

# Contents

| <b>PUBLICATION</b>  | <b>Page</b>  |
|---|--------------|
| Robert Aldrich & John Connell -reviewed by Anthony Clayton<br><b>The Last Colonies</b>  | <b>3</b>     |
| J G Merrills -reviewed by Florian Bieber<br><b>International Dispute Settlement</b>   | <b>3</b>     |
| Connie Peck -reviewed by Michael O'Connor<br><b>Sustainable Peace: The Role of the UN and Regional Organisations in Preventing Conflict</b>               | <b>4</b>     |
| Chadwick F Alger ed -reviewed by Samuel M Makinda<br><b>The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</b>            | <b>4-5</b>   |
| Stephen J Cimbala -reviewed by Craig Snyder<br><b>Coercive Military Strategy</b>  | <b>5</b>     |
| Mary B Anderson -reviewed by Liam O'Hagan<br><b>Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace – or War</b>  | <b>6</b>     |
| David Wippman ed -reviewed by Thomas Ambrosio<br><b>International Law and Ethnic Conflict</b>   | <b>6-7</b>   |
| Barbara Whitner -reviewed by Debbie Lisle<br><b>The Violence Myths</b>  | <b>7</b>     |
| John Street -reviewed by Richard Murgatroyd<br><b>Politics and Popular Culture</b>  | <b>8</b>     |
| Anne McClintock et al eds -reviewed by Geeta Chowdhry<br><b>Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives</b>                          | <b>8-9</b>   |
| John R Campbell et al eds -reviewed by Landon E Hancock<br><b>Identity and Affect: Experiences of Identity and a globalising world</b>                    | <b>9-10</b>  |
| Anne J Kershen ed -reviewed by Landon E Hancock<br><b>A Question of Identity</b>  | <b>10</b>    |
| Kevin Avruch -reviewed by Landon E Hancock<br><b>Culture and Conflict Resolution</b>  | <b>10-11</b> |
| Donatella della Porta et al eds -reviewed by Mike King<br><b>Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies</b>              | <b>11</b>    |
| Takashi Inoguchi, et al eds -reviewed by Ross E Burkhart<br><b>The Changing Nature of Democracy</b>   | <b>11-12</b> |
| Andreas Schedler, et al eds -reviewed by Sidonie Resseguier de Miremont<br><b>The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies</b> | <b>12-13</b> |
| Tim Dunne & Nicholas J Wheeler ed -reviewed by Adriana Quinones<br><b>Human Rights in Global Politics</b>   | <b>13</b>    |
| RS Warner & JG Wittner -reviewed by Jef Huysmans<br><b>Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration</b>                          | <b>13-14</b> |
| Doreen Indra -reviewed by Sophie Gleashvili<br><b>Engendering Forced Migration. Theory and Practice</b>   | <b>14</b>    |
| Bülent Diken -reviewed by Ioannis Armakolas<br><b>Strangers, Ambivalence and Social Theory</b>  | <b>14-15</b> |
| Charles W Mills -reviewed by John Valadez<br><b>The Racial Contract</b>   | <b>15</b>    |
| Christopher Lane ed -reviewed by David Wolsk<br><b>The Psychoanalysis of Race</b>   | <b>15-16</b> |
| Gargi Bhattacharya -reviewed by Parita Mukta<br><b>Tales of Dark-Skinned Women: Race, Gender and Global Culture</b>                                       | <b>16</b>    |
| Frank Füredi -reviewed by John Tierney<br><b>The Silent War: Imperialism and the Changing Perception of Race</b>  | <b>16-17</b> |
| Nicholas Peterson & Will Sanders -reviewed by Mark Nuttall<br><b>Citizenship and Indigenous Australians</b>   | <b>17-18</b> |
| John Chesterman & Brian Galligan -reviewed by Mark Francis<br><b>Citizens Without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship</b>                       | <b>18-19</b> |
| David L Wank -reviewed by CL Chiou<br><b>Commodifying Communism: Business, Trust and Politics in a Chinese City</b>                                       | <b>19-20</b> |
| Bruce J Dickson -reviewed by Benedict Stavis<br><b>Democratization in China and Taiwan: The Adaptability of Leninist Parties</b>                          | <b>20</b>    |
| Ølvind Fuglerud -reviewed by Rohan Gunaratna<br><b>Life on the Outside: The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism</b>                              | <b>20-21</b> |
| N Vijaylakshmi Brara -reviewed by Greg Tillet<br><b>Politics, Society and Cosmology in India's North East</b>   | <b>21-22</b> |
| Gurpreet Mahajan -reviewed by Gurharpal Singh<br><b>Identities and Rights: Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India</b>                                      | <b>22</b>    |
| JS Grewal -reviewed by Richard Sisson<br><b>The Sikhs of the Punjab</b>   | <b>23</b>    |
| Selig S Harrison, Paul H Kreisberg & Dennis Kux -reviewed by Arthur G Rubinoff<br><b>India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years</b>                        | <b>23-24</b> |
| Darshan Singh Tatla -reviewed by Apurbu Kundu<br><b>The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood</b>   | <b>24</b>    |
| Anthony Clayton -reviewed by William Reno<br><b>Frontiersmen: Warfare in Africa since 1950</b>  | <b>25</b>    |
| Oliver Furley & Roy May eds -reviewed by Rachael Bradley<br><b>Peacekeeping in Africa</b>   | <b>25-26</b> |
| Marina Ottaway -reviewed by Jon Kraue<br><b>Africa's New Leaders: Democracy or State Reconstruction?</b>  | <b>26</b>    |
| Tristan Anne Borer -reviewed by Bernard Spong<br><b>Challenging the State: Churches as Political Actors in South Africa</b>                               | <b>26-27</b> |

