The Ethnic Conflict Research Digest

Edited by:

Roger Mac Ginty

Welcome to the second issue of the *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest*. The *Digest* contains peer reviews of recently published material in the fields of ethnic conflict and conflict resolution. It aims to act as a briefing aid for academics as well as policy makers in government and NGOs. Reaction to Issue One of the *Digest* was positive, with demand for hard copies outstripping supply. The *Digest* has also become one of the most popular features on the INCORE website.

The sheer variety of material reviewed in these pages is instructive. On one reading, this could be depressing. Not only does it reflect the continuing salience of ethnic conflict, it also reflects an extremely fragmented discipline. Political scientists, international .....

INCORE

initiative on conflict resolution and ethnicity

Contents

Global Convulsions: Race, ethnicity and nationalism at the end of the Twentieth Century

Edited by Winston A. Van Horne

Global Convulsions is about ethnic and related conflicts in contemporary plural societies. At issue also is the stability and survival of the state, as minorities in these societies struggle for autonomy or independence. In five or so stimulating chapters on race, nationalism, ethnicity, and aspects of culture, part I of the work tries to grapple with the basic concepts and issues which tend to create divisions, or around which ideological differences and barriers are constructed. These theoretical issues, plus the substance of the various Chapters, are summarized in an extended introduction, where the editor also makes some important comments. For example, he notes, (p.9) , that race and similar distinctions often conceal deep-seated material interests. Thus racial-segregation apologia in the United States essentially seeks "the continued transgenerational, racial inheritance of the superior position..." Perhaps because the book is pre-occupied with the documentation of ethnic flash-points around the world, no separate chapter is devoted to weaving the basic concepts into a theoretical framework. Such an approach might have afforded a systematic exploration of some basic questions high-lighted here and there in the book. For instance, are ethnicity and nationalism primordial manifestations of the more universalist ideals of class or ideologically- based affiliations? Is ethnicity and its attendant upheavals a peculiar scourge of pre-industrialized societies? What does the disintegration of Yugoslavia and Soviet empire teach us about the best ways of resolving or accommodating ethnonational divisions within political institutions? And finally how far are differences in ethnic origins, culture, language and religion proxies for purely material considerations?

The outstanding value of *Global Convulsions* consists in the case studies of ethnonational problems in selected countries. The book is thus a sort of history of the politics of nation-building from the Middle East to the Balkans, and from the old Soviet state to China in north-east Asia. Of particular interest are the struggles by the Kurds for autonomy within their mountainous homes across Turkey, Iraq, and Iran; the role of myth, history and religion in the problems of the divided society of Northern Ireland; and the drama of Quebecan separatism in Canada. Some instances are given in which economic prosperity and mutual interests sometimes temper state-seeking agitations. But, pious hopes apart, there are no prescriptions for ending ethnonational tensions, and readers may find themselves pondering, along with Brian E. Porter, (p.112), over the future prospects of the nation-state.

G.A.Akinola
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Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and explorations

Richard Jenkins

(London: Sage, 1997)
194pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8039-7677-1. Pb.: £13.99; ISBN 0-8039-7678-X.

This book is a wide-ranging theoretical treatise which draws upon sociological and anthropological thinking in an attempt to provide a general analytical framework for understanding ethnic, racial and national sentiment. It is to Richard Jenkins' considerable credit that in many respects he has succeeded in this difficult task, producing a book which will be useful not only as a teaching text but also as a marker for current academic thinking in the field.

There are, to my mind, two particularly attractive features of the book. The first is Jenkins' careful attempt to delineate ethnicity as an object of analytical attention without, as is often the case, hastily relegating it as epiphenomenal to some other set of 'real' underlying processes, while at the same time refusing to reify it as a *sui generis* phenomenon beyond the purview of critical analysis. The second is his use of illustrative material from three places - Denmark, Wales and, particularly, Northern Ireland - which helps to bridge the gap between the grand abstractions of much theoretical debate and more empirically grounded approaches.

Jenkins' primary intellectual debt is to Fredrik Barth, and in many ways his book aims to show how the intellectual programme Barth first set out in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* can, with judicious modification, continue to bear fruit. Barth's focus on the symbolic work that goes into creating ethnic boundaries is used to theorise the otherwise disparate ways in which particular kinds of ethnic, racial and national claims are mounted, together with their consequent implications for identity, group formation and conflict. In this respect, Jenkins offers some nuanced theoretical reflections on national identity, using both historical and contemporary material concerning the conflicts in Northern Ireland.

Having praised Jenkins for an adventurous approach to both theoretical and empirical matters, it is perhaps churlish to criticise him for not being adventurous enough. Nevertheless, it does seem to me that the book has certain limitations. The ambitiously general approach necessarily cuts the specificity of particular situations into rather gentle curves, which might invite charges from the more empirically-minded that his examples are not detailed enough and from the more theoretically-minded that he sometimes skirts close to an essentialism of 'group identity' whose dangers he, more than most, sets out to avoid. While contemporary debates about social science epistemology are discussed in a refreshingly open-minded way, their more radical implications for the kind of claim Jenkins mounts to represent and explain ethnic conflict are arguably given insufficient attention. But none of this detracts from the solidity of Jenkins' achievment in producing a well written text which - drawing as it does upon his previous contributions to the field - has the aura of a well-worked out theoretical position.

Chris Smaje
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The Price of Peace: Incentives and international conflict prevention

Edited by David Cortright

(Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998)
£52.00; ISBN 0-8476-8556-X
Pb.: £19.95; ISBN 0-8476-8557-8-8.

This edited volume is one of the products of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. It explores the use of incentives as foreign policy tools, particularly as carrots used to encourage states to make changes in their domestic or foreign policies. The term 'incentives' is intended to include granting foreign aid, reducing tariffs, extending security assurances, lifting negative sanctions, and so forth. The book focuses on three issue areas, nuclear proliferation, regional conflict resolution, and multilateral conflict resolution. It includes chapters on conflicts in the Korean Peninsula, the Baltic States, South Asia, Bosnia, El Salvador, and South Africa, as well as general chapters on trade and technology incentives and international financial institutions. Ethnic conflict is not the focus here, though it gets touched on secondarily in some of the case studies. The authors of the individual chapters include both academics and policy analysts.

The contributions to the volume nicely demonstrate that the effectiveness of incentives is likely to vary, depending on the particular circumstances in which they are applied. In their examinations of specific applications of incentives, some authors found incentives to be unsuccessful, some found incentives to work under certain conditions (such as mixing them with sanctions), while others, such as David Cortright and Amitabh Mattoo writing with regard to South Asia, argue unequivocally that, 'carrots will work better than sticks' (p. 126). The generally measured take on the effectiveness of incentives and appreciation for the complexity of certain environments is more persuasive and appealing then the optimistic pro-incentives perspective of the concluding chapter. Though no unified model of incentives or single set of criteria for the effective use of incentives emerges, policy-makers will benefit from some of the insights generated by the array of case studies.

Dan Reiter
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Nations, Identities, Cultures

Edited by V. Y. Mudimbe

Of late, the interconnected topics of postcoloniality, identity politics, nationalism and (popular or global) culture have generated considerable interest. V.Y. Mudimbe organized a graduate seminar covering these topics at Duke University in 1993. Each of the eleven chapters in this book was presented as a paper/lecture by one of the invited scholars. In his Introduction, Mudimbe outlines the argument that frames the chapters: "the concepts of exile, the ethnicization of the political, and the recess of the social, as well as their sociopolitical actualizations, go along with the apparent triumph of liberalism, the 'end of history' described by Francis Fukuyama…" (p.2). He articulates three periods of three paradigms of the subordination of the social to the political, in seeking the legitimate political subject and its mutations (popular culture, national culture, class society, civil society, mass culture, and universal culture). In the first period, that of the French Revolution, the state became the nation-state; in the second, the Russian Revolution, class took on the hegemonic role; and in the third, the end of the Soviet bloc, civil society organized the conflict between nation and state, with the ethnicization of the nation. The papers focus either on theory (for example, Bernal's Aryan versus Ancient model of Greek origins, Colas' civil society, Wallerstein's geoculture in the modern world system) or on a completed case study (including MacGaffey's ethnic identity among the BaKongo of Lower Zaire, Letourneau's reinterpretation of Quebecois distinctiveness, Golan's Jewish/Palestinian socio-spatial boundaries, Lahusen's ethnicization of people and nation in Russian and Soviet historical contexts).

This volume exemplifies the point that a good lecture does not necessarily a good chapter make. Mudimbe's introduction is brief and does not provide a strong enough foundation, given that each chapter is short and the argument not always well-developed (for a book chapter as opposed to a course lecture); each does not connect with another and there is little theoretical framework for each, so they kind of come out of nowhere. Much of what might be interesting (like Linde-Laursen's on the nationalization of daily practices) thus seems merely anecdotal. Cooke and Lahusen make good use of literature in their analyses of nationhood among Lebanese and Russia/Soviet peoples, respectively. I found the case studies even if under-developed better crafted than the theory pieces.

Deborah Pellow
Syracuse University

Clash of Cultures

Brian M. Fagan

This is a revised edition of a collection of essays first published in 1984, illustrating the encounter of the West with nine different non-western societies between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries: the Khoikhoi of the Cape, the Aztecs, the Japanese, the Tahitians, the Tasmanian aborigines, the Yahgan Indians of Tierra del Fuego, the Huron of Eastern Canada, the Northwest Coast Indians and the Maori.

Fagan draws inspiration from Eric Wolf's classic work: *Europe and the People Without History* (1982). Following Wolf , he wishes to demonstrate the importance of "thinking anthropology as a historical discipline" and to "unravel the chains of causation and consequence". Wolf's endeavour to connect western and non-western history is so successful precisely because he locates both history and anthropology within a wider analytical framework. Fagan has opted to side-step the question of a theoretical perspective (p.10), but this decision has not served the book particularly well. The absence of solid and convincing core arguments means that the essays do not come together in a coherent fashion. Even attempts to divide the essays into three main sections: 'The Age of Discovery', 'Consequences' and 'Interconnectedness' seems half-hearted and rather confused. As a result, *Clash of Cultures*' purpose seems too vague: "to explore how some of our forebears reacted to human diversity" (p.32), and its general argument too simplistic - "...many of our problems interacting with non-western societies today have strong roots in historical processes that began over four centuries ago" (p.10).

This re-issue may benefit from the current popularity of Samuel Huntington's intellectually dubious 'clash of civilisations' thesis which proposes that conflict post Cold War will be organised along cultural fault-lines. Like Huntington, Fagan relies on simply stating and restating an essentialist view of cultural differences to describe a "cataclysmic clash of cultures" (p. 173). In his view, western and non-western cultures were separated by "vast chasms" and "gulfs" of incomprehension and misunderstanding (p.9, p.15). The "clash of cultures" is explained as "a progressive confrontation between an expanding, sophisticated civilisation with radically alien beliefs and dozens of societies that lived in careful balance with the natural resources of the environments". The values of the natives are seen to be "completely alien to the goal-oriented, individualistic Westerners exploring the world with specific objectives in mind" (p.16).

Fagan's case-studies reproduce a simple western/non-western dichotomy, which employs a naive, but reified, idea of culture. He manages to draw attention to the

ambiguous attitude of westerners to the non-west, simultaneously seeing it as something which can be exploited in practical terms, but also as a mental space where European idealism and nostalgia could be projected - 'a dream of unattainable paradise' (p.39). However, he fails to fully analyse or explore this ambiguity. He is compelled to return to generalisations about both western and non-western culture which are more simplistic than the actual case-material suggests. The addition of new Asian material in Chapter five could have provided genuinely new perspectives which challenge conventional thinking about the encounter between East and West. However, the new chapter is poorly integrated into the rest of the existing book, and the historical account is patchy and lacking in coherence. In the final analysis, he fails to interrogate either "western", or "non-western" culture sufficiently, and does not manage to show the mutuality of the processes through which both western and non-western identities are created.

This book is presented as "an ideal text for students studying the background of the modern world". However, its usefulness is largely illustrative rather than analytical. For example, the chapter on the Aztecs conveys a good insight into the political, economic and social structure of Aztec society, but not all the chapters are of equal quality. I could only recommend this book to undergraduates as background or supplementary reading, to be backed up by more theoretically grounded comparative analysis.

Su-ming Khoo
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Citizenship and National Identity: From colonialism to globalism

Edited by T.K. Oommen

(London: Sage, 1997)
324pp. Index. Bibl. £25.00; ISBN 0-8039-9358-7.

Although there is now quite a substantial literature on issues to do with citizenship and national identity, this volume stands out for the breadth of its geographic and conceptual coverage. In addition to giving a succinct overview of the main themes of the book, Oommen's introduction provides an explanation of the central conceptual categories used throughout the case studies that follow. The second chapter, by Alfonso Alfonsi, focuses on Western Europe where most cultural and ideological conceptions about citizenship and nationality were first formulated. Far from being a settled question in this part of the world, the issues have recently moved back to centre stage as a result of the enormous political changes in the former communist countries to the East as well as the further development of the European Union. Further detailed analysis on nationhood and the national question in the former Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia, and the extent to which the legacies of Soviet ideology and institutional structures are being played out in the contemporary era, is provided by Rogers Brubaker in the third chapter.

The fourth chapter moves even further east to Japan. Here, Takashi Miyajima considers the increasing demographic pluralism of Japan's population due to immigration against a background ideology that emphasizes a culturally and racially homogeneous nation. Citizenship and national identity in India is Oommen's special field and here we find a discussion of a range of problems emanating from issues such as religion and, to a lesser extent, language and other bases of identity formation. Olasope O. Oyelaran and Michael Olu Adediran have the difficult task of summarizing some of the main problems and issues confronting the 54 countries of the African continent without over-generalizing. Bassam Tibi navigates through the intricacies of Middle Eastern issues by focusing on religious fundamentalism. Finally we come to the Americas. James N. Rosenau's 'turbulent world' theme reappears in this volume through an analysis of contemporary American responses to international developments; Elisa P. Reis provides a case study of Brazil's crisis of authority and solidarity; and Azril Bacal gives a more general account of how the continuing salience of race and ethnicity has effected the politics of citizenship and national identity in Latin America more generally. In summary, this is a broad-ranging collection which attempts to provide contemporary case-study analyses embedded in historical context and with an overarching conceptual and theoretical framework.

Stephanie Lawson
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Europe and the People Without History

Eric R. Wolf

(Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1997)
2nd edition. 503pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £17.95; ISBN 0-520-04898-9.

This is a re-issue of a book which had a significant impact on anthropological thinking when it first appeared in 1982. So well-established has one central aspect of the argument become in the intervening period that today many anthropologists take it for granted though it wasn't always that way. What Wolf insisted on was the necessity for anthropology to be genuinely historical by looking at actual sequences of events which link societies and communities in a political-economy framework rather than adopting an ahistorical functionalism which divorces the social from the material world.

A new short preface indicates that the irony of the title was lost on some readers. The intention was to counter the common perception that the colonised countries which formed the object of anthropologists' studies lacked history in the grand European style. Wolf uses as a vehicle for his approach the history of capitalist expansion, as exemplified through the distribution of major commodities, and his conceptual vocabulary, hinging on the concept of 'modes of production', is unashamedly Marxist.

