

# The **Ethnic Conflict** Research Digest

Edited by

Roger Mac Ginty

Not only does this issue of the *Ethnic Conflict Research Digest* contain more reviews than previous issues, it also contains 'thought pieces' by two leading thinkers on conflict analysis. Keith Webb from the University of Kent at Canterbury gets all metaphysical by asking "Why are we here?" His question though, is directed at the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies rather than humanity's place on the planet. Dennis Sandole from ICAR at George Mason University puts forward a design for peace and security in Post-Cold War Europe. Both pieces are intended to spark debate. As with previous issues of the *Digest*, your views on the style and content of the *Digest* are very welcome.

Roger Mac Ginty - Editor

**INCORE**

initiative on conflict resolution and ethnicity

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## Introductory Essay

### Why Are We Here?

Keith Webb

When Roger MacGinty asked me the simple question “What use are Peace and Conflict Studies?” and asked me to write a short piece on the subject, cajolling me by subtle(?) flattery, I blithely agreed on the basis that the deadline was some months ahead. However, as the deadline approached ever faster I began to think about the question, and started to unpack its various dimensions, and I realised that it was, in fact, a rather complicated question. It was complicated by the fact that, firstly, there were multiple aspects to the question and, secondly, there was little more than impressionistic data to answer some of these questions. In the (sometimes erroneous) belief that if I was confused there was probably someone ‘out there’ who was not, I put the question out on the PeaceNet expecting voluminous replies and the initiation of an on-line debate. Much to my surprise I received very few responses and, while sensible, they did not answer the question in any depth.

Perhaps the best way to begin is to rephrase the question (as a first-year philosophy undergraduate I was told that if you couldn't answer the question, change it!). So, I changed the question to “Would the world be a different place if Peace and Conflict Studies had never existed?” In some trivial sense the answer is clear that it would; I would not have this job and Roger MacGinty might be unemployed. But in a less trivial sense we are in the world of counterfactuals, of trying to estimate what would have been the case if what is the case was not. It is undoubtedly the case that the world was moving in the direction of institutionalising more humanitarian approaches, this marked initially by the charters of the League of Nations and the United Nations. As interdependence has deepened, and inter-state and inter-mestic relations were established, the necessity emerged for modes of governance beyond those envisaged by the early realists. Hence, today, we have IGOs, INGOs, multinational corporations, and a host of normative institutions described by regime theory,<sup>(1)</sup> together with notions of ‘settled norms’ managing the governance of international society.<sup>(2)</sup> Thus, it may be the case that international society would have developed the way it did even if Richardson, Mitrany, Galtung, Burton and Singer had never been born. In this sense we can see the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies as pushing on an open door, acting, perhaps, to define and describe developments rather than initiating or driving them.

An initial point that needs to be made is that Peace and Conflict Studies, while today having a distinct identity as a sub-discipline, this marked by rapid institutional growth (SIPRI, Carter Center, Bradford, George Mason, Maryland, ANU, Harvard, Kent, INCORE, PRIO, etc.),<sup>(3)</sup> largely evolved from the discipline of International

Relations which from its inception had the problematique of war and peace at the heart of its concerns. It is worth remembering, in this seeding context, that Morgenthau's seminal realist text had as a sub-title 'The Struggle for Power and Peace', and that the reason for the creation of Hobbes' Leviathan was to ensure peaceful relations between men. Perhaps we could deepen the argument and suggest that much of political philosophy has historically been concerned with the management of relations between individuals and communities and the best way to live our lives. If the question is contextualised in this manner, it becomes very difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the specific contribution of Peace and Conflict Studies to changing the world.

Ruminating in this fashion leads on to a further question, and that is "What constitutes Peace and Conflict Studies?". It is clearly not just the eradication of war; the 1960's debate about the role of structural violence as a form of conflict realised that.<sup>(4)</sup> If we look at three edited volumes designed to encapsulate the field, one is amazed at the spread of topics covered. Gurr's *Handbook of Political Conflict*, while being very much in the American behavioural tradition, yet has a chapter on the biological basis of conflict.<sup>(5)</sup> Smoker et al [eds] in *A Reader in Peace Studies*<sup>(6)</sup> includes such topics as the role of capitalism, development, and feminism, but with no mention of communal violence. A more recent and somewhat more weighty compendium, Chester A. Crocker et al [eds] *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*,<sup>(7)</sup> refers to among many other things migration, peacekeeping, mediation, humanitarian intervention, the role of NGOs, technology and trade. The argument could be extended, but the point has been made, and that is that there is no clear and agreed definition of what constitutes Peace and Conflict Studies. It is a vast and sprawling field of loosely interconnected research programmes and agendas that defy any easy disciplinary encapsulation. Because it has this somewhat anarchic structure, the question of its effectiveness is made more difficult to answer. The old debate between Giovanni Sartori and Scott Greer seems not to help us, with Sartori arguing that a discipline is defined by reference to the independent (explanatory) variables it uses, with Greer arguing that a discipline is defined by what those who adhere to that discipline do.<sup>(8)</sup> Maybe the field can be described in another way, by way of the collective motivation of those who practice in the discipline. As a discipline we are seeking ways in which human life is not degraded, either by collective violence, structural violence, human rights abuses etc., and, if these are our dependent variables we are overwhelmed by the number of seemingly significant independent variables. This problem has recently formed the core of Dennis Sandole's new book.<sup>(9)</sup>

There is little doubt that many of those working in the field as teachers, academics and researchers do so out of a belief that by understanding the processes of violent conflict, something practical can be done to ameliorate its effects. In a recent publication, the membership of BISA (British International Studies Association) was surveyed and it was demonstrated that many of those in the discipline of International Relations had motivations of this kind.<sup>(10)</sup>

But having such motivations and beliefs does not mean that they are effective in bringing about change. Again, the schismatic nature of the field both in the nature of its coverage and what was, until recently, termed the inter-paradigm debate, means that while there may be an underlying similarity in motivation, there is little similarity in prescription.<sup>(11)</sup>

It does not follow, however, that even if there were no practical applications, that the discipline is not 'useful'. One would not question the motives of a classical scholar for studying ancient Greece, or Ming dynasty pottery; scholarship is its own justification. Most historians who have studied war and peace would not feel the need to relate their findings to practical application, although a few have.<sup>(12)</sup> We might, therefore, without any feelings of inadequacy, consider the findings of the discipline a civilisational value, another 'voice' in the discourse of humanity.<sup>(13)</sup> Hence the study of international society and its dislocations can be justified without reference to practical application.

I personally believe, however, that there are many things we know about war and peace that we did not know in an earlier age. We know, for example, that where there are arms races, the probability of inter-societal violence increases - with the search for security often leading to even greater insecurity - or the longer an alliance structure persists the less the probability of war. And that increases in human rights abuses are a frequent precursor to inter-communal violence, this often accompanied by a change in rhetoric. We know that negotiated settlements are often easier to accomplish where there is relative equality between the competing parties. We know, from Wright to Gilpin among many others, that conflict will often be preceded by a 'disturbance of equilibrium', or significant change in the relations between parties.<sup>(14)</sup> Within the field of international mediation, we have clarified the conditions where first or second-track diplomacy are likely to be more effective. There are many other things we believe we know that do potentially have practical application.

The problem is not just 'knowing', it is linking that knowing to action. Political action, however, is usually outwith the power of the academic, though sometimes an individual academic may become a political actor, this depending very much on the nature of the political system within which the academic resides. The case of Rwanda is instructive as an example.<sup>(15)</sup> All the classic signals of inter-communal violence were apparent; there had been explicit warnings of impending genocide even down to a listing of those who were to be killed in the first wave; there was an arms build-up in the militias; the Radio of a Thousand Hills was pouring out a rhetoric of hatred; and there had been systematic killing of Tutsi people throughout the Arusha process. And then there was the infamous 'Black Telegram'.<sup>(16)</sup> Enough was known and was in the public domain for the Rwandan Genocide to have been prevented, and yet there was not the political will. The cost was half-a-million dead Tutsis and Hutus. Maybe academics should be more proactive with respect to governments and NGOs and purposely engage in the education of political actors to bring a fusion of knowledge and power. But, in so doing, they will need to make their pronouncements in a comprehensible manner rather than in the arcane jargon that often passes for scholarship.

It may be the case, though, that we are looking at the question in the wrong way, and perhaps expecting too much of ourselves. In a recent work by Geller and Singer it is pointed out how novel the activity we are engaged in is, and compared with other ways of thinking about war and peace how little time and money has been spent on the peace programme.<sup>(17)</sup> We are emerging from the long darkness of the Cold War, where so much political thinking was dominated by Realist views - the balance of power, deterrence, the amorality of international politics and the ultimate idiocy of Mutually Assured Destruction - into an era where those with power are more open to other perspectives. And it is not just the writings of academics that are of importance, it is their ability to interact, and to seed society with new ways of viewing the political problems of international society. Much of this perspective-seeding will come from the students we teach and train, some whom will become political actors, or work in NGOs, or become teachers themselves. Perhaps, as an analogy, we should see ourselves more like scientists in the fight against cancer; a new drug here, a new treatment there, very gradually pushing the disease back inch by inch, but for the foreseeable future not seeing any possibility of the complete eradication of the disease. Maybe, in the years to come, the peaceful alternatives to international and inter-communal war will become the conventional way of settling at least some disputes - this is perhaps already happening to some degree - and develop into another 'settled norm'.

Or is this utopian? I remember many years ago listening to a lecture on mediation and peacemaking by Adam Curle at The City University in London. During the lecture Adam pointed out that the vast majority of mediation attempts fail. In the ensuing discussion he was asked why, if so many attempts fail, did he continue to work as a mediator. He replied to the effect that it was an act of faith, because he knew from his studies that just occasionally they succeeded. I agree.

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#### Endnotes

- (1) See P Mayer, V Rittberger & M Zurn (1995), 'Regime Theory: State of the Art and Perspectives' in V Rittberger, with P Mayer (eds) *Regime Theory and International Relations*, Oxford:Oxford University Press, pp. 391-430.
- (2) See M Frost (1996) *Ethics in International Relations: A Constitutive Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (3) See (1998) *Prevention and Management of Violent Conflicts: An International Directory. A Publication of the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation* (Utrecht), edited in cooperation with PIOOM and the Berghof Institute for Constructive Conflict Management. This publication lists 475 relevant organisations and institutions.
- (4) See K Webb 'Structural Violence and the Definition of Conflict', *International Encyclopedia of Peace*, Volume 1, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1986, pp. 431-434.
- (5) TR Gurr (1980), *Handbook of Political Conflict*, New York: The Free Press.
- (6) Paul Smoker et al (1990), *A Reader in Peace Studies*, Oxford: Pergamon Press. Interestingly, the first sentence of the Introduction is the question "Why is Peace Studies Important?" and the answer makes reference to Chernobyl and the destruction of the rain forests.
- (7) C Croker et al (eds) (1997), *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*, Washington, USIP Press.

- (8) S Greer, 'Sociology and Political Science', and G Sartori, 'From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology', in SMLipset (ed) (1969), *Politics and the Social Sciences*, Oxford:Oxford University Press, pp. 49-64 & 65-100.
- (9) DJD Sandole, (1999), *The Genesis of War: Mapping and Modelling of Complex Conflict Processes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (10) K Webb, (1994), 'Academics and Professionals in International Relations: A British Perception' in MGirard, WDEberwein & K Webb (eds) *Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy Making*, London: Francis Pinter, pp. 82-94.
- (11) Michael Nicholson (1995), 'Imaginary Paradigms: A sceptical view of the inter-paradigm debate in international relations', *Kent Papers in Politics and International Relations*, found on URL: <http://www.ukc.ac.uk/international/papers.dir/nicholson.html>.
- (12) M Howard (1993), *The Causes of War and Other Essays*, London, Unwin Paperbacks; G Blainey (1973), *The Causes of War*, Victoria: Sun Books.
- (13) See, for example, MOakeshott (1962), *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays*, London: University Paperbacks.
- (14) Q Wright (1965), *A Study of War*, Chicago: Chicago University Press; R Gilpin (1981), *War and Change in World Politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (15) "The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience" is an impressive five volume unprecedented evaluation of the Rwanda emergency by the 36 donor countries, UN and international agencies and non-governmental organisations. The initiative for this was launched by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Study II is 'Early Warning and Conflict Management'.
- (16) K Webb (1999), 'Delinking Knowing and Acting: Forecasting and the creation of international political will.' (Forthcoming in *Global Society*).
- (17) DS Geller & JD Singer (1998), *Nations at War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 2.

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## Challenging Boundaries: Global flows, territorial identities

Edited by Michael J. Shapiro & Hayward R. Alker

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996)  
493pp. Index. ISBN 0-8166-2698-7. Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 0-8166-2699-5.

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*Challenging Boundaries* is a provocative collection of essays on contemporary international theory. The contributors argue that traditional models of International Relations Theory (i.e. Realism and Pluralism) have failed to explain in a convincing manner the state of the New World Order. Instead, they propose a series of wide-ranging theories concerned with national identities, cultural values and political expression. The challenging framework of this book has much to offer the discipline of International Relations and the study of ethnic conflict. In particular, the section of essays on 'Boundary Anxieties' provides a timely analysis of the growing regional and global instabilities that are putting pressure on the bordered world of states. The book succeeds admirably in presenting new theories for a better understanding of the post-Cold War world. It provides a useful complement to traditional theories of International Relations and should find a wide audience amongst critically-inclined scholars and their critics.

Ian Jackson  
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## Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and techniques

Edited by I William Zartman & J Lewis Rasmussen

(Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997)  
412pp. Index. \$35.00; ISBN 1-878379-61-5. Pb.: \$19.95; 1-878379-60-7.

The stated purpose of this volume is to provide the reader with an overview of the tools and skills that are currently used in international conflict resolution and to critically assess them. Overall it achieves this aim admirably, although the editors seem unsure of their target audience with some chapters aimed at a broad audience of practitioners and interested lay-persons while others require an in-depth knowledge of conflict resolution theory as a prerequisite.

The first section of this book covers some of the seminal thoughts of conflict resolution (CR), both as an orientation towards the Post-Cold War world and as a burgeoning way to view the world, stemming from international relations, sociology, psychology and law. The three chapters by Druckman, Bercovitch, and Bilder cover a majority of the fundamental activities studied and performed by CR theorists and practitioners; negotiation, mediation, and adjudication. Each chapter provides an in-depth survey of the theories used to inform CR professionals and provides both a background and direction for further reading. Fisher and Kelman cover much of the same material in their chapters on social-psychological approaches, however Fisher's historical review imparts a great deal of knowledge and perspective of CR as a field with both a past and future. While Sampson correctly points out the vast contributions made to conflict resolution, reconciliation, and transformation by religious actors her assertions that they have more legitimacy in promoting reconciliation than non-religious figures is questionable. Hume gives us an interesting, brief and well written explanation of the changing role of diplomats and diplomacy in conflict resolution. However, he avoids or glosses over issues concerning the use of power and coercion by the US in securing its interests. This makes the chapter appear unbalanced as he clearly indicates that the Russians do so. Natsios' coverage of NGO roles captures many of the advantages and disadvantages of the organizations operating in the field, and covers some of the issues missed by Sampson. However, he limits his examination to developmental and crisis assistance NGOs, missing the recent growth of CR focused NGOs such as International Alert and Partners for Democratic Change. The final chapter, by Babbitt, covers aspects of training programs and their effects upon international conflict resolution. This is a well written chapter covering the approaches and uses of training as well as some of the critiques of current training methods and possible directions both for future training and for evaluation of current efforts.

Despite the general confusion regarding the level of the audience, this book is a useful addition to a CR oriented library.

*Landon Hancock*  
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## The Demographic Struggle for Power

Milica Zarkovic Bookman

(London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1997).  
ISBN 0-7146-4752-7 £32.50/\$45.00. Pb.: ISBN 0-7146-4308-4  
£15.00/\$19.50

It is important to understand that which we find abhorrent. The purpose of Bookman's work is to comprehend the logic behind such policies as ethnic cleansing, the promotion or discouragement of births, forced assimilation, and genocide. The author convincingly argues that the underlying dynamic of nearly all ethnic conflicts is the belief that there is strength in numbers; as a result, leaders seek to increase one's population relative to that of potential enemies. This is the demographic struggle for power.

Bookman's examples span across region and level of economic development; though the focus is primarily on modern cases. The author's background in and inclinations toward political economy are obvious. However, the author shows an acute understanding of how economic power is tied to political power and ethnic group security. In addition, Bookman shows how economic inducements, policies, and discrimination often play a crucial role in demographic engineering.

The first and second chapters provide the background and basic dynamics of the demographic struggle for power by making the link between power and the relative size of ethnic groups. Chapters three through seven examine different policies through which ethnic leaders attempt to manipulate population size: censuses; pro- and anti-fertility policies; assimilation; forced population movements; genocide; secession and irredentism. Chapter eight examines economic pressures underlying demographic change. In the conclusion, Bookman proposes severing the link between demographics and political power by adjusting internal boundaries so that ethnicity does not coincide with substate regions.

The weakest section is the conclusion. In some cases ethnic regions actually prevent conflict because they provide some semblance of security to ethnic groups and shift conflicts to the substate level. While this is not true in every case, it is not given its due. Also, the author misreads the case of prewar Bosnia which possessed the kind of substate regions called for by Bookman. Now that Bosnia's internal units are more or less ethnically defined, it is possible that each group will feel secure enough to work together.

There is also the broader problem of intention: while some of the policies cited can have demographic consequences, this may not be their purpose. Although Bookman shows an understanding of this, some examples lack the important link between intention and policy. Nevertheless, this is an excellent book. It is strongly recommended.

*Thomas Ambrosio*  
University of Virginia

## **Standing Your Ground: Territorial disputes and international conflict**

Paul K Huth

(Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998)  
275pp. Index. Bibl. \$47.50; ISBN 0-472-10689-9. Pb.: \$19.95;  
ISBN 0-472-08520-4.

Territorial disputes and international conflict present a dilemma to the analyst who wishes to draw upon the current theories of why conflicts escalate into war. Huth draws upon theoretical frameworks for analyzing territorial disputes. Huth's objective is to "advance an understanding of the dynamics of interstate conflict over disputed territory" and "also to try to contribute to international relations theory by developing a more integrated approach to theory building" (p.7). Issues of ethnic minorities along borders become the focus of a dispute when there is a "political unification based on common ethnic background between the challenger and target population" (p. 70). By analyzing the marginal impact of variables in measuring the issues at stake, Huth concludes that the desire to acquire control over strategically located territory was a powerful motive behind the territorial claims of challenger states. He uses statistics to chart the change in the value of the explanatory variable, such as language, ethnicity, and natural resources to a change in the probability of territorial disputes.

However, when there are conflicts that do not involve territorial disputes between countries that share common ethnic and linguistic ties, such as in Northern Africa and Central and South America, there is historical, diplomatic precedent settling their border disputes. Another contributing factor is the "stronger sense of separate national political identities" within differing colonial powers (p. 80).

The irredentist claim is one who advocates the recovery of territory culturally or historically related to one's nation but now subject to a foreign government. Huth postulates that one irredentist theory is now inaccurate. This particular theory states that if "the location of a large ethnic group is divided by state borders, the minority status of that ethnic group in one country will stimulate irredentist territorial claims by the other state" (p. 80). In developing countries outside of Europe, Huth raises a compelling argument that "leaders within challengers had good domestic political reasons not to make a major issue of ethnic minorities across the border" (p. 83). "In some cases irredentist claims were not raised because the challenger itself was not ethnically homogeneous" (p.83). As a result, foreign policy issues become divisive when larger ethnic groups within the challenger attempt to increase in size "by annexing the bordering territory of the target populated by the same ethnic group" (p. 83). Huth draws upon the work of Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* for this argument.

Patricia Aqimuk Paul

## **The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, diffusion, and escalation**

Edited by David A Lake and Donald  
Rothchild

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998)  
392pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-691-01691-7. Pb.: £14.95; ISBN 0-  
691-01690-9.

Since Barry Posen's seminal article in the journal *Survival* in 1993, many scholars have introduced concepts from neorealist international relations theory into the study of ethnic conflicts. Lake and Rothchild's edited volume serves as an important bridge between the two fields and a contribution to both. The contents center around (but are not beholden to) the editors' introductory chapter which posits that the underlying dynamic of ethnic conflicts is a collective fear of the future. These fears produce and are exacerbated by a number of strategic dilemmas which form between groups: information failures, commitment problems, and the security dilemma. At the same time, sincere nationalists and self-interested political entrepreneurs reinforce them. According to the editors: "these between-group and within-group strategic interactions produce a toxic brew of distrust and suspicion that can explode into murderous violence, even the systematic slaughter of one people by another." (p. 4). The second theme of the book is the process by which ethnic conflicts spread across state borders either by sparking new ethnic conflicts or by bringing third parties into the conflict.

By framing the subsequent articles, the Lake and Rothchild piece provides a coherence often lacking in other edited volumes: for the most part they are debating and expanding upon the same issues, even if they do not agree with each other. The downside, however, is that there is some redundancy; though not enough to detract from the overall caliber of the book.

Lake and Rothchild begin with their argument and a useful review of the field. Part Two provides a largely quantitative examination of the spread of ethnic conflict. (Because of the emphasis on quantitative analysis, these chapters might be inappropriate for undergraduate students). Part Three focuses on factors which limit the spread of ethnic conflict. Part Four searches for ways that transnational ethnic conflict can be managed. Finally, the editors summarize the findings of the book and identify practical suggestions for preventing ethnic conflicts in the future.

Although overall this is an excellent volume, the quality and readability of the articles is somewhat uneven; the Lake and Rothchild's articles, James Fearon's contribution on 'commitment problems', Paula Garb's examination of ethnic identities in the Caucasus, and Krasner and Froats' historical account of minority rights, standing out as among the best. In short, this book is highly recommended for its attention to theory, its logical progression, and the quality of its articles.

