importantly, the passing of superpower rivalry has flooded the market with second-hand weapons. Under these conditions, communal and political conflicts are more likely to turn violent, and violence is more likely to spread and escalate. The easy availability of deadly weapons has a similarly undesirable effect on crime. So the proliferation of small arms is a problem to be taken seriously.

Such issues are discussed in this recent book that contains the proceedings of UN workshops for practitioners and scholars held in 1996/1997. This is not the best source of up-to-date information on efforts to tackle the proliferation of small arms. Instead, see the web site of the UN <http://www.un.org/Depts/dda/CAB/index.htm> and the *International Action Network on Small Arms* <http://www.iansa.org>. However, for a wider view and a deeper understanding of the issues, buy and read this book.

The book looks first at the causes of small arms proliferation and how policy-makers try to deal with them. This section ends with an essay packed with detail, in which Chris Smith takes us on a tour of the world's largest storehouses and markets of guns. The three parts that follow focus on small arms problems in Africa, Latin America and South Asia. Inevitably, they are a mixed bag.

One of the many intriguing subjects discussed in this book is the nexus between contraband and guns. Daniel Garcia-Peña Jaramillo describes the use of guns in Colombia to protect and support the narcotics trade, especially the smuggling of drugs to the consumer countries. At the same time, guerrilla groups tax the *narcotraficantes* to raise money for guns. M. Shahedul Anam Khan describes the same phenomenon in South Asia and the Golden Triangle. Similar connections also exist between guns and the illegal trade in diamonds (Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola), timber and rare species (Southeast Asia) and oil (Angola), but these are not discussed in much detail here. They suggest that efforts to curb the spread and misuse of small arms in areas where armed violence is endemic will come to little unless they are part of a broader effort to change the economy of war.

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The Politics of Memory

Personal Accounts from Northern Ireland's Troubles: Public Conflict, Private Loss

Edited by Marie Smyth and Marie-Therese Fay

(London, Pluto Press, 2000) 208pp. Index. Pb.: £10.99; ISBN 0-7453-1618-2. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-7453-1619-0.

This disturbing and moving volume is the sixth book from the research based organisation 'The Cost of the Troubles Study', established in 1994 to study and survey the effects of the Troubles on the Northern Irish population. The book is comprised of fourteen edited interviews, selected from a total of 85 in-depth interviews conducted as part of the group's general research over a number of years. In the very apt and reflective introduction, the editors give two reasons for the presentation of the interviews in book form. Firstly, to reveal the 'awful, gory and horrifying reality of the impact of war on the lives of ordinary people' (p 5) and also in the context of a divided society to 'afford the reader access to the accounts of people they might never have the opportunity to meet.' (p 5).

In what is often for the reader a very emotional and shocking encounter with the private and harrowing stories of ordinary (and real) people, this volume certainly does what the editors expect: it debunks any notions we might have that physical violence is an attractive way to deal with conflict. For many of the contributors to this volume, their recollection of past events is almost as physical as their first experience of them, the sights, sounds and smells of violence are there to remind us that wars of any status are evil; that bullets hurt, they kill, and the people they kill sadly never return. As one interviewee recounts 'I still have these dreams that he isn't dead, it wasn't his body that was found, it was just someone who looked like him and he's back'. (p 31).

Indeed, the stories of survival are as painful and disturbing to read as the first-hand accounts of the horrific violent acts and events that these people witnessed and experienced. It is pitiful to realise that for many, there were no (or too few) capable listeners. Even those who wanted and needed to talk were often silenced by family and friends unable to deal with their own grief - never mind that of others. Many well-meaning professionals were also unprepared and unskilled to handle the deep depressions and instances of drug and alcohol abuse that became a pattern for those unable to cope. One interviewee remarks during her interview, twenty years after bereavement and injury 'I think this is the longest I've

ever talked about it to anybody.....people were trying to cope with their own lives, they hadn't time to listen to you'. (p 19).

In inviting us - the readers - to listen, this collection invites us also to understand, and in this respect, the book's conclusions do not go as far as they might. Based more on the 'facts' of the interviews, on *what* people say, rather than *how* they say it, (or attempt not to), the conclusions are all too obvious. As human subjects we can only structure what we know and experience through the language our culture gives us so what this remarkable collection reveals as much as anything else, are the narrative strategies and limitations of a whole culture that has been damaged by violence. Beneath and between the lines of these personal accounts the careful reader will encounter also the silenced and repressed sub-texts of fear and suspicion – the untold stories that we might eventually get to hear with a few more bold and courageous volumes like this one.

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The Politics of Memory: Truth, Healing and Social Justice

Edited by Ifi Amadiume and Abdullahi
An-Na'im

(London and New York: Zed Books, 2000) 210pp. Index. Pb.:
£15.95; ISBN 1-85649-843-3.

This is a strange patchwork of a book. The focus is on Biafra, Nigeria, but with snapshots of later conflicts in Africa and elsewhere; the title headlines the 'politics of memory' which becomes a catch-all for the keywords of conflict's aftermath; and the authors stress the need for Africa to solve its own problems and assert its presence in the global arena but provide few case studies to light the way.

The doomed Igbo-led secession of Nigeria's Eastern region, as Biafra, in June 1967, and the subsequent war, are seen as a metaphor for subsequent African conflicts, many of which have also been understood through an ethnic prism. The Biafra essays, largely contesting its image as a model of reconciliation, address intellectual responsibility (Amadiume), war literature (Ezeigbo), Igbo marginalisation in Nigeria (Ikpeze), and the social history of Biafra (Harneit-Sievers and Emezue).

I have two main criticisms of this book. Firstly, it fails to define the politics of memory. As a result it becomes a catch-phrase encompassing truth, healing, reconciliation, reconstruction, social justice, and more. Yet there are

tantalising glimpses of a framework for the term: the concern raised by Wole Soyinka about memory's reach - in Africa, is it imperative that understandings of contemporary conflict and injustice draw on the memory of colonialism and even slavery?; the attachment of memories of narrow causes to broader alliances and concerns (51-2); the mobilisation and manipulation of memory to serve the needs of the present (123-4,192-5); and the nature of official, institutionalised memory, strictly circumscribed by politics and power (Mamdani).

Secondly, while there are many general references to the importance of the local - to "local concepts of justice" (5), to the need for societies to come up with their "own ethics of truth-telling as a way of prevention" (16), to different understandings of conflict and conflict resolution, the latter including "rituals" and "social mediators, healers and reclassifiers" (15,52), and to African institutional and political arrangements (199-200) - there are few specific examples. This is a notable omission given the argument of essays in the book that War Crime Tribunals are most likely to address the interests of the international community and least likely to satisfy survivors (Mertus) and that legal mechanisms are also problematic for rape survivors, specifically in the context of Rwanda (Nowrojee and Ralph). Furthermore, Mamdani claims convincingly that institutions such as truth commissions re-make conflicts in a single image (of individual victims and perpetrators, of civil and political rights violations...). The need to adapt and complement legal and global mechanisms is, therefore, established but little is provided by way of concrete studies or suggestions of the way forward.

While there is much of interest here, the overall impression, therefore, is of a whole that is less than the sum of its parts, of an interesting project that failed to fulfil its potential.

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Moral Purity And Persecution In History

Barrington Moore Jr

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) 158pp. Index.
Hb.: ISBN 0-691-04920-3.

Trying to understand, let alone explain the human motivation and capacity for cruelty, is a daunting task. In seeking an official source for this lack of tolerance, Barrington Moore has provided an historical context for the theory and practice of moral purity and its antithesis, pollution. The value of Moore's analysis lies in providing insight into the rationale of the human appetite for

slaughter that has continued unabated into the 21st century. One of his surprises was discovering the ease with which the creation of “moral approval for cruelty” (p57), initially limited to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, had blurred the divide between East and West as moral justification for Stalinism, Nazism, Fascism, “imperial patriotism of Japan prior to its defeat in the Second World War”, (pix) and Mao’s Chinese Cultural Revolution, “to produce some of the twentieth century’s worst misery”. (p128)

Identifying the earliest links between moral purity and violent action led Moore to the Old Testament - the “moral template of Western civilization” (p33) where the struggle to establish monotheism...in a world where they were “surrounded by polytheistic societies and facing widespread reluctance among their own followers” who sometimes preferred the “taste of manna and the hankering after the fleshpots of Egypt – the advocates of monotheism had to be stern, convinced of their righteousness” (p129) and ruthless in their enforcement.

Moore traces the continuation of this survival tactic of coercive terror to the 16th century French conflict between Protestants/Huguenots and Catholics, that laid the groundwork for transforming religious moral purity into political revolutionary purity during the French Revolution. In a “vindictive and cruel persecution of their opponents, along with the demonization of their enemies”, the French Revolutionary leaders, Robespierre, Saint-Just, and briefly Carnot, “resorted to the guillotine as *the* instrument for transforming society”. (p104)

In an era of increasing internal conflicts, accompanied by corresponding escalation of global humanitarian and military interventions, Moore’s discussion of the paradoxical and complex history of moral justification for the murder of the “impure” is both timely and relevant. Tracing the use of moral violence in its historic context not only helps to identify the underlying socio-political-economic causes of ancient and modern sectarian conflicts, but reinforces the necessity for understanding the potentially deadly goals of those who establish moral values for political, ethnic, and religious groups.

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The Nazi Persecution Of The Gypsies

Guenter Lewy

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 306 pp. Index. Bibl.
NPI. ISBN 0-19-512556-8.

This fine piece of historiography fills an important lacuna in the documentation of the other Nazi genocide, that of the Rom and Sinti, variously known as Gypsies in English, Gitans in French, and Zigeuner in German. The central thesis of the author is that the atrocities perpetrated against

the Gypsies by the Nazi regime, while unspeakable, did not amount to a concerted policy to exterminate them, were riddled with inconsistencies, and, thus, were not commensurate with the Jewish Shoah. In defence of his thesis, Lewy advances the following facts: many directives differentiated between the treatment of “pure” Gypsies (whom Himmler “favored” as possible “Aryans”, an eccentricity which did not endear him to other Nazi satraps) and “Mischlinge” (“mixed-race” Gypsies); sedentary Gypsies were sometimes exempted from deportations and killings; Gypsies were sometimes given the choice of “voluntary” sterilization as an alternative to the concentration camp; at Auschwitz, there was a special Gypsy sub-camp where families were kept together and exempted from work; and, on one occasion, Gypsy men were let out of camps by “volunteering” in an SS suicide unit on the Russian front.

All these facts, and a few more, lead Lewy to conclude that the Nazis regarded the Gypsies as a nuisance rather than a threat, and lacked a master plan to annihilate them. The following additional facts, also noted by Lewy, but differently interpreted, lead me to conclude that the Nazi policy and practice toward Gypsies was indeed fully genocidal by UN Convention standards.

1) An institute charged with establishing a complete roster and genealogy of German Gypsies was established as early as 1936, headed by Dr. Robert Ritter, who repeatedly advocated sterilization as the final solution of the Gypsy problem.

2) Sterilization of Gypsies was, indeed, widely practiced, sometimes with barbaric methods such as injecting the uterus with corrosive liquids.

3) Countless Gypsy men, women and children were sent to numerous concentration camps where many thousands died, including all the remaining inmates of the famous Auschwitz “family” camp who were gassed in 1944 to make room for Hungarian Jews.

4) Thousands of Gypsy men, women and children were indiscriminately shot or gassed by several of the infamous “Einsatzkommandos” on the Eastern Front, generally under orders to liquidate all Jews, Gypsies and Communists.

5) Gypsies were favourite subjects for “medical” experiments in camps, especially twin children, who were routinely killed by lethal injection if they survived the experiment itself.

6) Male hostages were shot by the thousands in occupied Yugoslavia (at the rate of 100 per German soldier killed), with, again, Jews, Gypsies and Communists being the consistently favored categories of hostage taking.

In all, some 200,000 Gypsies were killed by the Nazis,

including some 85% of the Austrian Gypsies, and between 50% and 75% of the German ones, depending on which figures one accepts. These percentages are equal to, or even greater than the losses suffered by Jews in these countries. That said, there WERE some significant differences between the two genocides. The Gypsy genocide was low-priority compared to the Jewish one, and it was conducted less thoroughly, systematically and single-mindedly. Nonetheless, the intent to rid the Reich of “race-defiling”, “thieving”, “work-shy” “parasites” was clear. Another difference makes the Gypsy genocide even more disturbing than the Jewish one. The Gypsy genocide was more “from the bottom up”, while the Shoah was more “from the top down”. In my view, Goldhagen overstates the case for nearly unanimous complicity of the entire German population in the Shoah, but the “Goldhagen thesis” for the Gypsies is quite persuasive. Gypsy deportations were frequently done, or, at least, accelerated, in response to urgent requests by local authorities or the general public to be rid of the “Gypsy nuisance”. The Gypsy genocide was clearly by popular demand. Most troubling of all, these anti-Gypsy sentiments are neither a thing of the past, nor a German monopoly. The Rom are still Europe’s pariahs. The persecution is currently dormant, but who can confidently predict that it will not raise its ugly head again?

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The Atlantic Slave Trade

Herbert S. Klein

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 234pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 0-5214-6020-4. Pb.: ISBN 0-5214-6588-5.

In this detailed and well-researched book Klein provides the reader with a manageable and synthesised historical survey of the 400 years of slave trading that took place across the Atlantic. He attempts to provide a “rational analysis”(p.xviii) so as to bridge the gap between popular and scholarly understandings of the slave trade. Through a measured analysis he aims to transcend the emotionality and politicisation of the slave trade that, he feels, has limited its study and debate.

Klein provides a thorough spread of data on the origins, economic structure, demographic nature, social impact and decline of the slave trade, and appends a useful bibliographical essay. Klein deals with a number of controversial debates. For example, he argues that the system was not simply about plunder and piracy, but rather

a “complex economic enterprise...[involving] complex capital and credit arrangements in Europe, Africa and America” (p.74). He challenges the notion the purchase and sale of slaves was a “costless transaction” (p.131), claiming that slaves were precious commodities; they were not sold as cheaply as is often portrayed and profitability was not as lucrative as is often suggested.

The role of African middlemen as the capturers and initial salespersons of slaves is also explored by Klein. He concludes that: “Africans were neither passive actors nor peoples innocent of the market economy, and were able to deal with Europeans on the basis of equality” (p.111). These lines of argument are not new and some of Klein’s contentions will undoubtedly remain controversial. However, Klein presents his arguments clearly with the support of well-collated information.

One of Klein’s most useful contributions is that he draws the reader’s attention to the scarcity of information on the pre-Middle Passage process. He feels the pre-Middle Passage process has been under-emphasised despite the fact that the mortality rates were probably as high during this period as during the crossing (averaging about 12%). The long wait for docked slave ships (often over 200 days) while relatively small numbers of slaves (the highest rate was 8 slave per day) being rounded up is elucidated. The arduous journeys that those captured faced before they were interned on slave ships is also highlighted.