Sometimes this pays dividends; sometimes it appears simplistic. A good example of this, for the purposes of the *Digest*, can be found in the respective characterisations of race and ethnicity which he makes towards the end of the book. The racial concepts of 'Negro' and (American) 'Indian' are clearly shown to be the culture-blind products of mercantilist expansion which, under developed capitalism, came to designate 'the lower ranks of the industrial army' (p.381). Which African population a Negro originated from was quite irrelevant to the purpose he or she served in relation to the slave trade. Similarly, Indians were all those indigenous New World peoples who were subjugated in the course of European colonialism, again whatever multitude of differences might have existed among them. There is nothing uncontentious here but when the 'mode of production' concept is analytically extended to ethnic groups, it seems it has been stretched just a little too far: 'ethnic categories express the ways that particular populations come to relate themselves to given segments of the labor market' (ibid.). Is this always the way it is? There is a danger here of reducing the political economy to the economy alone and ignoring other factors in the historical shaping of cultural groups.

But, as indicated, ethnicity is a sideline to the main story: the relationship between capitalism and colonialism. One will learn a great deal about a good many peoples but the central actors here are commodities - fur and textiles, tea and spices, tobacco and bananas, gold and opium. One will also find a history of the railroad, a history of slavery, a short history of India and another of Hispanic America. It is, in short, an extraordinary distillation of historical materials.

Declan Quigley
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The Muslim Family: A study of women's rights in Islam

Tove Stang Dahl

(Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1997)
211pp. Bibl. ISBN 82-0022420-1.

This is both a fascinating and extremely valuable study which sheds considerable light on an area where misconceptions and partial knowledge often lead those from non-Islamic backgrounds into unhelpful generalisations. The work reported in this volume forms part of a large scale longitudinal study whose primary focus is the management of sustainable development in large cities in the third world. One aspect of these investigations has been an analysis of the role of the family as a factor in promoting stability and development. This led to a series of case studies conducted over a period of almost 25 years in which the researchers examined family structures in poor districts of Cairo and in particular the roles of women within the family. The data from these protracted observations is linked with discussion of Islamic religious, social and legal teaching on the family

and women's specific rights, duties and obligations within the family.

As background a clear exposition of the sources of Islamic tradition is provided, the first part of this clarifies the distinctions between the academic interpretations of leading Islamic thinkers, the distinct national traditions of specific countries such as Egypt and the popular beliefs of 'ordinary people'. The complex legal structures on which family law depends are then examined through a discussion of legal aspects of the Koran and Sunna, the legal techniques for resolving specific types of issues and the range of expert views on the possibility of modification or re-interpretation of the law.

The rest of the book considers how this legal framework interacts with the ability of economic and political realties of life in poor districts of Cairo to shape women's experiences and expectations. Four main issues, the ways in which their roles in the family are defined, the procedures through which marriage partners are restricted by beliefs about the need for segregation of the sexes and patterns of marital relations, provide a structure for discussion. In each case there is an analysis of general issues followed by illustrative material relating to the actual experiences of one or more of the women involved in the case studies. Thus for example in the chapter on preparation for marriage and the legal basis of the marriage contract, the stages in negotiating the contract, and the customs surrounding betrothal are all examined and then details of the sequence of events surrounding two actual betrothals are outlined. This juxtaposition of what might be termed 'theory and practice' is potentially very valuable but there does seem to be an imbalance in favour of exploring the general legal issues so that the case study material on occasion appears rather peripheral. Just when the reader is beginning to appreciate differences between women's experiences of isolation in the inner city and the new suburban housing developments the scene shifts and one is left wanting more information. Perhaps the real problem is that the book is almost certainly too short to do justice to the wealth of material the researchers have collected.

Valerie Morgan
University of Ulster

Liberation and Purity: Race, new religious movements and the ethics of postmodernity

Chetan Bhatt

(London: UCL Press, 1997)
306pp. Index. Bibl. £13.95; ISBN 1-85728-423-2.
Pb.: ISBN 1-85728-424-4.

This book, as the author states, "is about authoritarian religious movements and their political ideologies" and also "how these ideas have been shaped by very modern political and sociological problems," as well as "the problems that racial or black liberation politics have faced when dealing with religious

movements".(p.xiv) It begins with an exploration of the reasons for the failure of rationalism, empiricism and idealism as challenges to religious systems, a consideration of whether postmodern or post-colonial theories are any more effective, and an examination of religious authoritarian movements in terms of their investment in modernity or their "return to pre-Enlightenment 'nativism' and 'primitivism'". (p.2)

Chapter two considers authoritarian religious movements and modern civil society, seeking to draw out common themes from across a broad range of cultures. The author then turns to a consideration of Islamic movements, including a very interesting exploration of the concepts of the authentic and the traditional, necessarily considering "how traditions are invented" no less than how ethnicities are recreated. A substantial part of this chapter is devoted to the Ayatollah Khomeini. This is followed, in chapter four, by a detailed analysis of the "Rushdie affair" and its consequences, including the impact on Moslem-non-Moslem relations in Britain. The author provides a useful analysis of the conflicting paradigms within which the key players (and their cultures) operated. Chapter five explores neotraditional Hinduism and "the fabrication of purity", leading, in chapter 6, to a detailed analysis of the Hindu far right. The author argues that, both in Islam and Hinduism, the authoritarian religious movements are "both novel and in important ways modernist".(p.233) The final chapter considers "a diverse range of areas...ranging from social policy and communalism in the context of UK multiculturalist policy development, via globalization and new communications technology, through to the importance of physics and biology for new religious movements." (p.236) Of particular interest to the author is the relationship between these movements and ethnic identity formation, especially in a time of an increase in the potential for or actuality of inter-ethnic conflict.

Throughout the book the author draws attention to the importance of symbolism, and the role of the invention (not, of course, meaning fraudulent construction) and re-construction of tradition. There is a useful emphasis on ethno-religious factors in group identity, an area too often overlooked in studies of ethnic and/or religious conflict. One interesting topic to which attention is also drawn is the focus of authoritarian religious movements on the body, and particularly the body of a woman, as a potential source of impurity. Apart from an excessive use of jargon (probably inescapable in any work on postmodernism!), the book's weakest aspect is the underlying - surely naive ? - assumption that reform movements of the past were characterized by "progressive and emancipatory utopian vision", now being increasingly replaced by "Dogmatic forms of faith". However, insofar as the religious dimension of ethnic conflict has been relatively little explored in the scholarly literature, this book, stimulating and thought-provoking, is a useful addition to the literature.

Gregory Tillett The University of Western Sydney
Nepean NSW Australia

Gender and Nation

Nira Yuval-Davis

One cannot - should not - ever underestimate the importance of women. Perhaps this is the over-riding message in Nira Yuval-Davis' perusal of the links between gender and nation.

In this book, the author traces and documents the way gender relations affect and are affected by national projects and processes. She does this by primarily concentrating on the position and positioning of women while at the same time stressing that this necessarily implies that men and masculinity are centrally implicated in these processes. Yuval-Davis addresses both theory and practice starting out with a discussion of theorising about gender, women, ethnicity and nation, moving on to a more sustained analysis of how these discourses have impacted upon women. The analysis then widens as Yuval-Davis looks at cultural reproduction and gender, citizenship, the military and war before ending up with a final discussion on women, ethnicity and empowerment.

An issue of major concern to Nira Yuval-Davis is how to "construct feminist political mobilization" (p.11) in the context of knowing there are major differences between women. This question of 'difference' is one that has been important within much of western feminist theorising over the last couple of decades. As Yuval-Davis rightly points out, it is an issue which was first pursued by "mostly black and ethnic minority women" which later "became incorporated into feminist deconstructive postmodernist analyses" (p.5). The author argues that one of the most important differences among women is their membership of ethnic and national collectivities. One manifestation of differential membership is that in some situations women may be 'encouraged' to have fewer children - and in other situations be 'encouraged' to have more children. A clear point she wishes to emphasise is that women frequently become biological and cultural reproducers of the nation although women will be differently affected by these demands dependent on their ethnic, racial, class, age, ability, and sexual social placings. A key strength of this book is the way Yuval Davis documents how these differential uses of women plays out in different settings. One example of this is the issue of women becoming "symbolic bearers of modernity" (p.98) - whether this implies wearing the veil (or not) or becoming an integral part of the country's military (or not).

This is an interesting, readable and thoughtful book and despite a slight tendency to caricature postmodernism, it should be read by everyone interested in nations and ethnicities.

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Ethnicity and Race: Making identities in a changing world

Stephen Cornell & Douglas Hartmann

This book is part of the 'Sociology for a New Century' collection, a series of textbooks for students which aims to take an international and historical focus on issues of both sociological and political importance. It is a very clearly written text which succeeds in this goal, and will be of undoubted use as a resource for courses in the sociology of race and ethnicity. Its' authors possess a gift for illustrating complex theoretical ideas through the use of specific examples grounded in everyday events. Together with good coverage of notorious recent ethnic conflicts such as those witnessed in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and the former Soviet Union - along with the treatment of more familiar places such as the USA and South Africa - this gives the book a topical and no nonsense feel which will appeal to students attempting to grapple with these difficult topics. Theoretical chapters at the start of the book attempt to interpolate between 'primordialism' and 'circumstantialism', an antinomy now so patently threadbare that even to organise a book around an attempt to transcend it is beginning to look somewhat dated. Nevertheless, the authors' constructivist position addresses interestingly the salience of specific socio-political and economic factors to the emergence of ethnic identity claims, while taking seriously the motive power of those claims as irreducible historical precipitates. The book concludes with a brief but well-specified discussion of recent debates about the implications of globalisation and 'multiethnicity' for more traditional sociological approaches to race, ethnicity and nationalism.

In their preface, the authors criticise the parochialism of US scholarship on ethnicity and state their intention to "bring in as much of the rest of the world as possible, and thereby...to enrich our understanding of ethnicity and race everywhere" (p.xvi). In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, the book remains very much a USA-centred text. Although the authors are properly wary of traditional frameworks, the case material from the rest of the world is organised rather too systematically in terms of that country's distinctive preoccupation with collective ethnic assertion. More generally - and despite the many positive features mentioned above - I came away from the book feeling that it provided a disappointingly shallow theoretical grasp of its topic. This is perhaps less a reflection on the authors than upon a broader tendency in social science merely to substitute the claims advanced in ethnic ideologies of their own self-evidence for a belief in the self-evidence of analytical concepts like class, status and social capital, without appreciating the deep historical identities between the two. Nevertheless, there are currents in contemporary sociological theory and in adjunct disciplines such as anthropology and cultural studies which have a lot to say on these points and which the authors of this book barely broach. It is weakened by this omission.

Chris Smaje
University of Surrey

Minorities, Migrants, and Crime: Diversity and similarity across Europe and the United States

Edited by Ineke Haen Marshall

Conflict between minority ethnic communities and the State in Western countries - the US and Europe - has been most evident in the clash between these communities and the criminal justice system. The over-representation of minority ethnic groups in terms of arrests and prison populations is well documented. Ineke Haen Marshall takes on the difficult task of comparing the political, cultural and legal variations of the US and number of European countries, to examine how issues of ethnicity and migration become closely linked with concern or involvement in crime.

The various contributors consider theories of citizenship, ethnicity, and migration in relation to minority ethnic groups and crime. Marshall believes that minority status is a thread that unites migrants, foreigners and indigenous ethnic minorities, while crystallising the criminal justice systems negative approach to these groups. It is this concept of minority status which is said to transcend international differences, giving a perspective which builds a bridge from Europe to the US.

From her US perspective it quickly becomes clear that in terms of correlations between minority ethnic communities and crime, it is African-Americans, who are in severe conflict with the criminal justice system. Stark statistics such as 1/3rd of all African-American men aged between 20 to 29 are either in prison, on probation or on parole (p. 3) set the tone. A combination of poverty, social exclusion, coupled with victimisation and racism at the hands of criminal justice agencies feeds white society's suspicions of blacks having a greater propensity to criminal activity.

In making comparisons with the US, it is European countries such as the United Kingdom and France, where the model of the predominately white state and its apparatus the police, courts and prisons coming into conflict with minority ethnic communities, particularly those of the African diaspora, be they from the Caribbean, North or Sub-Saharan Africa, holds good. It is no coincidence that these three countries were closely associated with the slave trade, the colonial project and post-colonial migration. The attendant theories of racial superiority, racial discrimination and social control, underpin poor relationships with the police and other criminal justice agencies.

However, the chapters on Spain, Italy, and Sweden undermine the model linking migration and minorities with being criminalised. In these countries it is recognised that a number of variables, beyond minority status, may impact on

rates of offending, arrest and imprisonment. While it is evident that crime has not been racialised to the same extent as in the US or the UK or France.

Although a number of interesting comparisons between the US and Europe do emerge from this work, ultimately the 'bridge between the US and Europe' is left only partially constructed.

Martin Todd
University of North London

Japan's Hidden Apartheid: The Korean minority and the Japanese

George Hicks

This volume on Japan's Korean minority forms an important contribution to the literature which increasing gives a more balanced picture of Japanese society. It is comprehensive in scope and provides a number of testimonials which bring the issues involved to life. In fact, the volume provides an excellent portrayal of the issues as perceived by the Korean minority in Japan, including the long history of discrimination and the bitterness which remains despite some progress in addressing official forms of discrimination.

The Korean minority is by far the largest of Japan's 'hidden' minorities, though even they constitute only a small percentage of the Japanese population. Koreans, like the other minorities (the Chinese and 'untouchables'), share an outwardly Japanese appearance. The book provides ample evidence that the Koreans have undergone informal and formal processes of assimilation but often find that they are still subject to discrimination. Yet, the book also highlights the Korean residents who openly celebrate their identity, in wearing national dress and using a Korean name for example, which makes them a more exposed target of racial slurs, discrimination, and even physical attack.

Overall, however, one gets the impression that the situation for Koreans has improved with time. Often the volume uses the past tense to describe official practices and restrictions which have now been lifted. Even the most egregious examples in the book of socially sanctioned overt discrimination and violence were years and even decades in the past so it is difficult to know if the situation has improved or has merely changed character. Of course, official discrimination persists, but the remaining issues facing the government of Japan are not so clear-cut. In the end, it appears to be the informal attitudes with real consequences for employment opportunities and social life which continue to instil undisguised resentment in its victims despite any progress.

Indications that Japan's increasingly prominent role in the Asia-Pacific and the influx of foreign workers in Japan

over the past decade might lead to a more positive Japanese attitude toward Korea and Koreans have been obscured by the economic turmoil of the region. Thus, the author's plea for 'pluralism' as a solution to the situation is likely to be hostage to the changes in Japanese society and its relations with Asia. This is the implicit message of the book and one which could have been analyzed explicitly as well.

James Babb
University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne

Going West: Soviet Jewish immigrants in Berlin since 1990

Jeroen Doomernik

It is one of the most curious and paradoxical migrations of recent times - the flow of several thousand Jews to Germany from the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s. It is a migration which has considerably strengthened the small Jewish community in Germany, perhaps most visibly in Berlin. On the other hand it has disrupted common conceptions about the relationship between Germany and Jews and presented an unsettling challenge to the argument that the experience of the Holocaust has left an unbridgeable chasm; that, ". . . a black cat has walked between the German and Jewish nations" (as one interviewee who was opposed to migration to Germany put it, (p.41)). Even one of those who did go to Germany could say; "Initially I had my doubts about coming here. Jews do not belong in Germany, it seemed improper."(p.99) Little wonder that, although it is a tiny proportion of the recent Jewish exodus from the former Soviet Union, this migration has led to tensions between the Israeli government and the Jewish authorities in Germany who have, to a degree, encouraged the movement.