Thomas Ambrosio  
Virginia University

## Postconflict Elections, Democratization and International Assistance

Edited by Krishna Kumar

(Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998)

Distributed by the Eurospan Group

265pp. Index. Bibl. £39.95; ISBN 1-55587-755-9. Pb.: £15.95;  
ISBN 1-55587-7-778-9.

This volume is the third in a series of evaluation studies directed by Krishna Kumar of USAID and concerned with the transition from civil war to peace. The volume presents eight case studies of post conflict elections. Practically all of the case studies - El Salvador (Baloyra), Nicaragua (two studies, Lopez-Pintor and McCoy), Haiti (Nelson), Cambodia (Brown), Ethiopia (Harbeson), Angola (Ottaway), Mozambique (Turner, Nelson and Mahling-Clark) and Liberia (Lyons) - are of countries having at least some experience of ethnic conflict.

The case studies do not engage ethnicity as such. There are only a few references to it: for example in the chapter on El Salvador Baloyra reports that there were no ethnic factions to be reconciled but he recognises that the timing and the nature of elections have to be adjusted to take into account the individual circumstances applying in each country. Indeed he comments that "Elections following a civil war driven by ideological considerations may have much more greater efficacy than those driven by ethnic hatred." (p. 32).

Overall the volume examines the critical role of the international community in the provision of technical and financial assistance in the planning, organisation and certification of postconflict elections. It acknowledges that "...the role that elections play in postconflict settings has emerged as a topic of controversy among some analysts and policy makers...elections do not always result in a cessation of hostilities or the establishment of an environment conducive to economic, social or even political reconstruction." (p. 1).

Kumar and Ottaway respond by rethinking elections and suggesting the need to explore two questions: "What conditions must exist before elections are held? And, what can be done to consolidate peace and promote democracy if elections do not appear advisable in the immediate future?" (p. 234). These are not new questions. The answers must surely include the role of ethnicity.

*Patrick A Bradley*

*The Chief Electoral Officer for Northern Ireland*

## When Men Revolt and Why

Edited by James Chowning Davies

(New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997)

357pp. Bibl. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 1-56000-939-X.

What makes people organise for collective action and seek to overthrow government by violent means? Including contributions from Aristotle, Alexis de Tocqueville, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels as well as more recent conflict theorists such as Bruce Russett, Ted Gurr and the editor James C. Davies himself, this book traces one explanation to this puzzle.

The idea, which has survived two millennia, is simple; political revolutions stem from frustrated expectations. Although it may seem common sensical and even simplistic this idea has given rise to a number of theories explaining revolutions, all linking basic human needs and collective political action and highlighting the subjective nature of people's grievances.

Originating with Aristotle the thesis that discontent is a result of a perceived gap between what people have and what they think they should have surfaced again in the 1950s and 1960s when, contrary to the expectations at the time, instability and protest followed modernisation and progress all over the world. The thesis forms the essence of established concepts such as relative deprivation and revolution of rising expectations. The latter summarised the argument of the editor of this anthology, James C. Davies, that revolutions follow a J curve, that is, are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of socio-economic upswing is followed by a short and sharp reversal. This sudden drop in actual need satisfaction creates an intolerable gap between what people want and what they get.

Critics of the thesis, which are not included in this volume, have highlighted the level of analysis problem contained in a theory which purports to make causal inferences about group action from what is a fundamentally psychological phenomenon of individual perceptions. Early research on the relative deprivation thesis also suffered from measurement problems in that researchers tended to rely on objective measures, usually income, for what is a subjective psychological orientation.

This anthology was first published in 1971 and although the theory of relative deprivation is no longer considered the primary cause of collective violence the idea has survived in modified forms. For example, one of its early proponents, Ted Gurr, includes relative deprivation in a recent model of ethnopolitical violence which also integrates elements of the major challenger to the relative deprivation thesis, namely resource mobilisation theory. The latter, developed by among others Charles Tilly, focuses on the capacity of groups to mobilise for collective action. In his recent research Gurr also uses measures of

relative deprivation which more accurately reflects the multidimensional nature of grievances.

With its 357 double column pages the sheer volume of this anthology is somewhat intimidating. The reader is however greatly helped by the editor's succinct summaries which precede each part of the book and which in themselves provide an excellent guided tour through the dynamics of the development of a theory. Including excerpts from classic texts as well as full articles the value of this anthology lies primarily as a reference book for any student of conflict theory.

*Ann-Sofi Jakobsson  
Uppsala University*

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## Ethnicity

Edited by John Hutchinson & Anthony D Smith

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)  
448pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £10.99; ISBN 0-19-289274-6.

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Type the word 'ethnicity' into any search-engine or library-search and you will be overrun by the amount of titles and links. This reader is perhaps a solution and also a guide to what is now a large field of study. As a reference and incentive for further reading, it is almost unbeatable. It manages to accommodate the main issues in the area of ethnic studies and as such it finds its place extremely well on any reading list or any shelf.

The book is divided in seven parts, ranging from 'concepts of ethnicity', 'theories of ethnicity', 'ethnicity in history', 'ethnicity in the modern world', 'ethnicity, religion and language', 'race and ethnicity', ethnic conflict and nationalism and finally, 'transcending ethnicity'. One also has to mention the general introduction which in itself is enlightening. Just as the predecessor on nationalism, each chapter has a short introduction followed by short extracts from longer published works.

There are, of course, questions to be asked. One question could of course focus on the selection of texts. Is it possible to be 'objective'? Of course, in an area like ethnicity, there is bound to be controversy regarding representation. By looking on the chapters described above, the two editors have obviously tried to satisfy most camps and have managed quite well. Still one can question the lack of contributions in the area of gender and ethnicity (one contribution, Deniz Kandiyoti) and also to a certain extent examples and contributors from the Third World and Eastern Europe. One or two contributions discussing developments in the aftermath of the downfall of the USSR would have been welcomed, as many 'discovered' the word 'ethnicity' during these turbulent years. Still, leaving this behind, the reader manages to accommodate most of the areas discussed in the discipline today and also shows the problems with definitions and concepts. This should perhaps not only be a book for researchers and students, but for anyone with an interest in these issues.

*Ulf Hansson  
University of Ulster*

## Muslim Communities in the New Europe

Edited by Gerd Nonneman, Tim Niblock & Bogdan Szajkowski

(Reading, UK Ithaca Press, 1996)  
346pp. Index. ISBN 0-86372-223-7.

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Amongst the number of academic volumes on Islam in Europe, this book differs from the mainstream for two clear reasons. It focuses not only on Islam settled in Western Europe, but includes a set of stimulating articles on Islam in Eastern Europe. Most of the contributors succeed in avoiding classical monographical narratives, focusing instead on transversal thematics discussed in the book's first chapter by Nonneman who refers to modes of religious belongings regarding various modernisation models. He chooses a challenging method developing comparative perspective along East-West lines. It is liberal organising principles applied to the treatment of individual and group-rights of Muslims in a global context of identity assertion that lie at the theoretical and methodological core of the editor's general analysis.

What do Western and Eastern Europe share in terms of Islam? Beyond historical separated political state-buildings, structural differences between an "indigenised" and a transplanted Islam, the status issue is intensely discussed on both sides, particularly a set of common issues among ethnic minorities such as language, education, mosque-building, cultural production and equal treatment on the labour and housing market. These apparently common features need to be finely-shaded. For instance, recognition of groups-rights is rendered problematic by the "incompatibility" with the post-communist civic society in Eastern Europe (see the case studies of Albania and Bulgaria), while Western Europe offers various conditions for coexistence depending upon institutional repertoires and incorporation patterns provided by host-countries ("circumstantial handicap", p. 280) and linked to home-countries.

Citizenship and participation in national polities are other central issues. European national scenes are distinguished, by the way that ethnic-religious conflict arises, plays a part in politics and may also be a feature of everyday life. In Eastern Europe, the focus on separate ethnic, national and religious affiliations reveals the complexity framing definitions of political membership, especially in Orthodox dominant societies. In this respect, religion appears one element of an ethnic-national identification liable to assess eligibility for citizenship given that "confessional unity is much easier to manipulate than national unity." (p. 87) Islam is less a matter of overt ethnic conflict in Western Europe, even if in certain cases it may seem to be latent, but is more often linked with positions in the public sphere, the ideological multicultural framework and questions of visibility. Conflict cleavages do not have the same basis as those in Eastern Europe but retain relevance.



The result is an eclectic but quite exhaustive view on contemporary Islam in Europe. Of particular interest are chapters concerning the radical shift of attitudes vis-à-vis religion in Eastern countries. But as the product of a three-year project, it is regrettable that other transversal topics such as the transformation of the relationship between individual and society in contemporary Islam, a comparison of the new modes of “believing and belonging”, the transnationalisation of Islamic associative mobilisation and the pressures exerted by Muslim States on their nationals throughout Europe are not discussed.

*Valérie Amiraux*  
*European University Institute - Florence*

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## **Political Islam: Revolution, radicalism, or reform?**

Edited by John L Esposito

(London: Lynne Rienner, 1997). Distributed by Eurospan.  
281pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 1-55587-168-2.

In a world where globalizing forces impact on economic, political and cultural local conditions and where local conditions feedback into global forces, a book that attempts to examine the impact of contemporary political Islam on domestic and international politics is a welcome contribution.

This is an especially necessary task in light of the important role played by Islam in the lives of approximately a quarter of the world's population yet there is abundant ignorance displayed in the coverage of that world by the Western media and partisan commentators. Moreover in light of the expanding debate about civilizational conflicts on the one hand and ethnic conflicts on the other, it is crucially important to policy makers to have grounding in competent research.

Though the editor, Georgetown University professor John Esposito, argues that Islamic politics must be viewed within specific country contexts the collection exhibits a more lenient approach. It is organised into three ‘perspectives’ : the struggle between governments and illegal Islamic opposition, Islam within the political process and the international relations of political Islam. It is introduced by professor Esposito and includes a bibliography and Index.

The collection of 11 essays, clearly does not mean to be a comprehensive account, and the different contributions vary both in approach and interests. Most just narrate a cursory political history but some go a step further. Professor Baker’s contribution on the Egyptian centrist Islamic movements challenges the security oriented Realist paradigm of international relations with its focus on ‘terrorism’. He argues that the New Islamists, the centre in Egypt, are similar to the new social movements present in the West, powerfully criticising modernity which in Egypt threatens a corrupt repressive regime.

Similarly professor Voll argues that the attention devoted to terrorist connections is highly misleading in attempting to understand the more important informal scholarly-activist, interregional (eg. the Brotherhood and Jamaat-i Islami) International (eg. OIC, ECO, PAIC) networks in the Islamic world.

In an excellent contribution on Afghanistan, which is as concise as it is detailed, Barnett’s William places the Arab Islamists in the context of international and regional geopolitical and ideological conflicts and interests clearly showing the importance of both field work and analysis of government and non government organisations relations, usually ignored by many analysts.

There are other useful and provocative essays, like Dirk Vandewalle’s analysis of the implications of viewing Algeria as a rentier state to understanding why the Algerian regime lost its legitimacy and Mohsen Milani’s argument in favor of viewing the Islamic republic of Iran in terms of ‘restrictive pluralism’. Most however provide just a cursory and reasonable outline of political history introducing students to the variety of forms displayed by contemporary political Islam.

*Roni Linser*  
*University of Melbourne*

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## **Shattering the Myth: Islam beyond violence**

Bruce B. Lawrence

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998)  
237pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £17.95; ISBN 0-691-05769-9.

Books with the word ‘Islam’ in their titles have appeared with increasing frequency since the Iranian revolution of 1978-1979. Today, the presence of active Islamist movements around the world, and the United States confrontation with Islamist governments in Sudan and Afghanistan, reinforce popular Western images of Islam as a ‘violent’ or ‘irrational’ religion.

In *Shattering the Myth: Islam Beyond Violence*, Bruce Lawrence takes us beyond the headlines and CNN broadcasts and shows us an Islam that is not quite as neat and tidy as is popularly presented. Lawrence argues that Islam is a complex religious system that is shaped by its own ethical and moral demands as much as by the interaction between Muslim peoples and the modern world. Therefore, it is folly to speak of one monolithic Islam or of a single cohesive Islamic ‘fundamentalist’ movement.

To buttress his case, the author explores ways in which Muslims are engaged in reformist and developmental activities across the world today, especially in the Muslim communities of Southeast Asia. The author is particularly interested in the changing role of women in many Muslim societies and discusses their positions in states as diverse as Pakistan, Egypt, and Iran.

This lively essay is a concise and engaging read. Anyone befuddled by the simplistic images put out by many Western media or those interested in an overview of a number of issues that confront Muslims in today's world would do well to read this work.

*Lawrence Tal*

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## **Islamic Fundamentalism: Myths and realities**

Edited by Ahmad S Moussalli

(Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1998).  
348pp. Index. Hb. ISBN 0-86372-232-6.

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"Islam has been seen to be well suited to play the role of the bad guy after the cold war, for it is large, frightening and anti-Western and thrives on poverty and anger. It is spread over vast tracts of the world, and so the countries of Islam could be shown on TV as large maps of green, as the communist countries used to appear in red."(p. 6).

The fetishism of the West, and particularly the United States, with the creation of a new enemy after the end of the Cold War is an increasing point for international concern. On one hand there is a growing awareness in the international community of the fabrication of an enemy for a plethora of self-serving reasons. Yet, on the other, the overwhelming ignorance of the Muslim world, and the enormous publicity of extremist terror attacks, has fanned fears of a new Islamic 'green threat'. Ahmad Moussalli and his fellow contributors set out to rationally and systematically challenge the myths that perpetuate these anxieties.

The book begins with several complex theoretical chapters that cover a number of key debates. These range from the (ir)relevancy of Western social science in understanding the Muslim world, to the philosophical and political underpinnings of the views and ideologies of differing Islamic traditions on religion, state, democracy and human rights. These intricate theoretical chapters will be helpful to researchers with little understanding of Islamic fundamentalism, as well as those with a larger base of knowledge. They demonstrate that although any understanding of Islamic fundamentalism cannot be easily conflated into the framework of Western thought, fundamentalism is "not beyond intellectual, economic, political and cultural analyses" (p.25). This is critical, as the remaining chapters all converge on the need to understand Islamic fundamentalism and its growth contextually.

The instructive and in-depth case studies of Algeria, Lebanon, the Occupied Territories, Saudi Arabia and Egypt clearly show that the resurgence of Islamic activism cannot be divorced from the local socio-economic and political context. The case studies convincingly demonstrate that most major fundamentalist groups, notwithstanding a few widely publicised groups that are engaged in exclusivist

uncompromising revolutions, are not necessarily or inherently juxtaposed in thought and action to democracy and pluralism. The detailed and contextual analyses in the case studies implicitly challenges the Western myths (and consequent fears) of an all-encompassing hegemonic and extremist Islamic movement.

The book will be instructive to those not familiar with the theoretical foundations and historical context of Islamic conviction in the contemporary world. However, the book does not extensively explain, and that is not its purpose, why the West has chosen fundamentalism as its new enemy. Rather Ahmad Moussalli and his fellow contributors choose to demystify Islamic fundamentalism through developing a nuanced and contextual understanding. A refined analysis of this type is critical in moving Western conflict resolution practitioners, and the public, away from the reductionist view that the biggest threat to peace is the clash of irreconcilable civilisations rather than the socio-economic problems, and resultant opposition, created by rapid economic liberalisation.

*Brandon Hamber*

*Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation,*

*Johannesburg*

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## **The Silent War: Imperialism and the changing perception of race**

Frank Füredi

(London: Pluto Press, 1998)  
282pp. Index. Bibl. £45.00; ISBN 0745313086. Pb.: £14.99;  
ISBN 0745313035.

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In this meticulously researched and compelling study Füredi analyses the ways in which white racial thinking has been, and still is, inextricably linked with western culture and identity. Drawing on a wide range of often fascinating source material, the author examines how, during the 20th century, Anglo-American political culture dealt with the issue of 'race' within the context of massive global changes. These changes impacted on the nature of both international and domestic relations, and throughout the paramount concern was ensuring that any threats to Western power were minimised. At the turn of this century elites in Britain and the USA surveyed the world order that had been created out of slavery and imperialism from, as Füredi puts it, a position of 'racial confidence'. There were no inhibitions regarding the concept of 'race'; Western domination of large portions of the world confirmed assumptions of white superiority. From early on in the 20th century, however, this was to change significantly. Internationally there was increasing resistance to Western exploitation and oppression, and within the USA the beginning of a black civil rights movement. The 20th century, then, saw a shift from confidence to 'racial fear' and, according to Füredi, this shift resulted in the gradual development of an Anglo-American race relations industry. In his view this race relations industry evolved in order to avoid, minimise or postpone racial conflict. Thus the history presented here is not one which sees the development of 'race relations' as part of a linear process of progressive enlightenment, a

process arising simply out of a moral agenda based upon anti-racism and a commitment to racial equality *per se*. In his interpretation the agenda is induced by fear, informed by pragmatism and at times overtly cynical. Above all, this was a 'war' which, although deriving from white racism and domination, remained 'silent' as it was reconstituted ideologically by a race relations industry in all its guises. The book details these developments up to the immediate post-Second World War period, though there is some discussion of more recent history. The final word can be left to the author:

"In the end, racial pragmatism had to give way to a formal acceptance of equality, but by the time this occurred, decades of racial pragmatism, and the practices associated with it, had helped create a climate where the West could minimise the damage consequences of its racist tradition." (p. 238)

John Tierney  
University of Durham

## The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How white people profit from identity politics

George Lipsitz

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)  
274 pp. Index. \$59.95; ISBN 1-56639-634-4. Pb.: \$19.95; ISBN 1-56639-635-2.

In *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of California, San Diego George Lipsitz primarily focuses on the legacy of racial subordination in the United States. Lipsitz argues such subordination stems from "systematic efforts from colonial times to the present to create economic advantages through possessive investment in whiteness for European Americans" (p. 2). Lipsitz implores white Americans to realize that they are not innocent of a myriad of privileges they receive as a result of being white, and to support public policies, such as affirmative action and fair housing acts, to oppose and end white privilege.

Lipsitz's work, however, does not remain trapped only in analysis of racial subordination. From his work on race, Lipsitz expands his critique to the multiple forms of discrimination and subordination, including those based on class, gender and sexual preference, that exist and continue to flourish in the post-civil rights era in the United States. By utilizing intersectional analysis, Lipsitz avoids the pitfalls of one-sided racial analysis, particularly the reductiveness of framing race in the United States in a black/white dichotomy. He insightfully examines racism against Asians/Asian-Americans as well as Latinos and other minorities in the chapter 'Immigrant Labor and Identity Politics' and elsewhere. In combining the 'possessive investment in whiteness' with other hegemonic American constructs (heterosexism, patriarchy, classism), Lipsitz describes and elucidates upon the problems of

prejudice, discrimination and domination which keep so many Americans from equality and equal citizenship, while fuelling the neoconservative agenda.

By exploring the institutional flaws in the U.S. legal system ('Law and Order: Civil Rights Laws and White Privilege'), the neoconservative rise and the inherent racism of new American patriotism ('Whiteness and War'), and California's recent racist, anti-immigrant laws and mentality ('California: The Mississippi of the 1990s'), Lipsitz shows racism and inequality are not legacies of the past, rather they are still at the foundations of American society. The book gathers great strength from Lipsitz's ability to move effortlessly from personal narrative to hard-hitting policy analysis. At the root of his argument lies the premise that racism and other forms of domination are not just 'someone else's problems,' but they affect all Americans, and whites, in particular, need to push for solutions and massive changes in American society. He writes: "We need to learn why our history has been built so consistently on racial exclusion and why we continue to generate new mechanisms to increase the value of past and present discrimination" (p. 233).

Eamon Joyce  
Vassar College

## Race and Representation: Affirmative action

Edited by Roger Post and Michael Rogin

(New York: Zone Books, 1998) Distributed by MIT Press.  
424pp. £33.50; ISBN 0-942299-48-5. Pb.: £15.95; ISBN 0-942299-49-3.

This important and timely book examines the 'crisis' of the affirmative action initiative in the United States in the wake of recent attempts to challenge it. In particular, the volume assesses the three legal resolutions that have threatened affirmative action policies: Resolution SP-1, passed by the Board of Regents of the University of California in 1995 which prohibited the use of 'race' as a criteria for admission of students; the decision of the US Supreme Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in the case of Hopwood vs Texas, which declared the use of 'race' as a basis for admissions by the state's universities to be unconstitutional; and the passing of Proposition 209 which amended the Californian constitution so that 'race'-based affirmative action were forbidden.

*Race and Representation* analyses the implications of the above resolutions for future affirmative action programmes. The first section addresses the rulings and their impact, whilst the second offers a broader perspective on the history, development and successes of the principle of affirmative action and associated policies. The difficulties of edited collections such as this are evidenced in this second section, where there are a number of short chapters that lack substance. Affirmative action is clearly important to the authors (all 29 of them), and, although nearly all offer engaging discussions, on occasion some

chapters tend to become rather polemical in style, to the extent that one author (Fox Piven) claims that the campaign against affirmative action 'works to sustain the politics of race hatred' (p387). Although it goes without saying that affirmative action is an emotive issue, perhaps a more considered and detached approach, like that advocated by Waldron, works best in a volume such as this.

Despite this, *Race and Representation* offers a fascinating analysis not just of affirmative action, but also of contemporary political and social issues affecting 'race relations' in the United States. A particular highlight is Duster's incisive analysis of the history of legal developments affecting America's diverse ethnic communities, and the politics behind the choice of California as the 'battleground' in which the opponents of affirmative action have sought to challenge it. The variety of articles is best illustrated by Wagner's articulate piece on artistic depictions of 'race issues', another fine chapter in this generally excellent book.