Klein achieves his aim of providing a synthesised and rational analysis, and despite his clinical approach, the book is readable and enlightening. Nonetheless, his attempts to challenge the so-called myths will not escape the emotionality he hoped a detailed survey would circumvent, especially in a world where the legacy of the slave trade, racial divisions and inequality persist. For Klein the Middle Passage “was not the totally disorganised, arbitrary, and bloody experience as pictured in the popular literature”, or as “psychologically damaging as some have claimed” (P.159), but these assertions pale into insignificance relative to the context of the entire system and its cumulative impact. It maybe that Klein takes the inhumane nature of the system as a given, but this is not always completely clear. Either way, and regardless of one’s reaction, this publication will contribute to the ongoing debate and be useful to those with little knowledge of the nature and extent of the slave trade, as well as scholars of the subject looking for a coherent package of information.

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Conflict Theory and International Relations

“The Clash of Civilizations?” Asian Responses

Edited by Salim Rashid

(Bangladesh and Oxford: The University Press Limited, 1997)
160pp. Hb.: ISBN 984-05-1390-7.

Samuel Huntington’s “Clash of Civilisations” seems to invite a response from Asia, in particular from those quarters combining the hubris of the “East Asian miracle” with a general cynicism about the West. The editor confesses that “Asian Responses” in the title is slightly misleading since the contributions reflect discussions within the US academic community, albeit with the inclusion of “expatriate Third World scholars”. The focus is on Islamic and Confucian “civilisations” which, according to Huntington’s dire predictions, pose the greatest combined threat to Western civilisation.

Ali Mazrui and Paul Hammond attempt general, instead of specifically “Asian” critiques, though Mazrui’s contribution includes a number of predictable post-colonial circumlocutions. Mazrui argues that race, not culture, is the real issue, but his critique is laboured, and his arguments are almost as tendentious as Huntington’s. Abu Kalam and Amit Gupta provide a more coherent critique, the latter reminding us that contemporary communalism is modern and national, not ancient or civilisational.

Putting Huntington’s argument into a broader perspective, Abu Kalam argues that dealing with cultural differences is the most necessary task for politics. His discussion shows how miserably Huntington has failed to perform a public intellectual’s tasks of communicating across cultural divisions and overcoming ignorance.

Chandra Muzaffar, a Malaysian, is highly critical of Western dominance in the global order. He sees Huntington’s portrayal of Muslims and Asians as part and parcel of an overarching conspiracy to “preserve, protect and perpetuate Western dominance” (p 104). However, this rhetorical position must be treated with caution. The Malaysian regime regularly uses such anti-western rhetoric and Asian particularism to deflect international criticism of domestic political abuses, severely eroding the moral high ground for such arguments.

Wee provides a critical look at Confucianism from a Singaporean perspective. In contrast, South Korean Chaibong Hahm discusses an idealised version of Confucianism as a set of institutions and ruling practices

with the power to override identity politics. Like Mazrui, Hahm sees race as the major divisive issue, but suggests that Confucianism’s “...alternative understanding of culture...free from racial implications” makes it a solution. The perspective from an ethnically homogenous state is obviously different from that of an ethnically-divided one. Wee shows that Singaporean Confucianism does not offer alternative values to those of Euro-American origin. In fact, its ideological role is highly complementary, fitting Singapore into the global capitalist narrative (p95).

Hammond’s novel speculation that Huntington’s real aim is to hoist Asian opponents of democracy on their own petard, forcing them to face the logical conclusion of their relativist position seems far-fetched. He suggests that Huntington’s polemic might inspire a Kuhnian “paradigm shift”, but Huntington’s views are neither novel nor credible enough to deserve this. Parochial paranoia and cultural imperialism are traditional hallmarks of Cold War thinking. While he is certainly fair game for criticism on logical, factual or political grounds, it still remains to be seen whether “Asian” arguments can provide a coherent and credible alternative paradigm.

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The Interregnum: Controversies in World Politics 1989-1999

Edited by Michael Cox, Ken Booth and Tim Dunne

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000) 303 pp. Pb.:
£15.95; ISBN 0-521-78509-x.

This volume brings together many of the great and good in international relations and related fields to explore the meaning of the post-Cold War decade. It is an authoritative collection, based on a special issue of the *Review of International Studies*, representing currents in and around contemporary IR. Postmodernists, globalists and feminists might claim that their voices in recent debates are excluded, but it is hard to think of one place where other major viewpoints in (chiefly British) IR have been gathered together to stronger effect.

Many contributors agree that, as the editors say, profound transformations are taking place in world politics. Readers will gain real insights into these changes of the last decade from all the chapters. Possibly because, however, the contributors are mostly senior members of their respective professions, they are, to my mind, often insufficiently bold in characterising emergent, turn-of-the-century world

political structures. In some chapters, too much energy is devoted to showing how some things have *not* changed as much as some people think.

Is there even an interregnum? Not all the contributors agree with this idea; indeed Bruce Cumings is given the last word in an engaging piece that argues for a view of 1989 as marking the middle, not the end, of 'the American century'. This conclusion is anticipated by Rosemary Foot's and Andrew Walter's argument that the Pacific Century has not yet arrived. However, these apparently plausible judgements understate the challenge that the turbulence of the last decade has posed (and especially under a George W Bush presidency could pose more sharply) to the dominant national centre. But these views are not challenged by a convincing exposition of an alternative conception, to underpin the loose 'interregnum' label.

Much interesting material is collected in regionally based chapters that don't allow us easily to get a handle on the world picture. In these chapters, moreover, wars don't get much of a look in. The Balkans don't play a large part in William Wallace's account of Europe. Unstable Asian great-power rivalries and local wars, which could make a Pacific Century, if it came, anything but pacific, are hardly a main theme for Foot and Walter. Caroline Thomas writes about the Third World without mentioning Africa's wars. The Middle East is one region not covered.

Issues of war and peace are represented patchily by, *inter alia*, Cumings' wise reflections on the military bases of American liberalism, a brief discussion of the 'new interventionism' by Geoffrey Hawthorn, and mentions of Kosovo across the chapters. But Rwanda and genocide are not in the index. The sole full-length discussion of war comes from the 'neoclassical realist', Colin Gray, resuming some of the arguments of his *Modern Strategy* (OUP 1998). The title 'Clausewitz rules OK' says it all. In a knockabout essay Gray scores some easy but not always fair points off those whom he sees as liberal fantasists, but give us a complacent, one-sided view of Clausewitz's relevance. The troubles of victims in today's wars, to which strategy is at best a partial answer, are not represented here.

Perspectives from political-economic, institutional and normative theories mostly crowd out serious analysis of the often-violent political struggles that are doing much to shape our world. The limited concern with wars is not just a partial neglect of local protagonists and victims; it underplays key dynamics in world politics, which are also catalysts for transformation in the Western core. As a member of the *Review's* editorial board, I hope that this balance will change in future volumes that we commission.

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The Rise and Decline of the State

Martin Van Creveld

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 439pp.
Index. Hb.: £37.50; ISBN 0-5216-5190-5. Pb.: £13.95; ISBN
0-5216-5629-X.

The author argues that the state is in decline. To prove this he aims to describe the pre-history of the state and its growth and development to the present day.

The author attempts to cover a vast amount of territory. The first two chapters are a very detailed account of different types of political organisation culminating in the formation of the state. The author uses many examples to explain the struggle against the church, Empire, nobility, and towns ending in the victory of the monarchy. The next chapters explore the state as an instrument for controlling its people, followed by the state as an ideal. This leads the author to an exploration of the development of political theory. The state as an ideal may be of interest to scholars of ethnic conflict as it discusses the marriage of state and nation, and the intensely bloody conflicts which followed. The final historical chapter offers a description of the spread of the state.

Chapter six finally brings the reader to Creveld's argument that the state is in decline. The reasons for this decline are the decline in major wars primarily because of the introduction of nuclear weapons, the deterioration of the welfare state, separation of church and state, the internationalisation of technology, and the threat to internal order, including from ethnic conflict. This involves an examination of how the treatment of ordinary citizens changes when the threat comes from within.

It is regrettable that the conclusion is so short. A more detailed explanation of how the state is retreating and what is taking its place would have added to the work as the author hints at some interesting scenarios. This book would be of interest to someone who wants an historical focus on the development of the state, rather than an exploration of the modern role of state.

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Boundaries, Territory, and Postmodernity

Edited by David Newman

(London: Frank Cass, 1999) 206pp. Index. HB.: ISBN 0-7146-4973-2 Pb.: ISBN 0-7146-8033-8.

David Newman as an editor of "Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity" has gathered a collection of articles which together form a coherent story in a postmodern context about the changing imaginations and the roles of territories and boundaries. The book includes an editorial and nine articles, two from IR scholars and seven from political geographers.

The book is a special issue of the journal called *Geopolitics*. The authors aim to clarify what kind of new ideas the renaissance of geopolitics during the last decade has brought in the academic discussions. The bad image often connected to geopolitics after the Second World War is not denied by authors but moreover they emphasise the new challenges to which academic research in the field of geopolitics has confronted. The most important of these seems to be the postmodern context in which the processes such as globalisation, de-/ re-territorialisation, changing geopolitical imaginations and challenged role and function of boundaries and nation states become essential. It is argued that many pan-national but also intra-state challenges lead to a situation where the world, especially the world political map is not imagined in the same manner as it was in the beginning of the 20th century. However, all authors argue that at least in the near future there will not be a borderless world as some academics have argued. Geographical differentiation will matter, although the function of state boundaries and the meaning of space will evolve.

The book contains many case studies from different parts of the world such as Israel-Palestine, Finland and Moldova. The themes of the book cover many areas from a more theoretically oriented view to a practical examples of changes experienced: postmodernism in IR, impact of globalisation on state organisation, classification between modern and postmodern world, "regulatory landscapes", the effect of information and communication technologies in shaping the internal policies and external relations of states, changing meanings of territoriality and state boundaries and ethno-territorial changing of the world political map, just to mention a few.

Although some authors in their analysis go quite far from the realities of the contemporary world while predicting the future of the postmodern context, the overall reading experience for me as a political geographer was in one word: fascinating! This book is really worth reading,

whether you were interested in territoriality, postmodern world, boundaries, geopolitics or ethnic conflict. Hopefully by reading the book more awareness about the multitude dimensions of (state) territories and boundaries is achieved. The different essence and idea connected to these very concepts is often one major reason behind the outburst of ethnic conflicts all over the world.

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Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention

Edited by Barbara F. Walter & Jack Snyder

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 331pp. Index. Hb.: £32.00; ISBN 0-231-11626-8. Pb.: £13.00; ISBN 0-231-11627-6.

Most of the wars of the last decade and half have been complex and bloody internal conflicts driven to a significant degree by nationalism and ethnic animosity. Greater understandings of these civil wars are important for three main reasons: First, they cause tremendous amounts of suffering because they often involve direct, deliberate attacks on civilian populations. The number of people displaced or killed in such wars is frequently counted in tens and hundreds of thousands, and sometimes even millions. Second, civil wars almost always involve neighboring states, thereby undermining regional security. Finally, policymakers at the national level and in regional and international organisations are currently in the process of reassessing their efforts to deal with such conflicts. In this context, Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder's edited piece is a very time addition to the growing literature on the subject.

The book explores not only the underlying sources, but also the proximate factors that trigger violent civil wars. Rightly eschewing uni-causal explanations, the essays focus on elite as well as mass, and on transnational as well as domestic explanations. In substantive terms, the book attempts to examine more closely how different settings on the 'ground' might affect decisions to fight, to negotiate, or to remain at peace. In this sense, the book is an effort in theory building rather than testing. Thus, it is only the first step on a much longer and wider road towards comprehensive understanding of civil wars, their causes and their solutions. A major omission, however, is an explicit engagement with the growing literature on critical

security studies. This notwithstanding, the book is highly engaging, clearly written and well presented. It should be recommended to undergraduate students of Security Studies as a valuable addition to the growing literature.

Nana Poku
Southampton University

Security, Identity and Interests

Bill McSweeney

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 255 pages;
Hb.: GBP £35.00 / USD \$54.95; 0-521-66177-3. Pb.: GBP
£12.95 / USD \$19.95; 0-521-66630-9.

Starting from the perspective that the radically new post-Cold War geopolitical context requires an equally radical approach to the problem of security, McSweeney's book is a thorough and provocative example of the constructivist approach to the study of international relations. The author argues that "a narrow, state-centered and military-focused definition of security," which has predominated international relations theory for the past half-century, is inadequate to respond to such issues as the emergence of domestic ethno-nationalism, globalization, and interdependence. This book makes a significant contribution to the 'third debate' in international relations theory by presenting both a forceful critique of the field's traditional 'positivist' framework and a new 'sociological' or identity-based concept of security. At the risk of oversimplification, the basic argument of this study is that "we choose our security problems as we choose the interests and identity which accompany them." (12) In other words, if we are able to alter our identities to redefine the 'us versus them' distinction, notions of common or collective security can radically redefine traditional security problems and promote peaceful relations. While the preponderance of this study is theoretical in nature, three cases are examined in some depth: Northern Ireland, NATO expansion, and the development of the European Union. Like nearly all books of its genre, this study falls into certain theoretical traps such as: focusing almost exclusively on what could or should be, rather than what is (which detaches the analysis from policy and explanation); an assumption that socially-constructed concepts and identities are highly malleable (which often ignores the insights of path dependency); and a belief that one's idealistic policies will be reciprocated by others (interest in a post-power or post-state international system will not be accepted by all actors and therefore shifting away from the traditional 'self-help' paradigm might be premature and quite dangerous). If this sounds like a traditional realist critique, it is: simply "redefining" our security problems sounds both simplistic and easy, but

proves to be difficult, if not impossible, advice to follow when attempting to bridge the chasm between theory and application. Although McSweeney does a better job than most, until constructivism can make this link, the postmodern viewpoint will likely remain at the fringes of international relations theory; albeit with thoughtful contributions as this.

Thomas Ambrosio
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The Media at War. Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century

Susan L. Carruthers

(London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000) 321 pp. Index. Bibl.,
ISBN 0-3336-9143-1.

Exploring the role and position of mass media during conflict, the book reiterates the embeddedness of mass media within the state's framework, challenging the current paradigms of the 'independent fourth estate' and 'watchdog' function. Going from World War I to Vietnam, and from the Gulf War to Kosovo, Carruthers shows how mass media has less to do with 'mirroring reality' than with local interests and cultural perspectives, as trapped within the social institutions and expectations in which they operate. War is just a 'magnifying glass' (p. 13) for peacetime, when media's temporary abandonment of its own freedom and values, whether done unconsciously or not, in favor of national cohesion and patriotic manipulation can be more properly observed.