The author's primary focus is on migration rather than ethnicity and his conclusions reflect this. However, for those interested in ethnic identity there is much of interest; the startling weakness of Jewish identity and the strength of a Russian, or at least 'Soviet' identity among many of the migrants, for example. Because so few of the new arrivals have a strong sense of Jewish identity it seems, in the short term, as though the arrival of these people has done more to strengthen the Russian than the Jewish community in Berlin. On the other hand, the fact that many of the new arrivals are sending their children to Jewish schools suggests that in the long term the Jewish community will be considerably strengthened and enlarged. This illustrates the importance of education in both breaking down (in the Soviet Union) and reconstructing (in Berlin) ethnic identities.

The level of personal detail about interviewees provided in the book is a bit unsettling and at times seems unnecessarily intrusive. We learn not only of people's experiences of migration but also of illicit affairs, deluded dreams and personal failings. This reader for one found this level of detail too much, much of it far from relevant to issues of migration

or ethnicity and distracting from the central themes.

On the other hand the individual stories remind readers of the hopelessness and depression and isolation which can descend on the displaced person, whether immigrant or refugee. Those like the interviewee who states bluntly "I have few friends, Germans or Russians" (p.137) raise the issue of what exactly 'community' or 'group identity' means to a person isolated and so far from 'home'.

Niall O Dochartaigh
National University of Ireland - Galway

Making Race and Nation: A comparison of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil

Anthony W Marx

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
390pp. Index. Bibl. £22.50; ISBN 0-521-58455-8.

Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil is another important contribution to our understanding of the concept of 'race' and of the shameful role that this has played in the formation of nation-states. Professor Anthony Marx, of Columbia University, provides a very thorough analysis of the ways in which racist ideas grew from their ancient historic origins into powerful rationalisations and justifications for systematic oppression associated with the processes of consolidation of government control in emergent nation-states.

Marx is able to build a convincing case by his detailed comparison of these processes in the histories of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil. Contrary to popular belief he establishes that the process in Brazil was essentially the same as in the other two cases, though the system of racist discrimination takes a more subtle form. This is a valuable insight. It is also revealing to read how the process of oppression in South Africa was developed as a means of trying to bring together people of Dutch and English origins into an effective government. The oppression of people crudely categorised as 'black', in the United States, is described as a similar process of trying to reconcile the North and South after the Civil War, and unintentionally this crude categorisation helped to build a sense of commonality among disparate groups. It is particularly salutary to read Marx's account of how the motivation for this oppression - the consolidation of government authority in the United States - continued to have a profound effects on government policy, until very recently.

In style this book is somewhat heavy and repetitive but at this stage in global politics, the importance of understanding racist ideas is so great that it should be widely read.

Morris Bradley
Lancaster University

Teaching About Culture, Ethnicity and Diversity: Exercises and planned activities

Edited by Theodore M. Singelis

(London: Sage, 1998)
255pp. Pb.: £19.99; ISBN 0-7619-0695-9.

The vast number of books and articles published in recent years on the topic of ethnicity contribute to the deliberations of academics and policy-makers. But as the topic gains more space, how do we get some of the complex notions embedded in the concept across to students? Undoubtedly many use the well-tried and tested approach of lecturing, but more active approaches to learning are widespread in schools, so why not the colleges and universities as well? Singelis' book offers a useful repository of ideas and methods for dealing with just these issues.

The twenty-eight chapters cover a wide range of issues and all offer ideas for active learning approaches to issues related to ethnicity. The chapters are divided into four main sections. The first section contains eight chapters which offer techniques for raising students' awareness of diversity. The second section of eight chapters focus on the behavioural implications of cultural difference. Thus, one exercise offers groups of students a list of fifteen job applicants, with varying characteristics, from which they are asked to select seven. Following the choices the students are asked to discuss the reasons for selecting and ejecting specific candidates. Section three comprises seven chapters, each of which focuses on some aspect of stereotypes or perception, while the final section of five chapters highlight the different ways in which diverse communities perceive the world.

A similar structure is followed for each chapter. A short introduction locates the chapter theme within the academic literature. Guidance is then offered on the time and materials needed to complete the exercise. Instructions for the exercise are provided along with possible topics for discussion after the exercise is completed. Exemplar materials are included in annexes where appropriate, as are suggestions for variations in the exercise and a reading list. A significant wealth of material is provided in a concise and user-friendly manner.

The book is clearly aimed at a North American college audience. This is reflected both in the themes of the exercises and some of the approaches used. Such a bias should not, however, be seen as problematic. Each of the exercises should be seen as a template upon which can be developed local variations and innovations to suit the conditions of student and teacher. Used creatively in this manner, the exercises in the book provide a valuable resource for teachers and trainers alike.

Tony Gallagher
The Queen's University Belfast

Negrophobia and Reasonable Racism: The hidden costs of being Black in America

Jody David Armour

(New York: New York University Press, 1997)
204pp. Index. ISBN 0-8147-0640-1.

Armour's title as well as the work is provocative, to say the least. Yet, it only confirms what many people of color have experienced literally for centuries. It is important and worthwhile to note here, nevertheless, that this is not just a rhetorical work, but a cogent theory based on race which relies on law and psychology to document and support the central arguments made in the book.

Reducing the title of the work to the most fundamental premise, the argument goes somewhat as follows. While it is hard to argue with the fact that there has been a great deal of racial progress in America for African Americans, stereotypes still abound among most fair-minded Americans which, practically speaking, results in unconscious discrimination. In order to eliminate racism and racial discrimination in America, we must be race conscious in a constructive way and continuously challenge how whites respond and think about African Americans.

The author provides an example of 'Negrophobia' by stating that "an ordinary person assaulted by an anonymous Black individual might develop a pathological fear of all Blacks sufficient to justify an award of disability benefits. Invoking the same psychological proposition, our defendant might contend that her Negrophobia is relevant to the reasonableness of her reactions to the supposed assailant." (p.4) While this proposition may sound absurd, a number of examples throughout the book are provided to support the argument, including the infamous Bernard Goetz subway shooting case and Rodney King beating case. In both instances, the defendants were exonerated based on a "rational" fear which described the black victims as sub-human predators.

Consequently, the reasonable racist, which appears to be an oxymoron, has found rationality and reason in numerous courts of law. In addition, expert testimony in various trials involving white victims of black assaults reveal that such whites develop post-traumatic stress disorders associated with race and color. As a result, a phobia develops of all blacks, and particularly black males. Yet, such racism may also develop from what Armour calls the "Intelligent Bayesian," who cites statistics to support their racist beliefs.

Armour argues that research into human psychology reveals that attempts to be color-blind and ignore racial identity in making social judgements actually promotes the very behavior we are trying to eliminate involving racial discrimination. In conclusion, the author argues that racism and racial discrimination are the greatest threats to peace and prosperity in American, and that we must do away with rational discriminators at every turn.

Mfanya Donald Tryman
Mississippi State University

The New Colored People: The mixed race movement in America

Jon Michael Spencer

(New York: New York University Press, 1997)
214pp. Index. Bibl. $24.95; ISBN 0-8147-8071-7.

At it's dawn W. E. B. Du Bois famously predicted that the major issue of the twentieth century would be the 'colour line'. Towards it's end Spencer's valuable book provides an incisive account of how accurate this prophecy has proven. Recent debates in the United States over the equity and efficacy of affirmative action have demonstrated that the issue of racial classification remains controversial. Information regarding ethnic differences is gleaned from the US census which allows citizens only four racial categories with which they may align themselves. Thus individuals of 'mixed race' descent are forced to identify themselves with one group or another, an absolute process of assignment which pays no regard for the great diversity of ethnic and racial identities evident in the contemporary US. Spencer traces the arguments of those who wish to include a new 'mixed race' category in the 2000 Census, but the controversy that continues to dog these demands suggests that Du Bois's warning may serve equally for the next century as it has this one.

Spencer rejects the claims that a new 'multiracial' category be devised on the grounds that a better strategy is to undermine racial essentialism of any kind. The inclusion of a 'multiracial' box to be ticked on a census form will not, he argues, circumvent the inevitable aggregation of diverse people into simplistic and untenable racial categories. The book draws a fascinating contrast with the post-apartheid experience of South Africa and advocates that, as in that country, progressives in the US ought to seek to move beyond racial classifications and establish an open and porous American national identity. The book reflects the debates about legal categories and more might have been included on solutions to the broader structural and political obstacles to equality between ethnic groups. Although the nomenclature of 'racial categories' is important there are clearly other social, political and economic issues which impinge upon the racial politics of the United States, and Spencer might have made greater allusion to these. This limitation aside, this cogent account will be of great interest to those interested in the ontology of 'race' and the difficulty of forging coalitions for change.

Mike Rowe
Leicester University

Victims & Heroes: Racial violence in the African American novel

Jerry H. Bryant

At first, it may not seem obvious why a book about racial violence in the African American novel is being reviewed here. But this text offers much more than literary criticism and review. I want to suggest that *Victims and Heroes* is useful because it contextualizes the moral question at the heart of racism, namely, "should African Americans engage in retaliatory or revolutionary violence against the white majority system that impedes their free search for life, liberty and happiness?"(p.265).

Bryant's text traces the ambivalence of this question through the African American novel from the civil war to the present. I say ambivalent because the dilemma of racial violence is never solved, rather, it is continually held in tension. With that uncertainty as a backdrop, Bryant explains that racial violence requires victims and heroes that are multi-dimensional. In other words, we cannot understand the history of racial violence if we continue to explain it as either black victims of white violence, or black heroes retaliating against white violence in kind. As Bryant argues, African American history is much richer than is allowed for in that formula.

The easiest way to make use of this text is to treat it as a literary history of racial violence – from antebellum lynchings to urbanized ghetto violence. Because nineteenth century slavery prevented the emergence of a 'proper' hero, postbellum novels offered two heroic forms that continue to resonate: the non-violent Christ figure who resists through moral superiority (forgiveness) by refusing the usual stereotype of the 'black savage', and the violent warrior who gains self respect, dignity and power by acting directly against oppression. The Harlem Renaissance in the 1930s re-defined the hero/victim formula outside of this heroic sentimentality and concentrated on the everyday violence of black lives. Out of that 'realism' emerged a sense of solidarity that enabled political activism. However, this resistance continued to call upon dominant heroic forms: 'non-violen'' resistance in the form of Martin Luther King Jr. and 'violent' revolution in the form of Malcolm X and the Black Power movement. Bryant argues that by illustrating the weaknesses in those heroes, and likewise the strengths of those victims of racial violence, African Americans can move towards a multifaceted idea of identity, and ultimately of community.

This text is useful for showing us how our stories are imbued with power, politics and violence. These images of racial violence in the African American novel are crucial for understanding the wider societal and political implications of any violence motivated by race or ethnicity. Because stories can often be an accessible

way into complex moral issues such as racial violence as well as questions about the status of representation and the authority of knowledge, *Victims and Heroes* might be useful as a teaching tool. Having said that, I think Bryant's text should be used in the way it is intended – as a secondary source that compliments novels such as Toni Morrison's 'Song of Solomon'.

Debbie Lisle
Keele University

America After Vietnam: From anguish to healing

Tai Sung An

In his short book (seventy-nine pages) Mr Tai Sung An takes the reader through five chapters: The Agony of Blunder; The Cycle of the Letdown; The Process of Healing; The Missing in Action Issue and a concluding Farewell to the Bitter Old War.

Mr An, a Chinese-American, offers us little in the way of an insight into ethnic conflict and the Vietnam war. Chapter one is where an ethnic element is highlighted for the first and last time in the book: "…Washington spokesmen…failed to understand that the communist appeal had its roots in centuries of Vietnamese xenophobia"(p. 9).

"Knowing too little of Vietnamese culture and history, Hawks [as in hawks and doves] never understood the *genuinely patriotic* [emphasis added] and fiercely fanatical determination the Vietnamese Communists to reunite their country"(p. 10).

Such contradictions are as common in this book as unexploded bombs in Laos. However one feels the cause of these contradictions is a lack of direction, e.g., America is haunted by the war; "Vietnam cost America its innocence and still haunts its conscience…"(p. 3). On the other hand, America doesn't give a damn about the war: "The Americans recognize their nation, after years of negativism and cynicism during the highly divisive Vietnam conflict, as a dynamic and confident nation"(p. 78).

Mr An berates the 'doves' for having being duped by Vietcong propaganda yet claims that his adopted country, the "Untied" [sic] States (p. 73) after "…the victorious Gulf War and the American victory in the Cold War"(p. 34) has, through accepting Indochinese refugees from a war the States did nothing to stop, a "retrospective justification for… involvement. One of the success stories of those people is, as shown in one of the Disney-made TV movies in the Spring of 1975, Linn Yann, the little Cambodian girl who arrived in America knowing not one word of English and who four years later won a spelling-bee championship"(p. 38).

Meanwhile, the Vietcong whose victory had been "Pyrrhic at best…has forfeited or relinquished all real claims to things deriving from victory-glory, respect, honor, prestige, admiration and influence."(p. 73) They probably even don't have a thesaurus.

Mr An clearly knows what side of the Pacific his bread is buttered on.

Adrian McNickle

Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War

James E. Westheider

(New York: New York University Press, 1997)
238pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8147-9301-0.

When the philosopher (and noted pugilist) Muhammad Ali told the US Army draft board in 1967 "no Viet Cong ever called me nigger" he encapsulated in just seven words the utter irony of forcing black Americans to put their lives on the line for a country which treated them as third-class citizens. But while Ali evaded the draft and, eventually, the five-year prison sentence handed down to him, other followers of Elijah Muhammad were not so lucky. Nearly 100 black Muslims went to jail for draft evasion during the Vietnam War, their appeals for conscientious objector status brushed aside because of the racial misconceptions shared by many white draft board members - misconceptions that seemed to arise much less often when the objector was a member of mainstream pacifist sects such as the Amish or Mennonites.

Westheider shows that these misconceptions on the homefront, when added to preconceptions in the war zone, made the Vietnam War a particularly peculiar experience for may black soldiers. He exposes the myth that racial tensions and problems permeating society didn't matter so much in the military because white and black shared a common enemy and relied on each other to stay alive for the duration of their tour of duty. In fact, American soldiers in Vietnam had to confront the exact same racial problems being experienced by their fellow countrymen and women back home. It's not difficult to understand how dangerous a cocktail these tensions, in this particular setting, represented. Tensions which were made even more stark, as Westheider shows, by some pretty ridiculous suspicions between white and black.

For instance, the - on the face of it - unthreatening habit practised by black soldiers of cutting each other's hair was seen by many of their white colleagues as an act of defiant separatism rather than an act of necessity prompted by the inexperience of military barbers to cope with black hair. Then there was the ritualised handshake - the 'dap' - which black soldiers invariably greeted each other with and which caused such consternation among whites that it was eventually outlawed in 1973.

Black solidarity grew significantly within the ranks of the Army therefore it is wrong to believe racial conflicts were whipped up by a few hot-heads. The reasons for this conflict were only addressed by the Pentagon when they had threatened military discipline and, of course, bad publicity.

Westheider's most telling contribution is by arguing convincingly that it was the black soldier in Vietnam who performed the critical roles in bringing about today's more egalitarian military by helping to puncture for good institutional racism within the US Army.