Jon Garland  
University of Leicester

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## **New Ethnicities and Urban Culture: Racisms and multiculture in young lives**

Les Back

(London: University College London Press, 1996)  
288pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 1-85728-251-5. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN 1-85728-252-3.

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As a former youth worker operating in multi-ethnic communities, Back perceived the models he encountered to address racism tended to be ineffective and overly simplistic. Most models neglect to take into consideration the myriad complexities of racist and non-racist sentiments and behaviours. Consequently, this simplistic model sets up a dynamic whereby young whites are either praised for behaving like a 'saint' or punished for behaving like a 'sinner'. Back challenges the status quo by suggesting that the highly centralized and moral approach to counter racism is limited at best, and moreover fails to examine how racism first enters the lives of young people. Back has a keen interest in understanding and accounting for the emerging forms of cultural practice and identity formation within metropolitan contexts. He describes the writing of this book as a commitment to engage with the world of 'vernacular' culture. His expectation is that by examining how identity formation, racism, and multi-culturalism is manifest in everyday life, he and other scholars may gain a broader and more accurate perspective on the racial, ethnic, and cultural dynamics of post-imperial London.

This book is organized around three central themes: the nature of community; the social identities of young people within the community; and their experience with racism. These themes are described and explored within the context of two communities. Although the subject matter is

interesting and critically important with regard to understanding ethnic identity and its role in conflict, this text is somewhat disappointing. Back has identified a variety of interesting concepts, such as 'white flight', locality, nostalgia, and the preservation of privilege, neighborhood nationalism, social context and racist practice, and transculturalism and the politics of dialogue. Unfortunately, in his attempt to cover all of these concepts and the underlying nuances, he fails to provide the reader with a comprehensive and coherent discussion.

Wanda Wigfall-Williams  
ICAR, George Mason University

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## **Fascism's Return: Scandal, revision, and ideology since 1980**

Edited by Richard J. Golsan

(London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998)  
330pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £52.00; ISBN 0-8032-2159-2. Pb.:  
£23.95; ISBN 0-8032-7071-2.

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*Fascism's Return* is a selection of essays which address the fascist movement predominantly in Europe. The book attempts to look at this phenomenon not only from a political stand point but from an intellectual and cultural perspective as well. Scandals involving the fascist ideology are addressed such as the Barbie and Paul Touvier trials along with the revision and development of a new fascism.

What the book sets out to tell its reader is that fascism is alive and well and living in Europe. All hope is not lost however, as in a more optimistic turn some of the essays argue that the sheer acknowledgement of fascism is the starting point to stopping its spread.

To those of us most interested in ethnic conflict the book has something to offer by way of an ideological perspective. Fascism's need for scapegoats and exaltation of nation and race clearly mark its importance to researchers of ethnic conflict. Many of the authors make a point of including cultural and intellectual areas of the ideology along with the political angle which I found especially useful in my own studies. I found the book a pleasure to read and one that would be useful when trying to begin research into the study of ethnic conflict.

Having said all of that I must just add that I found some of the essays a bit redundant and would have appreciated a wider spectrum of countries being discussed. The cover makes reference to Europe, however the majority of the work is on France and Germany. The last essay in the book looks at U.S. involvement in Central America, mainly El Salvador. The author puts forward the question of whether the U.S. involvement in El Salvador could be considered fascist and whether or not Reagan and Bush could be accused of running fascist regimes.

All in all I would have to say the book is a good tool when trying to understand the ideologies involved in ethnic conflict but if the reader is looking for a comprehensive study of fascism in Europe I think they would be disappointed with the narrowness of this book.

Kathleen Korosec Holmes  
University of Missouri in Kansas City

## Borders, Exiles, and Diasporas

Edited by Elazar Barkan and Marie-Denise Shelton

(Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998) Distributed by Cambridge University Press.  
340pp. Index. £35.00; ISBN 08047-2905-0. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN 08047-2906-9.

An unfortunate gap persists between “cultural studies” and social science approaches to culture. Barkan and Shelton’s volume epitomizes the former and therefore will frustrate social scientists looking for insights into the politics of transnationalism.

Contributors cover a range of topics, from sexuality/gender in Europe, the Middle East, and the Americas to the philosophies of Benjamin and Wittgenstein. Most chapters focus on particular individuals or literary pieces, drawing on themes of exile and cultural encounter. Symptomatic of edited volumes, the book lacks an overarching argument or theme. Indeed, in that sense the book delivers on the editors’ introductory promise to reflect the “open-ended, discontinuous, and syncretic nature of the postmodern experience” (p. 6). As such, social scientists can and should take a literary project on its own terms.

But the editors also claim that, because the volume “recognizes the political stakes of diasporic identity,” it “combines the poetic with the political, while probing the existential consequences of displacement and cultural dislocation” (p. 5). Even those of us who accept the ‘60s dictum that “the personal is political” will regret the failure of the volume to deliver on its tantalizing potential for political insights that the editors rightly highlight.

While the volume as a whole may be too literary in its orientation to satisfy those more interested in the political and social dimensions of culture, a few contributions do deserve attention. Françoise Lionnet’s chapter, “Immigration, Poster Art, and Transgressive Citizenship: France, 1968-1988,” approaches multiculturalism in a way - poster art - which bridges the methodological gap between literary and social analysis. In “Scraps of Culture: African Style in the African American Community in Los Angeles,” Leslis Rabin links African and African-American culture through clothing, an approach that could lend itself to more of a political economy perspective. And Catherine Portuges’ “Accenting LA: Central Europeans in Diasporan Hollywood in the 1940s” reminds us not to generalize about content and nationality of cultural industries. These pieces point in fruitful directions for narrowing the conceptual and methodological divides between literary and social science views of culture. Only then will we be able to share a conversation about more specific concerns, such as the politics of transnationalism and cultural identities.

Audie Klotz  
University of Illinois at Chicago

## Masses in Flight: The global crisis of internal displacement

Roberta Cohen & Francis M Deng

(Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1998)  
414pp. Index. Bibl. \$52.95; ISBN 0-8157-1512-9. Pb.: ISBN 0-8157-1511-0.

This timely book addresses a critical issue which has only recently found expression in the lexicon of international political and legal discourse. Unlike refugees who cross international borders and benefit from established legal and institutional frameworks, internally displaced persons remain within the borders of a country/state, without the benefit of a regime similar to that which avails refugees. Yet, the magnitude of the crisis engendered by this phenomenon is such that by 1997, more than 20 million internally displaced persons were reported in thirty five to forty countries!

The authors explore the factors - both natural and artificial - which account for this unfortunate state of affairs. A noticeable omission, however, is internal displacement occasioned by environmental degradation and the responsibility of the culprits, especially transnational corporations. For our purpose, given the specific focus of this *Digest*, the authors underscore the fact that, “most of the conflicts which lead to mass displacement have a strong ethnic component” (p.22). Accordingly, the two countries which the authors identify as having the dubious distinction of being responsible for the largest number of internally displaced persons - Sudan and Turkey - are notorious for their intractable ethnic and religious conflicts. While submitting that it is seldom mere differences of identity based on ethnic or religious grounds that generate conflict, but the consequences of those differences when the question of access to resources and opportunities is in issue, the authors opine that the manipulation of such differences raises a presumption to the effect that there may be genuine group concerns. In the circumstance, they draw attention to the imperative of acknowledging and addressing the underlying causes of ethnic animosity.

With particular reference to Africa, which accounts for about half of the world’s internally displaced persons, the authors implicate the arbitrary balkanization of the continent by the colonial powers and warn that “the pervasive crisis of national identity created by the artificial borders of the colonial state can be expected to continue to give rise to ethnic and racial strife within and between states” (p.47). Given this reality, one would have expected a fairly elaborate discussion of the way out of this quagmire. Instead, one finds no more than a passing reference to self-determination. This approach is replicated in the discussion of the requisite legal framework. It is, however, refreshing that the authors address the increasing trend of recasting sovereignty as a concept of responsibility, with the result that a state which fails to be accountable to its domestic constituency and the international community loses its legitimacy and concomitantly risks having its veil pierced. On balance, the book makes compelling reading.

Dakas CJ Dakas  
University of Jos, Nigeria

## Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious communities and the new immigration

Edited by RS Stephen Warner & Judith G Wittner

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)  
409pp. Index. Hb. ISBN1-56639-613-1. \$59.95. Pb.: 56639-614-X \$24.95

Warner and Wittner have edited a nice collection of ethnographic studies looking at how immigrant communities in the United States articulate a collective identity on religious grounds. Each of the chapters writes a micro sociological study of the processes of religious identity creation of a small, local community of post-1965 immigrants in the United States. Instead of a textual production of identity, the authors self-consciously emphasise a participatory research of the institutional processes of identity formation. The chapters cover a rich patchwork of religious communities: Jews, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Rastafarians and practitioners of Voodoo from countries such as Korea, Mexico, Morocco, China, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Iran, and Jamaica.

The book includes some excellent ethnographic chapters offering detailed descriptions of everyday community practices. But, systematic reflections about the general concepts which inform the micro sociology are only scarcely present. It would have been interesting to see in each of the chapters a more explicit reflection on how the concept of identification is understood, for example. Another problem with micro-studies is that the structural context within which the everyday practices are located often remain underarticulated. Integrating micro-analysis with a more general reading of national and global economic, cultural and social structures and processes could have improved the thickness of the descriptions. This would also have opened a way for a more critical theorising of the subject. It must be said though that the book aspires mainly to be a collection of interesting ethnographic studies and that the weakness just described is to an extent unavoidable in such a collection. But, an easy way out - the more difficult being to demand of each individual author to address these issues - would have been to add a strong introductory and concluding chapter which deal explicitly with conceptual and contextual dimensions. Although the introductory and concluding chapter of the book do this to an extent, they could have been structured much more tightly around conceptual and methodological questions and the link between the wider social context and the local situations. The introduction, for example, reads like an explanation of the general project of which these case studies are a part instead of offering a more general substantial interpretation of diasporic communities in the United States. In conclusion, the book is interesting in its detail but somewhat lacking in its more general picture.

*Jef Huysmans*  
*University of Kent*

## New Diasporas: The mass exodus, dispersal and regrouping of migrant communities

Nicholas Van Hear

(London: University College London Press, 1998) Distributed by Taylor & Francis  
298pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £13.95; ISBN 1-85728-837-8.

The second volume in the 'Global Diasporas' series from the Transnational Communities Programme at the University of Oxford, *New Diasporas* is an important book that adds much to the current debate on the meaning, character, and contemporary significance of diasporas and transnationalism. The central purpose of this study is to examine ten migration crises in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Europe, Central America and the Caribbean to determine the links between migration crises and the formation and demise of diasporic and transnational communities.

Van Hear approaches his topic with an appreciation for the significance of context and historical change. His interest in studying migration crises, moreover, is predicated on his belief in the transformative character of such events. Migration crises, he explains, are "sudden, massive, disorderly population movements [which] may be pivotal episodes or critical moments which signal a juncture between one migration order and the next" (p. 23). Van Hear's approach to this phenomenon is carefully attuned to questions of international political economy. "Crisis for whom?" is the driving question for each of the migration crises examined. This perspective is a refreshing alternative to the rather narrow "problem solving" approaches prevalent in so much of the literature on forced displacement. In each of the cases he examines, Van Hear takes pains to determine what kinds of populations are transnational, what gives them this character, and what conditions bring about their transformation. The study not only demonstrates how the forces of globalization accelerate the dispersal and regrouping of transnational communities, but the socially differentiated manner in which these changes occur is also highlighted.

Van Hear's emphasis on the socio-economic implications of diasporas and transnationalism is important. It cautions against the uncritical celebration of such identities for how they challenge traditional state-centric identities and communities. Nonetheless, Van Hear's analysis would benefit from expanding its scope to consider the relationship between transformations in migration orders and changes to a more broadly conceived world order. How do diasporic and transnational forces impact and transform the identities and communities provided by the logic of state sovereignty? Van Hear begins to explore such questions at the very end of his book. Further reflection on these issues would have made for a richer and more satisfying study. That said, *New Diasporas* is nonetheless a compelling and very readable book.

*Peter Nyers*  
*York University, Canada*

## Who is a Refugee? A comparative case law study

Edited by Jean-Yves Carlier, Dirk Vanheule, Klaus Hullmann & Carlos Peña Galiano

(The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1997)  
794 pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$25.00; ISBN 90-411-0348-1.

Sovereign states, especially in the past century, have established extensive apparatuses for determining and controlling who may or may not be eligible for membership (i.e. citizenship) in the political community. As its title suggests, the focus of *Who is a Refugee? A Comparative Case Law Study* is to provide a thorough overview of the case law and state procedures relevant to determining who is an 'authentic' refugee and thus eligible for protection and/or asylum. This is certainly a timely endeavour as not only do the number of refugees worldwide continue to increase (from 1.5 million refugees in 1951, to over 14 million in 1995, together with an additional 13 million returnees, internally and otherwise displaced people) but the conditions and circumstances that bring about these mass movements have also multiplied. Indeed, the largely unprecedented polymorphism and complexity in the causes, underlying dynamics, and effects of global refugee flows reminds us that this political phenomenon continues to be one of the most pressing facing modern political practice, analysis, and theory.

In this work, Jean-Yves Carlier and his co-editors set out to address the question of who qualifies for refugee status in two stages. The first part of the book consists of national reports on the case law relevant to determining refugee status for each of the fifteen different states considered. With nearly five thousand decisions recorded and one thousand five hundred considered, this is by far the most substantial section of the book and will serve as an invaluable resource to refugee scholars, advocates, and decision-makers. The content of these reports is mainly descriptive in nature, while the format is similarly structured so as to facilitate cross-national comparisons. While it is unfortunate that only European and North American states are considered, what is most striking about these reports is the disarmingly similar way in which these states have reformed their refugee policies. On the whole - and despite some laudable innovations by countries such as Canada on gender persecution - Western states have increased restrictions, tightened procedures, shortened time-lines, and in general made the goal of attaining asylum more difficult.

How then should this crisis in the asylum cultures of Western nations be confronted and resolved? The second section of the book consists of a concluding general report by Jean-Yves Carlier which tries to address this crucial problem. While one could question Carlier's liberal assumption that the harmonization of state policies will lead to a more efficacious system, or raise some concerns with his recommendation that refugee status should be limited to

those individuals whose life experiences correspond with the Geneva Convention definition, readers should take seriously the very interesting - and innovative - procedure he outlines for answering the question 'Who is a refugee?' Carlier employs the 'Theory of the Three Scales' to investigate three crucial components to the refugee determination process—that is, verifying that the degree of risk, persecution, and proof is sufficiently established in order to grant the applicant asylum. This interpretive section of the book will be of special interest not only to refugee practitioners and decision-makers, but also to refugee advocates, legal theorists, and students of global population flows.

Peter Nyers  
York University, Canada

## British Policy and the Refugees 1933-1941

Yvonne Kapp and Margaret Mynatt

(London: Frank Cass, 1997)  
£35.00; ISBN 0-7146-4797-7. Pb.: £16.00; ISBN 0-7146-4352-1.

"Between the years 1933-39 the United Kingdom received some 80,000 to 90,000 refugees from countries under Nazi rule. Some 20,000 to 30,000 of these re-emigrated before the outbreak of war" (p. 3).

This book is centrally concerned with Jewish and political refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia fleeing Nazi oppression by coming into Britain in the 1930s. The book also critically examines the programme of internment and deportation instigated by the British government in the summer of 1940. Yvonne Kapp was born in Dulwich in 1903 into a Jewish middle-class family. She became involved in relief work for refugees from 1933, worked full time for the Jewish Refugees Committee and was later seconded to the Czech Refugee Trust Fund becoming Assistant to the Director. Margaret Mynatt was born in Vienna in 1907 into a poor British/Austrian Jewish family. She became a journalist and after the Reichstag fire fled to Prague and eventually to London, where she worked on a voluntary basis for anti-fascist aid organisations and then for British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia. Both women were committed communists and were dismissed from their positions in the government sponsored Czech Refugee Trust Fund on account of their political affiliations. This book was written when they were both living in the Lake District in 1940. Although the book was accepted for publication in 1940, publication was stopped when a Penguin volume *The Internment of Aliens* written by anti-fascist and anti-communist Francois Lafitte was published. Publication was reconsidered in 1968 and again in the 1980s but was not finally published until 1997 - fifty-seven years after it was written.

The book is written in an accessible style that very much engages the reader in the actual experiences of refugees and their struggle against the many and changing ways in which they were positioned by the British

authorities before and following the onset of the war. As well as graphically describing the dynamics of government and the British public's responses to the refugees, the authors present criticisms of government policies, all of which have continuing relevance for Britain, Ireland and other European countries.

Although the Geneva Convention which was framed to meet the refugee problem relating to education and employment of refugees amongst other things, was only partially ratified by Britain. The book lists the many aspects of the Convention that were not applied in the British situation which applied its illiberal Aliens Act. "The effects of these circumstances was to develop, by 1939, a wrangling and haggling apparatus wherein the harassed but humane officials of both the refugee organisations and the Aliens Department co-operated to fit the refugee problem into the Procrustes' bed of the regulations" (p. 25). A further effect of these complicated and obstructive regulations was the keeping of working-class foreigners out of the country (p. 27).

The authors also raise the important question of representation of refugees and the ways in which the paternalistic workings of some refugee organisations means that a large mass of refugees had no voice at all in the policies that deeply effected their lives. They describe the Arbeitskreis as an example of a refugee representative body and its effectiveness in saving time and money to the relief organisations. The authors discuss why such self-representation was left to the political refugees and note the different circumstances by which racial and political refugees gain refugee status and the consequent different levels of preparedness.

The suspicion that surrounds refugees in times of war is addressed and challenged by the authors with reference to the material and political dynamics of refugee status and the internal surveillance that takes place within refugee communities. It is evident from this book that the internment of the refugees cannot be seen as an aberration in a time of crisis but as coming out of an attitude toward foreigners, Aliens and Jews that were prevalent during the 1930s and before.

This book offers an insight into those 'external policies and conditions' that shaped the lives and experiences of refugees to Britain in this period and the changing labels, status and loyalty tests required of them by the authorities. The authors are self-conscious about how their account might be read and note that they are not advocating unlimited admission but arguing instead for legislation and policies based on the principle of the right to asylum, that is, for a "consistent pro-refugee policy rather than what they saw as an anti-refugee policy with loopholes" (p. 35-6).

*Breda Gray*  
*University College Cork*

## **Sisters in Sorrow: Voices of care in the Holocaust**

Edited by Roger A Ritvo and Diane M Plotkin

(College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998)  
314pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$35.95; ISBN 0-89096-810-1.

This book contains the harrowing personal testimonies, letters and reflections of various Jewish doctors and nurses who took care of the sick and infirm in Nazi transit and concentration camps. It contains telling observations and details of significant differences in conditions between Theresienstadt, Westerbork, Auschwitz and Belsen. It also contrasts the treatment of women and men in the camps, and provides a different perspective on the experiences of women prisoners.

The volume chronicles the ingenuity and resilience, plus the survival skills which these women exhibited in adapting to the concentration camp environment - hampered by insanitary conditions, a starvation diet, the lack of medicine and hospital equipment such as anaesthetics, disinfectants, sterilisation instruments and hot water. Despite the petty humiliations and the debilitating insecurity and uncertainty of living under constant threat of death, the women alleviated the suffering of their fellow victims and attempted to maintain as normal a life as possible, and to remain human in the most inhuman conditions. Nevertheless, it proved impossible to live without 'dirty hands', and breaking the rules of traditional behaviour became unavoidable in the struggle for survival. The volume addresses the agonising moral dilemmas that confronted these women carers: that it was necessary to participate in the Nazi killing process in order to save lives. Because the Nazis decreed that pregnant women were to be gassed, and new-born babies to be killed, the women doctors were forced to compromise their professional integrity and ethical standards in an attempt to save the lives of the mothers. The healers were trapped in an escapable medical paradox, having to perform clandestine abortions, which contravened their professional and personal ethics, and killing new-born babies in order to save their mothers from the gas chambers.

It is poignant that many of the accounts refer to the incomprehension and indifference that the women encountered on liberation, and returning to their former homes as refugees. One observed: "You feel nobody can understand what you went through...we were at home but we were strangers"(p. 91).

For the most part the material is descriptive in form, and not a contribution to the analytical literature of the Holocaust. However, there are some unforgettable personal stories, and important moral issues are raised. The book is a useful addition to the subject, and a supplement to such classics as Olga Lengyel's *Five Chimneys* and Robert Jay Lifton's *The Nazi Doctors*.

*Rab Bennett*  
*Manchester Metropolitan University*



## From Catastrophe to Power. Holocaust survivors and the emergence of Israel

Idith Zertal

(California: University of California Press, 1998)  
344pp. Hb.: \$29.95; ISBN 0-520-21578-8.

It was the literary critic Denis Donoghue who suggested that 'memory' gives the unofficial sense of history, effects an order not sequential but agglutinative. He was touching on something of great significance with which we have only begun to recognize. Too many studies on ethnic conflict have placed considerable store on 'identity' while ignoring its twin 'memory'. It has been the practitioners - through the burgeoning industry of truth and reconciliation commissions - who have paid due obeisance to 'memory's' capacity to intensify and prolong conflict. Drawing on their own painful recent pasts, they may have had in mind Czeslaw Milosz's aphorism: 'It is possible that there is no other memory than the memory of wounds'. The role that the dead can play in the sphere of the living is etched into the consciousness of the generation of Zionists who operated the clandestine immigration to Palestine of Jewish refugees - most of them survivors of the Holocaust - to create modern Israel.