Not only that media can inflict a bond between audiences and the front, but at the same time depends on both of them: to the first it has to sell a story (and subsequently readjust according to pre-established patterns and stereotypes), while the seconds are the source of information. Thus wars follow a successful narrative of Us-winners versus They-losers, where enemies are de-humanized so as to justify the military actions. Ultimately, this conclusion merely reinforces the nationalist perspective over mass media as a community-building and binding tool.

The book is divided into six main chapters, according to the temporal phases and nature of war: media before war, media and 'total war', media and 'limited war', media and terrorism, media, globalisation and 'other people's wars and media after war. Although a compilation of existing writings on communication, propaganda and manipulation, the book is an interesting and pleasant lecture for those interested in how mass media affects and

models inter-ethnic relations in welfare times, while constructing powerful stereotypical images based on ethnic, cultural or religious differences.

Despina Dumitrica
Central European University

Democracy By Force: US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World

Karin von Hippel

(Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press, 2000) 224pp.
Index. Bibl. Hb.: £35.00/\$49.95; ISBN 0-5216-5051-8. Pb.:
£12.95/\$18.95; ISBN 0-5216-5955-8.

This book examines military intervention and state building in Panama, Somalia, Haiti and Serbia. In the first case study, the point is developed that whilst military planning was the core of US strategy, plans for the development of civic institutions for 'democracy building' ran side by side with this. Von Hippel identifies obstacles to reforming the Panamanian police, and argues that the under emphasis on the civilian and governmental role compounded the overemphasis on the military's early civic duties. Through ensuing studies of Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia, Von Hippel outlines how US approaches have accommodated 'lessons learned' from Panama. The emphasis on military centrality has reduced in some cases whilst the role of civilian and civic institution building has advanced to reflect the challenges of post-invasion state building. Von Hippel notes, but does not really discuss, her observation that states that reject democracy can no longer expect sovereign impunity from direct intervention to 'democratise' them.

Her conclusion is that to restore a state after military intervention, three elements are essential: security, a safe civil society with democratic safeguards, and co-ordinated external aid. This is both logical, and also already well established in the Development Studies literature. However, while it is impossible to include everything, something important is lacking. It has long been understood that 'peripheral' societies have developed socially, institutionally, politically and economically in different ways to the West. As a consequence, notions such as decentralised authority or specific methods of conflict resolution have different origins and therefore require different approaches to those that rest on Western assumptions. The absence of the rule of law may be attributable to the lack of an economic and political

bourgeoisie, itself derived from capitalism. The installation of the democratic institutions identified by Von Hippel would not necessarily result in the outcomes she predicts. Some contemporary examples suggest that increased tension or violence may be the result, as traditional and modern clash without the gradual replacement over time of one with the other, in conjunction with concomitant changes in the local socio-economic and political order. Whilst Von Hippel has exposed those tensions as they relate to military development of democracy, she has unfortunately left unexamined a complicated but crucial element to the debate on democratisation.

Dr. David W. Roberts
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Peacekeeping and Public Information: Caught in the Crossfire

Ingrid Lehmann

(London: Frank Cass, 1999) 180pp. Biblio. Index. Pb.: £16.50;
ISBN 0-7146-4490-0.

This book opens a significant avenue of study stemming from the necessity for public information surrounding UN peacekeeping missions in the field. Indeed, this study presents strong empirical data, via five case studies (Cambodia, Namibia, Haiti, Rwanda, and Eastern Slavonia) which indicates that complex and multidimensional UN missions are far more likely to fail if they do not have a public information component, and that the UN has been slow to recognise this. Chapters One and Two provide a cursory framework for political communication in international organisations, and in the particular context of peacekeeping, though only focusing on 'objective' approaches. Chapter Three looks at the initial development of public information during UNTAG's operation. Chapter Four looks at the revolutionary and massive campaign undertaken during the operation of UNTAC. Chapter Five argues that the omission of a public information campaign during UNAMIR's operation allowed ethnic hatred to continue unchecked. Chapter Five examines public information's crucial role in Haiti's democratisation, and the last chapter examines its dynamic role during UNTAES.

While this book provides a useful theoretical framework and assessment of the main post Cold War missions, it is in the form of a preliminary, though groundbreaking, study which provides the basis for future theoretical development and more detailed empirical analyses. That said, the

concepts expounded here should be included as a component in future UN operations, as it is clear that public information is vital for UN operations to succeed. This is not just because such missions are competing with other information sources which may be expounding ethnic or religious hatred as this study makes clear, but also because if the UN is to introduce democracy and civil cooperation into war torn environments, the operation itself must also be transparent, receiving and retaining the consent not only of opposing political leaders but also at grassroots. Public information campaigns are in their infancy, and UN personnel often seem remote within a conflict environment, engaged in tasks directed by an invisible and foreign hand. Though this is an exploratory study, it is laden by certain assumptions, which make it somewhat problematic. The six principles of communication for peacekeeping operations (p.18-19.) signpost an emerging debate relating to peacekeeping: the proposals that peacekeeping needs to acknowledge the local and international importance of public perceptions in influencing political processes, the role of education on human rights, the rule of law and electoral processes, and the need for cultural sensitivity and transparency, raises the question of how to ensure local, regional, and global sustainability and sensitivity, both of which were clearly lacking in Cold War UN peacekeeping operations. Clearly this involves long term institutional commitment with a capacity for high levels of local awareness and consent from civil society and its political factions.

Given that most of the conflicts discussed in this study are of a complex and intersubjective nature, it would have been useful to move beyond the positivist assumptions of conflict management. This would have certainly added weight to the author's thesis that the communication of the peacekeeping force's objectives and philosophy and the need for transparency and democratisation are vital in environments characterised by the dominance of ethnonationalist rhetoric.

It might also raise questions about the local sensitivity and normative basis of 'effective' public information intervention by the UN. Despite these criticisms, this is an important study highlighting the embryonic nature of UN efforts to bring a level of peace and prosperity to war-torn environments.

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Migration

Into the Margins: Migration and Exclusion in Southern Europe

Edited by Floya Anthias and Gabriella Lazaridis

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 209pp. Index. Hb.: £37.50; ISBN 1-8401-4116-6.

This edited volume is a collection of papers from a conference co-organised by the Universities of Dundee and Greenwich. Most of the contributors are experienced researchers on ethnicity, migration and diasporas in Britain and Southern Europe. The book examines the questions arising from the immigration of labour in specific southern European countries, the social integration difficulties and the phenomena of social exclusion. The cases examined include Tunisians in Italy, Moroccans in Catalonia, British expatriates in Spain, Albanians and Polish in Greece and migrant workers in Cyprus. The cases under examination are recent developments, mostly of the 1990s, a fact that justifies the phrase of Gabriella Lazaridis describing the new migrants in Greece as 'the Helots of the new millennium'. That is not thought the only commonality; in most cases the new migrants sparked reactions and re-awakened racist and exclusionist reflexes in local societies. The new migrants quickly found their place in racist and exclusionist local discourses as the 'other', as a national and cultural threat, as the weakest group in the intersection of local and regional politics, economic interests and cultural politics. The fact that most of these southern European states are members of the European Union perplexed the situation more and added a clearly European dimension to the problem, which is examined in the last chapter of the edited volume. Many of the 1990s developments related to immigration in southern Europe are similar to the ones having been experienced earlier in the European north, including Britain. Interesting comparisons could have been made here but few such attempts are made in the book. In addition the elaboration of theoretical issues and of more general questions of immigration could have been more extensive. The case studies of the book however are thoroughly examined and well presented and generally the book will prove useful for researchers on southern European societies and Mediterranean affairs.

Ioannis Armakolas
Cambridge University

The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces

Thomas Faist

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 380pp. Index. Biblio.
Pb.: £18.99; ISBN 0-19-829726-2.

“Why are there so few migrants from so many places and so many from only a few places?” Referring in the first sentence of the book to what he views as the contradiction of relative immobility of migrants on one hand and migration on a mass scale, or “chain migration” on the other, Faist raises the first of two puzzles he seeks to answer. The second puzzle he refers to as the “concomitant ties” between both the countries migrants left and the countries they emigrated to (p.8). Faist identifies these two puzzles as providing crucial answers to the contradictory reasons why people migrate.

In answering them, Faist adopts a “meso level” approach in his analysis in order, as he puts it, to focus “more on the form and content of the relationship rather than on the properties or attributes of the actors or positions” (p.33) and to overcome the limitations of “micro” and “macro” understandings of migration.

This ambitious study also addresses post-conflict scenarios faced by ethnic communities and how they fit into “transnational spaces”, which Faist defines as “migrant networks cutting across discrete organizations, such as nation-states” (p.11). Faist expands on this idea later on in the book, challenging the validity of established theoretical frameworks for immigrant adaptation, namely assimilation and ethnic pluralism, and claiming that “transnational ties do indeed coexist with continuing immigrant adaptation” (p. 242).

Ethnic conflict forms part of his analysis, and Faist deals in some detail with the Turkish Kurds, and the disproportionate response by Turkish authorities to Kurdish aspirations for political and cultural autonomy, a situation which generated considerable numbers of refugees, many of whom obtained protection in Germany (p. 89-93). But with the exception of the Kurdish refugees in Turkey, Faist’s study does not delve much further into the causes / origins of ethnic conflict, and his analysis of the failure of the nation state and ‘social revolution’ (p. 65-66) are, in contrast with the rest of the book, quite limited and narrow in scope. The book is also very much

‘northern’ in its perspective, focussing on South-North migration.

This said, Faist’s study does produce a fascinating and critical overview of the dominant theories of migration that is well worth reading, and adds valuably to the increasing contemporary literature on this subject.¹

1. Another recent, similar study is Bimal Ghosh, *Huddled masses and uncertain shores: Insights into irregular migration*, Kluwer Law International, 2000

Jeff Handmaker
Rea Hamba Advice

Migration: The Controversies and the Evidence

Edited by Riccardo Faini, Jaime de Melo, and Klaus Zimmerman

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 334pp, Index.
Hb.; £45.00; ISBN 0-521-66233-8.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading since it is not so much an exploration of the controversies surrounding migration as it is an analysis of the political economy of migration. Its main concern is with the links between trade flows and foreign direct investment (FDI) and labour mobility. This is not surprising since it is noted in the foreword that the volume is the outcome of a conference on ‘Trade and Factor Mobility’: one must assume that the editors thought ‘Migration: The Controversies and Evidence’ a sexier, if less accurate, title.

Part One offers insights from economic theory, Part Two attempts to quantify the links between trade and migration, and Part Three looks at historical and contemporary evidence of links between trade liberalisation and migration. Both North-North (including East-West) and South-North migration flows are considered, but interestingly not South-South flows: one wonders why the latter were omitted since consideration of South-South flows would presumably have provided a more rounded picture of economic migration at a global level. Moreover, a consideration of South-South cases might also have provided some interesting material for the consideration of the role of cultural preferences in migration and in immigration policy, both of which are examined in chapter four.

The entire volume is liberally illustrated with complex graphs and models based on mathematical formulae but unfortunately these are likely to be incomprehensible to anyone lacking a strong background in economics (such as myself!). There is very little in the book of relevance to ethnic conflict, although some of the models and arguments employed could perhaps be adapted by a competent economist for use as tools for the analysis of ethnic conflict as one factor promoting out-migration and/or of trade liberalisation and aid flows as a means of preventing ethnic conflict. To be fair to the authors, the volume was clearly intended to contribute to economic theory, and not to conflict research, but it does suggest a possible area for collaborative research between economists and other social scientists. The authors conclude that 'both the theoretical and empirical contributions in this volume suggest that trade liberalisation will not always alleviate the incentives for factor mobility' (p.17): this is surely because there are often non-economic incentives to migration.

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Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries: Vol: IV The Arab Region

Edited by Reginald Appleyard

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 277pp. Hb.: £42.50; ISBN 1-8401-45528.

This is the fourth publication of the research project on the Migration Dynamics in Developing Countries', sponsored since 1993 by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFA), and International Organisation for Migration (IOM). Together with the previous three concerning Sub-Saharan Africa; Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean; and South Asia, it enriches considerably our knowledge and understanding on the relevant issues.

Four chapters examine respectively the migration dynamics in Egypt (by Mayar Farrag), Magreb (Nadji Safir), Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon (Seteny Shami), and the Gulf Co-operation Council countries (Lynne Evans and Ivy Papps). Although the search for better employment opportunities has been the main motive for migration, flight from persecution, civil war and ethnic conflicts per se with non-Arab communities have been constant. Ethnic strife and conflicts among the independent Arab states also abound.

Two chapters are theoretical. Nazli Choucri argues that a 'win-win' regional migration strategy can be achieved (p38ff). Truly, the chapters above indicate basic economic complementarities in the region. Large and rapidly growing populations live in countries with poor natural resources and limited capital accumulation, whereas other countries need foreign labour to exploit their rich oil reserves and sustain fundamental services in education, health and transportation. However, the chapters also reveal a sharply declining capacity of the receiving countries to absorb additional labour, their efforts to substitute local for foreign labour and their restrictive naturalisation and even social integration policies (pp 51, 77, 140, 223). Furthermore the authors observe that although migration provides high remittances to the poorer countries, it also causes problems: social tensions and political instability (pp 75, 80, 84); adverse wealth effects on unskilled labour supply causing labour shortages despite high unemployment (p68f, 187); returnees exhibit a diminishing work ethic because of the lower wages offered at home (pp 71); import booms and wide trade deficits due to changing consumption patterns (p 70); skill and resource wastes (p 72). Migration policy has to deal with those issues, taking also into account the increasing competition from Asian labour and emigration pressures from the destitute populations of the Sub-Saharan and neighbouring areas to enter the region (pp 125-6).

The other theoretical chapter by Stahl and Bradford analyses the main determinants of migration and concludes with an economic model based on an input-output technique and aiming to evaluate the propensity to emigrate. Their endeavour is thus in line with current efforts of other researchers to measure the migration potential in a given country.

Despite some reservations on my part concerning the desirability of Choucri's hypothesis of relying on regional migration patterns rather than looking farther afield, the book contains much useful material on a little known region of the world. It should find a place in any serious university library.

Rossetos Fakiolas
National Technical University, Athens

The Politics of Belonging: Migrants and Minorities in Contemporary Europe

Edited by Geddes, Andrew & Favell, Adrian

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 228pp. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 1-8401-4177-9.