Damian McArdle
Telegraph Newspapers (Belfast)

Fresh Wounds: Early narratives of Holocaust survival

Edited by Donald L. Niewyk

(Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998)
414pp. Index. Bibl. £26.50; ISBN 0-8078-2393-7.

Historical literature of the Holocaust is already substantial - so what would justify another volume on Holocaust survival? The difference, claims the editor, is that this volume contains the first oral history of its kind and the only one done before Yad Vashem began its work in Israel a decade later(p. 3). The interviews were gathered in 1946 by the American psychologist David P Boder, an Eastern European Jew who was born in Liepaja, Russia in 1886 and fled the Russian war in 1919. Of the 109 interviews, thirty-six is presented in this volume. These interviews were conducted in camps set up for displaced persons in France, Italy, Switzerland and Germany and were captured on an early version of the model 50 wire recorder(p. 4). The editor provides background and context to these narratives in the Introduction to this book, in a general introduction to each narrative, through clarifying footnotes and two glossaries – one of Terms and the other of Ghettos and Camps. Besides being allowed to use Boder's own transcripts of the interviews, the editor also heard the original recorded interviews.

As the title suggests, these narratives are 'fresh' and the acute trauma, pain and anger of the survivors, palpable. It is a book that starkly presents the horrors of war at a micro and individual level and paints a horrific picture of the human capacity for evil. Conversely, this is also an account, albeit small in number, of heroic deeds performed under threat of harm or death. Both themes warrant further analysis. The Editor does not offer any analyses, but rather risks 'coherence' for 'texture and historicity' in order that the reader may " … grasp the complexity of the process and approach an understanding of what happened to the victims"(p.1).

Evidence of individual survivor's understanding of 'causes' for the genocide do not readily jump out at the reader, but are hinted at more strongly in a few narratives, notably interviews 28 and 30. Researchers adept at

analysing discourse, will find this book a rich resource with several salient themes worth pursuing. One such recurrent theme, is the alleged complicity by some Jewish Councils, Jewish Ghetto police and other Jewish individuals in camps, from the standpoint of the majority of interviewees. The conflict researcher could mine the data from this volume to explore themes related to the dynamics of ethnic conflict. In sum, this volume is a rich resource for multi-disciplinary research into the dynamics of conflict; the complex relationship between ethnic conflict, identity, internalised oppression, the effects of trauma on the psyche, physiology and spirit of victims of ethnic conflict rendering them vulnerable to becoming 'turncoats' and countless related themes.

Sarah Henkeman
University of Kent

The Transformation of Democracy? Globalization and territorial democracy

Edited by Andrew McGrew

(Cambridge: Polity Pressin association with the Open University, 1997)
279pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-7456-1816-2.

Democratization

Edited by David Porter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh & Paul Lewis

(Cambridge: Polity Press in association with the Open University, 1997)
550pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-7456-1814-6. Pb.: 0-7456-1815-4.

The two books reviewed here are from a trilogy written for the Open University course on 'Democracy: From Classical Times to the Present'. The study of democratization by Potter et al. is a fairly comprehensive account of the spread of liberal democracy around the globe. Apart from the introduction and conclusion it is organised into separate parts for different areas of the globe: Europe and the USA, Latin America and Asia, Africa and the Middle East, and the communist and post-communist countries. There are some problems with the organisation of the chapters. Putting Latin America and Asia together creates an awkward third part that is made up of two general chapters on the history of democratization in Latin America and three chapters dealing with specific Asian cases. Although China appears in the Asian section the chapter on Vietnam is located in the part dealing with communist and post-communist states. Some of the other detailed case-studies area little predictable. South Africa and Israel receive extended analysis, though they are hardly typical of Africa and the Middle East as a whole. Sadly, interesting cases such as Canada and Japan get little attention.

If the Potter book looks at how territorial liberal democracies have spread around the globe, the McGrew book examines how globalization may be undermining this approach to thinking about democracy. Having digested a substantial volume on state-based democratization it is rather disconcerting to turn to the second book's claim that globalization may be transforming liberal democracies and reconstituting the nature of sovereign statehood. One hopes that the Open University students can cope with this slightly schizophrenic approach. These contradictions seem inherent in the nature of the contemporary global system rather than any serious drawbacks in the way these volumes were written, but greater collaboration might have been produced a more coherent overall package.

In the introduction to his volume McGrew examines globalization, defined as an intensification of global interconnectedness, and what this means for democracy. In Part one we have chapters on what is being transformed and there are discussions of militarism, the economy, the environment, and the women's movement. Part two examines the extent to which existing structures of global governance are responsive to democratic control and the obstacles to the democratization of world order. Areas covered are human rights, mulitnational corporations, the European Union, and the United Nations. All of these four chapters point to a democratic deficit in their respective areas. There is a concluding chapter by the editor which takes the analysis into new areas through an anlysis of the work of important contributors to the globalisation debate such as Held, Linklater and Giddens.

Both volumes are reluctant to engage with ethnicity. The Potter volume is better in this respect as there are some references to ethnic conflict (especially Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Israel) and consociationalism (but not Lijphart) in some of the chapters. Yet it is surprising how infrequently they arise in such an extensive analysis of democratization. The McGrew study makes no reference to ethnicity except when discussing specific cases such as the former Yugoslavia. There is no attempt to explore the relationship between ethnicity and globalization or the way that intensified global relations are forcing us to redefine our cultural identity. The Potter book concludes that ethnic, cultural or religious cleavages have significant effects on attempts to consolidate democracy within specific territories and these may not go away just because democracy may be moving beyond borders.

Stephen Ryan
University of Ulster

Reclaiming Sovereignty

Laura Brace & John Hoffman eds.

(London: Pinter, 1997)
210pp. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 1-85567-456-4.

Debates over the meaning of sovereignty as a constitutive rule in modern politics have traditionally been an important focus in political philosophy, comparative politics and international relations. Most studies, however, had been relatively static in the sense

that they preceded from an unquestioned assumption that the centralized state is the unit of analysis.

Recently these debates have become more dynamic. While sovereignty has always been a contested concept, it is only recently that scholars have been willing to 'de-link' sovereignty from statehood in trying to understand political relations within and across juridical borders. *Reclaiming Sovereignty* fits within this research program.

Editors Brace and Hoffman bring together a rather eclectic collection of articles focused on 'reclaiming' the concept of sovereignty from its state centric tradition. While the book does not appear to make a major contribution to new theory in this area, the case studies and theoretical discussions help us to rethink about our traditional treatments of sovereignty. In particular, it refocuses our understanding of ethnic conflict in terms of a contest over the 'location' of sovereignty within a polity.

As such, the most interesting discussion is found in the articles that explore this question of where sovereignty is located. Indeed the answer to this question largely determines the identity of the community itself. John Hoffman offers the theoretical justification for pursuing this line of inquiry by proposing a 'poststatist' (although not necessarily postmodernist) view of sovereignty. This is followed by studies that explore the changing concept of "sovereignty of Parliament" in Britain and the multidimensional character of sovereignty within the European Union.

Ethnic conflict is most directly discussed in the articles on Northern Ireland and South Africa. Here the question of location is particularly important. In both cases the issue of self-determination revolves around how the conflicting parties define the self. If Northern Ireland is neither British nor Irish, who gets to determine the identity of the territory? Who is sovereign: the state (Northern Ireland as a juridical unit), the people (the community of citizens) or the nation (the Irish versus the British or Catholic versus Protestant)? Similarly, in South Africa, both the Apartheid state and the democratic state have been faced with the thorny question of who has 'title' to the state and what to do with those who do not belong to the sovereign community.

While *Reclaiming Sovereignty* does not break new theoretical ground in helping to address these and other key issues, it does raise new questions. And perhaps this is its most important contribution.

Bruce Cronin
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Mass Expulsion in Modern International Law and Practice

Jean-Marie Henckaerts

(The Hague: Kluwer International Law, 1995)
257pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 90-411-0072-5.

This book discusses the subject of transfrontier mass expulsion in the post World War Two era. Dr. Henckaerts starts by offering a brief outline of the legal framework concerning the prohibition of mass expulsion of aliens in general, relying mainly on the regional human rights conventions that are applicable in various countries throughout the world. The author concludes this part by stating that - although these conventions have a regional character - all states are bound to this prohibition, at least as far as mass expulsions violate the non-discrimination principle. For the latter is prohibited by widely accepted international conventions embodying a fundamental prohibition of discrimination that has acquired the status of customary international law. The prohibition of racial discrimination is even a peremptory norm in international law (*jus cogens*). Therefore, such prohibition must be observed at all times by all states.

The subsequent chapters two and three deal with particular applications regarding the prohibition of mass expulsion. In this respect the author pays attention to the expulsion of nationals, migrant workers, permanent resident aliens and stateless persons as well as refugees. By considering each of these categories Henckaerts mainly elaborates upon the legal instruments, but he also illustrates the issue by providing a range of (recent) examples in this field. The next chapter considers the so called 'indirect' mass expulsion, where the involuntary departure of collectivities is not caused by a formal expulsion as such but when the same result is achieved by imposing such conditions of life on a group of people that they cannot reasonably be expected to stay any longer in the territory. In addition, this part also deals with the subject of (compulsory) population exchange. Chapter five and six discuss mass expulsion during or after a time of war and mass expulsion by an occupying power, with an emphasis on the rules of humanitarian law in this respect. The seventh chapter, finally, briefly considers the measures of emergency relief, the remedies, the enforcement mechanisms and the methods of prevention concerning the practice of mass expulsion. The author expresses the view that those measures are the same as those for other large scale human rights violations, where he briefly outlines this range.

In general, this book is an excellent piece of work on the somehow problematic subject of mass expulsion. It even has to be recommended to non-jurists too, since the author provides a huge range of practical examples and concludes his book with a very useful and to the point 'summary of findings'. The more committed in the field can also consult the representative list of treaty provisions and declarations affecting mass expulsions. In short, an exhaustive and at the same time concrete study.

Gunter Lauwers
Free University of Brussels

Enforcing International Human Rights in Domestic Courts

Edited by Benedetto Conforti and Francesco Francioni

(The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1997)
466pp. ISBN 90-411-0393-7.

The book is divided into parts: Part I is headed "National Courts and International Human Rights" and contains general essays by the editors on "National Courts and International Law"(Conforti) and "The Jurisprudence of International Human Rights Enforcement: Reflections on the Italian Experience"(Francioni). The bulk of the volume is in Part II entitled "Comparative Models of National Enforcement". This long section (pp. 37-352) includes essays on the enforcement of human rights by the courts in the UK (Higgins), Italy (Scovazzi), Germany (Simma, Khan, Zöckler and Geiger), France (Decaux), Chile (Vicuña and Bauza), Argentian (Vinuesa), Austria (Morawa and Schreuer), the United States (Henkin), Israel (Benevisti), Japan (Iwasawa), Canada (Bayefsky) and China (James Zhaoji Li). The longest essay is on Japan and runs to seventy pages. Part III is entitled 'Controversial Issues' and deals with US courts in Asylum cases (Churgin); obstacles to domestic enforcement of human rights (De Sena); State immunity and human rights (Bianchi); and aliens and excessive civil jurisdiction (Focarelli). The volume concludes with a list of cases from various jurisdictions. There is no index. Perhaps it is not facetious to remark that the language of the book is English, while the essay by Decaux is generously laced with French. 'Ethnic' issues are not specifically considered; the norms are buried in the general matrix of law and practice, though there is much on laws which impact on aliens.

The 'national experience' contributions are rich in detail. They deal with issues familiar to anyone who has tried to make international law appear relevant in a domestic context. The standard approach is to examine the reception of international law within the domestic order, distinguishing between treaties and customary law, and 'monistic' and 'dualistic' approaches. Discussions follow about the customary law status of human rights, the hierarchical 'level' of international human rights in the local law, approaches to applying the *lex posterior* principle (later local laws clashing with international obligations), the uses of the *lex specialis* principle, and questions of justiciability. There is some heartening news on the doctrinal front. Systems try to accommodate human rights and employ many devices to promote compatibility. But judges tend almost universally to defer to local interpretations, and enthusiasm may outstrip comprehension. Higgins contrasts the ECHR awareness of UK judges with their lack of it on the ICCPR. The contributions remind us that we should not take human rights as known, and suggests the importance of continuing rights education (even for judges). They also make it clear that the domestic incorporation of human rights is the beginning of a story, not the end.

Patrick Thornberry
Keele University

Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific

Edited by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly

(Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997)
607pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £21.50; ISBN 0-262-52245-4.

Much has been written on matters of ethnicity, culture and nationalism. By now there exists a huge corpus of texts and statements on these contentious but crucial matters, covering a wide range of academic subjects ranging from social anthropology, sociology, politics, and, invariably last to any intellectual feast, international relations. Despite these broad ranging interdisciplinary perspectives, there is a remarkable consensus on what constitutes the great works, from Gellner through to Benedict Anderson, to Kedourie and Antony Smith, as well as the need to understand and comprehend the dynamics of ethnic identities. Surprisingly however, and seized upon by Brown and Ganguly in the introduction to this impressive collection of essays, few if any writers have seen the importance of government policy *per se* to the dynamics of ethnicity and the nature and scope of ethnic demands. Fewer writers still have examined government policies in a comparative perspective, and especially within the context of regional and international pressures.

In this regard, Brown and Ganguly's work is impressive and timely. The introduction and the conclusion (by Ganguly and Brown respectively) round off the individual contributions on countries such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, and China (to name but a few) with a clear and thoughtful summary of the current intellectual takes on ethnicity, culture and nationalism, and suggest clear policy formulations for states to manage ethnic tensions. It is here, however, that the volume as a whole (as opposed to the individual contributions themselves) encounter some difficulties.

Both editors acknowledge the subjectivity of ethnic identities and the profoundly political context in which ethnic identities can emerge from an otherwise innocuous multi-cultural background. Both also recognise the ways in which ethnicity is a composite of 'group' identities which may involve various signifiers such as language, religion, custom, etc., although they do this less eloquently than Charles Keye's excellent essay on Thailand. Yet, at critical moments both Ganguly and Brown slip into an irritable positivist social science mode which jars with the insights and subtleties provided by their contributors. In the introduction, Ganguly clearly believes that the case studies in this book can contribute to some 'general universal theory' of ethnic formation (with policy formulations tagged on for state leaders). Few if any of his contributors would touch this idea with a barge pole. At the end, Brown notes that successful ethnic policies by the state requires a comprehensive understanding of how many ethnic groups exist within

the state to start with, a curious *faux pas* which appears to ignore the subject under investigation. One might suspect (unfairly, I am sure) that both editors had failed to read their own manuscript. For what comes over time and time again is that ethnic formation is often caused by government policies, not just influenced by it, and ethnic formation is often a consequence of forced modernisation by an elite, a key emblem of which is an attempt to construct the all inclusive "nation" in an international system of nation-states. Once formed, the dynamics of ethnic demands are structured by the national project and what the state seeks to legitimate as the acceptable national identity. In turn, this identity is shaped by what "cultural" material is to hand, and some material (language, culture,) are better than others (religion, for example).