Remembering is at the heart of this seminal study by Idith Zertal. It examines the role of human beings, collectively and individually, who participate in history as an actor and narrator. While it will be particularly interesting to anyone interested in Israeli and Jewish history it should be read by students of ethnicity and conflict regulation/resolution because it has so much to tell us about the role of diasporas and the interplay of foreign and domestic affairs; about the significance of the intra-ethnic; and about the mobilisation of memory and our capacity for collective amnesia when that suits - the 200 plus pages of Jewish history published in 1948 devoted only one page to the Holocaust.

Zertal's study cannot be surpassed in terms of research, clarity and insight. It's structure adds to its accessibility. It is divided into three parts: "Plot" which is essentially a narrative of the covert immigration movement, "Organisation" - a multidimensional analysis of the Mossad; and "Consciousness" which is concerned with the ethical and ideological context in which the politics of the situation were played out. This last section adds an incredibly rich dimension to the analysis, although it should be said that it is a well developed theme which runs throughout the study, and it reinforces Idith Zertal's reputation as an outstanding cultural historian. Finally, and significantly, *From Catastrophe to Power* serves as a powerful moral force. It is not simply a vivid academic study but a narrative which has a relevance to Israeli politics today and Israel's standing in the wider world. It sends the profound message that those who live off a (selective) memory must not lose the capacity to forget their own misdemeanours.

Paul Arthur  
University of Ulster

## The Destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews During the Antonescu Era

Edited by Randolph L Braham

(New York: Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies/City  
University of New York, 1997).  
Distributed by Columbia University Press.  
413pp. Hb.: £48.00; ISBN 0-88033-380-4.

As the title indicates, *The Destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews During the Antonescu Era* (ed. Randolph L. Braham) is firstly about the tragedy that befell some 420,000 Jews living on Romanian soil in 1939 during the reign of the Legionary State (1940-1944). It also tells the story of the murder of tens of thousands of Ukrainian Jews in areas under Romanian occupation from the fall of 1941 to the spring of 1944.

An outgrowth of a 1996 international scholars conference held in Washington, D.C., this collection of essays is, on another level, about the re-surfacing of the demons of the past in post-communist Eastern Europe. Divided into four sections ('Setting the Stage', 'The Drive Against the Jews', 'The Foreign Factor' and 'Notes and History Cleansing'), the book necessarily deals with two of these - extreme nationalism and antisemitism.

Namely, in Romania they have been inextricably intertwined with the campaign to rehabilitate the wartime pro-Nazi dictator Marshal Ion Antonescu. Part of this process has been the construction of the myth that he and his colleagues in the Legionary State leadership actually played a key role in saving its own and foreign Jews who sought refuge on its territory from destruction.

From the start, however, it is made clear that nothing could be farther from the truth. At every stage of its development Antonescu was the principal actor in framing and implementing wartime persecution of the Jews. Take for example Lya Benjamin's essay, 'Anti-Semitism as Reflected in the Records of the Council of Ministers, 1940-1944: An Analytical Overview'. At a Cabinet Council meeting of November 13, 1941 on the infamous deportation of the Jews of the Bukovina and Bessarabia to the Transnistria region between the Bug and Dniester Rivers, she cites his, having remarked: "The Jews must not be spared... Don't think they will not take revenge when given the opportunity. But, in order to leave no one to take revenge, I shall finish them first" (Braham, p.11). No less compelling are the accounts of the Marshal's involvement in the Jassy Massacre of June 29-30, 1941 by Radu Florian or the 1941-42 liquidation of the Kishinev ghetto by Paul A. Shapiro.

Apart from the repetition and sometime lack in continuity one often encounters in conference volumes, Randolph Braham of the City University of New York has once again helped advance our knowledge of the role of Germany's allies in the destruction of European Jewry. One can only hope that his authors' findings will make their way

back to Romania and lend support to the courageous efforts of those scholars and writers who are endeavoring to set their country's historical record straight.

Michael A. Riff  
*Center for Holocaust & Genocide Studies at Ramapo  
College - New Jersey*

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## **Democracy and Democratization: Processes and prospects in a changing world**

Georg Sørensen

Second edition. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998)  
174pp. index. Bibl. Pb.: £12.50; ISBN 0-8133-9984.

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The stated purpose of this work is "to evaluate the current prospects for democracy and democratization" worldwide. The book is comprehensive in scope, synthesizing an impressive range of important and complex debates in a clear, concise style. Only in its scant attention to questions of ethnic conflict and democracy does it disappoint.

Sorensen starts with the basics – what is democracy - and succeeds, in the space of 135 pages, in providing cogent discussions of most of the important and current issues relevant to his central question. Key issues covered include: conceptualizing and measuring democracy; the dynamics of democratic transition; the relationships between democratization and economic growth and development; relationships between democracy and interstate conflict; and prospects for democratic consolidation.

Too often, works on comparative democratization treat the most recent democratizers, particularly in Africa, as exceptional or residual cases that can neither inform nor be informed by mainstream theories of democratization. This book is a welcome exception. Throughout, Sorensen conveys the complexities of democratization in diverse empirical contexts, without losing sight of the theoretical significance of this diversity. Major theoretical debates, fed primarily by the experience of advanced industrialized nations of the West, are thoughtfully considered in the context of the developing world and the post-Communist states. Considerable space is devoted, for example, to whether the 'democratic peace' arguments are likely to hold with respect to emerging democracies both in the South and in Eastern Europe.

In a work of both ambitious scope and modest length, it is inevitable that some subjects will receive short shrift. Unfortunately, that is the case here with respect to democracy and ethnic conflict. Sorensen devotes only about two pages to the potential effects of ethnic conflict on democracy and vice versa, in the chapter on the international consequences of democratization. The brief references to such issues as ethnic diversity as a potential hindrance to political community or as a tool to be manipulated by politicians leave the reader more curious

than informed. Absent is any discussion of the relative importance of institutional design, sequencing within the transition process, or other factors likely to affect the relationship between democratization and the politicization of ethnicity or ethnically based violence. Indeed the whole question of violence in new democracies, ethnically based or not, goes undiscussed. Yet these are important issues, particularly in the most recent democratizers, where democratization has often come on the heels of civil war or has followed authoritarian regimes that engaged in systematic campaigns of violence against particular social groups.

Overall, however, Sorensen has provided a useful, readable and wide-ranging introduction to the core debates on democratization.

Carrie Manning  
*Georgia State University*

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## **Comparative Politics: Rationality, culture and structure**

Edited by Mark Irving Lichbach & Alan  
S Zuckerman

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)  
321pp. Index. Bibl. £40.00; ISBN 0-521-58369-1. Pb.: £14.95;  
ISBN 0-521-58668-2.

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The discipline of comparative politics has been in a state of crisis for some time, despite efforts at regenerating interest in the field. Partly the reason is that too many studies are ideographic offering little to systematic development of powerful explanatory arguments and, correlatively, too few studies are nomothetic, searching for a dialogue between theory and evidence which produces general propositions. This is the opening remark of the book edited by Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman, *Comparative Politics. Rationality, Culture and Structure*. The editors lament the unwarranted decline of comparative politics and resolve to do something about it by bringing together an impressive collection of essays written by prominent political scientists.

Centred on the development of theory in comparative politics the book explores three research traditions, namely rational choice theory, cultural analyses and structuralist approaches, considered to be the most powerful and competing theoretical schools that characterize the field. Analysts in the three camps take strong positions on methodological and ontological issues. On the one hand the dispute centres on the desirability or feasibility of developing generalizations from the particular to other cases; on the other hand, the debate revolves around whether it is individuals, rules or structures which chiefly affect social outcomes.

The book, however, is not only about methods. An entire section is devoted to the interplay between theory and the three schools in four distinctive topics: mass politics, especially electoral behaviour, social movements, political

economy and state-society relations. Although one book probably cannot cover all the topics comparativists have been engaged in, it is unclear why important themes such as comparative public policy have been discarded.

Perhaps the answer is that the greatest strength of the book is, unfortunately, not to be found in the editors' purported aim of resurrecting comparative politics, but in the brilliant dissection of three mainstream theories in political science. For the comparativist, however, the book is somewhat disappointing, providing little new material and even less guidance for the way ahead. Yet, its systematic analysis of the core propositions of rational choice theory, cultural and structural approaches, with their application to a few selected topics, makes this a wonderful volume for research and teaching purposes. As the editors note, the book offers 'the first set of case studies of the rationalist-culturalist-structuralist debate to appear' (p.14), and in this sense, it is a welcome addition to the literature.

*Rosa Mulé*  
*University of Warwick*

## **Justice and Democracy: Cross-cultural perspectives**

Edited by Ron Bontekoe and Marietta Stepaniants

(Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997)  
477pp. Index. Pb.:\$28.00; ISBN 0-8248-1926-8.

This impressive collection of cross-cultural analyses of either democracy or justice, or crucial topics within either or both, is the edited version of papers submitted for the seventh of a series of "East-West Philosophers Conferences" sponsored by the University of Hawai'i's prestigious East-West Center. A roster of international academic stars, including Yu Ying-Shih, Ernesto Laclau, Javad Iqbal and Ted Honderich, representing an unusually broad difference of opinion and paradigm to converge in one room, not only came to Honolulu, but produced works of philosophy with profound implications for readers interested in conflict resolution, as well as ethnic conflict. The book is primarily designed for courses or readers concerned with democratic theory and jurisprudence, readers with a policy or empirical bent will be presented with a host of potential hypotheses about topics like: what is democracy or justice? How far and what parts of Western conceptions travel to other civilizations? What are the conditions for democratic stability? What really is the nature of or perceptions of the Buddhist, Ghandian, Confucian, Islamic versions of Western democracy and justice, and what are the local counterparts? As edited volumes go, this one does better than most in integrating the articles along a logical scheme, which could make for a useful course reader treating philosophical themes of justice and democracy.

The authors present arguments and examples of misunderstandings about the nature of justice and democracy, which produce conflicts because of the

apparently universal desire for some version of democracy and justice. While most authors agree that democracy and justice are too varied and culturally bound to be inherently universal, many of the most interesting contributions show some aspects which appear to be universal. Cass Sunstein identifies several versions of democracy in practice, alternatively emphasizing constitutionalism, deliberation, and interest aggregation. However, what he argues is universal among successful democracies is conflict resolution among inevitably heterogeneous populations along multitudinous dimensions is "incompletely theorized agreements" on results. This avoids potentially contentious disputes producing ungovernability over ideology or motives, focusing instead on specific policies that everyone agrees are feasible and thus desirable. However, even his insightful solution may be culturally bound because more polarized societies seem inclined to resolved philosophical issues before practical ones, and thus make democracy impossibly stalled by disputes over fundamentals. The trick would be to induce mediators to focus on "yeasable" propositions that ignore ultimate incompatible implications or rationalizations. James Buchanan suggests that technology has some universalizing effects, just as do markets, though there is no inevitability about a common technological democracy. The most eloquent exception came from the Erich Solovyov of Moscow whose neo-Kantian argument concludes that all societies have the imperative, both because it is just and because of universal experience, that violent human rights violations must be limited as the highest universal priority. He critiques relativist critiques as attempts to maximize particularistic interests at the expense of the universal need to protect what Roman law called *ius cogens* and what modern international law calls non-derogable human rights. Fred Dallmayr finds conflicts over "whose justice and whose rationality" producing inevitable conflicts. His solution, which the more absolutists would find vague in its flexibility, is for each society to achieve autonomy without closing itself from what might potentially be empowering to inferior groups and communities in their own societies.

With differences within and among post-modern, cultural and comparative approaches, this provocative collection will leave many readers with the realistic frustration that the search for democracy and justice is a moving target. But that is nothing new. Every attempt to make societies more democratic or just will confront and motivate the establishments of each society to retrench on the footing that there is not democratic basis for the change. The hope engendered for those with different perspectives, be they focused on gender, culture or process, is that open communication will allow each society to adapt in its own ways to outsiders' experiences. This book shows the way of the world to the West, as well as explaining the West to the rest.

*Henry F. Carey*  
*Georgia State University - Atlanta*

## **Pluralism and the Politics of Difference: State, culture, and ethnicity in comparative perspective**

Ralph Grillo

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)

272pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £25.00; ISBN 0-19-8294-26-3.

This excellent text could as well have been prefaced as follows: “what pluralism means in practice... varies hugely. It is not a fully worked out theory or programme nor a readily identifiable social state. It is an emergent phenomenon. The outcome of a multiplicity of international, national, and perhaps above all, local and specific accommodations on a range of issues”. R.D Grillo’s new book is about how nation-states conceive and handle ‘difference’ with ‘pluralism’, the latter expressed both at collective and individual levels. The major thesis is that the politicisation of difference takes place in the context of particular configuration of state and society. Three types of politically reconfigured multiculturalism are dealt with, namely, patrimonial or preindustrial or early societies and postmodern societies. By comparing different kinds of plural societies across the three typologies, contrary to E. Gellner’s argument that culturally plural societies worked well only in the past, Grillo seeks to show that they can equally be a viable system in contemporary times. He seeks to answer a key question ( p.5) “to what extent is a plural, polyethnic, democratic society possible”. His response, a compressed product of a veritable pot-pourri of rich and fairly detailed research materials- that so fitfully resembles the metaphors of the ‘salad bowl’ or the ‘glorious mosaic’ in which each ethnic and racial elements transformed the ethnic space in favour of minorities. An example: France is defined largely in terms of its Catholic heritage in such a way as to exclude the Jews. In any case, the Jews were deemed “incapable of assimilation” or, worse, ‘unassimilated and unassimilable’ (p.136-7). Thus, by emphasising homogeneity, the nation-state showed its incapacity to tolerate difference, at least of a collective kind. As events in the 1980s and 1990s in the increasingly shrinking global society continually show, Grillo’s ‘ethnic dialectic’ throws up ‘a complex interplay, ideologically and practically, between assimilation, integration, pluralism and separatism’ (p.183).

Evidence piles up that universalism and differentialism remain in an unstable juxtaposition by virtue of ethnicity and, perhaps more significantly, racism. For instance, in the same way the Alur and, to a lesser extent, the Azande and the Nupe “believed they were better people than others of better stock, with superior habits” (p.54), so also do the British, the French and the Americans hold tenaciously to the thesis that they are superior to, and better than, the many multinationalities existing within their territorial integrity. Several decades, if not centuries, after significant others have settled in these countries, race/ethnic relations have hardly transformed.

*Kunle Amuwo  
University of Ibadan, Nigeria*

## **Impartiality in Context: Grounding justice in a pluralist world**

Shane O’Neill

(New York: State University Press of New York, 1997)  
288pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-7914-3387-0. Pb.: \$18.95; ISBN 0-7914-3388-9.

In this book Shane O’Neill argues that a theory of justice for a modern pluralist world must address two dimensions of pluralism. It must respond to the fact of a plurality of conceptions of the good. And it must also recognise the existence of a plurality of states, each of which is a historically unique, culturally specific, social and political culture. Contemporary theorists, of justice, tend to focus on one or other, but not both, these dimensions of pluralism. Liberals, notably, John Rawls, defend justice as an impartial point of view that respects different conceptions of the good, while communitarians, especially Michael Walzer, favour a context-sensitive account that neglects the impartial point of view.

O’Neill argues that Habermas’s discourse ethics overcomes the limits of both these approaches, by providing a framework that grounds impartiality in particular contexts. O’Neill’s perspective gives him a fresh vantage point for presenting and criticising Rawls and Walzer. His defence of Habermas is carried through both theoretical discussion and an application of the theory to the case of Northern Ireland.

This book is an impressive treatment of a topic of high social and political importance. There is a large contemporary literature on justice, but O’Neill’s book is unrivalled as a lucid and critical introduction to the key issues. There are valuable discussions of liberalism and the communitarian critique of liberalism, feminist perspectives on justice, hermeneutics, and the theory of communicative action.

The central focus of the book is the fact that justice considered as the impartial concern for all has to operate in a world in which many individuals are fundamentally identified with certain kinds of communities. For them an essential part of their self-expression would be thwarted if they cannot take part in the cultural self-definition and development of their primary community. In the world in which we now find ourselves the correspondence between cultural or national pluralism and the boundaries of the state are rough or non-existent. In the case of a divided society such as Northern Ireland, this can lead to violent conflict as we have seen in the past 30 years.

Habermas’s discourse ethics, according to O’Neill offers a procedural test for substantive principles of justice within concrete contexts. The idea of discourse ethics is that if we wish to come to a rational agreement with one another about the justice of certain arrangements, then our argumentation must observe certain constraints. These are universally valid rules of discourse - such as that no one capable of speech and action be excluded, that any assertion can be made or questioned, that the exercise of these right be free from coercion. While these rules are formal, they do in fact have some bite in a divided society like Northern

Ireland. At the very least they provide a ground for rejecting arrangements that are imposed by force without consultation or agreement with the disputing parties. They also provide a framework for the ethical discourses about identity that disputants should engage if they are to arrive at mutually acceptable arrangements for recognition of several identities in one political context.

The overall argument is courageous and written with engagement and verve. Students and scholars will find this a very stimulating book.

*Attracta Ingram*  
*University College Dublin*

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## Women and the Politics of Peace

(Zagreb: Centre for Women's Studies, 1997)

This bilingual book (English and Croat) represents the proceedings of presentations held at the International Women's Forum: Women and the Politics of Peace in Zagreb, October 1996 and organised by the Centre for Women's Studies - Zagreb, Croatia. It is organised under three themes: Women as Champions of Peace; Ways of Transforming Conflicts - Voices of Women; and Peace within the Region. Contributors include activists, academics and practitioners and many of the women have more than one role. This diversity is reflected in the contributions which include intense, emotional and personal accounts of life experiences in divided communities which have endured a long-time experience of war (p.10) and more theoretical and ideological pieces. As Biljana Kasic notes in her excellent foreword underlying the whole is an attempt to examine how women articulate peace, and in particular, the accounts reveal the multiplicity of approaches women have adopted in constructing a space for the politics of peace in the circumstances of war.

Under the theme Women as Champions of Peace the reader is presented with contributions that detail various initiatives by women to provide forums for peace not only in the former Yugoslavia but also in Israel-Palestine and in Northern Ireland. The following sections also include material from the three regions and two major points are clear throughout. The first is that women are active in peace initiatives and are important participants in the process of reconciliation therefore they must be given the opportunity to participate in official peace negotiations. Following this is the unanswered question about how would such participation by women affect the global politics of power and international security.

This is a very readable book for those interested in the role of women in peace.

*Gillian Robinson*  
*INCORE - University of Ulster*

## Conflict Resolution: A foundation guide

Susan Stewart

(Winchester, UK: Winchester Press, 1998)

The book begins by defining conflict in the context of social theory. Causes, including latent ones, types of conflict, and management techniques complete the introduction. Next, the range of dispute resolution strategies, from litigation to interpersonal conflict prevention techniques, are explored. Also, an overview of the research design and results are provided. Chapters Four through Eleven describe particularly mediation in a broad range of settings, including family, neighborhood, justice, schools, cross-cultural, multi-faith, environmental, power-imbalanced, and work contexts. Then, a framework for evaluating the variety of training programs, whether prescriptive or elicitive (or both) in approach and outcome is provided. The increasing emphasis on assessment, accreditation and professionalism, balanced by the need for "...openness to diversity and respect for participants as sources of knowledge and experience..." is judiciously addressed in Chapter Twelve. (p. 155). Academic opportunities for study and research on conflict resolution are offered. The last chapter summarizes current and future issues and trends in the field, including its interdependent/interdisciplinary nature, the diversity of conflict management strategies, 'one-stop' dispute resolution clearing houses, volunteer and professional services, funding sources, and both the transformative and professional agendas of practitioners.

Overall, this book is an excellent fundamental resource for consumers of conflict resolution services, training, and academic opportunities, and for current and future practitioners in the field. As Ms. Stewart herself so aptly states: "The chapters of this book reveal a diversity and richness of conflict resolution which is invigorating and encouraging." (p. 166). Her work makes an important contribution to the field of ethnic conflict, specifically, by providing insight into available resources, current approaches and issues in conflict resolution, and perhaps most important, giving exposure to alternatives to traditions of violence, inequity, and struggle. Generally, her work makes the same contribution to the field of dispute resolution: furthering the research and discourse on alternative constructive conflict management.

A few minor issues/constructive criticisms include: the need for additional data on the effectiveness and cost efficiency of alternative dispute resolution strategies; also, the book is clearly aimed at citizens of and services provided in the United Kingdom, making some of the detail less useful to 'outsiders'; the lack of adequate funding, training and supervision for some school peer mediation programs can be problematic; and finally, the term Alternative Dispute Resolution implies a strong connection to the legal/adversarial approach to disputes, while conflict resolution, generally, implies a collaborative model, clearer discussion of this dichotomy would have been useful.

Despite the complexity and dynamism of the field, *Conflict Resolution: A Foundation Guide* presents a clear, detailed and comprehensive look at a growing field.

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## Asian Freedoms: The idea of freedom in East and Southeast Asia

Edited by David Kelly & Anthony Reid

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)  
228pp. Index. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-521-62035-X. Pb.: £14.95;  
ISBN 0-521-63757-0.

This book, edited by David Kelly and Anthony Reid, contains ten essays discussing the notions of freedom, or the lack of them, in various Asian countries and cultures. The book argues that “authentic conceptions of freedom are found throughout the Asian region, where they have emerged in complex ways from local institutions and practices.” (back cover of the book) Paradoxically, however, many essays actually argue for an opposite view, namely, that freedom was not an authentic value emerging from Asian peoples’ own cultures and traditions. W.J.E. Jenner argues that political freedom as a concept or a right cannot be found in Chinese cultures before the nineteenth century. Ian Mabbett argues that Buddhism’s notion of spiritual freedom of individuals has no direct connection with political freedom, and it was often stressed side by side with strict social hierarchy and discipline. Vera Mackie shows that traditional Japan was dominated by a vision of a Confucian-style family-state where hierarchy and obedience were emphasised. Alexander Woodside demonstrates that freedom was regarded by eighteenth-century Vietnamese Confucian elite as “pernicious”, upsetting cosmos order and social order. The only essay that argues in a contrary spirit is Anthony Reid’s discussion of the concept of freedom (‘merdeka’) in Indonesia. He argues that by the eighteenth century, at least one Indonesian people, the people of Wajo’, appear to have arrived quite independently at a well-defined idea of freedom as a positive value and a set of recognised rights, including the freedoms of thought, expression, and travel.