In *The Politics of Belonging*, with contributions from mostly junior academics, the concepts of 'global belonging', 'integration' and 'immigration' are dealt with thoroughly. With its twelve chapters the edited volume offers a rather elaborate approach on the developments in the post-nationalist landscape that is Western Europe. John Crowley and Adrian Favell in their more theoretical contributions treat belonging as an analytical term as distinct from national identity or integration - very much the overarching approach of the book as such. Particularly refreshing is the way terms like 'multiculturalism' and 'ethnic pluralism' are dissected, such as in Shamit Saggars chapter on British immigration policies and in Daniel Levys chapter on national identity in Germany. Policies of integration are also dealt with by Anastassia Tsoukala and Silvia Kobi who deal with the perception of immigrants in Greece and the relationship between the electorate and xenophobic attitudes respectively. This also goes for Erik Bleichs chapter on the difference in education policies in France and Great Britain, and with a focus on 'multicultural education'. Amélie Blom and Sasa Bozic in their chapters deal with the concept of 'transnational identity', the former in the context of the 'transnational protests' and 'transnational belonging' during the 'Rushdie Affair' and the latter with the Croats in Vienna. In Bozics chapter, as well as in Christine Barats-Malbreles chapter on non-nationals in France, the *en bloc* approach to ethnic communities is questioned and criticised. The discussion on transnational belonging and immigration is also valid for the European Union. Andrew Geddes in his chapter deals with the establishment and also the problems of an institutionalised European framework on immigration, developments also discussed by Marco Martinello and Andrea Rea, who in their chapter focus on the limited impact of EU-policy on the Belgian immigration policy.

Among the recent publications on belonging, identity and integration, *Politics of Belonging* comes across as a clear winner with its comparative outset and a somewhat extensive overview. The only down-side is the lack of an index and the scarcity of statistics concerning migration and emigration, number of schools, etc. Needless to say, these are points of minor concern and leave little, if any, impact on the general impression.

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University of Ulster

Ethnic Americans: A history of immigration

Leonard Dinnerstein & David M Reimers

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
250pp. Pb.: \$16.50/£10.50; ISBN 0-2311-1189-4

'In 1916, 72 percent of San Francisco's population spoke a foreign language in addition to English'. (p. 54)
'About 30 percent of American soldiers fighting in Western Europe in 1944-45 were German in origin.' (p. 180)
'In 1998 25.7 million people born abroad lived in the United States, nearly 10 percent of the American population...of that number, seven million were from Mexico.' (p. 125)

The above quotations give a flavour of the fascinating detail in Dinnerstein and Reimers' history of immigration in the United States. No other state has had to cope with such sustained immigration from such a variety of sources. Yet there has been no race war, a fact overlooked by many scholars. In the absence of mass inter group violence, however, there has been shocking discrimination, persistent tensions, and differentials among social indicators, all of which are charted by the authors.

Six chapters chart the chronology of immigration from the colonial era to the contemporary phase in which Latinos comprise the bulk of new entrants. These are followed by two analytical chapters concentrating on ethnic mobility and assimilation. The book is perhaps best at giving an overview of the main dynamics of immigration and assimilation in respect of each of the main ethnic groups rather than attempting to draw general conclusions about the immigration experience in general. A thoroughly accessible narrative style means that the book can be recommended as an introductory text. Now in its fourth edition, the main issues in the immigration debate are covered with remarkable brevity and clarity.

A serious flaw, however, is the failure to use a referencing system allowing the reader to connect specific quotations or figures to specific authors and works. There is a helpful bibliographical chapter, but without an academic standard of referencing, the book is of limited value as an academic text.

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Migration Diasporas and Transnationalism

Edited by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen

(Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1999), 704 pp. Index. Hb.: £150.00; ISBN 1-8598-8869-1.

The most recent volume in the International Library of Studies on Migration deals with two consequences of migration: diasporas and transnationalism. As is the case with the other volumes in the series, this volume includes an introduction by the editors and the 34 articles they find represent the field of study the best.

Neither the formation of diasporas nor the phenomena of transnationalism are new phenomena. Both subjects, however, are very much in vogue in migration studies on both sides of the Atlantic. The term diaspora is no longer confined to the experience of the Jews or the Armenians. Today it is used to designate groups of migrants or refugees who do not assimilate but retain a concrete or emotive relationship with what they perceive to be their homeland and fellow groups dispersed in other countries. The social, economic, and political networks of diasporas make them transnational (or perhaps even more accurately trans-state) per definition. The dynamics of so-called globalisation such as intensified transactions of capital, people and information across the globe are phenomena to which diasporas contribute and draw their strengths from. Indeed, the rise and strength of diasporas have been played up against the strength of the nation state.

The first section of articles is headed 'reappraising contemporary migration', and has a somewhat surprising mix of new articles on transnationalism of migrant communities (such as that by Schiller or Ong) and older articles on remittances (see that of Keely or Hatzipanayotou). The next and lengthiest section is more consistently dealing with 'Old and New Meanings of Diaspora'. The omission of the otherwise widely quoted articles by Bonyan and Bonyan aside, this section amply covers the conceptual debate on 'who is a diaspora'. The last section of articles titled 'Transnationalism': Globalisation from Below', includes articles on as diverse subjects as ethnic foreign policy lobbying and more post-modern oriented theoretical pieces on the unboundedness of ethnic communities.

It would probably have been helpful if the editors' introduction introduced the 34 texts in somewhat greater detail. Also, it may be confusing that the 3 main headings dividing the articles are not clearly conceptualised distinctions introduced in the introduction. These minor criticisms aside this volume will be a valuable asset for students of migration – that is, if they can get a hold of one of the few copies libraries can be expected to afford.

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Human Rights and Humanitarianism

Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia

Edited by Carla Hesse and Robert Post

(New York: Zone Books, 1999) Distributed by MIT Press, London. 342 pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £24.95; ISBN 1-890951-01-3.

A significant addition to the discourse of political transitions, this collection of essays examines the creation of human rights policy in nascent democratic states. Hesse and Post have assembled a diverse group of contributors in an attempt to address human rights in political transitions from a cross-disciplinary perspective. This interesting editorial device succeeds by combining the impassioned approach of human rights advocates with classic academic analysis.

The volume is organized into four parts. Parts One through Three address punishment, reconciliation, and creation of a culture of law in transitional societies. In their instructive introductory chapter, Hesse and Post assert that "all three of these elements will require attention, in different measures, if there is to be any hope of breaking the cycles of civil violence and transcending the tyrannies of the past" (p.24). In the chapters that expound on these elements, nine authors present essays that are as diverse in style as they are in subject matter. Ranging from the detached and scholarly to the ardent and persuasive, the contributions reflect the inclusion of authors well known to academics and advocates alike.

In his essay in Part One (Punishment), Aryeh Neier offers an enlightened explanation for the critical shift in the human rights movement from the primacy of truth to that of justice. He asserts that in Bosnia, individuals openly pursued a policy of ethnic cleansing which has eliminated the need for the establishment of a disclosure and acknowledgement phase. In Part Two, Robert Meister delivers a scholarly analysis of social reconciliation under Abraham Lincoln in post-Civil War America. He proffers convincingly that it was Lincoln's use of a "narrative of common survivorship" which allowed him to rewrite the history of the American past, reuniting former opponents.

Part Three of this volume presents three perspectives on the role of law in the creation of a public culture that condemns violence and human rights abuses. Part Four chronicles the international human rights movement in the post-Cold War era, providing the reader with a useful context in which to place the preceding chapters.

This volume is not suitable for the reader who is interested in a legally technical or comprehensive examination of transitional justice topics. Instead, it is an excellent cross-disciplinary presentation of the issues associated with human rights in transitional societies and provides an outstanding framework for readers interested in further examination of this subject matter.

Pamela Dickson

Human Rights in International Relations

David P. Forsythe

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 247pp. Index. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN 0-521-62999-3. Hb.: £32.50; ISBN 0-521-62000-7.

This is a comprehensive, well researched and easy-to-read book on how human rights (HR) are constructed, used, abused and manipulated in global politics. David Forsythe is one of the world's leading political science scholars in the area of HR and here he provides a text designed for scholars, students, the general public and policy makers. To assist the readers, each chapter contains 'discussion questions' and a useful guide for further reading. It is an excellent book for anyone interested in international HR.

The author argues that his purpose is 'to show *how and why* human rights standards come into being, impact the notion of sovereignty, become secondary or tertiary to other values and goals, are manipulated for reasons other than advancing human dignity and social justice, and sometimes change behavior to improve the human condition' (vii). The book does all these things in nine chapters. In the first chapter, Forsythe examines HR from several perspectives, and points out how international norms, including HR standards, come to reflect the preferences and interests of the great powers. Thus the construction of HR have to be understood, in part, in the context of global power configurations. He juxtaposes HR to state sovereignty, and explains sovereignty as a social construct.

The remaining chapters deal with the process of establishing HR standards, the global and regional applications of HR norms, including European, African and Western hemispheric standards, the international criminal justice system, foreign policy in comparative perspective, and the role of NGOs and transnational corporations in HR diplomacy. Each of these chapters makes rewarding reading. Forsythe emphasizes that the international law of HR is based on liberalism, while the practice of HR reflects a realist world. He demonstrates that the application of human rights throughout the world,

especially since the 1940s, constitutes the liberalisation of realism.

In the chapter on international criminal justice, Forsythe examines the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the 1998 Rome statute on a standing International Criminal Court. While he believes that measures need to be taken to protect human rights and prevent ethnic cleansing, Forsythe is skeptical about the protection of HR through international criminal justice. He dismisses 'judicial romanticism' because he believes it 'is not an adequate policy; it is a moral posture' (p. 106). He concludes that it 'is highly likely that there is no perfect solution to the problem of past atrocities' (p. 107).

Forsythe explains well the relationship between HR and state sovereignty. He also reminds us that the French and American revolutions redefined state sovereignty as popular sovereignty. His analysis of sovereignty is very helpful, but perhaps due to space constraint, it does not draw the connection between popular sovereignty and HR. Human rights, which underpin popular sovereignty, and state sovereignty could be seen as two sides of the same coin.

Samuel M. Makinda

Murdoch University, Perth, Australia.

From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America

Alison Brysk

(Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2000) 374pp. Index. Biblio. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 08047-3459-3. Hb.: £37.50; ISBN 08047-3458-5.

If, to quote Rigoberta Menchú (p.301 of this book), "Any attempt to ignore difference is a form of violence", then this is a study of how Latin America's Indian/indigenous rights movement has responded to a legacy of five centuries of violence. *From Tribal Village to Global Village* charts the growth of Indian/indigenous identity politics in the region and considers how it has engaged with state and interstate politics, global market capitalism and international civil society. The goal is both to document challenges and responses and to draw broader conclusions for social movements of self-empowerment.

Beginning with the crimes of the European colonizers, the resistance that soon emerged, and the support of outsiders, the author then traces the construction of Indian identity-based politics, arguing that 'many forms of ethnic conflict seem to be less an atavism than a defensive

response to globalizing pressures' (p.15). Brysk shows the range of national and local Indian struggles, ranging from 'tribal self-defence' of isolated Amazon populations through the 'tribal administrations' of the Ecuadorian Shuar and Nicaraguan Miskito, 'ethnicized peasant movements' of Mexico and Guatemala, 'cultural revival movements' such as Bolivia's Kataristas, and indigenous civil rights movements of Colombia and Chile. As interactions with state interests, transnational corporations, churches, aid programmes, humanitarian groups, anthropologists, environmentalists and others multiplied, the principles of 'self-determination' and 'ethno-development' emerged to unite Latin America's Indians. The movement came of age in 1992 with the '500 Years of Resistance' campaign.

Such international norms as the ILO's Conventions of 1957 and 1989 on indigenous populations have provided leverage, and states have internalized international standards, albeit unevenly. Latin America's indigenous peoples have 'mounted surprising challenges to the international logic of profit' (p.145), with Mexico's Zapatista uprising against NAFTA a case in point. Of the three major global domains considered, civil society has been the most responsive to the struggle.

Assessing impacts, the book concludes with guarded optimism that 'Powerless people can change their lives and their world by projecting new identities into the global arena' (p. 53). Among the principal recommendations are that indigenous and minority peoples now require the practical implementation of existing international human rights standards; that Latin America's deficiency of democracy demands thoroughgoing reform; and that self-determination – meaningful autonomy without secession – requires 'a generous interpretation of the cultural, social, and political rights of peoples within a unified but plurinational state ... a special path to equal representation and dignity' (p.294).

Miles Litvinoff
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Minority Rights Group International

Responding to Emergencies and Fostering Development: The Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid

Edited by Claire Pirotte, Bernard
Husson & François Grunewald

(London: Zed Books, 1999) 185pp. Index. Biblio. Hb.:
£45.00; ISBN 1-85649-754-2. Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 1-885649-
755-0.

A growing body of work examines the significance of interventions by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in conflict situations. One such book is *Responding to*

Emergencies and Fostering Development, which is a translation of the 1997 findings by the Urgence-Réhabilitation-Développement (URD) Group. The URD consists mainly of French emergency and development NGO's, but also incorporates the views of organisations such as the ICRC and ACORD.

In large part the book is an attempt to foster debate between emergency (often called humanitarian) and development organisations. It is suggested by the books editors that both emergency and development organisations are guided by similar motives. Therefore they hope that this debate can lead to better co-operation between the two 'communities'. To this end, Section two of the book looks at how the different NGOs might combine their skills. Here we are introduced to the concept of rehabilitation, which aims to, "take over progressively from humanitarian action and prepare for the resumption of development aid in the middle and long terms." (p. 165) Rehabilitation may therefore appear to be a term that describes any work that is 'neither emergency nor development'. Obviously this is not the authors' intention. Rather, they hope that rehabilitation work can provide a link between emergency and development work, but with the stated aim to 'provide a structure for a better life.' Undoubtedly this is somewhat confusing and this reader was not fully convinced by this section of articles. Admittedly, the difficulty of differentiating between emergency, development and rehabilitation work is acknowledged by many of the authors. A further barrier to increased co-operation is the reluctance of various NGOs to give up their existing 'share of the aid cake.' Given the stated aims of the authors, and the fact that most work for NGOs, it is perhaps not surprising that this problem gets less attention.

The book has three other sections. Section one seeks to analyse crisis in the belief that a better understanding of how 'crises' emerge, develop and are resolved, will improve the NGO response. Section three conceptualises outside intervention in crises with the stated aim of improving relations with local partners. The familiar refrain is that NGOs must seek to empower local people in crises and, 'help them to help themselves.'

Section four is entitled 'Open Debates', reflecting the belief that there is no consensus with regard to solving the many problems previously raised in the book. In fact, this section appears to house contributions that were deemed not to fit into any of the previous sections. Nevertheless it contains some of the more interesting articles in the book. Indeed, throughout the book, many of the contributions rest uneasily in their particular section. The contributions from Vincent (6), Laurent (9) and Biberson (10), in Section One, for example, might be usefully placed alongside those in the open debates section that deal with how NGOs justify their work.