## The Last Colonies

Robert Aldrich & John Connell

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

335pp. Index. Hb.: £40.00/\$59.95; ISBN 0-521-41461-X

This scholarly and well-researched work surveys the remaining colonies of the former West Europeans nations' maritime empires. Separate chapters survey the constitutional issues, including legal questions, administration and relations with the sovereign power; the pattern of economic transition ranging from tax havens, migration and transfer economies; the quest for independence, desired by some groups in certain territories and occasionally supported at the United Nations, but abhorred by other groups or entire populations in others; strategic issues with particular reference to nuclear strategy and the power projection ambitions of Britain and France; and the major international disputes occasioned by some of the 'last' colonies, most notably the Falklands and Gibraltar.

The work is timely. The British Government is about to produce a major policy statement on its relations with the former-British territories, now to be styled British Overseas Territories. The statement, envisaging a 'partnership', will cover self-determination, defence, human rights, economic relationships, citizenship, crime control, financial services and financial control arrangements. France, faced with on-going difficulties in Mayotte and New Caledonia is now experiencing a resurgence of ethnic violence in Martinique where black banana plantation workers and dock labourers are locked in a class conflict with the descendants of the white settlers who own the land and dominate the economy, but have not grasped the need for change.

Of special interest are the strategic chapters, where one is left, in respect of France, with a feeling that Paris wants bases to service a navy and a navy to secure the bases, and the several sections analysing the legal arguments in ownership disputes, where a territory is claimed by another nation. The cool and careful analysis of the arguments and issues does not, however, quite convey the obsessional, at times rabid, nature of claims such as those as Argentina over the Falklands.

The work concludes with a look into the future, noting overall declining UN concern (with one or two exceptions) over the territories, and the fact that in the majority the inhabitants wish to maintain their dependent status relationship. They see this as a lever with which to pressure the metropolitan power in their interests in the new and uncertain world of globalisation, where a flag of independence can mean little in the small territory or state - and is beginning to have the same effect on far larger powers.

Anthony Clayton  
De Montfort University

## International Dispute Settlement

J G Merrills

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

369pp. Index. Hb.: £60.00; ISBN 0-521-63003-7. Pb.: £24.95; ISBN 0-521-63993-X.

*International Dispute Settlement* is doubtlessly a valuable survey of international organisations and tools for the settlement of conflict. While the author introduces the third edition as a response to the changes in international relations since 1991, including the break-up of Yugoslavia (p. ix), the book, however, remains oddly out of touch with the increasing interest of international organisations in internal conflicts, and ethnic conflict in particular.

In the first five chapters Merrills evaluates non-violent means to settle conflicts in the international arena, ranging from negotiation to arbitration. The focus remains with the legal tools available to end disputes, which is reflected even more so in the second half of the book where the author examines the different organisations and legal instruments available for dispute settlement. In consequence, the International Court receives more attention than the United Nations and Regional Organisations, such as the OSCE. Merrills also pays particular attention to Maritime and Trade disputes.