As Ayesha Jalal pointed out sometime ago in the context of South Asia (a work picked up in both Kanti Bajpai's and Samina Ahmed's chapters) the state is all: and while some generalities can be made about appropriate state action with regard to creating and managing ethnic identities, the historical specificity of state-society relations makes generalised policies almost impossible. Brown's call for a switch from exclusive to inclusive policy - tolerance as opposed to assimilation, civic as opposed to religious - is simply beyond the capacity of the Pakistani state, for example, because of the colonial context, and because of the problematic links between Islam and Pakistan national identity. In Thailand, given the centrality of language and custom, the state has been able to move towards an open-ended, catch-all Thai-ness, even though there have been some difficulties with Islamic defined Thai-Malays. In India, China and Malaysia, such a switch to a de-centralised 'inclusive' would be difficult to execute, even in the case of India, which has an established history of federalism and pluralism with regard to language and culture. The rise of Hindu nationalism in India raises the same awkward links between religion and nation that dog Malaysia and Pakistan, despite the fact that the elite attempt to stress its cultural basis. Some general observations are, of course, possible; (such as the difficulties of managing religious as opposed to cultural signifiers of ethnicity) but policy formulation has to be more nuanced. What works in one case will not work in another, and finding why is often extremely difficult.

These weaknesses do not, however, detract from the usefulness or clarity of the book as a whole. There are some excellent scholars here, whose work pays careful consideration. Rich in detail and historical observation, I do not hesitate in recommending this essential reading. It will greatly assist in the study and comprehension of ethnicity by a whole range of students.

Vernon Hewitt
University of Bristol

Democratization in Africa: The theory and dynamics of political transitions

Earl Conteh-Morgan

This book is a welcome addition to the debate about Africa's experience of democratization. In his introduction, the author says "our most basic premise is that the transition from coercive rule to democratization is above all a matter of power" (p. 4). In subsequent chapters, he takes us through detailed analyses and arguments concerning the various factors that have influenced this transition in various African states, if indeed the transition has happened at all. Some of the factors explored include colonial experience, institutional structures (both traditional and modern), the nature of authoritarian, questions of political uncertainty and insecurity, 'ethnopolitics', military corporate interests and, finally, imperatives imposed by external donors.

Chapter six, 'The Ethnopolitical-Democratization Conflict Nexus' will be of particular interest to the readers of this *Digest*. Strategies of ethnic power elite are examined in relation to democratization processes. Ethnic-based political parties and ethno-regionalism are identified as factors which influence the extent and nature of the transition to democratization. The author cites examples from a number of countries - Ethiopia, Angola, Benin, Djibouti, Liberia, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Mauritania, Uganda, Niger, Rwanda, Togo, Zaire, Kenya, Congo and Ghana (see pp. 109-113), where inter-ethnic imbalances have played a role in determining the path of democratization.

In this book, the realities of political power and its relationship to both historical and contemporary factors are key material for the author's analysis and theory-building. Being more of a practitioner than an academic myself, I did find some of his arguments quite lengthy and complex. At times I felt that he could have made the same point with fewer words. I suspect that his complexity of language and logic might be a problem for someone who is not fluent in the English language.

On a number of occasions, as I was reading, I found myself wanting the author to take his theory a step further to give us some insight into predicting the conditions that would make it more likely for successful democratization to take place. This perhaps would recommend the book as a useful starting point for action-research about trends and patterns for predicting and shaping future democratisation in Africa, as well as in other countries of the 'developing' world.

Steve Williams,
Responding To Conflict, Birmingham, UK

Democracy in Africa: The hard road ahead

Edited by Marina Ottaway

(London: Lynne Rienner, 1997)
Distributed by the Eurospan Group.
176pp. Index. £35.95; ISBN 1-55587-312-X.

Democracy in Africa is the product of a conference sponsored by SAIS African Studies Program. The nine contributors have each examined a piece of the democratization puzzle. Ottaway poses the fundamental problem for democracy in Africa -'current political openings are not necessarily the beginning of a straightforward process. . .' (p. 8). Each chapter addresses one facet of 'the dangerous in-between period, when incumbent governments and opposition groups have to settle down for the long haul that will determine whether African countries will enjoy lasting political transformation or revert to authoritarianism' (p. 12).

Two essays address the key relationship between democracy and economic development. Nicholas van de Wall and Carol Graham both pay special attention to the timing of economic reforms in new democracies: they must be taken immediately during the honeymoon period and be based on a consensus forged through persuasion. Excellent case studies of Zambia, Mali, and Madagascar (van de Wall) and Senegal and Zambia (Graham) provide conclusive evidence for the importance of timing of economic reform. Two essays describe groups which are key in the democratization process. The military is Eboe Hutchfil's emphasis, both how that institution has contributed to and impeded the democratization process. Jennifer Widner analyzes the relationship between political parties and groups in civil society. She suggests that while associational groups have proliferated in Africa, political parties have made little effort to forge links with these groups. Widner explains the patterns found across the various countries.

Why democratization does not proceed in a unilinear fashion is the focus of Peter M. Lewis' analysis of Nigeria and Michael G. Schatzberg's study of Zaire. Lewis sees weakness in civil society, offering only 'anemic challenges to authoritarianism' (p.136). Schatzberg catalogues how Mobutu co-opts and subverts emerging political movements, even as economic and political structures disintegrate. While the chapter was written before Mobutu's demise, the generalizations concerning how hijacking by political elites disrupts the democratic process are as applicable in the post-Mobutu period as before.

Finally, David Gordon examines the role of foreign donors in the democratization process. His finding - that it may be easier for donors to exert pressures against nondemocratic governments than to positively influence the evolution of nascent democracies - is not an optimistic one for the future of African democracy.

Strikingly absent from systematic discussion is the role of ethnicity in the democratization process. Ethnic divisions can impede the professionalization of the military and prevent the formation of democratically competitive political parties. Yet the omission of ethnicity suggests that these contributors do not see ethnicity as a major impediment to democratization, rather institutions in government and civil society hold the keys to the democratization process.

Karen A. Mingst
University of Kentucky

Transition without End: Nigerian politics and civil society under Babangida

Edited by Larry Diamond, Anthomy Kirk-Greene & Oyeleye Oyediran

(London: Lynne Rienner, 1997)
Distributed by the Eurospan Group.
515pp. Index. £43.95; ISBN 1-55587-591-2.

The June 1998 'cardiac crisis', which ended the brutal regime of Nigerian despot Sani Abacha, makes the volume under review exceedingly timely. Ably edited and assembled, this collection of empirically detailed, high quality essays brings together revised versions of papers from two conferences - one in Lagos and the other at Stanford - in 1990 and 1991. The assembled chapters provide a comprehensive look at the politics of the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, Abacha's most immediate military predecessor. Readers are thus provided the background information and analysis necessary to understand the current installment of Nigeria's seemingly endless transition to civilian rule. Babangida ruled Nigeria from his bloodless coup of August 1985 until August 1993, when he was forced out after refusing to accept the valid results of the free and fair presidential elections of June 12, 1993. The interim regime of civilian Ernest Shonekan proved to be nothing more than a temporary station on the way to Abacha's seizure of power in November 1993. Abacha, no friend to human rights, saw to it that the victor in those elections, Social Democratic Party candidate Moshood Abiola, remained in jail as long as he remained in power.

A striking and most welcome aspect of this collection is that the vast majority of the contributors are Nigerian social scientists. The quality of their scholarship indicates that there has been, and already for some time, a genuine decolonization of social scientific knowledge about Nigeria. While all of the essays are good, I especially commend to those with an interest in ethnicity and cultural pluralism the fine chapters by Bola Akinterinwa and Rotimi Suberu on the 1993 crisis. Both analyses of the role of ethnicity in Nigerian politics are subtle and intelligent. Also of interest are the perceptive essays by Daniel Bach on ethnicity, federalism and the question of who is considered to be 'indigenous' to a particular corner of the country, and the chapters by Rotimi Suberu (from a southern perspective) and Omar Ibrahim (from a northern perspective) which treat the

increasingly visible role of religion in Nigerian politics. The latter essay calls attention to the phenomenon of intra-Islamic conflict. The volume also contains a good index and a useful political chronology. In sum, specialists on Nigeria as well as others with an interest in the current wave of democratization will find this a rewarding volume.

Michael G. Schatzberg
University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, resistance, nationalism 1941-1993

Ruth Iyob

The Eritrean 'story', of overthrowing two colonialisms, the Italians and then the Ethiopian Amharic ruling ethno-class, deserves a wider audience - among political scientists and international relations specialists, as well as the usual Africanist regionalists and Horn of Africa aficionados. While this study makes a start in that direction, unfortunately it will not satisfy inquiring social scientists.

The author is clearly an insider within the Eritrean struggle, with access to much primary information; she has been advised in drafting this study in its early form as a Ph.D. thesis by several distinguished political scientists (she now teaches political science at University of Missouri- St. Louis). The author aspires to placing the Eritrean struggle within an international perspective. The early (the 'locating the study within the literature') section proffers the theme of the Ethiopian state in violation of the the post-war, UN-brokered federation agreement with Eritrea and then illegally annexing it. This eventuates as the Cold War created a necessity for Western (U.S.) bases in Ethiopia and Eritrea, and because Ethiopia inherited much goodwill - from the Christian heritage of its ruling ethno-class, from its anti-fascist struggle against the Italian invasion, and from its historical independence in Africa, creating a natural choice by the early 1960s for the headquarters of the continental international organization, the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This *realpolitik* explanation then nests within an enlightening discussion of models of analysis tried out by competing social science interpreters, 'greater Ethiopia' vs. 'national self-determination' (of the Eritreans, and by implication, other national or ethnic groupings in the Horn of Africa). In turn, this discussion is paralleled by noting the acceptance of standard state sovereignty and non-interference doctrines by the OAU. Useful talking points for further analysis, but then they are fogged over (mercifully briefly) by the unfortunate now-obligatory, and in this instance otiose, references to Foucoult and Gramsci in an apparent attempt to locate the study in contemporary post-modern discourse.

The main part of the book is a sort of worm's eye view of the Eritrean struggle against the royal and then the revolutionary socialist government of Ethiopia. Conflict between Muslims and secularists, including Marxists, and much factionalism between the resistance parties characterize the review of four decades of rebellion of varying intensity and organization. The reader is inundated with lists of names of political leaders, with accounts of meetings, and a bewildering array of initials of political groups. The curiously mechanical language reinforces an image of the clanking of gears as the discourse shifts focus from theory to narrative.

The author portrays the early Eritrean Liberation Front as warlord-oriented, to be superseded by the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front, which emerges after 20 years as a secular, Marxist, nationalist group, and the final arbiter of the internal conflicts, overcoming Christian-Muslim and clan-kin, as well as regional splits. Amidst much that resembles for-the-record description, the author loses sight of the original international perspective. The machinations inside the UN serving to help the Ethiopian rulers, the Big Powers and their overlapping as well as conflicting views and interests, the Cold War considerations, the U.S.- Israeli connection, although related and laid out, are not followed up in a systematic way. Perhaps over-dependence on a handful of scholarly authorities for the analytical network hampered further advance.

Finally, the effect of this uniquely successful rebellion-secession on Ethiopia and the rest of Africa needs to be suggested. By demonstrating the hollowness of the formerly received doctrine of the OAU with regard to territorial boundaries, and by sharing in the process that undermined the centralized, military socialist Ethiopia, Eritrean independence is intimately linked to the confederal status of the current Ethiopian state, as well as to an inevitable re-assessment of the nature of African territorial political systems today. Not only is the Eritrean story inspiring, it represents a stimulus to a new African political order. That story will yet find its narrator.

Harvey Glickman
Haverford College, Pennsylvania

Civil Society Takes Responsibility: Popular involvement in the peace process in Mali

Kare Lode

In 1992 a 'National Pact' was concluded between the Government of Mali and the organization representing the several ethnic Tuareg (and to a lesser extent, Arab) groups formerly in rebellion against the Malien state, known by the acronym MFUA (United Movements and Fronts of Azawad). The Tuareg, a Tamacheck-speaking nomadic pastoralist people living in and on the fringes of the Sahara, were marginalized by both the French colonial government and, after independence in 1960, by the

several Malien regimes. Notoriously difficult to bring under governmental control, the Tuaregs rose in rebellion in 1915, 1916-17, 1963, and again in 1990. Despite the National Pact, the 1990 rebellion in fact lasted until 1996, when it finally ended, a conclusion brought about in no small part through the efforts of the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA). The NCA, involved in a huge development project in the Timbuktu region, was asked in 1994 by both sides - the government and the Tuareg rebels - to become involved as facilitators in a 'grass-roots' effort of reconciliation and peace - consolidation at the level of Malien civil society.

Lode, the head of NCA's Malien project and himself a key player in the peace-building efforts, chronicles both the steps leading to the National Pact, the subsequent breakdown of the Pact (due to a change of regime in Mali), and failure of the state to deal satisfactorily with either the plight of nomad refugees (victims of the prolonged droughts of 1973-74 and 1984-85), or the grievances of the 'sedentarists', that is, farming communities affected both by the Tuareg rebellion and the refugees' search for water and pasturage.

Key to the NCA's role in the process, according to Lode, was the atmosphere of trust engendered by the NCA, and its consequent ability to bring the key actors in Malien civil society to a variety of face-to-face situations in which essential differences could be aired, and if possible, compromised, if not reconciled. Chapters five through eight of the report details the complex of initiatives by which the NCA and key agents of the Malien state were able to enlist elements of Malien civil society to work toward the larger goal of building peace in the country. To their credit, and despite the fact that some problems remained intractable, they were largely successful in their efforts.

What are the lessons to be learned from this experience - both for NGOs and others undertaking peaceful intervention in local conflicts? Above all, is the Malien case a paradigm for grass-roots participation in peace-building efforts? On the one hand, the Malien situation was unique: the main antagonists had reached what amounted to a strategic impasse in their conflict; they were able, almost providentially, to find a mediating presence they all trusted, the NCA; and all the parties had reached a point at which they were willing to consider peace as a viable alternative. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a similar concatenation of favorable factors in other major internal conflicts. A recent attempt to find peace peace by reconstructing Tadjik civil society failed because at least two of the Malien factors were absent: the parties were not ready for peace, and trust was lacking at all levels of the process. On the other hand, the Malien experience does point to a singular, and key element, in internal conflict resolution: that it cannot work unless civil society is engaged, since it is in the transactions and structures of everyday life that reconciliation, compromise, and toleration are created.

Victor T. Le Vine
Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri

Defiant Dictatorships: Communist and Middle Eastern dictatorships in a democratic age

Paul Brooker

In *Defiant Dictatorships* Paul Brooker sets out to discover why eight dictatorships have proved so stable against a tide of democratization, or its facade at least, elsewhere. The cases covered are four communist cases - China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba - and four middle-eastern countries - Syria, Iraq, Libya and Iran. A chapter is devoted to each case and these chapters adopt a clear format with the dictatorships described under three headings: political structure, ideology, and economic policy. The cases are explicitly viewed as dynamic entities, explaining the sequences of political, ideological and economic changes. Written in a clear style these chapters present useful sources on the political systems and policies of the regimes.

In the introductory chapter Brooker offers his 'prima facie' explanation for these regimes' survival, namely "the stabilizing influence of defiance itself" (p. 163). This is not as circular as it sounds for his argument is that it is defiance against external 'foes' which produces stability, internally. In essence foes making military threats produce a 'siege mentality'. Brooker also offers two alternative or 'supplementary' explanations, 'structural/ideological' and 'economic policies'. In the concluding chapter he argues that some support can be found for the supplementary relevance of increasing nationalism and a trend towards economic liberalism. Their secondary importance follows from their fitting only some of the cases.