In the introduction of the book, however, the editors make a less strong and more plausible claim: “Western ideas of freedom have been widely accepted in Asia, but they have had radically different careers depending on the local stock of concepts of practice onto which they have been grafted”. (p.6) This claim is well supported by some of the essays. David Kelly shows modern and contemporary Chinese intellectuals quickly learnt and accepted the Western idea of freedom as representing something of universal value, and essential to the revival of the Chinese nation. Thanet Aphornsuvan discusses how the Thai elite took the idea of freedom from the West to oppose Western colonialism and to redefine the essence of the Thai nation as an independent state. Josef Silverstein describes how contemporary Burmese intellectuals tried to blend together Western notion of freedom and Buddhist insights in order to articulate a new democratic vision of society.

Despite that the general lesson drawn from the book is mixed and uncertain, the book provides an interesting exploration of the developments of political ideas and cultures in Asia.

Joseph Chan  
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## Indian Traffic: Identities in question in colonial and postcolonial India

Parama Roy

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)  
236pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 0-520-20486-7. Pb.:  
£12.50; ISBN 0-520-20487-5.

Identity is the primary focus of the author’s concern, but in an unusual and at times curious fashion. Few references are made to the scholars who normally fill the pages of this *Digest*. Instead, Parama Roy, an English professor at the University of California-Riverside, has chosen a more literary, subaltern, post-modernist route extending from the early British period to the film star present.

She reconstructs Indian colonial and post colonial identities via case studies that focus on impersonation, mimicry, and gender analyses. “Traffic”, the title of the book, is the cross-over from one identity to another, involves different points in time, and a variety of political, social and gender constructions. Parama’s first set of case studies probe the British colonial period.

Richard Burton assumes the identities of “natives” in his many impersonation. But he stops short of “going native” as he hones his skills in India, beginning in Sind in the 1840s, and then the Middle East. The purpose of assuming many identities is not really made clear. Confusing language and analysis still leaves the purpose of these “exchanges” vague. Thus, Burton has an “understanding of the fact that identity is the result of one’s mastery over particular systems of signification.” (29). These enable the impersonator to learn about “systems of information, behavior, and belief” or in plainer language, to live in the shoes of another being or group. Certainly, the mastery of mimicry and ability to assume different identities can be useful for intelligence purposes, but the author attributes a deeper significance. Thus, the first chapter ends with: “Burton must remember an Arab past in order to imagine a British imperial future.” (40).

A separate chapter devoted to the Thuggee criminal group provides a counterpoint to the Britisher who mimics Indians. Thugs on the one hand include many castes and other religions. On the other, they are presented as a distinctive caste and as worshippers of Kali engaged in demonic religious ritual. Economic motivations and a subaltern reaction to colonial rule also are attributed to them.

Parama’s exploration of Kipling focuses on his experiments in impersonation starting with Strickland the policeman and culminating with Kim and the “Great Game” in which identities are “continually in flux” (78). It involves an almost stream of consciousness discourse on what is a nation, culminating in “a nation is an ‘imagined community’ that can mean whatever its members want it to mean” (81).

“Western Women & Hindu Nationalism” leaps to the nationalist movement and feminist discourse via Ramakrishna the guru of Vivekananda and their respective followers and disciples. Ramakrishna literally becomes other identities, and manifests feminist characteristics. His even more famous disciple, Vivekananda, by contrast is extolled for his masculinity. Nonetheless, he “was significantly dependent upon the west, especially western women (e.g. Nivedita) for validation as nationalist, masculine, heterosexual” (121).

Hindu masculinity could have been explored further in terms of contemporary political movements in India such as the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and the support groups to the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party. Instead, the poetess Sarojina Naidu is compared to Mahatma Gandhi in terms of feminist characteristics; not quite Mother India, a “trouble for nationalism...that will not go away” (151).

Reading these case studies is difficult even though the stories are interesting. Reconstructions significantly alter the identities of familiar historical figures and groups without providing new clear anchors. Even the language of discourse clouds the subject matter, made even more complex by parenthetical statements in almost every paragraph. That perhaps is the ultimate contribution of this type of identity traffic. It does make one rethink familiar subject matter and identities again, again and again.

As a political scientist, this contribution from the literary world informs me in a Shakespearean manner. Things may not be as they seem...or they may be. Ultimately, identities are in the eyes of the beholder, and even more significantly are crafted and recrafted by politicians and other human beings.

*Paul Wallace*  
*University of Missouri-Columbia*

## Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia

Uradyn E. Bulag

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)  
302pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £35.00/\$59.95; ISBN 0-19-823357-4X.  
Pb.: £12.95/\$18.95; ISBN 0-521-63619-1.

Uradyn E. Bulag has written a fascinating study of the character of post-socialist nationalism in Mongolia. Drawing on detailed anthropological research, Bulag argues that Mongols, in escaping from their Soviet-dominated past, are faced with a choice between purist, racialised nationalism and a more open, adaptive nationalism that accepts diversity and multiculturalism. He concludes that the perception of Mongolia as a homogeneous society is a myth. Given the diversity amongst groups in, he suggests that the population of two million Mongols must learn to live in a climate of tolerance and harmony. The study has wider implications for research in nationalism, ethnicity and self-determination in the post-Cold War world. It will be required reading for scholars concerned national identity and ethnic conflict.

*Ian Jackson*  
*Manchester Metropolitan University*

## Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800

John Thornton

Second Edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)  
340pp. Index. Hb.: £50.00; ISBN 0-521-62217-4. Pb.: £16.95;  
ISBN 0-521-62724-9.

Between 1400 and 1680, west and central-west Africans were sent all over the Americas, from Brazil to Venezuela. Thornton reviews the politics of coastal Africa and the involvements of Europe there and also what he argues was the active creativity of Africans in building up New World societies. He tries to analyse how far ‘aesthetic’, ‘religious’ and some other cultural and social features were transmitted to, or transmuted in the - overwhelmingly enslaved - lives of Africans in the Americas. His command of Spanish and Portuguese language sources enables a much broader story than even well-informed Anglophone students of Africa often know. Written simply, with a good narrative drive, the first edition of this scholarly monograph (1992) apparently became a popular US textbook. However, it stopped before the eighteenth century.

This second edition is changed only by an extra chapter looking at some issues in the period from 1680-1800. This structure and the book’s changing audiences cause some problems - intending readers should be warned! Thornton’s analysis of indigenous African slavery and the impact of whites’ demands for slaves are more contested by scholars than he may suggest, while his definition of Christianity and African religions(s) as both ‘revelatory’ is fruitful but insufficient to explain African world-views or their survival in the New World. Importantly, one must not extrapolate any features recorded before 1680 and relate them to later conditions, whether in Africa or the Americas. This limits evaluation of change or ‘survival’, an issue reviewed somewhat in his new chapter. Readers of this review should beware of identifying cited ethnonyms in that way. African ‘ethnicity’ has been in constant re-definition: Robin Law, a historian of west Africa whom Thornton often cites, has shown too (in *History in Africa* 24, 1997) that some new, American identities could be fed back into Africa - often, though not always, later than 1800, as when former Brazilian slaves returned to West Africa. Ethnicity does not strongly concern Thornton, but his final chapter has examples of the new ‘nations’ which were formed in the Americas, usually via commonality of language, and mobilised for funerals, recreation and, quite often, for different attempts at escape (many runaway or ‘maroon’ communities subsisted in different regions, sometimes for a long time). He shows how complex the relationships between African rulers, European colonisers, slaves and indigenous Americans could be, while perhaps underplaying slaves’ crucial insecurities and often desperation.

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*Queen’s University of Belfast*

## Democracy in Africa: The hard road ahead

Edited by Marina Ottaway

(London: Lynne Rienner, 1997). Distributed by The Eurospan Group.

176pp. Index. Hb.: £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.

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.

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University of Kentucky*

## War and Peace in Southern African: Crime, drugs, armies, trade

Edited by Robert I Rotberg & Greg Mills

(Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 1998)  
296pp. Index. Hb.: \$42.95; ISBN 0-8157-7584-9. Pb.: ISBN 0-8157-7585-7

The edited volume consists of a number of chapters which address the topics listed in the sub-title. Two chapters deal with the phenomenon of crime within South Africa, two focus on the small arms proliferation and trafficking within the region, one each on the topics of illegal immigration and regional economic development, two on the regional and international dynamics and the drugs trade and, three on military matters.

While the last three, dealing with the institutional innovation of the South African military, and with continental and regional peacekeeping and peace enforcement, are closely related to the larger topic of the title of the book, that is, war and peace, the other chapters are less obviously so. Violent crime, illegal trade (in people, weapons, drugs, cars, etc.) and economic underdevelopment (vividly displayed in statistics on poverty and unemployment) all bear on political instability and social decay. But to accept these as part and parcel of a larger process of war and peace requires explicit argumentation, which ultimately, must bear on a theoretical perspective on war and peace. This is lacking from the editors, and from individual contributors.

The chapters provide good, and at times excellent, descriptive surveys of the topics they address. The more interesting contributions, however, are those who venture, even if only implicitly, into offering theoretical interpretations of their findings. Mark Shaw, for instance, assesses the rise in crime within the broader process of democratic transition. On a micro level, Wardop (crime in Soweto) finds the impetus towards crime not only to be a function of financial motivation, but also relates it to matters of status, identity and power. Likewise, Jacklyn Cooks calls for the culture of violence to be dealt with through a "...complicated process of recasting social relations," (p. 106). On a more macro-level, Herbst links the prospects "African solutions to African problems" to the phenomenon of state failure and collapse and the prospect of redrawing state boundaries in Africa (p. 245). Finally, Mark Malan considers the prospects for peacemaking against the prevailing attitudes within the international community.

All these contributions, taken together then pose the question of whether a comprehensive theoretical explanation for the events of civil and political instability in the new democracies of Southern Africa can be found?

*Pierre du Toit  
Stellenbosch University*



## A Peace of Timbuktu: Democratic governance, development and African peacemaking

Robin-Edward Poulton and Ibrahim ag Youssouf

(New York and Geneva: UNIDIR, United Nations, 1998).

As the authors note in their acknowledgements *A Peace of Timbuktu* is an exciting story about an exciting subject: for what could be more important than peace? (pxiii). This book is a fascinating and detailed account of Mali's transition to democracy, which took place in 1991-92 and the peacemaking between the Government of Mali and the rebel movements in the northern part of the country. The report is the result of a collaboration between the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). The book begins with a chapter detailing the history and natural environment of Mali, essential background to understanding the crisis there. It builds on this to a clear account of the build-up to the crisis and the armed revolt of 1990-97. This leads on to the process of peacemaking, disarmament and the role of the international community. Finally the report looks to the future for Mali and in particular the effect of the Flame of Peace for the United Nations. Truly a most interesting and readable book, essential for all those wishing to understand the situation in Mali.

Gillian Robinson  
INCORE - University of Ulster

## The Palestinians

David Mc Dowall

(London: Minority Rights Group, 1998)  
32pp. Bibl. £4.95; ISBN 1-897693-5.

It is widely acknowledged that the issue of ethnic conflict in the geographic area of Israel/Palestine amounts to much more than the simplistic arguments of Israeli-v-Palestinian. Indeed, it is an amalgamation of the Palestinian Arabs residing in Israel, the Druze, the Bedouins, the Israeli settlers in the West Bank, and the Palestinian refugees which create an increasingly complex problem. As such, each of these groups are given in-depth attention in McDowall's report on 'The Palestinians'.

His chapter on 'Palestinians Inside Israel' discusses, among other things, how the Israeli constitution serves to make Palestinians unequal and inferior through the seizure of land, and by the fact that Palestinians living in Israel have no real status. It reviews how Israel has been successful in creating distinctions between the Druzes and Bedouins, and the Palestinians, by making the former more dependent on the state of Israel. His chapter on 'Palestinians Living in Exile' discusses the rights/lack of rights of the Palestinian refugees in each of the host Arab countries.

The '1990's Peace Process' offers a frank discussion of the 1994 Declaration of Principles, analysing its problems and the sense of dismay, in some quarters, after the initial euphoria had died down. And in his final chapter on 'Challenges for the International Community', McDowall describes the situation with the Israeli settlers as one in which 'no Israeli government is able to dismantle the settlements without alienating the electorate and triggering open conflict with the settlers and those who support them. No government will risk either. This has now become an intractably difficult problem.' (P. 28)

Overall, the author is very even handed in his criticisms of both Palestinians and Israelis, something which is a rarity in this subject. The Palestinian Authority is rebuked for its human rights abuses and corrupt financial practices. The Israeli government comes under similar condemnation for its treatment of Palestinians living inside Israel through the continuation of an exclusion policy against them, and for its outward encouragement of the development of Israeli settlements in the West bank and Gaza Strip.

Generally, this report offers a concise, well written, and balanced account of the current situation for Palestinians. However, a few minor points did leave me feeling confused. There appears to be slight inconsistencies over the issue of Zone A and B percentages of land, which are in Palestinian control. Zone A changes from a 4% area of land on pg.17 to 5% on pg.21, and Zone B made a similar change from a 27% area of land to 26%. Although slight, this confusion on the issue of land and territory is enough to upset, and annoy, some.

Still, for those with little or no background in this subject area, McDowall's 'The Palestinians' provides a strong grounding, in what can only be described as an increasingly 'complex situation'.

Cathy Gormley  
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## After Oslo: New realities, old problems

Edited by George Giacaman and Dag Jørund Lønning

(London: Pluto Press, 1998)  
241pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 0-7453-1243-8. Pb.: \$13.99;  
ISBN 0-7453-1238-1

The book consists of ten articles and has two objectives: 1) to critically assess the Oslo peace process for the region in general and the Palestinian society in particular and 2) to understand the subsequent continuing crisis.

Giacaman points out two flaws in the Oslo agreements: 1) it ignores the national rights of Palestinians that satisfies their most recent, modest aspirations. 2) It forces the Palestinian Authority to ban the growth of a civil and democratic society under the guise of Israel's security.

Buttenschön claims that the agreement establishes a hope for a peaceful just solution, discourages the development of Israel as an exclusive Zionist state, and gives some hope for Palestinians. Given the reality on the land, however, they will continue to suffer from the apartheid structure.

Moughrabi observes some benefits accrued especially by Israel as a result of the limited normalization between Arab countries and Israel. He too sees the peace process as stalled and the continued ethnic cleansing by Israel.

Raz-Krakotzkin sees a 'radical' change in Israeli politics resulting in the recognition of the PLO as the legitimate Palestinian representative. He points to the missing bi-national approach in the agreement, however. He opines that a real 'peace' is impossible without changing the historical and cultural perception of the Zionist-Israeli perspective.

Jan de Jong's article begins with a quote from what Simon Peres' characterization of the September 1995 agreement: "We srewed the Palestinians..." (p. 77). In all fairness, however, the statement attributed to Perez is subject to different interpretations. He could have made it to encourage his chauvinist compatriots to accept the agreement. Although the principle of 'Land for Peace' was adopted by the parties in conflict, Israeli's plans for the land, if realized, virtually eliminate any hope for Palestinian national aspiration.

Hilal highlights the development of a personalized system of authority with little regard for the PNA, elected representatives in democratic elections.

Likewise, Usher characterizes the PA (Palestinian Authority) as a tool for Israel's territorial acquisition and security concerns in the Occupied Territories in the name of Palestinian national interest.

Lønning, weary of the absence of a 'final vision' in the Oslo and subsequent Washington agreements, warns that the lack of a political solution is likely to lead to the rise of Palestinians.

Jayyusi focuses on the media discourse. Jayyusi notes the shift from a discourse of recognition of human rights violations, embedded in the moral rubric that threatens national political aspirations to a 'discourse and politics of implementation compliance' within a legal framework.

Bishara sees two viable solutions, either a national or bi-national solution. He perceives the attempt by the Likud represented by Netanyahu is to be an effort to start a third alternative of perpetuating the existing order by giving 'cosmetic' modifications.

Ten authors, by focusing on various aspects of the peace agreements from geography to the media, compellingly conclude that while the agreements offer limited benefits and hope for peaceful solutions, the reality is far from it, as the Palestinians continue to suffer from not only economic deprivation but the loss of the opportunity for national liberation and the growth of a civil society and democracy.

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*University of Hawai'i at Manoa*

## Cyprus: In search of peace

Keith Kyle

(London: Minority Rights Group, 1997)  
40pp. Bibl. Pb.: ISBN 1-897-693-915.

Of all the world's protracted social conflicts, Cyprus is a byword in protractedness and intractability. It is the classic case of a conflict 'frozen' by a peace-keeping operation, where the parties apparently have little incentive to deal with one another and remain locked in their conflict configuration. While other intractable conflicts such as Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine have undergone significant transformations since the end of the Cold War, the Cyprus problem remains stubbornly unresolvable.

Keith Kyle's report for the Minority Rights Group offers a chronologically organized analysis of the conflict, going from before independence to mid-1997. He charts the breakdown of the constitution in 1964, to the military coup in Greece and the overthrow of Makarios in 1974, the Turkish decision to invade, the segregation of the island into two ethnic zones, and the establishment by the Turkish side of a 'Republic of North Cyprus' in 1983. He reviews the diplomatic efforts at a settlement which have on occasion (1981) been close to agreement and have identified (in the UN's Set of Idea) the main contours of a settlement, but repeatedly foundered over the Greek Cypriot insistence on unity and the Turkish Cypriot demand for independence. The author shows that there have been significant shifts and transformations over time in the conflict, even though the two sides appear to be locked in stasis.

A number of current developments are bringing the conflict back into the headlines. Kyle analyses the impact on the conflict of the (Greek) Cypriot government's application to join the EU, the increased military tensions in the Aegean between Greece and Turkey, the offer of air defence missiles by Russia to the (Greek) Cypriot government, and the Turkish threat to prevent these missiles from being delivered. He reports the increased tensions after the televised killing of a Greek Cypriot tearing down a Turkish flag after an attempt by demonstrators to break across the border.

This is a fine historical survey in the MRG style, with the emphasis firmly on historical and diplomatic developments. There is no attempt to use ethnic conflict theory or to discuss the visceral attitudes on both sides which underpin the stasis (for this, see Volkan, 'Neighbours in Conflict'). Nevertheless, it can be strongly recommended. Clearly presented, informative and impartial, it is an ideal introductory survey for anyone unfamiliar with the history, or in need of an up to date review of recent events.

*Hugh Miall*  
*University of Lancaster*

## Flight into the Maelstrom: Soviet immigration to Israel and the Middle East peace

John Quigley

(Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1997)

256pp. Index. Hb.: £30.00; ISBN 0-86372-219-9.

John Quigley's hybrid book - part political science, part legal exposition, part fiction - charts the events surrounding, and political ramifications of, the mass emigration of the majority of the former Soviet Union's Jewish population to Israel in the early 1990's. Over 600,000 Soviet Jews made aliyah and Quigley contrasts the preferential treatment they received from the Israeli government with the manner in which the state behaved towards the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. While the new immigrants were being given free housing and generous state grants, Palestinians were finding ever increasing amounts of their land expropriated and their basic civil and political rights denied. And while the Israeli government was invoking the Jewish law of return to facilitate the arrival of the new immigrants, it was, at the same time, orchestrating a concerted attempt to deny a right of return to the Palestinian refugees.

Quigley, an expert on the Soviet Union and practicing lawyer at the US Supreme Court, is both passionate and informed about his subject matter. Many of his Soviet Jewish friends made the move to Israel, and he is an ardent advocate of Palestinian rights. Quigley charges that Israel's immigration policy is in flagrant violation of international law and contends that the emigration policy was a politically motivated attempt to increase Israel's Jewish population, exposing the insincerity of attempts to reach a settlement with the Palestinians. His indictment of the Israeli government is mounted on three levels. Firstly he argues that Israel wilfully exploited the worsening economic situation in the Soviet Union to encourage emigration. At another point, Quigley dons his legal robes to show how both Israeli attempts to bring the Soviet Jews in, and their land appropriation policy and denial of Palestinian rights, ran contrary to international law. Finally Quigley turns aspirant novelist, creating a composite Soviet Jewish family in order to personalize the new immigrants' experiences. His imaginary family expound on their reasons for leaving, and reflect on their experiences in Israel including their interaction with a fictionalized Palestinian couple who teach them an alternative, Arab, history of their new land.

While Quigley's approach is novel and his arguments persuasive, his subject matter goes over well worn ground. Most people are already aware that a prime *raison d'être* of the state of Israel is the encouragement of Jewish emigration and that Israel's treatment of the Palestinians runs foul of international legal norms. It is unfortunate that the, as yet unwritten, issues of high unemployment, poverty and the difficulties the new arrivals have faced in integrating themselves into Israeli society are not more fully explored, as few could be better equipped to write authoritatively on them than the author.

Gordon Peake

St Antony's College, Oxford University

## The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, socialism and the making of the Jewish state

Zeev Sternhell (Translated by David Maisel)

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998)

419pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £25.00; ISBN 0-691-01694-1

Discussions in Israel over such thorny subjects as national identity and Jewish nationalism provoke heated debate. Zeev Sternhell's *The Founding Myths of Israel* will contribute to that debate and set the cat among the pigeons. The author's thesis, in short, is that the founders of the modern Israeli state claimed that they wanted to establish a just, egalitarian state for the Jewish people in Palestine. However, the author contends, such ideas were mere rhetoric. Early Israeli leaders - such as the avowedly socialist Mapai, or Labour, leader David Ben-Gurion - consistently put aside their socialist ideals of justice and equality in the pursuit of establishing a territorial state for the Jewish people.