For any scholar researching the resolution of ethnic conflict, this book is of limited interest. His description of the different approaches for the settlement of disputes is, however, applicable to the study of the international instruments available (or unavailable) in the resolution of ethnic conflict and can thus serve as a helpful overview.

His evaluation of the United Nations takes the war in Yugoslavia and its various UN missions (eg UNPROFOR) only marginally into consideration. His conclusion that 'it would be difficult to deny that through peace-keeping operations and in other ways, it has sometimes made a significant contribution to that end [terminating conflict]' (p.256) sounds surprisingly optimistic in the light of failed UN missions in the 1990s in Yugoslavia, Somalia and Rwanda; ethnic conflicts that demonstrated the limits of the organisation's effectiveness.

*International Dispute Settlement* reflects the inadequacies of international organisations in handling ethnic conflicts, which erupt primarily within countries and fail to fit into the classical concept of state supremacy in international relations. Nevertheless, Merrills is not over-optimistic in the role of International Organisations, especially the UN, reflecting a less up-beat approach than what one could observe in the early 1990s. He concludes his book with the assessment that the 'tools are already at hand' (p.311) for settling conflicts, the only stumbling block is the

leaders, who might be unwilling to use them. Any scholar working on ethnic conflict is aware that this judgement cannot be upheld, considering the inability of international organisations and legal frameworks to adequately approach such conflicts in recent years.

*Florian Bieber*  
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## **Sustainable Peace: The Role of the UN and Regional Organizations in Preventing Conflict**

Connie Peck

(Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998)  
297pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £47.00; ISBN 0-8476-8560-8. Pb.:  
£16.95; ISBN 0-8476-8561-6.

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Connie Peck is co-ordinator of the Fellowship Program in Peacemaking and Preventive Diplomacy co-sponsored by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and the International Peace Academy. In this book, she argues strongly, almost passionately, for the establishment of new, decentralised and intrusive structures and programs for removing the sources of conflict before they break out into violence.

The book is in three parts, the first of which examines the nature of contemporary conflict and the need for sustainable peace through active peacemaking. The second is mainly descriptive of the efforts of various global and regional structures, both inter-government and non-government, that work towards peacemaking. The third makes a number of specific suggestions for effectively expanding these structures and their activities.

The author's approach is highly idealistic and strongly assertive of what should be done rather than what is realistically possible. The overall lack of analysis is disappointing and the book would be more valuable for a more sceptical approach. The second and descriptive part of the book is possibly the best, containing as it does a wealth of valuable and interesting information for the student of conflict and conflict prevention, but there is little attempt at analysing why the contemporary European and Latin American experience is more effective than those of other regions. That experience suggests that the reasons for success may lie in those regions' overarching cultures or even concepts of peace and security.

Similarly, the author conveys an impression of a touching faith in the effectiveness of structures and processes, often those that are themselves interventionist, not necessarily democratic and certainly not truly accountable. Despite an unqualified hostility to colonialism, she seems not to

perceive that legitimising the intervention of her proposed regional peacemaking bureaucracies may well be seen as simply a new form of colonialism. The apparent dismissal of the importance and relevance of domestic and international political processes certainly detracts from the value of the book.

In looking at the causes of conflict, especially intra-state and ethnic conflict, the author accepts popular liberal views too uncritically. Thus, she indicates a readiness to accept minority claims as legitimate in all circumstances.

The author makes a strong case for developing programs of peacemaking and conflict prevention but, to a realist reader or practitioner, her solutions will appear both facile and dogmatic. They have an underlying value but demand much more critical study than has been offered here.

*Michael O'Connor*  
Executive Director, Australia Defence Association

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## **The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-first Century**

Edited by Chadwick F Alger

(Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1998)  
450pp. Index. Pb.: £23.00; ISBN 92-808-0973-3.

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This is a readable, innovative and forward-looking book. Its title sounds stale, partly because several other books have used it in the past few years. However, the approach which the authors, all of them peace researchers, have taken, is illuminating.

The book's twelve chapters have been divided into four parts dealing with what peace researchers call 'negative peace' and 'positive peace'. The first part, which explains how to overcome and prevent violence, fits the definition of negative peace, while parts 2, 3 and 4 look at positive peace, namely creating economic and social structures that sustain human fulfilment; sharing and protecting the global commons; and peace education. Negative peace generally refers to measures that are taken to end conflicts or remove obstacles to peace, while positive peace refers to the programmes that help to build peaceful relations among peoples and states.