Though an interesting and informative book, the way the argument is developed creates a serious methodological weakness. It is not possible to prove a thesis, however tentative, by showing that alternative explanations are less than satisfactory. It is also necessary to demonstrate the primary explanation to be of central importance. As such, each of the chapters should have been devoted to showing how external threats had produced internal stability and how, at best, alternative explanations were only supplementary. This is particularly important when in the first chapter one of the cases is acknowledged as different from the rest: in Cuba military threats (from the USA) are viewed as 'latent' only. China too turns out to be somewhat outside of the generalization for it is internal threats to stability, the pro-democracy demonstrations, which are stressed, in combination with the strengthening of the siege mentality through China being left, after 1991, 'the lone Communist power' (p. 9). This is hardly the same thing as being under actual threat of military invasion.

Dictatorships, rather, may choose to rally support through military aggression and use the excuse of war to increase the state's capacity for coercion to be used not only abroad but also at home. A focus on state coercion could have directed attention to the state's role in causing ethnic conflict. Understanding might then have been developed both on the conditions under which a western-type competitive political system would be viewed as desirable by an encumbant dictatorship and under which it would be workable.

Rosemary H. T. O'Kane
University of Keele

The Middle East Peace Process: Interdisciplinary perspectives

Edited by Ilan Peleg

(New York: State University of New York Press, 1998)
300pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-7914-3541-5.
Pb.: $19.95; ISBN 0-7914-3542-3.

The Arab-Israeli conflict and the numerous attempts over the years to bring about a lasting resolution to the conflict has engendered a wealth of scholarship. Scholars from almost every discipline in the social sciences have put their pen to paper in order to explain and make sense of events in the Middle East.

This book is a set of articles from a number of academic disciplines covering various aspects of the current Arab-Israeli peace process, many of which were first presented as papers to an Israel Studies Association conference, held in the summer of 1995. As such, it is more a book which focuses nearly exclusively on the impact of the peace process on Israeli society and rather addressing the developments in the peace process as a whole. Indeed the two chapters on the Palestinians and the one on Jordan seem oddly out of place.

The book is divided into six parts: historical perspectives; peace and Israeli attitudes; peace and Israeli institutions; peace and the Palestinians; Jordan and peace; and peace and economics. As with all edited volumes emerging from conferences, the quality of the papers is uneven and some have lasted the test of time better than others. It is a book which is not intended to be read from beginning to end and is aimed more at the specialist reader rather than a newcomer to the Arab-Israeli peace process. As with a box of assorted chocolates, readers will first pick out the subjects in which they are most interested and only then move on to the other chapters if they have appetite. But it is well worth the effort. All the chapters in this book offer the reader something new rather than going over old ground and the variety of issues covered in the volume make this is a useful addition to the ever-growing literature on the Middle East peace process.

Joel Peters
University of Reading

The Lebanese Conflict: Looking inward

Latif Abul-Husn

(London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998)
Distributed by the Eurospan Group
171pp. Index. Bibl. £33.95; ISBN 1-55587-665-X.

This study, by a career civil service officer in the Lebanese Foreign Ministry who has served as ambassador to Australia and New Zealand since 1995, focuses primarily on the role of indigenous factors in the origin, dynamism, and resolution of Lebanon's civil war (1975-1989). Its premise is that the country's deeply segmented social structure and conflictual tendencies are the root of its social and political anomie. Although conflict is inherent in pluralist societies, the Lebanese system failed to develop the associated conflict-management mechanisms necessary to keep social peace and stability. Abul-Husn seeks to show that pluralist societies are not necessarily doomed to constant struggle and upheaval, provided that they adapt to the civil ethos of compromise and flexible responses.

The author argues that the Lebanese civil conflict is spawned by the fault lines within the country's very structure - communal divisions and fratricide- "cradled in domestic social, political, and economic contradictions" (p.1) and exacerbated by external forces. He analyzes the social-structural basis of the Lebanese conflict in light of the corpus of conflict theories, especially those of Karl Marx (economic determinism and social-class interest), Ralf Dahrendorf (authority and position in class relations), and Ibn Khaldun, the fourteenth-century North African Muslim thinker (asabiya, group solidarity and power). The concepts of authority and asabiya are particularly relevant and useful tools in "identifying and understanding the root causes of the Lebanese conflict" (p. 7), which will, in turn, help in the search for a resolution.

The concluding chapter is a reflection on future challenges to Lebanon: the social origins of the conflict - the inherent contradictions in the social structure - remain unresolved and could once again erupt in violence. The Taif Accord has changed neither the social configuration nor the political culture of the country. The sectarian basis of the state remains intact; political participation is still delineated by sect; and government benefits are allotted through patronage. For a durable peace, the author proposes a 'new Lebanon' that transcends its 'tribal-like structure' to build an integrated society where the individual citizen acts and interacts freely and directly with the state and has "direct access to political rewards and resources without the aid of an intermediary" (p.143). It may be that a "divorce between communal identity and political access may be Lebanon's best hope for a lasting peace" (p. 144), but the fact is that communal identities will remain entrenched in the political domain so long as Lebanon's constituent social mosaic does not cohere into a broader national community. Hence, in line with the main assumption of the study that pluralist societies need not be condemned to constant violence, I

concur with the conclusion that the best hope for a polycommunal Lebanon is to adopt the ethic of civic culture, based on the principles of trust, compromise, and flexible responses.

The book is well written and thoroughly documented, using original Arabic sources. It constitutes a valuable contribution to the available literature on the civil war in Lebanon, especially in furthering our understanding of its internal causes and dynamics.

Mahmud A. Faksh
University of Southern Maine

Bridging the Gap:
A future security architecture for the Middle East.

Shai Feldman & Abdullah Toukan

This slim volume, published under the auspices of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, is the result of an unprecedented collaborative effort by an Israeli academic (Shai Feldman, senior researcher at the Jaffa Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv) and a Jordanian analyst (Abdulah Toukan, science advisor to King Hussein). The book carries the distinct stamp of the more optimistic historical context (September 1994) in which the decision to collaborate was finalized. The assassination of Yitzhak Rabin in November 1995 and the subsequent election of Benjamin Netanyahu are acknowledged in the preface but are deemed unable to reverse the Oslo process. Indeed, the sense that the Mideast "security architecture" may be at the end of one era and the beginning of another is the persistent (if challengeable) hope that informs each of the four brief chapters.

The authors use a simple but effective format to develop their argument. The first chapter is jointly written and sketches an up-beat review of the Middle East Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) talks held after the 1991 Madrid conference. The next two chapters are written separately and offer admittedly "very broad strokes" (p. xv) portrayals of Israeli and Arab approaches to security. Here Feldman faces a more manageable task than Toukan and the result is correspondingly more convincing. The contours of the proposed security architecture are brought into sharper (but still fuzzy) focus in the coauthored fourth chapter which also includes some general recommendations on how to mitigate the negative impact of the security dilemma in the Middle East.

As a reminder that "it is time to begin thinking differently about the future of the Middle East" (p. xvi), the book has considerable merit. Historical events have

shown however little kindness to the commendable intentions that animate this collaborative project. With the Israeli-Palestinian peace process endlessly stalled over a percentage point or two of further withdrawal, with Syria, Iran and Iraq completely detached from the process and with America's continued engagement under serious strain, one cannot help wondering about the relevance and soundness of the envisioned security architecture.

Yosef Lapid
New Mexico State University

The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East politics and the quest for regional order

Avraham Sela

This is not a work on ethnicity or conflict resolution so much as an essay in conventional international relations theory applied to the analysis of a major regional subsystem, namely, that of the Middle East. In this context, the key isue is changing Arab perceptions and attitudes towards Israel; and the key actors are Arab ruling elites. The authors objective is "to fill a gap in the existing literature on the history of regional Arab politics." (p.x) Sela's purpose is to remedy a deficiency in the interpretation of "the relationship between inter-Arab politics and the Arab-Israeli conflict" (p.x). Central to Sela's work is the claim that "Arab attitudes toward Israel" constitute an analytically valid "unit of analysis, involving qualitative and quantitative factors." (p.x) These factors are examined in the context of summit conferences that provide Sela with a terrain on which to test his claims regarding the commitment to pan-Arabism and competing Islamist trends. What his work demonstrates is that these commitments were by passed by Arab political elites who thus opted for a more pragmatic approach, albeit often indirectly endorsing what amounts to containment as opposed to direct confrontation with Israel.

Sela's thesis turns on his claims with respect to the role of the conflict with Israel, on the one hand, and the paramount importance he alleges with respect to pan-Arabism and Islamist movements. While this is a work that provides valuable documentation, the proposition that assumes a generic Arab attitude toward Israel is as unpersuasive as the claims with respect to pan-Arabism as the dominant motif whose subversion was achieved by Arab summits. In practice, this approach leaves out the considerable evidence of an Arab post-war politics far richer, far more divided, far more subject to internal criticism and opposition on grounds other than pan-Arabism, than the present work suggests. Similarly, the analysis of Arab attitudes towards Israel that omits discussion of Israeli regional policies and attitudes

towards Palestinians and Arabs, appears to exclude a critical dimension of the story being told. Finally, the role of foreign intervention is similarly limited, notably with respect to the analysis of the regional and international constellation of forces that led up to Madrid and Oslo. The practical results are far more pessimistic than Sela's title suggests.

Irene L Gendzier
Boston University

Franco-Arab Encounters (Studies in Memory of David C. Gordon)

Edited by L. Carl Brown and Matthew S. Gordon

(Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1996)
Distributed by The Eurospan Group
484pp. Index. £10.50; ISBN 0-8156-6095-2.

This edited book covers various aspects of Franco-Arab relations, treating "Images of Self and the Other", "Nineteenth Century French Mentalities and Algeria", "Experiences from Lebanon", "The Gender Issue", "The Diplomatic Dimension", "Individuals and Ideology", "Arabs in France: Past and Present".

Among them, "Arabs in France: Past and Present" includes a study treating directly ethnic conflict; "French Nationalism and the Issue of North African Immigration" by Soraya Tlatli, which researches causes of ethnic conflict in France between North African immigrants, particularly from Algeria, and French. We have already had many studies on this problem by different approaches. In the 1980s, France faced rise of racism against Arabic immigrants, caused by their cultural differences from Frenchmen and by increasing unemployment. In this situation, the National Front, extreme right party, has gotten more and more support of voters since mid-eighties, with its insistence of excluding Algerian immigrants from French territory in order that French people can have jobs which Algerians occupy. According to Tlatli, Jean-Marie Le Pen, the party's leader, insists on "the principle of natural selection and the cult of ancestors" (p.399). Citing A. D. Smith, the author analyzes Le Pen's way of thinking: he considers a nation as "the ethnic nation" (p.402).

Through the consideration on Le Pen's argument, Tlatli states that in France "[t]he colonial image is at the heart of contemporary debates on immigration, for the modern French concept of the nation provides the ideological ground justifying colonialism" (p.403), which leads to the thesis that French nationalism is based on universalism or Messianic feeling.

Finally, she takes a problem of identity of "Beurs" (second generation of North African immigrants). Beurs are born and raised in France; they acquire Arab culture from their parents and at the same time a French one from the society where they live. So Beurs have cultural duality and they suffer from "a feeling of being torn between two cultures without belonging to either" (p.412). The difficulty to integrate them into French society causes many socio-political conflicts and reinforces political power of the National Front. Tlatli insists, as a whole, that Franco-Arab ethnic problems are produced mainly by nature of French nationalism, i.e. "ethnic" nationalism rather than "civic".

Her work omits some important problems: Islam scarf question in French public schools, which has produced a great controversy since the end of 1980s; theoretical examination of "integration", "assimilation" and "insertion", concepts often used by French sociologists so as to classify theoretically Arab immigrants or Beurs. However, this article is very useful for surveying Franco-Arab ethnic conflict and concerning socio-political phenomena and helps our further understanding of Tlatli's argument.

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Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East

Edited by L. Carl Brown

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)
337pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: $22.00; ISBN 0-231-10305-0.

This edited volume brings a detailed account of the Ottoman Empire and its legacy. "Aiming more at broad themes than discrete detail" the chapters here "seek to present interpretations that, while passing muster with the specialist, are readily accessible to the nonspecialist"(p.6).

Part One starts with a chapter by Halil Inalcik, 'The Meaning of Legacy: the Ottoman Case'. Inalcik claims that some major aspects of the Ottoman system inspired later developments. Norman Itzkowitz, in the following chapter, 'Problem of Perceptions', focuses on the psychological aspect of the Ottoman legacy dealing the question of how peoples of the Ottoman successor states' perceptions about themselves and others have been constructed.

There are four chapters in Part Two. Maria Todorova, in 'The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans', describes two diametrically opposed interpretations of the Ottoman legacy. One considers the Ottoman period as an alien invasion. The other sees this long era more nearly as 'a symbiosis of Turkish, Islamic, and Byzantine/Balkan traditions.' Karl Barbir, in his 'Memory, Heritage, and History', examines why the Arabs have approached their Ottoman past negatively and why that earlier adapting of memories may now be changing.

In Part Three, Ergun Ozbudun sees as one of the most important Ottoman legacies the tradition of a strong and centralized state. Carter Findley focuses on that period of Westernization and reform stretching from the late eighteenth century to the end of the empire. Roderic

Davison asks four questions: What was the situation of the Ottoman Empire during roughly the last century or so of its existence? What strategy did the Ottomans develop during this period? What did the Near East as a whole inherit from this? And finally, What did the Republic of Turkey inherit?

In Part Four, Bernard Lewis supports the case that much modern Arab political vocabulary came via an Ottoman transmission belt. In the following chapter Geoffrey Lewis suggests that the Ottoman language had a richness of vocabulary matched only by English. Vast borrowings from Arabic and Persian produced this extensive, nuanced vocabulary.

Part Five starts with Charles Issawi's comparative review of the economic legacy of the Ottoman Empire and neighbouring European countries. In the chapter on the military legacy, Dankwart Rustow highlights the central role of warfare in both the Ottoman Empire's rise and its slow but gradual decline.

In Part Six, William Ochsenwald addresses the issue of Islam, maintaining that "in many aspects of political life the role of Islam under the Ottomans was a continuation of examples and modes established under earlier Muslim states"(pp. 266-7). In the last chapter Joseph Szyliowicz concentrates on the Ottoman educational legacy, claiming that "whatever the roots, the legacy has not, in general, contributed in a positive way to the functioning of educational systems"(p.298).

The undertaking is important and praiseworthy. Although the contributors have used primary source materials, the bibliography lists only the secondary publications in the field. The essays supplement and enrich, rather than replace, current narratives. The book is not animated by a central argument, rather, collectively, the essays raise some interesting questions about the impact of the past upon the present - the questions of the Ottoman legacy in today's world. There is much to recommend in this book, which should be read by everyone who teaches, writes, or cares about the history of the Ottoman Empire and its successor states.

Bulent Gokay
Keele University

Making a New Nation:
The formation of Slovenia

Edited by Danica Fink-Hafner
and John R. Robbins

(Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1997)
330pp. Bibl. £42.50; ISBN 1-85521-656-6.