While almost all of the contributions are useful, the many interesting parts of the book do not add up to a fully

satisfactory whole. The book covers a plethora of issues and inevitably given its scope one is frequently left asking for more. This is particularly the case as many articles are only one page or less in length. This volume is, however, valuable, particularly as it brings the perspectives of French NGOs to an English speaking audience. What is also made clear is that these NGOs play an important role, and are a very real dynamic in conflict. Indeed what is perhaps most apparent from reading this book is the political nature of all aid.

Liam O'Hagan
INCORE

Women, Violence and War: Wartime Victimization of Refugees in the Balkans

Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic

(Budapest: Central University Press, 2000) 250pp. Biblio.
Index. Pb.: £13.95; ISBN 963-9116-60-2.

This was originally published in Serbia in 1995 by the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research. It provides an interesting Serbian perspective on the recent Balkan wars. It is written by the main author with three other women (all criminologists and sociologists). The war is presented from women's point of view, and considers their suffering without regard to ethnic origin. The focus is not to describe the suffering of women in terms of numbers, but to consider individual experiences or narratives from a feminist perspective. War is seen as essentially a masculine construction which takes place within the context of patriarchal societies. The authors oppose written history written from men's perspective which, they claim, focuses on "stories about victories and defeats, enemy losses, heroic battles and heroes, usually men". They attempt to redress the balance by taking an oral history approach. Around 70 women who lived through the war and experienced violence were interviewed. They mostly came from Bosnia and settled in Vojvodina during the war. The book is essentially a record of this study.

The first chapter is a brief history of Bosnia-Herzegovina from its origins to the 1995 Dayton peace accords. This has been added for the English edition and is clearly intended for a foreign audience. The chapter stands alone, and anyone familiar with Bosnian history can safely omit it.

Subsequent chapters examine a range of issues relating to women's experiences of abuse in war, specifically how to

define violence and the experience of women, the methodology used, sexual violence, the Hague Tribunal and rape, physical abuse and homicide, psychological violence and fear, family separation, refugees, adaptation to new environments and strategies of support and help.

This is a wide-ranging study which attempts to take into account the experiences of women during war and their physical, psychological, social and economic consequences. Throughout the book there are vivid descriptions which illustrate the points the authors wish to make. For instance, the chapter about sexual violence discusses rape from a number of perspectives; during military conquest, abuse in camps and prisons, revenge, war strategy, prostitution, etc. This effectively integrates the suffering of women into the social and political context.

The book is well-structured and provides a coherent account of the issues. The feminist focus is enlightening for those of us used to the descriptions of war we normally experience in history books and through the media.

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Women, Violence and War: Wartime Victimization of Refugees in the Balkans

Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic

(Budapest: Central University Press, 2000) 250pp. Biblio.
Index. Pb.: £13.95; ISBN 963-9116-60-2.

In the Balkans, the ethno-political conflict is also a war against women. This collection of essays examines the psycho-social aspects and the 'micro' realities of violence as experienced by women during the Balkan conflict between 1991-1995. The study takes issue with the representations of violence by the 'international community', media, nationalist groups, and politicians, which have tended to take rape as *the* act of violence against women. The myopic view denies women who have not been raped a language to express their pain and grief.

Consequently, this book abandons any attempt to define violence. Instead, it opts for a multiple and subjective understanding of the term. This emphasis on experiential knowledge opens up a new space to reconceptualize violence beyond the act of rape. The data collected from the interviews illustrate the various forms of violence to

which women experience in war situations. These experiences include multiple expressions of sexual violence from rape, forced prostitution to sexual slavery, torture and homicide, psychological violence, harassment, expulsion, destruction of family ties and broader social community, impoverishment, and social isolation and stigmatization. Personal recollections are used effectively to emphasize the personal wounds of the conflict. The chapters read as a record of a woman's journey from the experience of violence to attempts at self-recovery and social reconstruction.

The essays by Nikolic-Ristanovic correct the misleading view that Serbs were the perpetrators of violence against Moslem women and Serb women were immune to similar physical and psychic injuries. This position, she argues, increases hostility of Moslems and Croats, and encourages the act of 'revenge rape' against Serb women. Not surprisingly, most of the women interviewed for the study were Serbs.

The discussion on 'gendering' ethnicity is less satisfactory. Nikolic-Ristanovic's chapter on sexual violence questions the idea of rape as a method of ethnic-cleansing. For her, inter-ethnic rape is ethnic mixing rather than ethnic cleansing. This somewhat biological interpretation misses the social meaning of rape, which furnishes the practice such potency as a technology of war. Likewise, claims about violation of women as a mode of male inter-ethnic communication because she is the property of a man are too simplistic. This position obscures the purpose of the ethnicization of the category 'woman' and the feminization of ethnic identity in war. The construction of an absolute difference based on ethnicity and femininity is a method to normalize violence against a certain group of people. Through the processes of normalization performed on *both* the individual and broader social levels, forms of violence become effective and seemingly banal.

The book's claim to challenge the dominant macro narrative of history with its focus on the national project has resulted in the subjugation of ethnicity to gender. The assumed universality of 'woman' overshadows the process of ethnicization and the fluidity of self-identification. The 'micro-physics' of power, however, creates subjectivities that cannot be reducible to a singular matrix of power relations, whether it is patriarchy, class, or race. In the end, the study does little to advance our understanding of how the double marginalization of ethnicity and gender creates a specific experience of vulnerability. But it is profoundly valuable as a documentation of the silenced suffering endured by people in conflict situations.

Robyn Lui
Australian National University

Asia

Calming the Ferghana Valley: Development and Dialogue at the heart of Central Asia

Nunn, Rubin, & Lubin

(New York: Central Foundation Press, 1999) 196pp. Index.
Pb.: \$11.95; ISBN 0-8707-8414-5.

This report from an eminent group of US policymakers and conflict resolution specialists represents a very useful addition to the literature on Central Asia, with maps, tables and appendices. The Ferghana Valley straddles three former Soviet republics: Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. It is a major source of food and water for all three states but is also the site of serious and growing economic and political pressures that have led to bloodshed and violence in the 1990s.

The working group, led by Senator Sam Nunn, set out to examine the sources of conflict and instability in this highly volatile region, and how these might potentially be resolved in the future. The US has become particularly aware of the strategic value of Central Asia since the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, with respect to energy resources, the transit of narcotics and weapons, and the rise of newly politicised Islamic groups.

In 1989 and 1990 violent clashes in both the Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan parts of the valley took hundreds of lives, followed by further unrest and assassinations over the past ten years. The authors recommend a number of measures, including the establishment of cross-border institutions to defuse tensions and spur economic growth; support for institutions promoting civil society and human rights initiatives; increased efforts at intercultural dialogue on ethnic and religious issues; and boosting foreign assistance, aid and investment to the region.

Alan Bullion
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Pollwatching, Elections and Civil Society in Southeast Asia

William A. Callahan

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 214pp. Index. Biblio. Hb.: £45.00;
ISBN 1-84014-474-2.

Corruption in domestic politics is currently a central issue in the study of good governance and democratic change. William Callahan studies political corruption in Southeast

Asia by undertaking systematic empirical investigation into the electoral systems of Thailand and Philippines, compared with electoral practices in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. He noticed that economic growth in the 1980s and early 1990s fuelled electoral corruption and helped to institutionalise vote-buying culture in the region.

'PollWatch' is an electoral organisation established in January 1992 by Thailand Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun to monitor the Thai General Election of March 1992. William Callahan uses 'PollWatch' as a main case study for the examining of anti-vote-buying culture and popular responses to electoral fraud in Southeast Asia. Callahan took the risk of ascribing faith to an election monitoring institution which has been widely regarded as biased, not the least because it receives its budget from the government. However, Callahan argues that the 'PollWatch' organisation secures state funding for independent electoral projects. In his view, interaction between governmental and non-governmental institutions is inevitable and there are no clear dividing lines between civil society and the state. Callahan has skilfully related the empirical experience of pollwatching activities by domestic organisations in Southeast Asia to theoretical discussion on the issue of civil society.

Ethnic and religious diversity in the region provides a rich source for the accumulation of cultural and educational materials encouraging people to use their voting rights in the electoral process. William Callahan then discusses the monitoring of election in a wider context as grassroots social activity, which contributes to the establishment of an alternative political culture.

The book is divided into two main parts. In the first part, Callahan presents detailed analyses of the activities of 'PollWatch' in Thailand and the subsequent issues of independence, neutrality and effectiveness. In the second part, he discusses the civil society in Southeast Asia and the relation with the state. The Book concludes by exploring possibilities of an alternative political culture and prospects for anti-corruption reform in Southeast Asia, however it is up to the civil society and public opinion to guarantee and maintain the process of political change.

Dr Mohamed Awad Osman
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India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation

George Perkovich

(Berkeley: California University Press, 1999) 597pp. Index.
Hb.: £24.50; ISBN 0-5202-1772-1.

Among countries that have developed nuclear weapons the case of India is enigmatic. It has baffled pundits of Structural Realism theory, which argues that states will seek to maximise their power for self-preservation in an anarchical international environment. According to this theory India should have built and deployed nuclear weapons long ago to counter first the Chinese and later the Pakistani threat. And yet, India exploded its first device only in 1974 - a decade after China went nuclear - and then, almost inexplicably did not weaponize this capability. It took another 23 years before India finally declared itself to be a nuclear weapon state. If realism cannot explain India's behaviour, what can? George Perkovich's epic book (which covers the period from 1947 until the early aftermath of the May 1998 tests over nearly 600 pages) provides not only one of the most detailed and authoritative accounts of India's nuclear weapon programme but also one of the most cogent constructions of India's nuclear rationale.

According to the author domestic factors, including moral and political norms, coupled with India's colonial past and postcolonial identity, which are deftly brought out in the first (and probably the best) part of the book, played a more significant role in India's unique nuclear quest. Thus, while nuclear tests were considered necessary to assert India's identity and repudiate the 'nuclear apartheid' imposed by the non-proliferation regime, deploying these weapons was unnecessary as this would violate India's own aspirations to uphold the morally superior Gandhian principles of 'ahimsa'. Therefore, the purpose of India's nuclear arsenal Perkovich convincingly argues, was "to make an adversary *uncertain* that nuclear threats or attacks would *not* be met with nuclear reprisals" (p. 3). Ironically, while India's own ideological rooting would prevent it from using nuclear weapons like other states, its Western liberal inspired democratic structure would prohibit it from either constraining or abandoning these capabilities, Perkovich argues before extending this argument to cover all democracies, with less conviction.

While the superb examination of India's nuclear programme which provides a rare insight into the 'Indian' rationale is, clearly, the strength of this book, the attempt to extrapolate the Indian experience to the broad trend of global proliferation is far more equivocal.

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The Taliban: War, Religion, and the New Order in Afghanistan

Peter Marsden

(London: Zed Press, 1999) 160pp. Hb.: ISBN: 1856495213.

This relatively short, concisely-written new book is particularly useful in attempting to disentangle ethnic, religious, superpower, and historical threads in Afghanistan.

Peter Marsden is an unusual combination: An Arabic specialist with extensive experience in community development and humanitarian assistance, particularly in Afghanistan, and many years' experience as Information Co-ordinator of the British Agencies Afghan Group. His book draws on all this experience. It describes the ethnic complexities of Afghanistan and its history, reflecting particularly on the importance of Pushtun rural culture as a source of Taliban puritanism. He draws comparisons between the Taliban and a number of historical radical movements within Islam, including the Wahhabi, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Iranian revolution, and Moamar al Gaddafi. Marsden presents a convincing case for the influence on the Taliban of these various historical precedents, not in order to over-simplify, but to re-contextualise our view of the Taliban movement. He emphasises particularly that the Taliban are consistent in their words and actions that their focus is Afghan society and its purification.

"The Taliban can be seen as distinct from the Islamist Mujahidin parties in that they are not trying to create a political ideology. Rather, using Shari'a law as their sole guide to action in governing the country, they are looking to the Ulema [the learned men who interpret Shari'a] to provide guidance as to how they should proceed in any given situation. [...] The movement is thus inward looking and is exclusive of what may be happening in the outside world" (p.85).

Taliban efforts to make Afghan society a pure, Islamic state by protecting it from outside influences, and their simultaneous protestation of having no designs on the rest of the world, run directly counter to the expectations and understanding of the rest of the world. Marsden repeats the well-known history of external interference in Afghan affairs, including the empire-building of the British, the Russian competing imperialism, the Soviet imposition of socialism and eventual invasion and war, and the roles of the USA, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia in particular in arming specific Mujahidin parties and movements to fight the Soviet army. Marsden reveals a pattern of events in which the Taliban act according to their own rather limited and rigid aims: everything else is subordinated to the determination to take control of the entire country and to purify society. Education of women, for example, is not

opposed in principle, but will not be permitted until the Ulema has created an acceptable curriculum and infrastructure, and this is not at the moment a high priority. The consequences for individuals and families are grave and immediate, and many have fled into exile accordingly. One of Marsden's gifts, however, is to know and to remind us that, just as hundreds of thousands of Afghan families now leave for Pakistan to prevent their daughters suffering from extremes of Islamic imposition, so their predecessors fled the Soviet imposition of socialist values in 1979.

The Taliban severity in enforcing dress and behaviour codes on the population, and particularly their limitations on women, evoke in the West not only human rights-based concern for individual liberties, but stereotypes of oppression, patriarchy, and even terrorism. Marsden is particularly helpful in juxtaposing this confrontation with the actual difficulties posed for Afghan families by the strict Taliban codes. For poor families, the requirement of additional cloth is too expensive, the garments unwieldy for engaging in agricultural work, the prohibition against women working has driven the fragile family income into destitution. As a consequence, the children must replace the women's previous earnings with their own work or begging, all the easier when all girls' schools and even most boys' schools have closed when deprived of women teachers.

"The Taliban are not unusual within the Islamic world in insisting on conformity to a particular code of dress. However, they are at the extreme end in the degree to which they enforce this. The periodic practice by some elements within the Taliban, particularly the religious police, of beating women with sticks in the street if they do not comply has had an enormous impact on the mobility of the female population. [...] There has also been a marked decline in women and children attending health facilities" (p.90).

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of this book is that it brings in Marsden's experience in Afghanistan as a Western development and humanitarian aid worker, and the perspective of such agencies. This is a particularly illuminating perspective, since it reveals the confrontation of value systems which are somewhat blind to each other, in working with and on behalf of the most marginal of the local populations. While humanitarian agencies are faced with Taliban practices which often seem severe and inhuman, they have at their backs Western governments and public opinion with stereotypes of Islamic fundamentalism and a rigid unwillingness to recognise the Taliban government, even as they judge its actions. There is here a useful reminder that ethnicity and fundamentalism do not belong only to *them*.