Sternhell persuasively argues that Israel's founding fathers understood well the inherent incompatibility between territorial nationalism and the universalistic ideologies of socialism and liberalism. Because theirs was a state-building enterprise, Ben-Gurion and his peers quickly grasped the need to acquire as much territory as possible during the early days of the state. They also comprehended that the fledgling Jewish state needed to create a sense of national identity that marked it out from other states, both in the region and in the world as a whole.

The author suggests that Israel's treatment of its Arab citizens, its policies toward the Palestinians, its failure to establish a 'bill of rights' for its citizens, and its blurring of the line between religion and state can all be traced to early leadership decisions to accord primacy to national objectives, rather than to universal values.

The root issue behind many of Israel's current negotiations with the Palestinians - the June 1967 war - is viewed by the author not as a 'miscalculation' on the part of Israel's leaders, but as part and parcel of the Zionist enterprise of territorial expansion. Sternhell concludes that the Labour Party's decision to occupy the West Bank, Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip was primarily motivated by territorial nationalist concerns.

Provocative at times, this book will be of interest to those who study the subject of national and ethnic conflict in the modern Middle East. While the author's main conclusions are not particularly startling and are fairly intuitive, he has done a service by persuasively and patiently weaving his views into a very readable work.

Lawrence Tal

## Turkey's Kurdish Question

Henri J Barkley & Graham E Fuller

(Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998)  
239pp. Index. Hb.: ISBN 470-8476-8552-7. Pb.: ISBN 0-8476-8553-5.

The Kurdish issue in Turkey is one of the most painful problems for Turkey and constitutes a significant part of the tension in Turkey's relations with the West as well its neighbours in the Middle East. In the last two decades more than 20,000 people have been killed and many hundreds of thousands displaced.

To research and publish on the Kurdish issue in Turkey, while not forbidden, entails a fine balancing between the limits of free speech on this issue and the pressure for informed debate. In *Turkey's Kurdish Question* the authors strive to 'encourage greater debate in Turkey' (p. xviii). In this way they hope to move beyond the political stalemate where the Kurdish issue is perceived by the Turkish political authorities as merely a function of the economic difficulties of the southern eastern part of Turkey and the terrorism of the PKK.

Thus, controversially, the authors define the Kurdish issue as an ethnic problem in need of an ethnic solution. That means a move towards acceptance of cultural diversity in Turkey. The authors argue both against assimilation of the Kurds and a military solution and for wide-ranging political and economic reforms.

The book is comprehensive in its analysis of the domestic political scene in Turkey, albeit less so on the role of the Kurdish issue in Turkey's foreign relations. Drawing on the yearlong research and experience of the two authors *Turkey's Kurdish Question* amply covers the existing research-field. It includes a balanced assessment of the PKK as it has modified goals and transformed itself into a political spokes-partner for the Kurds; analysis of the range and dynamics of the many legal and illegal Kurdish movements and political parties (including the sensitive issue of the Sunni-Alevi divide and relations with the Turkish left); description of the receptiveness and stance on the Kurdish issue among Turkish political parties, governments, civil society (half a page only!), business associations, media, intellectuals and academia and the Turkish population.

Taken as an up-to-date analysis of the Kurdish issue in Turkey, including their internal and external political ramifications and an assessment of the possible solutions, the book more than fulfills its aims. However, as a contribution to provoke debate within Turkey the book will most likely fall short. The analysis is bound to offend in Turkey with its persistent criticism of Turkish state institutions and call for wide ranging democratic reforms. That there are such limits for political discourse in Turkey

is, of course, very unfortunate, but the authors, with their in-depth knowledge of Turkey are most likely well aware of this.

Thus, this book may be yet another contribution to the ongoing critical debate of *Turkey's Kurdish Question* in the West, rather than furthering the debate of these issues in Turkey.

Eva Østergaard-Nielsen  
St. Antony's College, Oxford University

## Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to nationhood in Greek Macedonia 1870-1990

Anastasia N Karakasidou

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997)  
334pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £30.50; ISBN 0-226-42493-6. Pb.:  
£14.95; 0-22642494-4.

This is a gripping and moving account of the construction of Greek nationhood in a municipality near Thessaloniki. Using both oral and official history, Karakasidou reveals how the inhabitants of the town once called Guvezna and now known as Assiros were altered from an Ottoman cocktail of Turks, Slavs and Greeks to the mono-ethnic culture present there today. The space left by departing Turks and Slavs after the town came under Greek control was partly filled by refugees forced to resettle in Greek Macedonia after the disastrous war of 1922. They mostly spoke Turkish themselves as a first language, but, like those Slavic speakers who remained in the town, they became assimilated during the course of the twentieth century. "In many ways", the author concludes, "the past has become very much a foreign country to the Assiriotes" (p.217).

But this book is not just about Macedonia, it is about nation-building. Karakasidou complains that "while there is overwhelming concern among Euro-American politicians and diplomats over what nationalism has brought to Eastern Europe in recent years, many seem unaware of the fact that *nation-building processes* are a *longue duree*", (p. 146) and she describes the process in all its brutality. War, religion, politics and capitalism all contributed to constructing the 'official narrative' of this particular nation in this particular place over the last 120 years.

Cambridge University Press declined to publish this book, fearing attacks on their Greek staff if the crisis over the official name of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia were to escalate. Fortunately it did not, and many Greeks now look to their new northern neighbour as a business opportunity rather than a military threat. Perhaps Karakasidou's courageous research helped to open up the space in which this became possible. There may be hope for all of us.

Nicholas Whyte  
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

## The Serbs and their Leaders in the Twentieth Century

Edited by Peter Radan and Aleksandar Pavkovic

(Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1997)  
260pp. Bibl. £39.50; ISBN 1-85521-891-7.

The Serbs have played an important role in modern Europe: from the Balkan Wars, to the two World Wars, to the post-Cold War apocalypse in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This book takes an interesting approach by focusing on eight important Serb leaders in recent history: including Pasic, King Aleksandar I, Mihailovic, and Milosevic. While each chapter provides a good description of the life and times of these historical figures, they are at times sympathetic to a fault and not without some controversy; for example, the chapter on Mihailovic does not mention Chetnik atrocities. More importantly, however, the narrow focus on the leaders themselves detracts from the value of the book as a whole.

The preface makes it clear that this book is not an attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the Serbs in this century because its focus is biographical and not historical. However, there is little attempt to tie the individual biographies to the wider historical trends of the Serb nation. Although the introduction does provide a good summary of modern Serb history, a concluding chapter is definitely needed. Furthermore, the individual histories often get too bogged-down in personal details and sometimes appears to lose sight of the Serb nation itself. Rather than 'The Serbs and their Leaders in the Twentieth Century', the book reads like 'The Leaders of the Serbs in the Twentieth Century'.

The main failing of this book is the absence of the Tito era: the book skips from Mihailovic to Milosevic. While Tito was obviously not a Serb, he "significantly shaped the destiny of the Serbs" in the latter half of this century more than any other individual: he created the borders separating the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia from Serbia-proper (and thus laying the foundation for Serbia's irredentist war in the 1990s); divided Serbia itself by giving almost full autonomy to Vojvodina and Kosovo; separated Montenegro from Serbia and actively nurtured a Macedonian national identity in so-called 'South Serbia'; and his policies were the central complaint in the infamous 'Memorandum' of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences which allowed Milosevic to exploit Serb grievances against the Yugoslav state. Lenard Cohen's excellent chapter on Milosevic attempts to fill this gap, but the problem remains.

This is not a stand-alone book on the Serbs during this century, but could easily be used to supplement a wider historical approach with important biographical information.

*Thomas Ambrosio*  
*University of Virginia*

## Muslim Identity and the Balkan State

Edited by Hugh Poulton & Suha Taji-Farouki

(New York: New York University Press, 1997)  
250pp. ISBN 0-8147-8228-0.

Questions of national identity, religious or cultural belonging, citizenship and national integration, remain at the heart of an interdisciplinary quest - whether in political science, religious studies, political sociology or international relations. The Balkans have long provided one of the most acute case studies - whether in academic or policy terms. The events in the former Yugoslavia continue to bring this home to today's audience - in the process changing both the dynamics and the perception of Islam in Europe. In this timely volume, Poulton and Taji-Farouki have brought together a collection of authoritative analyses (several by Poulton himself), both thematic and country-specific. Following a chapter by Poulton on "Islam, Ethnicity and State in the Contemporary Balkans", there are case studies (sometimes more than one) on Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece (Thrace), Kosovo, Sandjak, and on Turkey's role in the Balkans and in Western Europe. The focus throughout is on the theme of identity since the collapse of communism, but the analysis is set in a historical context. It is not possible to do justice here to the richness of the different articles; suffice it perhaps to mention that, given current events in Kosovo, the chapter on the subject (Miranda Vickers and Poulton) is extremely useful, while a possible future flashpoint is examined in an excellent piece by Milan Andrejevich on Sandjak, where it becomes clear that, some similar themes notwithstanding, this case is not quite parallel with that of Bosnia, and even less so with Kosovo.

This reviewer understands that the valuable opinion survey of Macedonia, by Natasha Gaber, was adapted by the editors in some ways not to the author's liking (this explains, for instance, the use of the term FYROM throughout this article - certainly not Dr Gaber's choice!). In all of the contributions, the complex interrelationships between ethnicity, religion, nationalism and disputes over civic rights, in the changing patterns, and expressions, of identity among Muslims in the Balkans, are brought out well. Thus, the tension between Albanians and Slavs in Macedonia is shown to be more rooted in ethnicity than in religion per se - along with other more strictly political issues; the same may be said of Albania proper and Kosovo. Yet in turn, the mainly secular, 'ethnic' expression of Muslim identity might yet give way to a more explicitly Islamic mode of political discourse, in the face of "a continuation of the traditional Balkan state model of intolerance to minorities, and the attendant homogenisation", which has arguably characterised much of the region's post-communist development. The book is rounded off with a chapter considering events "After Dayton" (Poulton), bringing the story up to the beginning of 1997. A valuable addition to the literature.

*Gerd Nonneman*  
*University of Lancaster*

## **Albania: From anarchy to a Balkan identity**

Miranda Vickers & James Pettifer

(New York: New York University Press, 1997)

324pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8147-8795-9. Pb.: \$18.95, ISBN 0-8147-8794-0.

Albania is one of the most extraordinary cases of post-communist transition in former eastern Europe. In many ways it is unique, because a pure Stalinist regime survived almost unreformed until the late 1980s, because Albania is the poorest country in Europe and is regarded by development agencies on a par with African countries, and because of the particular history of clans and feuding which still colours Albania's political culture. Over these ancient strata a superficial Stalinist industrialisation and an equally superficial Western market democratisation have created a distinctive and fascinating political mix. For students of ethnicity, the fascination of Albania is that it is one of the three epicentres of the modern Albanian question in the Balkans, which is one of southeastern Europe's main current ethnic issues.

Miranda Vickers and James Pettifer are leading authorities on the political developments in Albania and the wider Albanian area, and this book which concentrates on the recent political history of Albania is essential reading for anyone who seriously wants to understand the problems of the region. The first chapters present the political history of Albania from 1985: the crisis of the one-party state after Enver Hoxha's death, the period of anarchy in 1990-1991, and the development of a broadly-based anti-communist movement and the Democratic Party's electoral victory in 1992. The next chapters go on to explore some of the main themes in Albania's recent development: the revival of religion, social and cultural changes, the question of Kosovo and of national unification, the Albanian communities in Macedonia and Montenegro, and the position of the ethnic minorities in Albania after communism, and Albania's international relations and defence. Finally concluding chapters bring the story up to date to 1996, by telling the story of the sharp political tensions between the Democratic and the Socialist Parties, the constitutional crisis and the 'stolen' elections of 1996.

Perhaps the authors have the subtitle in the wrong order. The book discusses the development of the pyramid finance schemes which ruined many Albanians, but it was written before the rebellion which plunged Albania into new anarchy. With northern Albania now effectively outside government control and used as a base by the Kosovo Liberation Army, and with political feuds and killings in Tirana having caused another change of leadership, Albania is far from stability.

This is an excellent modern political history. Taken in conjunction with Miranda Vickers' earlier history, *Albania and the Albanians*, and her more recent book, *Between Serb and Albanian: A History of Kosovo* (Hurst, 1998), it offers an essential historical perspective on the area.

*Hugh Miall*  
*University of Lancaster*

## **Conflict Prevention in the Balkans: Case studies of Kosovo and the FYR of Macedonia**

Sophia Clement

(Chaillot Papers, No. 30, West European Union Institute for Security Studies, December 1997)

77pp.

Sophia Clement's monograph on conflict prevention in the Balkans is an impressive contribution to understanding the forces for change that in February/ March 1998 once again boiled over the long simmering ethnonational cauldron in the Kosovo region of Serbia into yet another war of secession within what is euphemistically called former Yugoslav space. The author, a research fellow at the Institute for Security Studies of the WEU, skilfully unravels the tangled web of historical claims, competing ethnonational and state building agendas, and security concerns of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, Albanians and Slav Macedonians in the FYR Macedonia, Serbs in Serbia, Albanians in Albania, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Her warnings of the consequences of ignoring conflict prevention opportunities in Kosovo have proved all too prophetic.

However Clement assumed a longer fuse before the frustrations of Kosovar Albanians at state repression and international inaction would explode into increasingly bold movement terrorism than was the case. It appears that Dr. Imbrahim Rugova's nonviolent road to self-determination was substantially discredited when the 1995 Dayton negotiations that reaffirmed the Croat-Muslim federation, dealt with the issue of Eastern Slavonia in Croatia, and sent NATO in to take charge of making Bosnia and Herzegovina safe for civilian reconstruction ignored his appeal that Kosovo be included in these contact group, US, and EU international efforts at conflict resolution.

In 1996 the first round of elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina came and went. Still the international players appeared oblivious to reports that Rugova's financial support from abroad had started flowing into the pockets of a shadowy Kosovo Liberation Army. There was no international conference scheduled to discuss the Albanian Question. By 1998 seven years of good behavior reached a dead end. This strengthened Kosovar Albanian militants and supporters of the KLA.

In fairness none of this was clear when Sophia Clement published her paper in December 1997. Moreover, her analysis of the need for a more balanced use of carrots and sticks in Balkan conflict prevention and her suggestion that the WEU must get its act together vis-a-vis Kosovo and FYR Macedonia or allow the United States to take priority in what is European Security space, (p.58) continue to be on target.

This monograph presents the reality of post-cold war European security within which the boundary between domestic and international boundaries has substantially eroded. Clement also shows obstacles to conflict prevention created by proliferating institutional actors as they stake out

their turf within a European security architecture that has grown in response to crises with no blue print. Her study is a must for policy-makers and scholars of European Security. Recommended for graduate classes in international relations, European Union and Security studies, and Post-Communist Europe. Very useful for undergraduate peace studies programs, but instructors need to supply substantial background readings as well.

*Robin Remington*  
University of Missouri - Columbia

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## To End a War

Richard Holbrooke

(New York: Random House, 1998)

Hb.: \$27.95; ISBN 0-375-50057-X. Pb.: \$14.95; ISBN 0-375-75360-5.

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Richard Holbrooke's account of the Dayton Peace Accords is passionate, insightful and gracefully written. Holbrooke, a former State Department Official and Ambassador to Germany, has provided a revealing study of American diplomacy in the Balkans in 1994-95. The book contains many deft portraits of key protagonists in the Bosnian conflict such as Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudijman and Alija Izetbegovic. Holbrooke, moreover, has a good eye for diplomatic detail; the chapters on Dayton, in particular, are most interesting. The final chapter of the book contains a probing analysis of the continuing importance of American involvement in European affairs for regional stability. Despite obvious shortcomings - inherent in all memoirs - *To End a War* is must reading for policy-makers, scholars and students of the Bosnian War and ethnic conflict management.

*Ian Jackson*  
Manchester Metropolitan University

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## Emerging Democracies in East Central Europe and the Balkans, Studies of Communism in Transition

Attila Ágh

(Cheltenham, UK, Northampton, MA, Edward Elgar, 1998)  
368pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £59.95; ISBN 1-85898-817-9

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Attila Ágh is Professor and Head of the Political Science Department at the Budapest University of Economics and Director of the Hungarian Centre for Democracy Studies, Hungary, and a careful student of political change in this complex, volatile region. The heart of the book is lengthy, skillfully written sections on the Central European success stories: Poland (The Early Comer), Hungary (The Long Transition), and the Czech and

Slovak Republics (The Velvet Transformation). And the less-successful: Yugoslavia (The Disintegration of...) Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania.

This book is like a Baedeker's guide through the recent politics of East Central Europe and the Balkans. The main roads are there, the distances between them carefully measured, the political parties enumerated, and movements toward parliamentary democracy chronicled with precision and astute analysis. And like such a guide, one can thumb through succinct passages on the growth and decline of Solidarity in Poland, the role of Vaclav Havel in the Czech Republic, and of free elections and the emergence of the National Assembly in Hungary. A skillfully-written narrative could have gained from a wider discussion of the role played by the constitutional courts in each of these countries, as described in works like Mark Brzezinski's, *The Struggle for Constitutionalism in Poland* (St. Martin's: New York, 1998). At several key points it is hesitant (but who but outsiders or village square analysts dare make general statements about Central Europe?). Example: in the concluding section the role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe is described as being "rather successful" in places. In reality, OSCE has become a late Hapsburg Empire Viennese bureaucracy *mit schlag* "institutionalized with a secretariat, and control mechanisms such as a conflict-prevention centre in Vienna and an election-monitoring centre in Warsaw" (p. 306). Alas, the pooled resources of the conflict prevention centre could not resolve a bar room brawl on the Kärntnerring and the election-monitoring capacities of the Warsaw-based Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights remain in their infancy a decade later, despite the glittering hopes and admirable proposals laid out in the 1990 Charter of Paris.

The book does not discuss ethnic issues, except tangentially, nor does it treat conflict resolution, and the proliferation of conflict resolution mechanisms that have sprung up like mushrooms in the soil of post-Communist times. There is a reason for this: in my view, most such efforts will not succeed because they are cut off from the sources of power which can effectively deal with conflict. One needs a Richard Holbrooke, backed by troops, money, and diplomatic clout, rather than a social anthropologist (part of my professional training was in anthropology) to broker the agonizing issues the author cites. It is fairly easy to negotiate, as anyone who has ever bargained for trinkets in a Central European marketplace knows, and the social, ethnic, religious, gender, historical, attitudinal, and geographic components of any conflict need to be identified and made part of the power dynamics of international negotiation. But absent their inclusion by the power brokers, these insights wither on the vine, the neutered subjects of a hundred marginal research studies. Ágh's book, however, is not among them. It is a sturdy work, of real value to the traveller who makes a political voyage through today's East central Europe.

*Frederick Quinn*  
Chevy Chase, MD.

## The Search for Stability in Russia and the Former Soviet Bloc

Edited by David Carlton & Paul Ingram

(Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1997)

215pp. Index. Hb.: £39.50; ISBN 1-85521-897-6.

The reviewed book is a collection of essays by leading Western and Russian scholars and commentators. Although the contributions vary in their theoretical depth, practical insight and writing style, together they make a rather coherent and interesting book focused on the painful search for stability in post-Communist countries of the Former USSR and Eastern Europe. Topics range from broad theoretical analysis of regime transition to discussion of the current state of science in Russia. One of the popular themes is the rise of ethnic nationalism. Some chapters deal exclusively with this phenomenon. A number of chapters examine the external factors of stability and conflict resolution. While most of the essays concentrate on processes at the institutional level, Rita Rogers' essay deals primarily with the psychological and human aspects of adaptation to post-Communist realities.

The chapters in the book complement each other through originality of perspectives and arguments. In other cases theoretical assumptions by one of the authors are elaborated by another contributor. Sondra and Stephen Koff refer, for example, to a major disagreement over the issue of comparability of regime transitions in Eastern Europe and Russia. Georgi Arbatov believes there are strong reasons which allow to regard all post-communist countries in Eastern Europe and FSU as an entity, united by some similarities and common problems. His argument that economic reform has not destabilized any of these countries but nor has it enhanced their stability looks even more provocative and debatable in the context of current economic crisis in Russia.

Chapters 11 and 12 present two rather different perspectives on the role of NATO in post-Cold War security arrangements in Europe. Alexander Nikitin is critical of NATO activities and sceptical about its peacekeeping potential. Lamberto Zannier, on the other hand, praises NATO's adaptation to the new political and security environment.

Discussion of ethnic issues is of particular interest. Andrus Park distinguishes three broad categories responsible for the upsurge of nationalism and ethnic tensions: general (universal), pre-communist and specific communist-related causes. One of his conclusions is that nationalism can be constructive and can contribute to democracy. Alexei Vasilyev explains ethnic nationalism as a phenomenon growing from political immaturity, lack of democratic traditions and application of Bolshevik methods.

Unfortunately, the book contains some errors and inaccuracies, such as confusion over the status of Nakhichevan (pp. 172-173). Overall the reviewed book is a very informative, comprehensive and entertaining work of considerable theoretical and practical value. It is particularly relevant in the context of new instabilities caused by the Russian financial crisis of August 1998.

*Rouben Azizian*  
*University of Auckland*

## Beyond the Soviet Union: The fragmentation of power

Edited by Max Beloff

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997)

285pp. Index. £42.50; ISBN 1-85521-911-5.

The main subject of this edited volume is the disintegration of the Soviet Union, although there are also chapters on the collapse of Communism in central Europe. All of the chapters are reprints of papers previously published in the *Conflict Studies* series of the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism. The papers were written between 1989 and 1995. The topics addressed in the chapters are broad, ranging from a discussion of the attempts to reform the Soviet economy in late 1980s, through the political role of the Soviet military, an examination of the dispute over the political status of the Crimea, and the sources of conflict in Chechnya.