The small southern European republic of Slovenia seems in some ways to have escaped the ethnic conflicts which otherwise characterised the break-up of Yugoslavia. The economy is undeniably the most successful in Eastern Europe; elections are free and fair, with a viable multi-party

system; the country itself is charming, if not very exciting. The government vehemently favours joining the EU and the single currency at the earliest opportunity - even the car number-plates are difficult to distinguish from those of neighbouring Austria. The 'native minority' Hungarian and Italian populations, a few thousand each in a country of two million, are constitutionally protected with guaranteed parliamentary seats.

But as recently as 1991, Slovenia was part of the same country as Bosnia, as Kosovo, as Macedonia, as Croatia which then had a substantial Serb minority (and no longer does). And the many Slovenian-registered cars which can be seen on the roads of Bosnia today demonstrate that the largest ethnic minority currently living in Slovenia are the tens of thousands of Bosnian refugees who migrated during the war. Although Fink-Hafner and Robbins collection of papers tends to present Slovenia as a historic nation newly liberated from an alien Yugoslav state, a less comfortable truth peeks through the contradictions between Janko Prunk's historical introduction (pp. 21-30), Drago Zajc's review of the changing political system (pp. 156-171), and Bernik, Malnar and Tos's essay on the paradoxes of Slovenian democratization (pp. 56-82). This last is one of the most interesting contributions, presenting polling data from 1980 to 1994, including the 1990-91 independence process. The authors point to the sudden crystallisation of support for secession from Yugoslavia in 1990, and to continuing poll evidence of ethnocentrism and xenophobia, to argue that Slovenian political culture is not as whole-heartedly democratic as it is usually portrayed.

Much of the rest of the book concentrates on economics in Slovenia alone. John R. Robbins, who as well co-editing the collection is its only non-Slovene author, contributes an insightful prologue (pp. 1-20), which discusses the problems of democratization, ethnicity and pluralism in a global context, and also an epilogue (pp. 278-294) measuring Slovenia's 'attainment of viability' and prospects for long-term stability. Ethnic homogeneity is no guarantee here; however Robbins' main concern is the political system's shallow institutional roots. He is frank about the problems facing a small European nation struggling to enter the New World Order, but basically shares the optimism of his fellow contributors.

Nicholas Whyte
National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs - Croatia

Ethnic Cleavages and Conflict:
The sources of national cohesion
and integration

Gojko Vuckovic

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997)
170pp. Bibl. £35.00; ISBN 1-85972-640-2.

Ethnic conflict in Yugosvlavia is examined within an ambitious and intricate theoretical framework. It begins with a review of the scholarship on ethnic conflict, with an

emphasis on theories like modernisation, nation-building, international order, democratization, and ethnic conflict management. In a separate chapter, a model for the comparative study of ethnic conflict is devised that includes domestic, perceptual, systermic and international variables. The author believes that the model can be used to identify and analyse conditions most likely to give rise to ethnic violence and national disintegration.

Chapters four and five explore the origins of the Yugoslav idea, theories of Serb, Croatian and Muslim identity, and that state formation and regulation of ethnic conflict between the two world wars. Chapter six analyses conflict management and ethnic policies in the second Yugoslavia during the communist era of Marshal Tito. Dr Vuckovic depicts Yugoslavia in both eras as a big laboratory for social, political and administrative engineering. He argues that 'the Yugoslav experiment contradicted dominant western scholarship and practice on nation-states and international orde''.

Despite devoting so much space to the genesis of the Yugoslav idea, Vuckovic thinks Yugoslavia was never a viable project. Hostile international cuircumstances, the emergence of fascism and later the fall of communism, exposed its fragility and the preference of the South Slavs for their own ethno-nationalist solutions. The communist system, based on a flawed economic self-management model, worship of Tito as the embodiment of Yugoslavism, and later extreme decentralization, failed to act as an integrative force. Instead the dispersal power to the regions within an authoritarian context led to conflict over status and resources and the disintegration of the 1990s.

The period after 1980 is handled with much less rigour and detail than the previous century. Efforts to preserve a single Yugoslavia with a democratizing Eastern Europe are brushed aside as is the degree of support which a pluralist Yugoslavia enjoyed within an electorate denied the chance of voting in an all-Yugoslav election. The international community is slammed for lack of consistency in asserting policies and principles on which world order and the recognition of new states were to be established.

The author ignores the Kosovo question which was a crucial factor in the unravelling of Yugoslavia in the late 1980s while, in the reviewer's mind, gives excessive attention to the rise of so-called Muslim nationalism in Bosnia during the same period. If there had been more emphasis on the role of Slobodan Milosevic and the anti-reform party-state bureauracy in Serbia, then Dr Vuckovic might have had to temper his argument that the demise of Yugoslavia "may be considered as the death of an impossible project of scholarship and social experimentation..." (p. 152). More firmly-based states have foundered as a result of unbalanced or morally defective individuals seizing the helm. The sophisticated theoretical framework devised here provides valuable insights into why the Yugoslav experiment came unstuck. But the author refuses to see that it is one that had great staying-power and the verdict of history may well be that the south Slavs were simply unlucky in their efforts to co-exist, not that the

experiment was doomed in advance.

Renewed efforts to draw together the peoples of south-east Europe in forms of political and economic co-operation that have worked so well in western Europe after 1945 may well expose the dangers of such deterministic thinking, however impressive the theorising that lies behind it.

Tom Gallagher
University of Bradford

The Enigma of 1989: The USSR and the liberation of Eastern Europe

Jacques Lévesque

The great enigma which Jacques Lévesque deals with in this, the best book thus far on the events of 1989, is not why an illegitimate and insecure system of rule collapsed in Eastern Europe, but rather why the USSR allowed it to happen in the first place. Such permissiveness was all the more strange given the apparent importance of Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union. The answer to this conundrum, according to the author, is to be found in a profound and probably irreversible metamorphosis that had already taken place in Soviet ideology since 1985. Lévesque argues that this alteration in outlook - to what was in effect a latter-day form of social democracy - both made it possible for the Soviet leadership to take risks in Eastern Europe and literally made it impossible for it to use force to repress or contain change in the region. However, as Lévesque readily concedes, what Gorbachev wanted in 1989 and what he got were two very different things. What he aimed for of course was a new political and military partnership with a series of reform-oriented regimes. What he ended with was the complete disintegration of the old social and economic order, the rapid collapse of any Soviet influence, the reunification of Germany and the demise of the Warsaw Pact! Ironically, the only country where Gorbachev's plans were realized was Romania, where following the execution of the Ceausescus, a reform communist in the shape of Ion Iliescu took over. Gorbachev also failed to calculate (and probably did not care anyway) what the consequences of all this would have for Yugoslavia: the least dependent, most open and undoubtedly most attractive of all the old communist regimes. But it was not his problem: nor as the tragic events gradually unfolded, did it seem to be anyone's. Liberation of sorts might have followed in the wake of communist collapse in Eastern Europe. Ethnic genocide was the consequence of freedom in the Balkans. And what is so enigmatic about that, is not that it happened perhaps, but rather that we - the 'liberators' - let it.

Michael Cox
University of Wales, Aberystwyth

Civil-Military Relations in Post-Communist States: Central and Eastern Europe in Transition

Edited by Anton A. Bebler

(Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1997) Distributed by Eurospan
151pp. Index. Bibl. £43.95; ISBN 0-275-95350-5.

The pivotal chapters of this useful volume describe recent developments in civil-military relations in Albania, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia. To put postcommunist changes into perspective, the editor has also commissioned chapters on civil-military relations in Germany, Italy and Portugal, as well as others on broader subjects such as the implications of the Partnership for Peace program and NATO expansion.

The upshot of the volume is that civil-military relations remain troubled throughout the region, even though almost all the high commands (Yugoslavia provides the obvious exception) acquiesced passively in the 1989 collapse of the political systems they had previously served. The problem today stems not from any residual communism or lack of loyalty among the armed forces to the new liberal-democratic ideology. Instead, "most problems in civil-military relations in Central and Eastern Europe stem ... from the weaknesses on the civilian side" (p. 131). To place the military under civilian control, for one thing, it is not enough to tear down the totalitarian party-state. Civilian institutions must first renew their authority, coherently define the national interest, obtain public support for it, and assign the soldiers a clear role in securing it. Politically poorly organized societies, such as most of those in postcommunist Europe, have not proved up to this difficult challenge, not yet or not adequately.

The militaries across the region are regularly faced with confusingly mixed signals sent by squabbling presidents and prime ministers, with mutually incompatible commands from foreign ministers and defense ministers from different parties within a coalition government. None of the parliaments in the region has achieved effective oversight over the large ministerial bureaucracies, it should also be said. The government has a similarly weak grip. It is not enough to place civilian ministers atop defense ministries, for instance, because in-house subordinates, hold-overs from the old system, may hoard vital information and play obstructionist games. Moreover, a civilian on top, even if his writ is law, may end up impeding the professionalization of the military if he does not possess sufficient defense expertise of his own.

Demoralization inside the armed services, revealed by suicide rates among other indicators, is rampant, as could be expected given that even officers must tolerate abysmal salaries, degrading living conditions and continued occupational insecurity. State weakness is the principal culprit here too. The institutional disorganization and incoherence of the new political systems means that scant funds have been channeled to technical modernization, military training schools, eastward troop redeployment, and even downsizing. The fiscal crisis also reflects the anemic bargaining power of the military when struggling with civilians over scarce tax revenues.

The authors tell us repeatedly that, despite its degraded condition, the militaries across the region enjoy higher prestige than civilian institutions such as presidencies or the parliaments. But the polls cited do not suggest that citizens want to military to take a greater hand in political affairs. On the contrary, the military's popularity seems largely derived from the fact that it has stayed aloof from the partisan bickering, expresses 'antipolitical' values, and has benefited less visibly than other official bodies from the widespread scramble to steal the public assets of the now defunct communist state.

Stephen Holmes
Princeton University

Democracy at Dawn: Notes from Poland and points east

Frederick Quinn

(College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998)
250pp. Index. $29.95; ISBN 0-89096-786-5.

This book is a collection of notes and reflections on what the author calls the decade of constitutionalism in Central and Eastern Europe and parts of the former Soviet Union drawn from his work, and visits as head of the Rule of Law programs of the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), created by the OSCE. As such it provides insights into the challenges facing those drafting constitutions and the judiciary ranging from uncertainty concerning the boundaries of the state, political and military conflict to disregard for the rule of law and constitutional provisions which give wide discretion and powers to political inumbents and the state. The latter is a greater problem in the new republics of the East. There is much criticism of the OSCE bureaucracy, creeping centralism and the personal ambitions of its senior officials. Details of a mission to Chechnya are useful but focus on procedures and organisation to the detriment of analysis or description of the actual conflict and how it might be resolved. As with other issues on the book, there is little discussion of outcomes or follow-up to work engaged in.

The concluding essay on the rule of law is useful as it highlights the variety of problems with respect to the rule of law and illustrates differences across the region from Poland to Tajikstan. The book is poorly edited, gives scant detail on the substance of his work and shifts

uneasily from notes on airports, unsafe flights (confirming rumours of over-crowding etc.), extortion and sharp criticism of the OSCE and its officials to personalities attending various seminars. As such, the book falls between two stools as it does not provide sufficient depth in its treatment of the legal challenges facing the region or as a diary of social reality. It reads as a scattering of images and recollections and, as such, serves as a basic introduction to the region.

Anna Murphy
University College Dublin

The Rebirth of Politics in Russia

Michael Urban et al.

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
429pp. £18.95; ISBN 0-521-56611-8.

Michael Urban, a respected political scientist at the University of California, has made a major contribution to our understanding of the nature of the Soviet system, the reasons for its malaise and ultimate collapse, as well as the challenges facing the democratic project in post-communist Russia. Reminiscent of a number of conceptual themes he explored at the early stages of his scholarly career (e.g., in his 'ideology of administration' work), Urban articulates a sophisticated political sociological framework for the analysis of the processes by which 'politics' reemerged in Russia. Urban's model of politics incorporates three 'spheres' (the state, political society, and civil society) as they manifest themselves over two 'dimensions' (organization and communication) that are especially relevant to attempts to discern the origins of politics' rebirth. The result is a very provocative and fruitful analytical prism through which to view the events of the late Soviet period.

Urban's perspective on the collapse of Soviet power is based on his understanding of a Soviet state (i.e., the hierarchically organized and authoritative government bodies) that was over its final three decades or so a rather weak and ineffectual structure. The sole exception to this weak state was its ability to penetrate society, thus preventing, the development of both political society (i.e., parties and parliament, acting strategically) and civil society (i.e., voluntary associations of private individuals employing essentially normative themes). The 'rebirth of politics' Urban analyzes is the concomitant deterioration, of the Soviet state and the consequent emergence of 'political' and 'civil' societies. The impressive theoretical model that is presented serves to bookend the detailed description of historical developments at each of these three levels of analysis. In a word, this book will satisfy those who want a sophisticated macro explanation of the systemic flaws of Soviet power and the challenges their legacies present to the current regime, as well as those who are more interested in a micro analysis of political events in the late Soviet and early post-communist periods in Russia.

The focus of the author is that of Russia, retrospectively. Ethnic, nationalist and so-called patriotic forces are not at the center of Urban's treatment. To be sure, there are short discussions of the nationality-based 'war of laws' that marked the perestroika years, the Baltic independence drive, and the more general issues of center-periphery relations in a declining multi-national state. However, neither ethnicity nor nationalism are confronted directly in the analysis. To the extent that they are discussed, they are among a number of other political forces at work on a more systemic level. Those looking for a major theoretical contribution to ethnic studies shall have to look elsewhere.

William A. Clark
Louisiana State University

On Ruins of Empire: Ethnicity and nationalism in the former Soviet Union

Georgiy I. Mirsky

(Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997)
Distributed by The Eurospan Group
185pp. Index.Bibl. £43.95; ISBN 0-313-30044-5.

It is rather puzzling that the first seven chapters of the book, devoted mainly to a very succinct and impartial presentation of the case studies' results, do not allow a reader to get acquainted with the author's analysis of the ethnicity and nationalism as such. The theoretical review of the conceptual issues is insightful and contains references to critical sources and key works on the theoretical background as far as the definition of 'nation' and 'nationalism' are concerned. However, the chapter 'On some aspects of ethnic conflict' speaks for itself by its very name. Some aspects and some approaches are, indeed, tackled but the picture remains essentially incomplete. It is quite understandable that the material for the analysis of such intensely complicated issues should first be presented in a proper manner and the theoretical approach outlined, but it appears the author's affection for impartiality and objectivity has gone a little bit too far (at the expense of originality). The style in which material is presented is easily comprehensible and consistent. Much attention is paid to detail, but one cannot escape the feeling of a certain down-to-earth caution. Reading the book, I often wondered why Mr. Mirsky wrote it. Is it an art for art's sake (which the is a masterpiece of academic landscape painting), or did the author aspire to making a contribution to theory and/or policy-oriented analysis, or at least want to advance the understanding of what is going on in this poor country (which is then a masterpiece of academic diplomacy)? After repeating some thoroughly forgotten historical comments on the situations in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, relations between Russia and Tatarstan and the problem of Russian 'Neoimperialism' (which for some reason fails to scare a reader), Mr. Mirsky offers just 20 pages 'On Russian Nationalism'. That is a disappointment! The idea of the 'Third Rome' just cannot be seriously considered as the

only historic root of such a very complex and serious phenomenon as the Russian Nationalism. The author's comment about the coexistence of inferiority and superiority feelings vis-á-vis the west in the Russian collective psyche strikes by its similarity to the wise-cracks one normally hears during long and rather heated discussions at the Russian intellectuals' kitchens (which, I admit have a lovely air), ending too late for the participants to remember what they have actually been talking about. After reading through this book I unfortunately ended up asking myself the same question. The book, nevertheless, may be of interest to practitioners and policy-makers as it appears to be tailored to their most critical needs.