Sue Williams
INCORE

Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma

Edited by Abdel-Fatau Musah and J.
'Kayode Fayemi

(London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2000) 336pp. Index.
Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-7453-1471-6. Pb.: £15.99; ISBN 0-7453-1476-7.

Published as part of the Center for Democracy and Development's Conflict Management and Peace-building Programme, *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma* succeeds in exposing the mercenary trade as a menace to African security and stability. The authors argue that while mercenaries are not the root cause of instability in Africa, they do influence conflict profoundly.

The first chapter traces the relationships between the nature and dynamics of conflicts in Africa since the anti-colonial revolution. According to 'Kayode Fayemi, the external interventions (i.e. mercenaries) in African conflicts that do not address root causes actually escalate internal violence. The author implores the reader to take a multi-dimensional look at the consequences of military intervention in African conflicts. In Chapter 2, Kevin O'Brien presents a clear picture of African conflict resolution in the 1990s and exposes the magnitude of mercenary intervention. Chapters 3 and 4 provide case studies of mercenary activity in Sierra Leone's civil war and address the role of soldiers of fortune in the final hour of Mobutu Seko Seko's kleptocracy in Zaire. Chapter 5 exposes the dark side of mercenary outfits in internal African conflicts and is especially critical of PMCs (private military companies). The next chapters include a close scrutiny of the *OAU Convention for the Elimination of Mercenaries and Civil Conflict* and an analysis of the concept of 'security.' The book concludes by examining alternatives to mercenary intervention and explores the link between instability in one state and wider regional security.

By examining the issue from multiple dimensions and levels, the contributors of this work strongly emphasize that mercenaries are "both instruments and perpetrators of violence" (p. 259). As such, mercenaries can never supplant nor supplement multilateral conflict management. However, mercenaries are becoming important internal political players, are linked to crime, narcotics transfers and illegal arms transfers, and must be addressed as part of the work toward security and stability in Africa.

Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma lends a rich dimension to the ongoing debate of private military intervention/mercenaries in African conflicts.

Stephanie Donlon
ICAR, George Mason University

Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict and Catastrophe

Donald Petterson

(Oxford: Westview Press, 1999) 209pp. Index. Hb.: £19.50;
ISBN 0-8133-3657-0.

A brief and readable book, Donald Petterson's volume is an example of the diplomatic memoirs genre. Written in a very personal fashion, it is a reconstruction of his three years (1992-1995) in the Sudan as an American ambassador. While rich with personal anecdotes, the volume does not delve much into the political development of the Sudan or its experiences with political Islam, nor does it attempt to address the genesis and development of this movement intellectually or politically. While references to the war in southern Sudan are numerous, the book aims to offer a first hand look into the real experiences of an American diplomat in a dangerous location at the end of the century.

The volume's most significant contribution to the ethnic conflict literature seems to be in the assessment of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter's successful attempt to mediate a cease-fire in 1995. Considering the very tense relations between U.S. and the Sudan, Petterson is correct in emphasizing the relevance of Carter's skill in securing the agreement. This is, in fact, one of the most interesting cases in which successful third party intervention was carried out by a prominent former political leader who was able to simultaneously benefit from his previous leadership experience and the freedom of no longer being a representative of any government.

Other significant points, such as the tension between religion and politics, so significant in the Sudanese experience, or the issues of humanitarian assistance in times of war, are not covered from a conflict resolution perspective. All such accounts maintain a descriptive quality more useful to those who are interested only in the experiences of a Foreign Service Office (FSO).

Andrea Bartoli
Columbia University

The Colour of Business: Managing Diversity in South Africa

Kanya Adam

(Basel, P. Schlettwein, 2000) 215 pp. Index. Bibl. NPI. ISBN 3-908193-05-2.

Because of its extraordinary past, its key but very special position in Africa, and its peacefully negotiated transition from white-minority rule to a parliamentary democracy, South Africa is of great interest and relevance to the management of race and ethnic relations well beyond its borders. Kanya Adam's meticulous pioneer study of "affirmative action" in South African business is exceptionally illuminating, timely, and full of lessons for countless multi-racial and multicultural societies such as the USA, Canada, India, Malaysia, Fiji, and many others.

In South Africa, the majority-black ANC government is still officially committed to universalistic, colour-blind policies, but white-controlled business eagerly engages in a window-dressing exercise of racially diversifying management while keeping the structure of capitalism intact. Even conservative firms eagerly vie for black managers, at salaries bloated by mutual poaching. This produces a tiny black elite that combines with the new ANC political elite and the old white professional, managerial and capitalist elite to form the new ruling class of neo-liberal, multiracial, "democratic" South Africa. The result, predictably, is that the lot of the vast majority of black South Africans is unimproved, and that much the same sort of economic chasm between rich and poor persists, as existed under Apartheid. The only difference is that, now, a few of the rich are black. In 2000, blacks still made up only 7 percent of top business management in a population which is 76 percent black.

Adam, however, is keenly aware that officializing and radicalizing black preference policies is not the solution either, as such policies would still advantage the better educated, middle-class blacks, leave the capitalist class structure of South Africa unaffected, and, in effect, re-racialize the country under a system of reverse Apartheid, quotas, and job reservation. This would be a sure recipe for renewed racial conflict, as suggested by Adam's review of ascriptively-based affirmative action in the U.S., Malaysia, India and Canada. Adam advocates class-based affirmative action. One can only wish she would be listened to, in South Africa and elsewhere.

Pierre L. van den Berghe
University of Washington

The Middle East

Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948

Meron Benvenisti

(Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000) 417pp. Index. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-520-21154-5.

The Israeli writer Meron Benvenisti has, during the last two decades, produced an impressive body of work that is at once original and provocative. It is about the unfolding of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the impact of Israel's policies in the Occupied Territories, the city of Jerusalem, and the changing political landscape of Palestine/Israel. Central in Benvenisti's production is the current book published by the University of California Press.

Sacred Landscape describes the purposeful and systematic 'destruction' of the Arab landscape of historic Palestine, in both its physical and cultural aspects, in order to create a Jewish one in a relatively short period of time. This dual process was massive in scale and horrifyingly cruel. The destroyed habitat of the 'other' has been part of the author's consciousness since adolescence. It is ironic, he says, "that my father, by taking me on his trips and hoping to instil in me a love for our Hebrew homeland, had imprinted in my memory the very landscape he wished to replace" (p.2).

In the second chapter, Benvenisti draws a portrait of the new Hebrew map as it was constructed. The replacement of thousands of Arabic names of villages, natural sites, and ruins by Hebrew nomenclature was a conscience attempt to 'purify' the holy land from its Arabic heritage. He then goes on to describe how the Arab communities were transplanted into mere 'white patches' in the 'mental maps' of the Jews.

Chapter 3 and 4, entitled 'exodus' and 'ethnic cleansing', respectively, are possibly the most controversial and provocative. Benvenisti advances the claim that while not a primary objective of the 1948 war, the systematic displacement of Palestinians from their homes even after the creation of the state of Israel amounted to ethnic cleansing.

The following chapters describe in detail the erasure of villages, the implanting of Jewish immigrant communities, ethnic competition, the creation of internal refugees, and the destruction of the cultural landscape, including sacred sites and folkloric materials. Finally, the author describes how the Palestinians have become the 'last Zionists', wanting to restore a buried landscape.

Benvenisti's work is of such scope that it invites conflicting, or perhaps politicised, remarks. Although one can find ample occasion to criticise Benvenisti's

assumptions and his selective use of evidence, such critique must not overshadow this very engaging and readable book. My view is that this work is not only truly original and creative, but also of great import for future assessments of the Palestine question. His creative use of many kinds of original data, his objective-sensitivity as shown in many 'picturesque' portraits of the lost Palestinian landscape and its varied forms of human experience, is truly fresh.

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Compromising Palestine: A Guide to Final Status Negotiations

Aharon Klieman

(New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) 284pp. Index.
Hb.: £25.00; ISBN 0-231-11788-4. Pb.: £11.50; ISBN 0-231-11789-2.

While providing for a negotiating framework and interim agreements that led to the establishment of a Palestinian Authority in autonomous parts of the West Bank and Gaza, the Oslo accords have deliberately deferred any decision on the core issues of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In "Compromising Palestine", Klieman argues that the conditions are ripe to transform the ambiguous, nebulous and contested terms of settlement of the interim period - which have contributed to undermine it - into a clear final status agreement.² The aim of the book is to explore patterns and dynamics that are going to delineate the final status negotiations.

The book converges around three main points. First, the partition between Israelis and Palestinians is the sole possible key to a conflict settlement; the two other thinkable options being Israeli-Palestinian integration or the perpetuation of the conflict. Signals of the parties' will to proceed in this direction can be detected, according to Klieman, in Israeli and Palestinian leaderships' declarations and position papers and in surveys on the two populations' opinions. Second, given the geographical and demographic constraints - the contested land is limited in space with scarce resources and the two populations are strictly intermixed and interdependent - separation between Israelis and Palestinians must be realised on the basis of a twofold compromise. The parties will have to renounce their absolutist claims on the contested land, accepting to divide it with their counterpart, and will have to consent to a form of partition defined by Klieman as "partition plus" or "soft partition" based on porous borders, presence of enclaves and co-operation. Klieman devotes the central part of his contribution to the treatment of selected core and outstanding issues - demographic spread, borders and

security, economy, Jerusalem, transit rights, peace maps and plans - with the aim of demonstrating the degree of "mutual dependence" between the two parties. The conclusion is that "[...] the two larger Israeli and Palestinian communities, somehow need to reconcile living together...but separate...with the need to be separate...but together" (p.139). This leads to the third point: the enterprise of drawing a line between Israelis and Palestinian entails challenging complexities. These are depicted for instance in the valuable analysis of the complications accompanying the implementation of the provisions of the Oslo agreements concerning safe passages between the West Bank and the Gaza strip. According to Klieman, these will repropose themselves at the moment of the final status negotiations.

Klieman tackles two critical theoretical issues regarding peacemaking. The first is linked to peacemaking design: in peace processes, the parties have the options of addressing problematic core issues dividing them at the beginning of the negotiations or of postponing them to successive phases. Postponement is based on the idea that parties engaged in a peace process must begin by building confidence and overcoming suspicion and psychological barriers, and that if the parties start by tackling the most difficult issues - without having consolidated at least partially their relations - the process can easily enter into a stalemate. Klieman stimulates the debate showing how; on the one hand postponement has enabled a certain degree of progress to be reached, while on the other hand it has triggered suspicion and a *faits accomplis* policy.

The second issue raised by Klieman's book is the importance of a most delicate phase, the implementation of the agreements. During this phase the parties have to bring into effect the provisions that result from the negotiations, whose effects will no longer be confined to the realm of hypotheses but to the visible shaping of reality on the ground. Emphasis on the relevance of "practical aspects" of peace agreements is a recurrent pattern throughout the book. Klieman sheds light on the essential need that agreements be conceived with the aim of being viable and workable.

The book is well structured and focused, posing serious and relevant questions. Klieman's inclusion of description and relative maps of the various peace plans proposed since the 1937 Peel's Commission report, as well as updated explanations of Israeli and Palestinian security requirements (complete with copious footnotes), contribute to render the book clear and comprehensible, even for neophytes of the Middle Eastern conflict.

1 For an analysis of Oslo agreements' *constructive ambiguity* see Aharon Klieman (1999), *Constructive Ambiguity in Middle East Peace-Making*, Tel Aviv, The Tami Steinmetz Centre for Peace Research at Tel Aviv University.

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Europe

A Changing Turkey: The Challenge to Europe and the United States

Heinz Kramer

(Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2000) 304pp. Index.
Pb.: \$18.95; ISBN 0-8157-5023-4.

A Changing Turkey provides an excellent review and fascinating analysis of the centrifugal religious, ethnic and cultural, political and strategic forces, and the dilemmas of Westernisation, which have dogged Turkey for much of the recent past. Part One examines how the outdated Kemalist model has produced great tensions between tradition and the modernity it purported to create, leading to the forceful expression of alternative identities (as with the Kurds, for example), and the revival of political Islam. Part Two discusses foreign and security policy since the end of the Cold War, and Turkey's rather unsubtle attempts to become involved in Central Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans, and its tough policies towards Greece and Cyprus. It then turns to a discussion of Turkey's view of Europe and the West before finally presenting the author's position on how European and American policy toward Turkey should proceed.

While I found this study to be informative and accurate from a factual point of view, I must disagree with some of the conclusions which were drawn, which I think, rather than stabilising Turkey would exacerbate its ethnic and religious divisions and allow the military to continue their bellicose policies around its borders, with Greece, Cyprus, and Syria, among others, and with the Kurds. The author has very precisely pin-pointed the plethora of tensions within Turkey produced in part by a lack of pluralism and the extensive role of the military in political decision-making through the lens of the authoritarian Kemalist model which sought to modernise Turkey. It is then proposed that the solution to Turkey's ills would be found in Turkey becoming more 'Western' with the aid of the EU and the US. The problem with this is that Kemalism and its Western oriented policies themselves have produced these tensions with the more traditional aspects of Turkish society, and with 'other' identity groups. Anchoring Turkey firmly within the West means promoting actors mainly within the political and military elites- and as can be seen during the Cold War and since, this has produced an aggressive Turkish foreign policy which has had unfortunate implications for many of Turkey's neighbours, as well as groups within Turkey which have resisted assimilation. To argue that Turkish foreign policy is a product of the tensions of the region is only part of the story. Thus, for example, US backing of Turkey has generally been for US objectives rather than to produce a more democratic and humanitarian system within Turkey. Here the EU may well prove to be crucial, but given the

buttressing that the US has provided for Turkey for so long and with generally little regard for the nature of Turkish politics, Turkey now seems to be attempting to apply similarly bellicose tactics to the EU through its attempts to bypass much of what was clearly stated in the Helsinki Conclusions of late 1999. Much more attention needs to be paid to Turkey's humanitarian record, its institutions of polyarchy, and development, in the context of the unwieldy role of its artificially bloated military infrastructure, unfortunately buttressed because of western strategic goals.

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Policy Making and Diversity in Europe: Escape from Deadlock

Adrienne Heritier

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 120pp. Index.
Bibl. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-5216-5296-0. Pb.: £11.95; ISBN 0-5216-5384-3.