Most of the papers contained within the volume were originally written in response to rapidly unfolding events in the former Soviet bloc and, with a few exceptions, rereading these chapters offers little to contemporary understanding of the events and processes that precipitated Soviet disintegration. Indeed, the purpose of uniting such an eclectic set of essays in one volume is rather elusive. Despite valiant efforts by the editor to develop themes uniting the different papers, at best the impression left by the book is of a series of only slightly interconnected vignettes that touch upon the conflicts within the post-communist world.

This is not to say that some of the essays are not interesting and well written. Dominic Lieven, for example, offers a valuable comparison of the Soviet collapse and other cases of imperial decline. As a whole, however, the volume fails to shed much light on the 'disintegration of power'.

Given the limitations of such a volume in terms of what it can tell us about the fragmentation of the Soviet Union, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the book is the light it sheds upon prevailing western interpretations of the events as they unfolded in the Soviet bloc and how western specialists struggled to make sense of these events.

*Neil Melvin*  
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## The Tatars of Crimea: Return to the homeland

Edited by Edward A. Allworth

(London: Duke University Press, 1998)

Hb.: £56.95; ISBN 0-8223-1985-3. Pb.: £17.95; ISBN 0-8223-1994-2.

This second edition is refreshing for its integration of primary sources, perspectives of Crimean Tatar authors, and western scholarship together in a collection that spans across key issues in the complexities of nationality.

Allworth's opening chapter explores the self-identification of Crimean Tatars, describing an identity both challenged by its twentieth century history of hardship under Soviet authorities, and strengthened through the community's memory of hardships overcome. This sets the stage for examining the cultural survival of Crimean Tatars. Fisher surveys Ismail Gaspirali's important contributions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the rejuvenation of Turkic peoples through education. Lazzarini builds on Fisher's piece to explore the implications of Gaspirali's ideology which challenged both Russian imperial power and Islamic cultural hegemony as he attempted to bring Russians and Muslims closer together. Kirimca highlights the importance of the Crimean Tatar cultural leaders of the generation following Gaspirali's, arguing that these poets' patriotic songs contributed to a cultural symbolism that enabled the group's survival through adversarial conditions. Gulum reinforces this argument by detailing the importance of music, folklore, theater and dance as cultural rituals. Finally, Altan concludes the section by highlighting the significance of family, both within Crimean Tatar culture and as an institution for cultural survival.

Seytmuratova begins the section on the exile from Crimea with a moving autobiographical account of her own and other Crimean Tatar movement leaders' activities in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's. Through an analysis of the trials of some of these activists, Allworth places the Soviet Crimean Tatar policies in the context of an overall Soviet nationalities policy. Finally, Reddaway closes the section on responses to exile by comparing the Crimean Tatar repatriation movement with other contemporaneous national movements in the Soviet Union.

Allworth then opens the final section on return to the Crimea with a thoughtful consideration of the meaning of homelands for ethnic groups generally and Crimean Tatars in particular. Wilson presents a detailed account of Crimean Tatar politics since 1989 noting the tensions between a more pragmatic and more radical agenda. Eren completes this survey of Crimean Tatars as he describes the relations between émigré Crimean Tatars in the West and those that have returned from Soviet exile to Crimea. As throughout the volume, relevant documents add primary sources to these arguments.

Susan Allen Nan  
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## Race and British Electoral Politics

Edited by Shamit Sagar

(London: UCL Press/Taylor & Francis Group, 1998)

290pp. Index. ISBN hb. 1-85728-829-7. Pb.: £13. 95; ISBN 1-85728-830-0.

During the 'long campaign' prior to the 1997 British General Election politicians from the major parties demonstrated their belief that a last-minute visit to a temple, or a carefully arranged photo-opportunity with a group of young black children, would prove sufficient to capture what is erroneously termed the 'ethnic vote'. For nearly twenty-five years Labour and Conservative politicians appear to have been transfixed by the notion that ethnic minority communities can be courted *en bloc*, and the notion has persisted that African Caribbean's are natural Labour-voters, whilst many sections of the Asian community are more inclined towards the Conservatives. Given the persistence of such common-sense assumptions this collection provides a timely review of a wide range of issues relating to the position of minority ethnic groups in British electoral politics.

The chapters gathered together by Shamit Sagar focus on three broad levels. First is the direct role that minority groups have played in electoral terms. Sagar provides an excellent analysis of key questions and assumptions which have dogged political and academic discussion in this field. Most importantly he argues that the simplistic understanding of the 'ethnic vote' needs to be reconsidered in order to afford recognition to the complexity of the various communities whose politics are not always centred around ethnicity. The second area of analysis turns to the relation of political parties to ethnic and racial issues. Paul Rich provides a timely account of developments within the Tory Party and the impact that the reactionary 'Little Englanders' are likely to have. Kalib Shukra continues by analysing the impact the repositioning of the Labour Party is likely to have on ethnic minorities who have been attracted by the parties commitment to antiracism and equal opportunities. Andrew Geddes considers the crucial factor of candidate selection, a factor sometimes described as the main obstacle to black or Asian people wishing to become councillors or MPs.

The final part of the book considers ethnic minority members, activists and candidates. Divisions within the Labour Party during the 1980s over 'Black Sections' and the 1992 controversy of the Conservative Party reaction to John Taylor's candidature in Cheltenham indicate how significant racial and ethnic issues have been to the internal development of the main parties. As several contributors to this text indicate, the repositioning of new Labour is the most obvious example of the manner of the shifting axis of party politics in Britain, changes which make the future position and role of ethnic minorities difficult to predict - this book, however, provides interesting analysis of the background against which such developments will occur.

Mike Rowe  
Leicester University

## Imaging Home: Gender, 'race' and national identity, 1945-64

Wendy Webster

(London: UCL Press, 1998) Distributed by Taylor & Francis.  
240pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 1-85728-350-3. Pb.: £12.95; ISBN  
85728-351-1.

This book deals with an important 'moment' in British history, one in which the government purposefully recruited principally black labour from its former colonies in Africa and the Caribbean to help 'kick start' its ailing economy in the post war period. A time when the consolidation of the construction of home as white and alien as black even when many migrants were, or had been, British subjects. The latter category was not exclusively defined by the colour of a person's skin but essentially included Irish migrants, most from Northern Ireland, who themselves might contest their status as British citizens. Interweaving a complex web of oral narratives and life writing, the author discloses the significance of multiple racism and its impact on the lives of black women migrants. Moreover, she considers the disempowerment of all women in the post war period when the reconstruction of gender relations involved new representations of the 'good' woman, wife and mother to which all women should aspire. In the revelation of a poignant and inspired oral history Webster explores the ways in which these representations reinforced categories of black and white reflected in race discourse in Britain at that time. A discourse in which black women were the other, alien and thus by inference 'bad' and as such would could never really 'belong' and achieve full citizenship in Post War Britain.

Webster, by allowing the women to 'speak' through her, offers a rare insight into the struggle of black women in British society to empower themselves in a "hierarchy of belonging which was not only raced but also gendered" (p. 27). These female migrants had been 'chosen' to migrate to Britain as workers and the majority of them were also mothers. In the post war period 'good mothers' stayed at home but for all immigrants finding a home at all was a Herculean task. The socio-economic 'apartheid' existing in Britain at this time conspired against black women who, with their families, endured living in cramped conditions, low status, low pay employment hovering on the boundaries of the poverty line. In Chapter five, for example, Webster considers perceptions of the 'good home', the official scrutinising of black women as mothers and home makers using 'white' standards, and the motherhood mandate which was concerned with facilitating white 'indigenous' women's reproduction while limiting black women's reproduction. The good home, as all else, was raced. Throughout the book the personal narratives of women reveal the extent and nature of their struggle to claim a new identity and a sense of belonging in a classist, racist society that used all the means at its disposal to deny immigrants full citizenship. It was under such conditions that Webster argues:

Home was thus important in black women's resistance to the range of meanings of 'you couldn't get places to stay' - that there was no place for black people in Britain, that they were rootless and transient, that black women were required as workers but had no domestic or familial identity or life.(p. 181).

This book demystifies many aspects of black women's experience in Post War Britain but its major contribution, in my view, is the underlying critique of the construction of a British national identity and its implications for race relations in contemporary Britain. The rich textured canvas of the narratives of Webster and her subjects in the journey from personal disempowerment to relative empowerment becomes a sad but fitting reminder of the legacy of history. In its own way, a tribute to the untold stories of the thousands of 'dusky problem babies' that, in the immediate post war period, 'were shipped to America in a specially chartered liner...[to] save them from growing up social misfits and from possible stigma' (p.19).

*Yvonne Corcoran-Nantes*  
*The Flinders University of South Australia*

## I am of Ireland: Women of the north speak out

Elizabeth Shannon

(Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997)  
Distributed by the Eurospan Group  
278pp. Bibl. Pb.: £16.00; ISBN 1-55849-102-3

Although men have been the most direct victims of the Troubles in Northern Ireland in terms of numbers killed, there have been too many images of women standing at gravesides or regularly visiting prisons to suggest that only men have suffered. In a series of interviews with women across Northern Ireland, from both sides of the sectarian divide and from the working and middle classes, *I am of Ireland* attempts to provide what the Troubles has meant for women and why they have remained in the background of the political arena in this country. In the introduction Shannon claims she wanted to write about women because to her, Northern Ireland was like "a secret society for men. They belong to all male clubs, invent childlike mysterious handshakes, march to loud drumbeats...and try to find solutions to he problems that they and men of previous generations have created."(p.4) Surely Northern Ireland is not unique in this sense.

The book is really the story of Shannon's travels throughout Northern Ireland, in 1986 and 1987, interviewing women with wide-ranging experiences of the Troubles. Shannon aims to shatter the stereotype of Irish women as voiceless and powerless and I think to a large degree she has succeeded in portraying these women as strong and passionate people. The chapters are based around a number of issues, which for many in Northern Ireland are now familiar accounts of the

Troubles. For example women in West Belfast talk about internment and the difficulties of raising children in militarised areas. Shannon speaks to women who lost homes and businesses in sectarian attacks, widows learning to live without husbands and fathers for their children and wives and partners coping alone while their men are imprisoned for long periods of time. For many of the women Shannon interviewed the Troubles have influenced, impacted and indeed shattered their lives.

The majority of the interviews are from nationalist women and it becomes obvious the author is more sympathetic to the nationalist position. While these stories are very moving and poignant, I feel the author failed to incorporate the views of a cross section of women. There is only one chapter dedicated to explaining the perspective of Protestant women on the conflict. Most of the Protestant interviews are with well known political figures like Iris Robinson, Ethel Smyth and Lady Faulkner. There is only one interview with a working class Protestant woman who was wrongly charged with leading a riot in Lenadoon in Belfast. This is my criticism of the book. If only she had included more Protestant interviews, others could have the opportunity to read and learn just how common the problems are.

The book takes a typical North American outsider perspective on the conflict. The first chapter in the book deals with a tale of three cities, Belfast, Derry and Portadown. Shannon visited Portadown on the 12 July and was a spectator at the traditional Orange parade which she described as boring and bleak, with the Falls Road in Belfast described as having a “special kind of down-at-the heels charm, a sense of neighbourhood of kinship and tribal loyalty” (p.24). In Derry many of the interviews are with prominent Nationalist and Republican women with only one Protestant interview with a former Mayoress, Marlene Jefferson, a liberal Unionist. This chapter set the tone for the rest of the book and the author certainly seemed more relaxed in nationalist areas.

The interviews emphasise why women in Northern Ireland have remained outside politics. They have in many respects carried the heavy burden of child-rearing, managing the home and providing support to unemployed husbands, who spend most of their time watching television or drinking in bars. The time and space to have a political career does not exist for many women. However the birth and development of the Women’s Coalition has given encouragement and confidence for women to enter this male dominated arena and have their opinions heard. Shannon concluded by claiming the “ultimate feminist goal in Northern Ireland should be to create unity among the women there and common voice that refutes terrorism as a way of life” (p.249). The Women’s Coalition may well deliver this goal.

*Marie Therese Fay*  
*Cost of the Troubles study, Belfast*

## **Divided Society: Ethnic minorities and racism in Northern Ireland**

Edited by Paul Hainsworth

(London: Pluto Press, 1998)  
270 pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0745311962. Pb.:  
£14.99; ISBN 0745311954.

There is scarcely a serious student of ethnic and race relations who will fail to profit intellectually from reading this book. Concerned, as it is, with the five largest of Northern Ireland’s small ethnic minority communities (Chinese, Travellers, Indians, Pakistanis and Jews), *Divided Society* provides a plethora of insights into the economic, social and political condition of the territory’s 20,000 ethnic minority residents. Although diverse, the 11 essays within this edited volume are united by three central themes. First, contrary to the conventional wisdom, ethnic and racial discrimination and neglect are serious and pervasive problems within Northern Irish society. Second, ethnic minority group experiences in Northern Ireland have been historically structured by the sectarian conflict that divides the majority white population. And finally, the social conflict and violence that have afflicted Northern Ireland since the onset of ‘the troubles’ more than thirty years ago have politically marginalized the difficulties and concerns of its ethnic minority populations. As its editor, Paul Hainsworth’s explicit purpose in *Divided Society* is to illuminate these submerged issues and grievances.

Part one of *Divided Society* focuses upon issues of race relations, politics, law, policing, health and media coverage that are especially pertinent to Northern Ireland’s ‘hidden’ minorities. One of the more interesting contributions within this section is the essay, “The International Context” (chapter 3), by Brice Dickson and Mark Bell that charts the influence of international law on local efforts to protect minority rights and to outlaw discrimination. Part two, in contrast, offers separate case studies of Northern Ireland’s five ethnic minority groups, the largest of which is the Chinese community with approximately 7,000 persons. The respective essays in this section by Watson and McKnight, Noonan, Irwin, Donnan and O’Brien and Warm convey the impression of a hierarchy of economic opportunity and social incorporation among Northern Ireland’s ethnic minorities. On the basis of their accounts, the Indian population is the best and the Travellers the least well incorporated of the five ethnic minority groups.

Although one could criticize the editor and authors of *Divided Society* for failing to do more to locate their subject within the broad theoretical literature on ethnic and racial minorities in the advanced industrial societies, to do so would be unfair. Rather, as its editor intended, the central purpose of *Divided Society* is to illuminate its hitherto much neglected subject. On this score, it succeeds unambiguously.

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*Tufts University*

## Social Attitudes in Northern Ireland: the 7th report

Edited by Gillian Robinson et. al.

(Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998)  
208pp. Hb.: ISBN 1-84014-094-1.

This book is the seventh and last, in a series of social attitudes surveys in Northern Ireland that began in 1991. The format has remained largely the same and the series has been an invaluable resource for social scientists. This volume makes good use of the 1996 Northern Ireland social attitudes survey to gather data on an eclectic grouping of social issues such as community relations and trust in the political process.

The volume begins with that hoary old chestnut of community relations, which has been the backbone of the whole series and encapsulates the strengths and weaknesses of the format. Authors Joanne Hughes and Paul Carmichael make good use of comparisons between the 1989 and 1996 data to suggest that there is room for cautious optimism that community relations have improved over the period. While the authors make good use of the data, they are not quite sure what the figures mean, concluding; "When asked the question 'Have community relations improved?', it is really difficult to provide a definitive 'yes' or 'no'." (p.16) While it is fair to assume that the readers are mature enough to make their own judgement about this using the data provided, this chapter illustrates the limitations of the whole volume as an analytical tool. Essentially, it provides a snapshot of public opinion which can be compared with other snapshots, allowing core themes such as community relations to be examined longitudinally. However, it is not made clear whether the 1996 survey was carried out before or after Drumcree II, when community tensions reached a particular peak. This timing is clearly relevant for other chapters in the book, such as Martin Melaugh's 'Belief and Trust in the Political Process'. This relates to another problem, which is that the authors are expected to use data from 1996 to extrapolate beyond it to bring the story up to date. So, to take the chapter on community relations as an example, while comparisons of the data sets from 1989 and 1996 'indicate a discernible shift towards greater tolerance and mutual understanding', (p.1) the author's qualitative observations do not substantiate their own quantitative findings. 'Arguably Northern Ireland is becoming more, rather than less polarised. As the summers of 1995, 1996 and 1997 attest, beneath the veneer of improving relations and emerging harmony, many of the old prejudices, suspicions and hatreds remain.' (p.17) The point here is that there is some tension between the data set gathered in 1996 and the book which is published in 1998. This is not to underestimate the value of the data, which will be of great use to social scientists interested in Northern Ireland. It would also be unrealistic to expect such a major survey to be constantly updated. The point is that this book can best be appreciated if it is used as a companion to other sources, especially the previous volumes in the series, and more recent survey evidence, rather than as a stand-alone publication. As such, it is an important addition to the academic literature on Northern Ireland.

Feargal Cochrane  
University of Lancaster

## Getting Around Brown: Desegregation, development and the Columbus public schools

Gregory S. Jacobs

(Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998)  
291pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$45.00; ISBN 0-8142-0720-0. Pb.:  
\$16.95; ISBN 0-8142-0721-9.

In 1896 the US Supreme Court set the 'separate but equal' criterion thereby legalising the segregation of Blacks and Whites. For the next 50 years civil rights groups fought the apartheid system which developed, most notably through separate schools, in most Southern states of the old confederacy and Washington DC. In 1954 the battle was won with the landmark Brown versus Board of Education decision which ruled that separate facilities were inherently unequal. Implementing Brown in the South was, of course, difficult, but, in time, progress was achieved. It was not until the 1968 Kerner Commission Report that attention shifted towards the Northern states. Here the level of segregation was almost as high, but on a *de facto* rather than *de jure* basis. In the event, desegregation in the North proved to be more intractable than in the South. This book, a case study of schools in Columbus, Ohio, explains why this was so.

Historically the public schools in Columbus, Ohio, had been segregated largely as a consequence of residency. The 1970s onwards was marked by an increasingly bitter struggle between those who sought to desegregate the public schools and those who fought against any practical measure to achieve this end. The single measure around which most conflict revolved was that of bussing.

The story which emerges in the book is one of frustration, struggle, success but ultimate failure. Bussing attempted to break the relationship between residency and schooling, but failed as the, largely White, public- and private-sector power-brokers of the city literally changed the ground rules. Jurisdictional change meant that 40 per cent of 'Columbus' was redefined as falling within suburban school districts, separate and distinct from the City school system. The virtual end of any single-family real estate development in the city proper exacerbated economic inequalities and reinforced racial patterns of residency. Bussing had been intended to transform the relation between housing and schools, but instead it severed the link.

The book concludes on a downbeat note. A radical solution is proposed, but is acknowledged to be politically inconceivable. Forty-four years after Brown desegregation in Northern cities has still not been achieved. Segregation there may have been *de facto* rather than *de jure*, but the lesson of the book is that it was not by accident: segregation was achieved and maintained by design. Brown's undoubted success has been in challenging public discrimination, but privatised discrimination has proved to be a more elusive target.

Tony Gallagher  
Queen's University of Belfast

## Indians in the United States and Canada: A comparative history

Roger L Nichols

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998)  
383pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8032-3341-8.

This book is an abridged history of Indian-White conflict in the United States and Canada from the early 16th Century to the 1990s. Nichols looks at the myriad European contestants - Dutch, Spanish, English and French - who vied for Indian lands, allies, souls, and resources. He, or of course, also looks at the myriad Indian nations who allied themselves with competing European powers. Yet despite shrewd tribal negotiations and manipulations of the invading Europeans, all Indians ultimately lost a lot of their sovereignty and power.

The book is divided into 11 chapters along with maps, notes, and a selected bibliography. The chapters span the five centuries of Anglo expansion in the New World.

Nichols has an ambitious research agenda: he chooses to write a comparative history which spans over 500 years. He does not adopt a particular theoretical orientation to tell his story. Rather, the emphasis is on getting the facts straight, retelling 'what happened', and making comparisons to what happened in both the US and Canada. He also makes some comparisons between regions: however, the reader has to draw some of those comparisons out of his data. For example, he discusses the Spanish and Indian encounter in the Southeast and the Southwest. Why were Spanish objectives foiled in the Southeast yet seemingly successful in the Southwest? The summary and conclusions chapter should be broadened to include such comparisons along with some sort of unifying theoretical perspective as to what happened to the Native People on the North American continent and why.

Nichols does a good job of synthesizing an amazing amount of material about so many cultural regions over such a long expanse of time. Where he falls short is in cramming so much history into just a few pages of text. Nichols also relies upon just a few pages of text. Nichols also relies upon just a few bibliographic sources (well-chosen but not complete) for each cultural region. Further, not all regions (e.g., the Northwest Coast, California, the Great Basin) are given equal weighting.

Despite these short-comings, the book is highly recommended. He is able to present complicated regional histories in a readable style; Nichols provides a much-needed 'scorecard' to figure out who is allied to whom and why at any given time (see for example, his discussion of Southeastern politics in the 17th and 18th centuries on pages 91-107). He also examines the different missionaries, their styles and Indian perceptions of them. He looks at European, then American and Canadian education and legal systems and their impact on the native peoples. He provides a good summary of legislative and other developments

during the 19th and 20th century (e.g., US Dawes Act, US Termination Act, US and Canadian Indian participation in WWI and II, Canadian perceptions of its native people, pan tribalism etc.). Overall, I would recommend the book as a concise history to Indian-white relations in North America.

Laurie Weinstein  
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## Building Democracy in Latin America

John Peeler

(Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998) Distributed by The Eurospan Group.  
240pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £43.95; ISBN 1-55587-758-3.