Anton Ivanov
FEWER

Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Russian and American perspectives

Edited by Alexei Arbatov et al.

(Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997)
Pb.: £21.50; ISBN 0-262-51093-6

All those concerned with understanding and managing conflict in the former Soviet Union will want this volume on their desks. Provided with maps and high level editing, it is the single most comprehensive and intelligent analysis of the conflict plauging the area. The heart of the book consists of six richly detailed case studies of post-Cold War conflicts, together with a useful contribution by Alexei Arbatov and three final essays. The stuides focus on North Ossetia and Igushetia, the Crimean republic, Moldova and Transdniester, Latvia, Kazakhstan, and then once again returns to the Caucasus to examine the conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

The studies are unusual in that, as two of the American editors put it, they "do not aim for complete scholarly objectivity"(p.3). In other words, they are written by exceptionally fine and discriminating Russian scholars and tend to present the Russian perspective. This by no means suggests that they are set out to exonerate Russian policy; far from it. Each of the studies contains plenty of criticisms of Russian actions, but placed in the broader perspective of the historical evolution of the conflict. What is odd is that there is an implicit assumption that the Russian viewpoint, by definition, cannot be objective. Thus each of the six cases is followed by brief commentaries by American authors who do make some useful additional points but do not substantially modify the main arguments presented in the case studies.

The six Russian authors present detailed studies of an exceptionally high standard, and follow a set pattern. They each examine the historical context, the resurgence of the conflict in the Gorbachev period, and then the evolution of the struggles in the postcommunist era, examining in turn the policy (in all its complexity and contradictoriness) emanating from Moscow, before ending with some discussion of the role of international organisations. The interventions of the latter are not awarded very high marks, except for some useful work by the OSCE.

The three final chapters examine what the future might hold, with Arbatov examining Russia's security interests and dilemmas, while Nadia Alexanrova-Arbatova outlines a richly suggestive parallel examination of the Yugoslav 'horror mirror', tracing the evolution of Russian perceptions of the conflict. A final useful chapter traces the development of American policy towards the former Soviet Union. It is a rare pleasure to find a collaborative effort that has worked so well and coherently.

Richard Sakawa
University of Kent at Canterbury

The Clash with Distant Cultures: Values, interests and force in American foreign policy

Richard J. Payne

(Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995)
285pp. Index. Bibl. $24.50; ISBN 0-7914-2647-5.

This is an interesting and challenging volume which argues that it is impossible to separate domestic culture from the way in which the United States conducts its foreign policy. The author's thesis, in effect, is that there is a close linkage between the US tendency to use force abroad and the culture of violence in the America itself. Indeed, he feels overall that that there are important cultural barriers in the US to international negotiations and seeking negotiated settlements to outstanding differences with other powers. In support of his case, naturally enough, he cites the example of the Gulf War and America's subsequent relationship (or non-relationship) with Iraq. Nonetheless, the other examples he cites - of America's attempts to bring about a negotiated settlement in Israel and US military inaction over Bosnia - do seem to raise real problems for his more general thesis about there being a clear connection between the practices of violence on the home front and overseas. That said, his concluding argument about the need to resolve conflicts peacefully is one we can all agree with. Most of us would also accept that in spite of its many cultural problems, the United States under Clinton played an absolutely indispensable role in helping accelerate the much-abused peace process in Northern Ireland. Why he did it remains open to conjecture. The important thing however is that he did it - and those of us looking for a peaceful settlement of Ireland's problems have some cause to be grateful.

Michael Cox
University of Wales, Aberystwyth

The Reluctant Superpower: United States' policy in Bosnia, 1991-95

Wayne Bert

(New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1997)
296pp. Index. $35.00; ISBN 0-312-17252-4.

Since 1991, there has been a plethora of books on the wars of Yugoslav succession; some good, many not so good. Bert does an admirable service to the discipline by focusing less on the war itself and more upon the decision-making process in the United States. This is not a study of who said what, in which meeting, on what day. Instead, his most important contribution is the presentation of the international and domestic context which prevented robust intervention into the Bosnian conflict until August 1995.

In his introduction Bert clearly summarizes the major themes of the book. He then outlines the international setting and the self-perceived role of the US in the post-Cold War era. His discussion of past attempts to create guidelines for intervention sets the stage for the organizational culture which restricts US policy choice. After a brief summary of the history of Yugoslavia and an excellent analysis of the nature of the war, the focus returns to the United States by examining the domestic context, US interests in and perceptions of the conflict, and the resurgence of the 'Vietnam debate' engendered by Bosnia. A detailed account of US policy toward the former Yugoslavia begins half way through the book, pausing periodically to provide sound analysis and commentary. The volume contains a brief chronology of the conflict and a number of useful charts which supplement the sections.

This is an excellent book. While there is very little, factually, that is new here (that will have to wait for the series of memoirs whose publication is already underway), Bert's analysis and systematic approach make it highly accessible and of interest to policymakers and scholars alike. The publisher would be well served by releasing a paperback edition so that it could be widely read in the classroom.

Thomas Ambrosia
University of Virginia

Scorpions in a Bottle: Conflicting cultures in Northern Ireland

John Darby

(London: Minority Rights Group Publications, 1997)
242pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 1-873194-11-0. Pb.: 1-873194-16-1.

Scorpions in a Bottle: Conflicting Cultures in Northern Ireland is an extremely well written, balanced and accessible book, which provides a very useful introduction to the present conflict. While it will be of interest to all scholars of ethnic conflict, the book's real strength lies in its concise summary of the dynamics of political conflict in Northern Ireland and will doubtless become an invaluable reference point for those dipping their toes for the first time into our own particular sceptic pool.

Darby packs a lot into his 242 pages, in a design which will no doubt delight the lazy undergraduate, with nine chapters of text and a chronology of events from 1914-1997. There is also a very useful reference section containing key political and constitutional documents, such as the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant of 1912 and the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, through to the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 and Frameworks Document and Mitchell Principles of 1995 and 1996 respectively. Those readers accustomed to asking 'has it got any pictures?' will be happy to learn that there are a number of Martyn Turner's brilliantly withering cartoons scattered throughout the book.

The text is generally organised thematically, with the first three chapters providing contextual information on the background to the political conflict in Northern Ireland and a pen-picture of that dysfunctional society. The next four chapters examine in closer detail, the nature of the conflict and alternative viewpoints as to its causes and possible scenarios for resolution. The final two look at the lessons which the conflict presents to other sites of ethnic dispute, and an informative section on how to access further information on Northern Ireland.

One of the most striking things about the book is the way information is presented in a concentrated form. Did you know for example, that "in 1992 the *New York Times* identified 48 ethnic conflicts throughout the world. These were geographically widely spread -9 in Europe, 7 in the Middle East and North Africa, 15 in Africa south of the Sahara, 13 in Asia and 4 in Latin America"? (p.1) *Trivial Pursuits* was never this good! The historical narrative is well summarised and given a balanced treatment. The author's main ideological position is that regardless of what lines are eventually drawn on the map and what political institutions are devised for the region, the roots of the conflict lie within N Ireland itself and will remain until the two rival factions can agree on some form of peaceful co-existence. The author outlines the polarisation of political allegiances in N Ireland with undoubtedly the best sound-bite in the book: 'Elections are less about casting your vote than voting your caste' (p.58).

Darby concludes by suggesting that resolutions of ethnic conflicts are more likely to emerge if we come to a better understanding of the dynamic forces which create them, a process which may permit an approach of prevention rather than cure. Who could disagree with the sense in the comment from former Secretary General of the UN Boutros Boutros Ghali: "It is in fact easier, and cheaper, to prevent war than to end a war once it has started. This preventative capacity is based largely on research and access to information that can help us anticipate events more effectively" (p.154).

Feargal Cochrane,
University of Ulster

Holding the Ground: The Nationalist Party in Northern Ireland, 1945-72

Brendan Lynn

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997)
273pp. Bibl. £39.50; ISBN 1-85521-980-8.

Holding the Ground does not deal directly with ethnic conflict, and its' usefulness to those in this field is not immediately apparent.

Brendan Lynn's work is the result of a PhD. thesis and deals specifically with the struggles of the Nationalist Party in its' attempts to provide a focus for nationalist opinion in unionist dominated Northern Ireland.

The book itself is well written, but those uninitiated in the minutiae of Irish politics may find it a daunting read. Lynn has researched extensively using the private papers of the actors involved. Although the reader is provided with glossaries and profiles of the main personalities, the exhaustive detail of the work can also be exhausting for the reader.

Despite this Lynn's work does highlight some useful themes that those studying ethnic conflict may wish to consider. The first is that the 'conflict' dominates all aspects of politics. The second, that as a consequence normal politics cannot develop. Finally, that in a situation of perpetual opposition the minority party, in this case the Nationalist Party will always be vulnerable because of its' apparent ineffectiveness.

Lynn establishes the first theme by quoting Donald Horowitz who noted that ethnic conflict "dominates all" politics. The second theme is a result of this and can be seen throughout the book. The most interesting theme is the last and this is also one established by Horowitz, i.e. that any party reliant upon specific ethnic support must serve the interests of that group, or lose its' support.

Lynn notes how gradually the Nationalist Party is 'eclipsed' by the Civil Rights movement whose very existence was a symbol of their failure. Lynn concedes that the Nationalist Party was 'impotent' in the face of Unionist intransigence. John Hume's SDLP, the successors to the Nationalist Party, could depict themselves as the Nationalist Party on 'Viagra'.

Holding the Ground conveys the 'honourable struggle' of those who sought to keep the nationalist flame alive and Lynn deals sympathetically with their story. One wishes that it had been told in a more accessible fashion.

Peter Semple

Identity, Ideology and Conflict: The structuration of politics in Northern Ireland

John D. Cash

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
230pp. Index. Bibl. £30.00; ISBN 0 521 55052 1.

Cash's intention is firstly to develop "an approach which takes seriously the centrality of ideology and identity to the structuration of political life" (p. 7), and then to apply this approach to a dissection of Ulster unionism. The first part of this book is almost purely theoretical and attempts to develop a "somewhat novel" theory which sets out ideology as a "structure of signification, communication and subjection which is central to the organisation of both subjectivity and social and political relations."(ibid) If he is saying that political belief is a crucial means by which the individual constructs his or her identity and forms relationships with other individuals and society at large then it is difficult to argue with him. However it does not appear particularly novel. Novelty may come in his drawing together of various sociological interpretations (structuralism, theory of communicative action etc) and psychological theories such as psychoanalysis to form a new prism in which ideology can be refracted; one which places "the unconscious rules of structuration" at the heart of its account. A socio-psychological approach to ideology and identity has much to recommend it and indeed Cash's discussion of social systems as defence mechanisms is informative (p. 76-80). Yet the author flits rather too easily from theoretician to theoretician in constructing his analysis and fails to successfully weave together a clear solid thesis from the threads. Complicating this is the prose, which can be a little convoluted and jargonised.

As the author himself notes, it is the extension of theory to empirical analysis which is the most important test and in part 2 of the book Cash applies his understanding to Ulster unionism drawing on personal interviews, newspaper reports and loyalist publications in the process. His leading question is to ask how unionist ideology operated in Northern Ireland to reproduce that society as a divided society. Briefly, Cash sees three positions articulated within unionism; a dehumanising position in which nationalists are all suspect and little more than base objects; a persecutory position in which "guiless" unionists are victimised by "scheming" nationalists and an ambivalent position which is restrained and more understanding of the complexities of reality yet is marked by a sense of dependency and loss. Extrapolating on this Cash identifies two different modes within the "collective unconscious" of unionism; a conventional liberal mode which has an inclusive identity and idealises the state as a neutral arbiter between citizens and an affiliative corporate mode which is strictly ethnoreligious and evaluates the interests of other groups in term sof compatibility with its own. To say that unionism is not monolithic but incorporates exclusive and inclusive strands is not quite enough anymore. Jennifer

Todd's seminal piece on the Ulster Loyalist and Ulster British poles within unionism was both conceptually clearer and more subtly nuanced (see Todd's "Two traditions in unionist political culture" *Irish Political Studies* 1987). Furthermore although Cash's work focuses on the crisis of unionism between 1962 and 1975 it is impoverished by a failure to mention the unionist reaction to the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985 which was arguably the most traumatic and thought provoking event for unionists within the last 30 years. This is inexplicable given that Cash has sought to bring his work up to date by bolting on a concluding chapter dealing with the unionist reaction to the Framework documents.

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Introductory letter continued...

...relationists, economists, sociologists, historians, anthropologists, area specialists, conflict analysts and pratitioners have much to say on conflict. Whether they have much to say to each other is another, less easily resolved, matter.

Another reading of the *Digest* may present grounds for optimism though. The cross-references to other authors and pieces of work made throughout this *Digest* do show a degree of cross-disciplinary awareness. Reviewing a growing body of literature is a useful way to assess the state of the 'discipline'. It raises questions of ethno-centricity and the relevance of the literature to the needs of politicans, policy-makers and practitioners in conflict areas. We hope to take this process of rumination on the state of the discipline a step further in Issue Three of the *Digest*. A number of short essays on the direction, successes and failings of the study of conflict resolution and ethnic conflict will be commissioned in the hope of initiating debate.

On housekeeping matters, thanks are due to the generosity of publishers and reviewers who make the *Digest* possible. Landon Hancock from ICAR, George Mason University and Eamonn Joyce from Vasser College were enormously helpful in providing editorial assistance. If you are interested in becoming a reviewer, please get in touch and specify your area(s) of interest. Comments on the *Digest*, or suggestions for its improvement, are always welcome. All of the reviews contained in this issue are posted on the INCORE website: http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/ecrd/index.html

Roger Mac Ginty
Editor

Contents continued...

Other Material Received

PeterRadan & Aleksander Pavkovic eds., *The Serbs and their Leaders in the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot:Ashgate, 1997). 260pp. Bibl. ISBN 1-85521-891-7. £39.50.

Michael Willis, *The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History* (New York: New York University Press, 1996). 419pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8147-9328-2.

James E Wood Jr. ed., *Religion and the State:Essays in Honor of Leo Pfeffer* (Waco, TX:Baylor University Press, 1985). 596pp. Index. ISBN 0-918954-29-0.

Miranda Vickers and James Pettifer, *Albania:From Anarchy to a Balkan Identity* (New York:New York University Press, 1997). 324pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8147-8795-9. Pb.: 0-8147-8794-0. $18.95.

INCORE

INCORE (Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity) was established in 1995 following a joint initiative from the United Nations University and the University of Ulster. INCORE carries out research into the dynamics and management of ethnic conflict   For more information contact INCORE, Aberfoyle House, Magee College, University of Ulster, Londonderry, Northern Ireland, BT48 7JA. Tel: +44 (0)1504 375500. Fax: +44 (0)1504 375510. Email: Incore@incore.ulst.ac.uk

The *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest* is edited by Roger Mac Ginty. Editorial assistants were Landon Hancock and Eamonn Joyce. The full text of each issue of the *Digest* is available at: http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/ecrd/index.html

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