The current debate within the European Union with regard to institutional reform means that Prof Heritier's discussion is not only timely but useful for scholars. Those interested in policy making in the EU, either from the point of view of the academic or the practitioner, will find this an accessible and worthwhile addition to the literature. The focus of Heritier's study is subterfuge, by which he means the policy strategies and patterns that allow EU institutions to work. These institutions must work in an arena where the actors (member states, supranational institutions and interest groups) have diverse interests and where decision making procedures are consensual. Heritier firstly examines the issue of deadlock with EU policy making before considering a number of theoretical perspectives. He considers bargaining theory, sociological organisational theory and inter-organisational theory and how they suggest stalemate can be avoided. Heritier then considers four general policy areas and specific policies within these. The four areas are market-making policies (transport and telecommunications policies), provision of collective goods and reduction of externalities (environmental policy), redistributive marketing-correcting policies (regional and social policy) and distributive market-correcting policies (research and technology policy). The two aspects of the book are then brought together in a final chapter that presents plausible arguments as to how stalemate is avoided in the above policy areas. He himself states that he does not go as far as testing propositions. This is perhaps the subject of a forthcoming project. In examining the above policy areas, Heritier argues that deadlock is the normal case in EU policy making. He concludes by considering three possible implications of

subterfuge for the EU. The first is that subterfuge is allowed to develop as before and the gap between 'formal' and 'informal' processes is allowed to widen. The second, and least plausible possibility, is to abolish subterfuge. This is unlikely given the current obstacles to institutional reform and the fact of diversity between actors. The final response is to allow a limited, piecemeal formal response to policy escape routes. Heritier concludes that 'given the likelihood of an enlarged and ever more diverse Union in the future, the pressure to develop an architecture which allows for diversity under the roof of 'a common European home' would appear to be more urgent than ever'. (p.98)

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The Culture of Power in Serbia

Eric D. Gordy

(Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 1999) 230pp.
Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$58.50; ISBN 0-2710-1957-3. Pb.: \$17.95;
ISBN 0-2710-1958-1.

This is one of the best studies of the contemporary Serbian society and politics. Eric Gordy sets out to answer a simple question: how does the regime of Slobodan Milosevic remain in power? The ruling party has never received the majority of votes in elections and its electoral support is constantly shrinking, it has engaged in four losing wars of the Yugoslav succession that produced hundreds of thousands of refugees and shrunk the lands of Serbian habitation and the country has faced economic disaster, international sanctions and the hostility of most other states; however the dominant position of the political leadership has never been seriously challenged in the last decade. Gordy challenges commonsensical and essentialist explanations of this paradoxical phenomenon. He shows that analyses based on notions of a charismatic leadership, of unleashed ancient ethnic hatreds, of 'war hysteria' and of a hereditary Serbian nationalism and authoritarianism are flawed. In contrast his own explanation focuses on what he calls 'destruction of alternatives'. The regime remains in power through skilful strategies deployed in the everyday life of the population. "...[T]he regime maintains itself not by mobilizing opinion or feeling in its favor, but by making alternatives to its rule unavailable. The story of everyday life in contemporary Belgrade, then, is that of a regime attempting to close off avenues of information, expression, and sociability, while many outside the regime endeavour to keep those avenues open." (p.2) Gordy's study follows this basic thesis by tracing the regime's strategies in three different areas: politics, media and information and culture. In each of these areas the regime has managed to destroy or marginalise alternatives and to support and promote those forces that are congruent or useful to its rule. The consequences of these strategies coupled by the effects of the continuing

economic crisis on the population and the sociability of ordinary citizens are responsible for the paradox of Serbian political life. Gordy's study is convincing, it is a refreshing new approach in one of the most major problems of the former Yugoslav area, and it is particularly important because a large amount of the books and articles written about the Serbian people and society explain away the difficult parts of the problem by resorting to stereotypical views or historicising. One could argue that the book is not representative of the situation in the entirety of the country and is influenced by observations and the conditions prevailing in the generally more progressive Belgrade. This could be to some extent a valid criticism although Gordy is aware of that fact and is more than careful not to over-generalise his conclusions. At the same time the study is easily accessible to non-specialists, for whom it will make an easy and interesting reading, in fact one that will most certainly ring some bells about the situation in other conflict areas.

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Northern Ireland: A Political Directory 1968-1999

**Sydney Elliott and W.D. Flackes with
John Coulter**

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press 1999) 730 pp, Index, Hb.: £30.00;
ISBN 0-85640-628-7.

Since its first edition in 1980, this directory has been an essential reference tool for anyone interested in the politics of Northern Ireland. The fourth edition was published early in 1994, just before the paramilitary ceasefires. It was exhaustive, authoritative and definitive - up to that point. However it contained little information on the new groups and personalities that came to prominence in the six dynamic years that followed. The new fifth edition, completed during a pause in the peace process in summer 1999, therefore has a tough act to follow. It does not completely succeed. This is particularly true in the "Dictionary of Northern Ireland Politics" section which lists key personalities, themes and events of the Troubles in alphabetical order. One of the joys of previous editions was their wealth of detail on obscure politicians who won an election sometime in the 1970s (or earlier). For the new edition, this should have been judiciously pruned. More space should have been given to those who were elected to the Northern Ireland Forum in 1996 and the new Assembly in 1998, some of whom have entries only two lines long. The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition gets only a short entry, and the Northern Ireland Labour group which also participated in the 1996-98 talks has no entry at all. A leading supporter of the Orange Order's "right to march" is listed, but the leaders of the residents groups opposed to her are not. There are a number of inaccuracies

relating to the most recent period - John Alderdice was not a candidate in the 1994 European election (p. 155); names such as Glendinning (p. 211) and Ramaphosa (p. 443) are misspelt.

Besides the "dictionary" section, the other parts of the new edition - a chronology, lists of office holders, notes on security and systems of government - have been updated as necessary. One high point: in the section listing election results, the descriptions of the most recent campaigns are vivid and accurate. This book is still essential, but the new edition is merely useful rather than excellent. I am looking forward to the seventh edition.

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Northern Protestants: An Unsettled People

Susan McKay

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2000) 408pp. Pb.: £12.99; ISBN 0-85640-666-X.

Comprising an interesting array of vignettes, McKay's book is an odyssey through the collective mind-set of Northern Irish Protestants. As the title suggests, there is unanimity of purpose over very few things; insecurity is the most prevalent feeling among the interviewees. If at times a bleak vista, this work does throw up some interesting observations, including the bizarre - though presumably true - assertion that: 'It was like what I'd been told about Carrickfergus, where UVF men were married to Catholics. Or Lisburn, where several Catholics were in the UDA'. Given that the central thrust of McKay's whole thesis is that Northern Protestants are in a pretty parlous state, one wonders what sort of Catholic would want to join, or be associated with, such organisations.

More pertinently, McKay reminds us of how ill at ease continued denunciations of political violence sit with a partitionist ideology underpinned by the threat and use of extreme violence. Thus, in Ballymoney, the murders by loyalists of the three Quinn children in 1998 and of constable Greg Taylor in 1997, were not followed by displays of widespread revulsion from the town's Protestants'. Instead, the victims were in some way culpable; that the Quinn family was 'not a good family, you know' was the observation of one of the respondents. Similarly, Taylor's short separation from his wife is juxtaposed with the 'respectability' of the families of his killers. This not only displays a confusing attitude toward moral issues, but, strangely, was probably uttered by the type of person who is at the forefront of the campaign to retain the RUC's name.

That said, some of McKay's 'observations' are not only unoriginal but also not exclusive to Ulster Protestants.

'Lundyism', which is the traducing of those Protestants who stray from the fold, is a trait shared with northern Catholics. Irrespective of whether or not he was killed by republicans, is there any evidence to suggest that large numbers of northern nationalists were exercised greatly by the horrific murder of former IRA volunteer Eamon Collins? No - and precisely for the same reasons that 'Lundies' are shunned by Northern Protestants.

Paradoxically, the strength of McKay's work is also her greatest weakness. In canvassing such a wide range of opinion, 'Northern Protestants' tends to meander rather than elucidate. Fionnuala O'Connor's *tour-de-force* on Northern Catholics, 'In Search of a State', was clearly structured into a number of themes; McKay's concentration on geographic areas does not enable her to develop her hypotheses fully.

Less forgivable is her decision to begin and end the book with the horrific sectarian murders in 1997 of Bernadette Martin and James Morgan. Thus the first and last impression that the reader has of Northern Protestants is that of vile, sectarian murderers. Worse still, is the attempt, in the epilogue, to use these murders as a way of comparing Northern Protestants to the Serbs and 'whites' in the southern states of the USA. Surely, all societies contain many people - whether it is the misanthropic nail-bomber in London or the drugs baron in Dublin - who, in a given circumstance, will transgress the boundaries of what those societies deem to be acceptable conduct? In this respect, McKay's book does not really enlighten the reader about the complexities of ethnic conflict. The tendency of those involved in such conflicts to decorate hypocrisy and ideological zeal with ferocious acts of violence is something of which the reader does not need reminding.

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The Politics of Force: Conflict Management and State Violence in Northern Ireland

Fionnuala Ní Aoláin

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2000) 336pp. Index. Biblio. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-85640-668-6.

This is a fine book. Long in the gestation, it is a remarkable review of an important issue which has lurked at the heart of the conflict; the more than 10% of deaths caused by the British state and its agents.

There is a close quantitative analysis of the 350 killings inflicted by state forces in the 6 counties from 1969 to 1994. According to this analysis, three distinct phases can be detected. The first, from 1969 to 1974, was the period of militarisation when the British army was in the ascendant and the RUC was demoralised and incapable

of imposing its will on a situation of civil conflict. 1975 saw the new policy of normalisation when British policy sought to change the definition of the conflict and hand back primary responsibility for managing the conflict to the RUC. The third phase lasted from 1981 to the ceasefires. This longest phase involved a retrenchment of normalisation with a massively increased focus on counter-insurgency.

Ní Aoláin reviews the case law and the failure of safeguards adequately to protect life. More worryingly she reviews European case law which has tended to illuminate the establishment consensus in Western Europe concerning those who use violence and are portrayed as “terrorists”. *McCann v. UK* was a triumph long overdue in holding the state to account for its easy approach to the death of its citizens. The breakthrough occurred because the European Court, for the first time questioned the finding of fact of the domestic courts. While narrowing the scope for the state in taking life at the point of death, the judgement broke new ground in widening the responsibility of the state to take prior actions in planning the arrest/confrontation and assessing risk to public and suspect.

Perhaps one of the greatest contributions of the book, however, is the discussion of the applicability of international humanitarian law to the conflict. This is a proposition which has caused much angst to the human rights community in the past. It was felt this would detract from the primary task of holding the state to account and the secondary task of denying legitimacy to non-state combatants. However, the book argues cogently that, given the stagnancy of the conflict towards the end, the application of “the new narrative” of the laws of war may have provided a stimulus to the recognition of the political nature of the conflict. This in turn may have deepened the urgency towards negotiations and compromise rather than seeking to defeat the “criminal conspiracy” and maintain a deformed legal apparatus. It may also have forced armed groups to consider the humanitarian implications of their actions, tactics and strategies. These are arguments which deserve consideration.

There are some caveats about the book. Firstly, it is not for the intellectually faint-hearted. It is a work of formidable scholarship – which means that it will not have the wide readership its subject matter deserves. Secondly, and unfortunately because of the importance of the footnotes, the page references in the notes section have gone askew. Finally, there are only three references to the issue of collusion between state forces and loyalists. While it can be argued that the relative lack of empirical evidence means that a discussion would amount to speculation, it could equally be the case that managed collusion with elements reactive to the insurgency (along with the use of informers a classic symptom of colonial systems in transition) was an important part of the counter-insurgency arsenal and masked the real extent of the state’s willingness to compromise the right to life of its opponents. More information will emerge around the collusion issue as the conflict recedes and tongues begin to loosen. Perhaps then Ní Aoláin will address this issue too.

In one sense, it is to be hoped that both this book and the European court (in *McCann*) have come too late to influence the state’s approach to managing the conflict and the use of violence by non-state combatants. Let us hope that the war is over for good. However, that the mentality of the state and its agents still needs to be decommissioned is clear from this book. The emergency law regime persists, the few British soldiers to have faced the courts are being well-treated by their employers. The single inquiry into disputed deaths so far conceded (the Saville Inquiry) is being fought tooth and nail by the military establishment. Human rights campaigners need to continue their activism and vigilance so that other unresolved cases come to a conclusion. The analysis in this book will assist in that task.

A version of this review will appear in ‘Just News’, the magazine of the Committee on the Administration of Justice.

Mike Ritchie
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Post Soviet

Democratization and Ethnic Peace: Patterns of Ethnopolitical Crisis Management in Post Soviet Settings

Airat R. Aklaev

(Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999) 294pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.:
£42.50; ISBN 1-8401-4972-8.

This book provides a worthy diagnosis of one of the main perils of post-Soviet democratization. The success of democratization depends upon adequate resolution of ethnic disagreements. The author, of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnology, in a clever causal twist, advocates democracy itself as a framework most friendly for encouraging the resolution of ethnic disputes. Aklaev demonstrates democracy’s effectiveness in dispute resolution in a comprehensive (but dense) literature review, then tests the hypothesis using information gleaned from four country case studies: Estonia, Lithuania, Moldova, and the Russian Federation.

Each country has its own special historical issues (the presence of Russians in each country, for instance) which help to determine each country’s potential for solving ethnic crises using democratic structures. Yet, “A lot depends upon specific interactions between the state and/or ethnic groups and - what is even more important - upon the critical choices made by salient elites” (p. 255). Three

“ethnopolitical problem areas” are singled out for special examination: stateness, state effectiveness, and nationhood. Estonia and (especially) Lithuania have managed to carve out liberal democracies and use them to manage ethnic crises. Moldova and Russia have been less successful in both democratizing and managing ethnic conflict, though not complete failures at either.

Another asset of this study is its wealth of information on conditions in the four countries. For instance, ethnic composition percentages for each country, going back to 1959, are presented in tabular format. Also, Aklaev tells in an authoritative manner the story of the days of early democratization in each country, using copious sources. Russian and East European scholars will wish to have this information in their libraries.

A critique of this study is its limited comparative application. It is difficult to demonstrate that democratization is effective in bringing about ethnic peace without making reference to countries that have not democratized at all and their ability to contain ethnic conflict. Without variance on democracy, it is hard to know just how well democracy works to create ethnic peace.

Despite that critique, and slight stylistic problems, I recommend this book, especially to Russian and East European specialists.

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Reconstructing the State: Personal Networks and Elite Identity in Soviet Russia

Gerald M. Easter

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 221pp. Index. Biblio. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-521-66085-8.

The author of this work belongs to that unfortunate generation of graduate students who completed their doctoral theses just as the Soviet Union collapsed and the Russian archives opened to foreign researchers. The demise of Soviet political power and the fragmentation of its territorial system demanded a profound reinterpretation of the country's history, and especially of the sources, processes and consequences of its early state-building strategies, which form the subject of this book. Access to the Russian archives offered historians an unprecedented opportunity to confirm or refute earlier conclusions. In the decade since these changes, the author has made some effort to integrate both new information and new ideas into his work, but the published result is only partially

satisfactory.