*Building Democracy in Latin America* is an excellent work that synthesizes an extensive literature on democratic transitions in 'early democracies', 'later democracies', and 'authoritarian regimes'. Peeler focuses on how structural forces affect the choices, actions, and alliances of democratic transitions. He makes a strong case for social democracy as an ethical imperative in Latin America and is critical of neoliberalism and growing inequality. Though aware of current indigenous movements and of historical indigenous and black revolts as forms of popular resistance that contributed to democracy in Latin America, Peeler's discussion is very limited on issues of race and ethnic conflict. Indigenous groups are hardly mentioned in the incomplete transition to democracy in Paraguay, Guatemala or in Chiapas, Mexico. Although mentioned, there is no analysis of the program or organization of the indigenous Tupac Katari Revolutionary Liberation Movement in Bolivia.

There is even less attention given to race and democratic transitions. In describing the 1996 election in the Dominican Republic, Peeler omits any mention of how Francisco Peña Gomez was pejoratively labelled by his opponents as the son of Haitians to refer to both his blackness and to his not being really Dominican. Mention is made of the guaranteed representation accorded indigenous groups and blacks in the Constituent Assembly of Colombia elected in December of 1990. There is no analysis of the role these groups played in the Assembly. Race, ethnicity, and democratization in Brazil are not explored.

These omissions reflect the analytical focus on elites and elite pacts in democratic development. Nonetheless, that race and ethnicity play such limited roles in the political calculations of these elites speaks volumes about the marginality of indigenous peoples and blacks especially in Latin American countries where they are numerous.

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## **The Puerto Rican Movement, Voices from the Diaspora**

Edited by Andrés Torres & José E  
Velázquez

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)  
381pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$69.95; ISBN 1-56639-617-4. Pb.:  
\$24.95; ISBN 1-56639-618-2.

The editors of this book make the bold assertion that their anthology represents the “most comprehensive assessment yet of the experience of the Puerto Rican movement in the United States” (p. xii). While some of the chapters of the anthology are better written than others, and some offer more compelling evidence to the editor’s claim than others, the book on the whole succeeds on many fronts.

The context of the book, the history of Puerto Rico and its often tumultuous relationship with the United States, is a fascinating one. During the mid-nineteenth century, most Spanish colonies in Latin America achieved their independence from Spain. Although an independence movement emerged in Puerto Rico during this period, the island remained under Spanish control. As a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Spain ceded its colonial territory in Latin America and the Caribbean (including Puerto Rico) to the United States. As Puerto Rico went from Spanish colonial domination to U.S. control, its citizens obtained some of the rights of U.S. citizens, such as the right to be drafted into the armed forces, but not others, such as the right to vote in Federal elections. Estimates indicate that up to one half of the population of Puerto Rico currently lives in the United States.

The book tells the story of the Puerto Rican movement of the late 1960s up until the early 1980s. The Puerto Rican movement is unique among other radical movements during the late 1960s in the United States, such as the Black Panther or Chicano movements. While the latter movements focused exclusively on conditions in the U.S., the Puerto Rican movement had two goals: independence for the island of Puerto Rico and rights for Puerto Ricans in the United States. Many of the chapters of the anthology offer interesting explanations of how these dual goals intersected to become at times powerful rallying cries for the movement, but also served to cause much dissension and confusion among groups within the movement.

The most fascinating parts of the book are those in which the authors, who are all direct participants in the movement, are able to shed some light on the complexity of the issues involved, and the motivations of the participants themselves. The main shortcoming of the book is that at times, the various authors fall into the trap of offering too many details as to the names of people involved, or names of people who should have been involved, or should not have, depending on the perspectives given. However, despite the minor shortcoming, the book offers a comprehensive treatment of an often ignored social movement in the United States.

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## **Exchanging our Country Marks: The transformation of African identities in the colonial and antebellum south**

Michael A. Gomez

(Chapel Hill, NC.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998)  
370pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £33.95; ISBN 0-8078-2387-2. Pb.:  
£14.50; 0-8078-4694-5.

The issue of African influence on the formation of African-American identity and culture is not only a subject for academic enquiry; it is also a politically important topic. The retrieval of the African past has been seen in recent decades as an important element in creating a more confident African-American identity, an identity which, like European-American ethnic identities, can identify with a real existing place and a distinctive cultural heritage rather than simply with ‘race’.

The book begins with a chapter introducing the main themes of the book while the second chapter provides a short history of the slave trade. Three of the following four chapters deal with particular African regions while one of them deals with Muslim Africans who were taken into slavery in North America. The last chapters deal with language, class, and religion. The author devotes a lot of space in the chapters dealing with particular African regions to describing the politics, the ethnic make-up, and history of the main areas from which slaves were taken during the period of the slave trade. The great bulk of the detail is drawn from secondary sources. This in itself is an interesting and useful exercise. However, the attempts to link this material to the extensive work which has been done on the survival of African culture and religion in North America are not particularly successful. *Exchanging our Country Marks* aims to make an important contribution to the understanding of the importance of diverse African ethnic identities in contributing to a shared African-American identity. Much work has been done in this area in recent years and overall *Exchanging our Country Marks* does not seem to add a great deal to the existing work. The most important new primary source which the author makes use of are newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves. These are interesting in their specification of the ethnicity of slaves but are not used to great effect in tracing the influence or distribution of particular ethnic groups.

There is a fascinating topic at the heart of *Exchanging our Country Marks*; the question of how, under particular historical circumstances, people speaking a huge variety of languages, from dozens of different ethnic backgrounds, from places hundreds or thousands of miles apart, united only by the nebulous concept of race, could develop a new shared identity. In one sense the experience of African-American identity formation argues for the infinite dissolubility of ethnic group ties. The experience of African-Americans also reinforces the arguments that legal constructs such as ‘race’, employed by sovereign states, can play a powerful role in determining self-identification.

*Niall O Dochartaigh*  
National University of Ireland - Galway

## Borderless Borders: U.S. Latinos, Latin Americans, and the paradox of interdependence

Edited by Frank Bonilla et. al.

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)

290pp. Index. Hb.: \$69.95; ISBN 1-56639-619-0; Pb.: \$22.95; ISBN 1-56639-620-4.

*Borderless Borders* addresses themes ranging from the construction of a Latino identity to globalization through an inter-disciplinary approach. The volume begins with essays addressing globalization and interdependence. The next two sections treat the changing identities of Latino groups and how a 'Latino' identity can be problematic. Edwin Meléndez's essay points to successes of community-based development strategies for Latino urban neighbourhoods such as housing and employment programmes and the role small businesses can play in community life. His reflections offer concrete ideas for local activism and economic development. Gerald Torres' essay, searching for the legacy of conquest and discovery in the Americas, proves problematic. He categorizes ethnic and racial categories as 'faux' or 'true', uses the term 'Indian' to lump together both Mayans and Mapuche and ignores the colonial Spanish categorizations of race, accepting the nationalist construct of mestizo as a constant. The final section of the book, calling for inter-disciplinary coordination among the social sciences and for the increasing integration of Latino and Latin American Studies, caters to specialists in the field only.

As a reader I had three expectations which remained unfulfilled. First, I hoped that the essays would offer concrete policy suggestions and community strategies. While the fourth part of the book was supposed to 'redefine... methods for collective action to influence policy outcomes' (p.3) only Meléndez's and Jeremy Brecher's essays met those expectations. My second expectation was that this volume would examine ethnicities beyond the obvious national label. Migrants from Mexico, for instance, come from both the mega-city of Mexico and the green mountains of Oaxaca. While the official myth calls all Mexicans 'mestizos', in an attempt to unite the disparate groups, scholars should delve beyond this nationalistic facade to understand how ethnic and racial relationships from the home country are manifested in the host country. My third hope was that an inter-disciplinary volume would include a historical perspective. Silvio Torres-Saillant's essay, examining Dominican immigration and identities within the context of the relationship between the U.S. and the Dominican Republic, stands out as the only contribution with a historical perspective. With the exception of Torres-Saillant and a brief aside by María de los Angeles Torres, the contributions understand history to begin in 1960. Transnationalism is not a new phenomena, though the means by which populations are transnational have changed. Investigations of transnationalism generally would benefit from a longer-term outlook and ignorance of history is not limited to *Borderless Borders*.

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## Return of Guatemala's Refugees: Reweaving the torn

Clark Taylor

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)

228pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$59.95; ISBN 1-56639-621-2. Pb.: \$19.95; ISBN 1-56639-622-0.

The brutal conditions inflicted upon Guatemala's overwhelmingly indigenous population during the 1980s and early 1990s, was an often neglected story in our mainstream media. In the early 1980s, hundreds of villages were razed and hundreds of thousands civilians, mostly indigenous rural people, were killed as part of the government's 'Scorched Earth' campaign to eliminate an insurgent armed resistance. More than a million people (1/10 of the total Guatemalan population) were displaced during this period, and 200,000 people fled to Mexico.

By the mid 1990s, more than 30,000 refugees had returned to Guatemala under the terms of the 1992 peace accords. This book is a case study of the community of Santa Maria Tzeja in the Ixcán region of Guatemala, and its experience of 'reweaving' itself back together in the mid-1990s. The author focuses his study on two particular areas: the challenges facing the community with the return of families from Mexico; and the difference in experiences between those who fled to Mexico and those who stayed in the community under the tight control of the Guatemalan army.

The case study offers a fascinating glance at the complex issues involved in the process of trying to build a community after ten years of military occupation. It also illustrates the diverse interests of the principal players in the community: the inhabitants of the community who chose to stay; the returning refugees; the 'nuevos', or newcomers brought in by the army to take over vacated land; and the international players, such as NGOs and, in particular, members of a U.S. church group led by the author who have been forging ties with the community since 1997.

It is important to recognize the motivation and target audience of this book. As mentioned above, the author is part of the Needham Congregational Church. A strong undercurrent running throughout the book is that the commitment of people like himself and his church group are required for the successful rebuilding of Guatemalan society after thirty-six years of civil war. The author thus seeks to have this story serve as a primer for other 'people of the developed world'. In fact, the last chapter of the book explains how to become involved in the support of the Guatemalan peace process, and provides a list of U.S.-based organizations dedicated to the support of Guatemalans. However, the necessity of outside support, which is taken as axiomatic by the author, is certainly deserving of a more critical examination.

In spite of its one-dimensional view on the role of the international community in the Guatemalan peace process, the book does provide an interesting window to the complexity of issues currently facing Guatemalans, particularly the indigenous populations, whose lives were dramatically altered by the civil war.

Heather McPhail  
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## **Between Race and Empire: African-Americans and Cubans before the Cuban Revolution**

Lisa Brock and Digna Castaneda Furetes

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)  
298pp. Index. Hb.: \$59.95; ISBN 1-56639-586-0. Pb.: \$22.95;  
ISBN 1-56639-587-9.

The rich and complex relationship between Afro-Americans and Afro-Cubans is the theme of the eleven essays gathered in this charming volume. The book by focusing on two sets of peoples not in state power expands our understanding of the role of marginal peoples in history. This collection, edited by a black Cuban and a black American, traces the neglected relationship between Cubans and African Americans from the abolitionist era to the Cuban revolution in 1959. The relationship between Cubans and North American blacks is symbolized by such poignant examples of brotherhood as the name chosen by the black baseball team to rise to prominence. In the United States was the Cuban Giants founded in Long Island, New York in 1885 (p. 169).

The strength of this anthology is that it explores this relationship from 'below'. The essays focus on music, poetry, literature, and sports as the means which two peoples of color were able to express their uniqueness and develop their parallel race consciousness. The book heightens our appreciation of the similarity in the Cuban North American black experience, mainly the trauma of slavery and the struggle for political power. While, at the same time, reminding us of the vast differences in attitude toward race between Cuba and the United States. As one contributor to this volume pointed out, "the United States became a template against which they could measure and assess their own circumstances" (p. 105). The author suggests that the legal discrimination in the United States had actually strengthened black identity, while Afro-Cubans were slower in developing race consciousness thinking that legal equality would bring about full social and political participation. Moreover, Cuban race identity was often subjected to Cuban nationalism and the call for national unity.

While, Afro-Cubans measure their racial identity against Afro-Americans, many American blacks took pride in the prominent role played by black Cubans in the island independence struggle. The fact that black soldiers fought side by side with white Cubans and black generals, led both white and black men in battle created a strong interest African-Americans in Cuban affairs. This interest was then buttressed by baseball's 'brotherhood of the glove' and the power of African music and poetry.

This study by exploring the parallel development of race identity in the United States and Cuban expands our understanding of trans-national linkage of peoples of color. It covers new ground not only in PanAfricanist and African Diaspora study but also in history and international relations. This book is well worth a read and it should be valuable to students of Cuba, Africa, and African-American history and politics.

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Florida International University

## **In Defense of Mohawk Land: Ethnopolitical Conflict in Native North America**

Linda Pertusati

(New York: State University of New York Press, 1997)  
166pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: \$14.95; ISBN 0-7914-3212-2.

Linda Pertusati's *In Defense of Mohawk Land* is a superb narrative describing the thinking and actions of Mohawks and the Canadian government during the Indian siege at the small town of Oka in 1990. She accomplishes this feat in just 139 pages of a 166-page book. Pertusati's favorable views toward the Mohawks during the stand off against Canadian Royal Mounted Police and Canadian troops provides an intimate view of internal Mohawk struggles. Most importantly, she describes the difficulty Indians in North America have communicating their political and cultural aspirations to state authorities, and a general non-Indian public. Pertusati carefully describes the importance of historical events, developing political consciousness, and how the effective organization of resources play significantly in the ability of small nations like the Mohawk to mobilize and confront a state like Canada. Pertusati helps us understand how such a conflict can develop. What she does not do (and this is her expressed purpose) is give us a clearly stated theory about conflicts between nations like the Mohawk and states like Canada.

Pertusati attempts to use theories of 19th century Political Science to form a theoretical framework within which conflicts between the world's more than 6,000 nations and 192 states can be understood. Unhappily, she uses a system of thinking intended to rationalize the coming into existence and continued existence of modern political states to form her new theory. It doesn't work. It doesn't work for the same reason that the Mohawks were unable to communicate their political and cultural aspirations to the people and government of Canada. Scholars using Political Science worked to destroy cultural nations and replace them with political states. Canada seeks to replace the Mohawk not to coexist with it.

The Mohawks wanted accommodation and respect from the Canadians - not violence. State repression of indigenous nations is the result of a perceived threat against the state's sovereignty. Using Pertusati's attempt at political theory one must conclude that the Mohawks want to become a state just like the Canada. That is not what Mohawks said. If Dr. Pertusati had listened carefully to her Mohawk informants and abandoned conventional Political Science theory, she would have discovered a new framework for political conflict theory. That framework is called Fourth World Geopolitics: The study and application of conflict-resolution in relations between the world's nations and its 192 states. My own work and the work of Ward Churchill and Bernard Q. Nietschman (two of her theoretical sources) formed the body of Fourth World Geopolitical theory. Understanding and applying this modern theory would have made *In Defense of Mohawk Land* an important contribution to political scholarship. Instead, the author produced a well-written account of one conflict that mirrors scores of such conflicts that occur in the world every year.

*Rudolph C. Rysler*  
Center for World Indigenous Studies



## Concluding Essay

### **A Design for Peace and Security in Post-Cold War Europe**

Dennis J.D. Sandole

The International Community has allowed tens of thousands of people to perish in, among others, Rwanda and Bosnia, and recently a similar scenario has been unfolding in Kosovo. For pragmatic as well as moral/ethical reasons, a case can be made for the International Community to become more proactive instead of reactive or otherwise blasé and ineffective. In this brief article, I hope to show how this might be done, by sketching out a design for a peace and security system in post-Cold War Europe that might be relevant to preventing “future Yugoslavias”.

The plan I have in mind - a new European peace and security system (NEPSS) (see Sandole, 1998; 1999, Ch. 7) - is subdivided into descriptive and prescriptive parts: the former dealing with what “is”, and the latter with what “ought to (or can) be”. The “descriptive” is the more realistic of the two in that it deals with what has actually happened or is still happening. It also makes use of existing mechanisms, the most fundamental of which is the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the 55-member trans-Atlantic/pan-European peace and security system that prior to 1 January 1995, was known as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The OSCE comprises all former members of the Cold War and the neutral and nonaligned of Europe. As such, it is the most inclusive of the existing mechanisms, providing a conceptual as well as operational niche for other mechanisms by virtue of its three-part structure. Originally, these three parts or “baskets” were: (1) security; (2) economic aspects of East-West interaction; and (3) humanitarian aspects of East-West interaction (see CSCE Final Act, 1975). Some 23 years later, those three pillars of the OSCE have been reconceptualized as three interdependent components of overall security: (1) political and military aspects; (2) economic and environmental aspects; and (3) human rights and humanitarian aspects of comprehensive security. For any member to be deficient in any one of these is for it to be insecure, period!

Major existing mechanisms corresponding to each of these three components of overall security include:

(1) political and military aspects: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), plus the organizations created by NATO to dialogue and work together with its former Warsaw Pact enemies: the North Atlantic Cooperation

Council (NACC), subsequently replaced by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), and the Partnership for Peace (PfP);

(2) economic and environmental aspects: the European Union (EU); and

(3) human rights and humanitarian aspects: the Council of Europe (CoE).

In each case, the existing mechanisms are “reaching out” to former enemies of the West, taking them in as members, associate members, or otherwise negotiating cooperative arrangements with them and, in the process, effectively facilitating a paradigm shift away from Cold War Realpolitik with its emphasis on individual, “zero-sum,” national security and toward a post-Cold War Idealpolitik with its emphasis on joint, “positive-sum”, common security.

This is all rather heady stuff! But revolutionary though these developments are, they are still not enough to prevent “future Yugoslavias”: the “descriptive” component of NEPSS comprises inter-state organizations and deals with their problems, while the conflicts of the Balkans and other parts of the post-Cold War world are primarily of an intra-state nature. This takes us into the “prescriptive” part of NEPSS.

NEPSS’ “prescriptive” component starts off with what I call integrated systems of conflict resolution networks, comprising “vertical” as well as “horizontal” dimensions. The vertical dimension involves an early warning/preventive diplomacy “mapping” of all potential conflict sites in Europe, beginning at the local level, and then moving on to the national, subregional, regional and global levels. At each level, the mapping identifies (the presence or absence of) corresponding track 1 (governmental) and track 2 (nongovernmental) actors which can pool their resources synergistically to prevent any particular “house from catching on fire” and, failing that, work together to prevent or otherwise deal with spillover of fires to other levels. The main idea here is that to deal effectively with complex conflicts, one needs a multi-level approach to “capture” that complexity.

The “vertical” dimension involves “track 2” as well as “track 1” actors because track 1 tends to use competitive processes to achieve negative peace (absence of hostilities) while track 2 tends to use cooperative processes to achieve positive peace (the elimination of the underlying causes and conditions). “Negative peace” in the absence of “positive peace” is always a fragile affair - witness Cyprus - whereas “positive peace” may not be possible unless “negative peace” comes first; e.g., Rwanda in April 1994. This takes us into the “horizontal” dimension of NEPSS’ integrated systems.

Should the “vertical” dimension fail - with one party to a conflict genocidally eliminating members of another

group from certain areas, plus obstructing the efforts of the International Community to provide humanitarian assistance - then the horizontal dimension should become operational: a “judicious” amount of Realpolitik force should be used, but within an overall Idealpolitik framework, such that negative peace is reached as a necessary (but not sufficient) condition of positive peace. The idea here - already implicit in the “vertical” dimension - is that, as contingency theory suggests, interventions into complex conflicts have to be tailored to fit the stage at which a conflict is, keeping in mind possible subsequent stages; once the conflict’s “temperature” is reduced, then other, less “forceful” interventions can be brought in (see, e.g., Fisher and Keashly, 1991).

There are significant problems with NEPSS’ “prescriptive” component; e.g., who would (or should) organize the complex, multi-level system called for under the “vertical” dimension of integrated systems? And, independent of the ideological, religious, and/or emotional reservations that members of the Peace Studies/Conflict Resolution communities might have with the use of force, there is a major practical problem associated with the “horizontal” dimension: if we “fight fire” with “fire”, than all we may do is make the fire worse!

Still, NEPSS is food for thought, designed to further debate on how the International Community can prevent and otherwise deal with “future Yugoslavias” in post-Cold War Europe.

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## An Author Replies

Dear Editor,

The review of my book *Democracy at Dawn: Notes from Poland and Points East* (Texas A & M University Press 1998), misses the book’s point, the groundwork for which I carefully established in the introduction, “As I travelled, I wrote this memoir, which is a personal narrative, not a traditional history or legal treatise. The sequence is episodic, like life; my impressions are a series of strung-together experiences having their own internal unity. I recorded them, aware of the uniqueness of this two years in Central Europe’s history. Successors will have different issues to deal with, different personalities to contend with and hopefully a more stable political-economic climate in which to conduct Rule of Law programs.” (xix)

Intentionally I juxtaposed introducing legal issues such as the need for modernizing judicial institutions with cameo-like portraits of personalities, cities, and countries. Each paragraph contains a complete thought, and cumulatively they build, creating a collage of time and place over two years, a slice of life answering the basic question “What were the basic Rule of Law issues you encountered?” and “What was it like living and travelling in Central and Eastern Europe?” My intention was to provide a thoughtful, informed, and interesting response for both the general reader and specialist in the field.

The same week’s mail that brought your review contained another, written for the Phi Beta Kappa Key Reporter by Eugen Weber, the Joan Palevsky Professor of Modern European History at the University of California at Los Angeles, which states, “This is the most vividly substantial book that I have read in years. It should be required reading in college courses, Foreign Service academies, and everywhere. Quinn sketches massive issues with a light touch and attacks desperate situations with lucidity and humor.”

Let the reader decide.

Frederick Quinn  
Chevy Chase, Maryland

*The Digest welcomes any replies from authors whose material is reviewed in these pages. The replies should be short, a maximum of 300 words, and addressed to:*

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