This book is concerned to elucidate the role of personal networks in the development of Soviet state power. According to the author, these networks, forged in the pre-revolutionary underground and consolidated during the Civil War, lodged their participants in top regional administrative positions in the nascent Soviet state. Thanks to their support for Stalin through the 1920's, key network members were promoted to Moscow, and through their central patrons the regional elites could summon resources to promote economic development in the periphery. At the turn of the 1930's, however, the drive for agricultural collectivisation catalysed an increasingly acute conflict between the regional actors, who sought to consolidate a 'patrimonial' system, and Stalin, who mobilised all the political and coercive resources of the centre to eliminate resistance to the extension of his despotic power. The author argues that although Stalin prevailed in this struggle in the short-term, in the 1960's the regional leaders succeeded in establishing a 'protocorporatist' regime, and he concludes that it was in Gorbachev's attempt again to uproot their vested interests that we should seek the causes of Soviet collapse.

This interpretation of Soviet state-building is unconvincing. It does indeed enlighten us about how one set of "intra-state forces" (leaders of agricultural regions) influenced early Soviet development, but how much does this tell us about early Soviet development? This work boasts an extensive reading of secondary literature in both English and Russian, but the author relegates many important controversies to footnotes where they cannot complicate his pre-formulated and exhaustively reiterated argument, and his archival research and selection of evidence also seem to have been excessively ruled by the theoretical assumptions and preoccupations of the initial thesis. The author pays little attention to other aspects of early Soviet state-building, which in the opinion of this reviewer, are more significant and which form the necessary context for any profound study of informal networks and centre-periphery relations, in particular the role of social, ethnic, national and international forces, pre-revolutionary structures and cultures, the sources and processes of central decision-making, the function of ideology and the regime's industrial and strategic policy priorities. As a result, this work falls well short of its claim to offer a comprehensive rethinking of Soviet history. It should be praised, still, as lending us some fascinating insights into some particular facets of the infinitely complex, often contradictory dynamics of the system.

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North America

Marketing the American Creed Abroad: Diasporas in the U.S. and their Homelands

Yossi Shain

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) Index. Bibl.
Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-5216-4225-6. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN 0-
5216-4531-X.

Yossi Shain richly depicts how immigrant groups have interacted with the prevailing culture and interests of an evolving United States. The author cogently makes the case that successful "diasporas" have been able to show that they are part of, or compatible with, the mainstream of American society. Once having demonstrated their civic attachments, diaspora groups are better able to call upon the American concern for fair play in the name of their cause. They are less successful in using U.S. leverage to effect the politics and policies of their home countries.

Voters count and politicians in America count voters: Diasporan confidence in community strength grows with numbers, experience and wealth. Leaders figure out how to gain enough unity from the community and acceptance from the establishment to exert influence, both in domestic and international affairs.

The analysis packs too many provocative ideas into too dense a package. The most tantalizing dimension of this study is the author's sweeping discussion of how diaspora groups related to the tension between American democratic idealism and its realpolitik pursuit of national interests. The book treats many diaspora experiences, with special emphasis on Arab-American identity, Black-Jewish disputes and the Mexican diaspora.

With the end of the Cold War, accelerating multiculturalism of the 1980s and 1990s broadened opportunities for domestic and international political influence for diverse groups, according to Dr. Shain. The author is optimistic that multiculturalism will help, not hinder, the U.S. both domestically and internationally. The new constituencies are creating a broader set of interests and a new agenda for U.S. international involvement.

Dr. Shain offers a healthy dose of positivism in contrast to skeptics on the left who worry that Establishment America will co-opt - or ignore - diasporas, and the right who fear manipulation of the mainstream by parochial diasporan groups.

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The Bridge Over The Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics

William Julius Wilson

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 173pp.
Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$19.95/£12.50; ISBN 0-5202-2226-1.

To separate or cooperate, that is the question for ethnic groups, whether it's consociational power-sharing vs. integrative power-sharing or identity politics vs. interest politics. William Julius Wilson, a leading black public intellectual in the U.S. and close advisor to President Clinton, knows which is nobler, or at least more practical; the title tells it all in this short political tract aimed at the general, educated public.

Lower and middle-class citizens of all ethnicities (Wilson uses "races") in the U.S. have common interests in decreasing economic inequality, but ethnic antagonism has masked these similarities and protected the interests of the wealthy. Minorities see racism as a reason for their poor economic position while affirmative action leads lower-income whites to blame minorities for "stealing" jobs. Wilson suggests that both perspectives have some merit, but miss the bigger picture; the racial scapegoating by both sides deflects attention from the major impact of economic globalization on lower-skilled, less-educated workers of all ethnic groups.

But the identity politics currently prevalent in the U.S. magnifies differences and minimizes similarities. Wilson argues that the only way to battle the rising inequality resulting from the globalizing economy is to build a multi-ethnic coalition that focuses on shared interests across ethnic groups. The biggest potential stumbling block to such a coalition is affirmative action. African-Americans are overwhelmingly in favor of it, while whites, especially those with lower-incomes, disapprove by a large margin. Wilson has a dilemma. The logic of his argument suggests a class- (instead of race) based affirmative action, but would that get the key support from African-Americans?

Wilson gets out of the quagmire with a linguistic turn worthy of identity politics - change the name to "affirmative opportunity" and base it on "flexible, merit-based criteria". But this rhetorical flourish will unite, not divide, the races because "the concept draws the focus away from a guarantee of equal results, which is how affirmative action has come to be understood. It echoes the phrase equal opportunity, which connotes a principle that most Americans still support, while avoiding connotations now associated (fairly or not) with the idea of affirmative action - connotations such as quotas, lowering standards, and reverse discrimination (111)." But why won't the meaning of "affirmative opportunity" be manipulated by opponents of race-based policies by any

name just as affirmative action has? I only hope that the shared first name gives Wilson's words, along with those of his coalition, as much power – and endurance – as the Bard's.

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La Vida Latina En L.A.: Urban Latino Cultures

Gustavo Leclerc, Raul Villa & Michael J. Dear

(California: Sage, 1999) 214pp. Index. Pb.: ISBN 0-7619-1620-2.

I admit that the first thing I read in *La Vida en L.A.: Urban Latino Cultures* was the comics – but in this book the pictures paint a thousand words. Lalo Alcaraz's "La Cucaracha Urban Sketch Journal" (83-90) shows in a few frames how much of Chicano culture, embodied in Alcaraz's antihero, a disaffected chicano cockroach, is appropriated by mainstream America and then thrown back in the faces of Los Angeles' Latino population: gangsta shorts (on sale at a hip boutique for \$95.00), tribal (once gang) tattoos, Colombian coffee and tacos, Virgin of Guadalupe kitsch. Middle class whites build gated communities and denounce minorities as 'separatists,' even as they adopt their fashion, foods, popular culture, and art. Alcaraz's combination of wry cultural pride and indignation is echoed in the other contributions to *La Vida en L.A.*, such as Richard Alexander Rodríguez's analysis of essentialized ideas of the Latino past (often by non-Latinos) versus real, contemporary expressions of *latinidad* in architecture, urban design and the arts (185-198). This collection offers telling descriptions of people's struggles for resources, territory and cultural preservation in one of the U.S.A.'s largest cities, both in size and in Latino population.

La Vida en L.A. is an illuminating combination of poetry, performance art, music reviews, family and oral histories, and illustrations, alongside rigorous academic essays on the area's history and present condition. It would be difficult to mention all 29 contributing authors in a short review, but particularly noteworthy are the introductory essay by Gustavo LeClerc and Michael J. Dear (1-6), Raúl Villa's analysis of place struggles (7-18), and Teresa Chávez's family and local history (91-103). Rubén Martínez's "Más allá de las mamonerías" (157-166) is a fascinating account of the challenge that a transnational Latino *angeleno* can have negotiating between a rural, indigenous Mexican past and an urban, high-tech, American present in a simple trip "home." Photoessays "Los Paleteros," by Camilo José Vargas (112-116) and "Seeking Oblivion in Los Angeles," by Reynaldo Arena

and Ramona Ortega (165-168) vividly depict working class Latino life. The selections are brief but by no means skimpy, a testament to good editing that could make this volume useful for teachers. However, the issues raised will interest readers at all academic and professional levels.

Two of the contributions seem somewhat out of place: Rogelio Villareal Macías' apocalyptic vision in life in another burgeoning Latino megalopolis, Mexico City (169-176), and John A. Loomis' analysis of identity and marginalization in Cuban architect Walter Betancourt's work (175-184). One could infer that they have been offered for comparison, but their connection to "the life in L.A." is not obvious. Though most selections are entirely or predominantly in English, some are entirely or predominantly in Spanish. No translations are given, which could limit the volume's usefulness for the monolingual. Nevertheless, the greater part of *La Vida Latina en L.A.* is broadly accessible, making it required reading for those who seek a multifaceted presentation of the past and present of L.A. through the eyes of its Latino population.

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Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class

America Rodriguez

(London: Sage, 1999) 176pp. Index. Hb.: £29.00; ISBN 0-7619-1551-6. Pb.: £15.99; ISBN 0-7619-1552-4.

Rodríguez uses print, television and radio news in the United States to discuss the construction of a 'Latino' identity to represent the varied immigrant and non-immigrant populations which have only the Spanish language in common. She begins her work by examining the rise of Spanish-language newspapers in the nineteenth century and discussing how Spanish-language news broke into the new technologies, such as television and radio, in the twentieth. According to Rodríguez, a 'Latino' identity, which the media helped create, is composed of contradictory pressures to assimilate into the dominant US culture while simultaneously remaining culturally distinct.

The bad organisation and inaccurate history in the introduction and first chapter immediately lessened my interest in this work. Worse still, it would appear as if these sections did not receive the same amount of editing as the rest of the book, since they suffer from too much passive sentence construction and confusing writing. For instance, Rodríguez refers to Mexicans whose self-concept was that of 'an exile' [sic] and says that these exiles were unlike 'immigrant people waiting for an opportunity to return home'. (?) (p.18) But as a reviewer, I had to go on and the superior research and writing style of the rest of the book offers some interesting theoretical frameworks

for understanding Latino media. Rodríguez emphasises that racism, combined with assumptions that all Spanish-speakers were poor, has made it difficult for the Spanish-language media to convince potential advertisers that 'Hispanics' (she's not too careful with her terms), were a profitable market. Throughout this work, Rodríguez points out the inherent tension in the Spanish-speaking media born of the need to define 'Latinos' as a market distinct from the rest of the United States, while respecting distinctive national identities (such as Mexican, Cuban or Nicaraguan) and also respecting identities as US citizens. Ultimately, she notes that the construction of a 'Latino' or 'Hispanic' identity in the media was the result of commercial concerns and the need for profit. While this work offers some thought-provoking explanations for 'Latino' identity in the United States, I have too many reservations to recommend it.

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Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the fight for civil liberties

Stuart Svonkin

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 364pp. Index.
Biblio. Pb.: \$21.50/£14.95; ISBN 0-231-10639-4.

The good news is that Stuart Svonkin has written a searching and deeply interesting study of the three major Jewish civil rights organizations in America; the Anti-Defamation League, The American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Congress. All three originally worked as "self-defense" groups, combating anti-Semitic attitudes and institutional restrictions. However, in the two decades following World War II, the principal focus of this study, these organizations shifted their interests from "self-defense" to "intergroup relations"; turning from their concern with prejudice against Jews to a more general interest in the broader issues of bigotry and social discrimination. Each of these organizations had its own style. The Anti-Defamation League, linked with some of the leading figures in America's mass culture industries, emphasized favorable publicity, information, and socially edifying entertainment. The American Jewish Committee, more intellectual in approach, looked to sociologists and social scientists for guidance. They sponsored social psychological studies in prejudice and a series of social surveys to chart the incidence of intolerance. Most feisty of the three organizations was the American Jewish Congress, led by strong-willed rabbis and managed by gutsy lawyers who directed much of its efforts to the courts. Svonkin's important contribution is his shrewd depiction of the differing organizational cultures of these groups and their shifting priorities in the two decades following World War II.

Surprisingly, however, Svonkin does not discuss one of the most significant developments affecting these agencies—the considerable and unanticipated decline in

anti-Semitism after World War II, as marked by public expression and by the rapid decline of institutional restrictions against Jews. This happy decline did not fit the prevailing theories that found the source of prejudice deep within psychological or social structures. In the face of such positive advance in social tolerance, the defense organizations seemingly could not take yes for an answer. They remained active and even expanded their efforts. This clearly had some bearing upon their shift to the more general issues of intergroup relations that Svonkin describes. To his credit, Svonkin places his story within the broader context of the '50s. This enables him to underscore some of the less admirable aspects of the history of these organizations. Although dedicated to the general advance of civil liberties and civil rights, Svonkin describes their complicity in the deprivation of Communists and their sympathizers of their civil liberties during the McCarthy era. Surely those Communists whom they purged from their staffs did not present any kind of danger except that of strengthening the widespread stereotype that linked Jews and Communists.

The not such good news about this book is that Svonkin's general discussion of the McCarthy era is disappointing. He provides a '60s view of the '50s, intent on lambasting the "cold war liberals" (C. Wright Mills' term, coined with invidious intent). Such an animus led him to dubious assertions, like "most liberal anticommunists, were reluctant to criticize McCarthy until after he was censured,"(p.123)—which cannot be supported by any close reading of the record. By now, historians should be able to present a broader, less polemical, more complex understanding of that era. Such an understanding would reach back before the '50s and beyond the borders of the United States to world political events. That account would surely include some examination of the infamous Smith Act of 1940, passed as America was gearing up for war, which made advocacy of particular ideas unlawful. When Trotskyites and others were prosecuted under this Act, the Communists applauded. Moreover few Americans objected when Japanese Americans were placed in concentration camps simply because of their ancestry. The conflation of foreign enemies with various domestic groups as the basis for crushing local civil liberties was well established long before McCarthy appeared on the political scene. When he did appear, the cold was being waged at its greatest intensity. Stalin, a murderous despot armed with atomic weapons, stood at the head of expansive authoritarian regime, that controlled half of Europe and with his allies much of Asia. The external danger was not imaginary. It was in this setting that opportunistic politician went hunting for domestic groups that could be linked to the enemy, and more important associated with their political opponents. To understand the complexity of the situation one must recognize that at the same time that civil liberties were in retreat, civil rights were advancing.

It is a drawback of this work that the historical setting which Svonkin has provided for his study is over-simple. However, this does not undo the usefulness of the principal focus and discussion of his book.

Samuel Haber