The first part addresses non-offensive defence, arms control, disarmament, and the conversion of military-related industries into civil-related plants. It also discusses different approaches to UN peacekeeping, enforcement measures, humanitarian intervention and coping with intra-state conflicts. There is nothing new about the themes addressed by the five chapters in this section, but the approaches the authors have adopted are refreshing.

The second part of the book addresses peace building, focusing especially on moral and ethical issues. It, for instance, explains the institutionalisation of human rights, the advancement of women's interests, and the generation of the political will for the protection of the rights of refugees. This is followed by part three, which discusses approaches to ecological security and communications in the future UN system. The final part of the book concentrates on the UN's role in peace education.

None of the chapters specifically addresses ethnic conflicts *per se*, but the majority of the book is devoted to addressing the creation of conditions that would render such conflicts irrelevant. Perhaps in keeping with the peace researchers' desire to emphasize 'positive peace', most of the book is about peace-building and peace education, and only marginally about the management of ethnic conflicts.

Scholars of peace research and perhaps some sections of the UN will find this book useful. The book caters for liberals, but, as the authors would probably expect, realists would dismiss it as utopian.

*Samuel M. Makinda*  
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## Coercive Military Strategy

Stephen J Cimbala

(College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998)  
229pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$39.95; ISBN 0-89096-836-5.

Given the ongoing (at time of writing) American and British bombing of Iraq and NATO bombing of Yugoslavia this is a very timely book. As the title suggests, Stephen Cimbala gives a detailed analysis of how military force can and, perhaps more importantly, cannot be used as a tool of international coercion (that is to get another to do what you want it to do). This book is a must read for policy makers in the West and anyone else who sees the application of military force as a quick, easy, and relatively bloodless means to punish 'rouge' states. The main message in this book is that coercive military strategy may be successful in inter-state conflict where objectives can be readily identified, but it is less applicable to intra-state conflicts, especially in regards to western interventions within these types of conflicts.

The purpose of the book is to argue that the mastery of coercive military strategy is necessary for successful war or diplomacy at an acceptable cost. Coercive military strategy is important to Cimbala, as he claims that it has the 'potential to contribute to the best, and worst, results in war and policy; the skill of the swordsmith cannot be separated from the sharpness of the blade' (p. 3). A coercive military strategy is where deliberate use of force is applied

to achieve policy objectives, on an adjustable scale relevant to the evolving situation or context. Cimbala argues that coercive military force will be a necessary part of any diplomatic-strategic recipe for American military success in the post-Cold War world.

The first chapter of the book outlines the evolution of coercive military strategy in the US during the Cold War. In this the US did not develop this strategy as a result of learning from their experiences in its limited wars of the period but from concerns of nuclear war and escalation; thus the US was as unsuccessful in applying coercive military strategy in Vietnam as they had been in Korea. The next three chapters explore specific case studies: the Cuban Missile Crisis, the 1990-91 Gulf War and Vietnam. In regard to the Cuban Missile Crisis the United States all but stumbled into an effective coercive military strategy while the Soviets were unable to counter the American actions giving Khrushchev no option but to back down. In the Gulf War the limited war aims of the US (i.e. liberating Kuwait) matched those of the coalition and were well suited to the use of military force to achieve the objectives. By contrast, in Vietnam it was not so much the gradualist approach to the use of military force that was problematic but the fact that US policy vacillated among conflicting objectives that were not easily achieved using military coercion.

In the final two chapters Cimbala moves beyond the Cold War (and end of the Cold War) conflicts to address the use of coercion in Collective Security structures and in its utility in operations other than war. In terms of Collective Security, coercive military strategy is useful only so long as a coalition of the willing is stronger than the revisionist powers. In regards to operations other than war, Cimbala is less optimistic that coercive military strategy can play as useful a role. These operations, Cimbala argues, 'are dependent upon the willingness of the parties to settle sooner or later. If there is nothing about which to compromise, there is little prospect for agreed ... solutions.' (p. 155). Ethnic, racial and religious conflicts tend not to have many options for compromise and as such any coercive military force used in an attempt to resolve these conflicts will have to be bloody and violent in the extreme.

This is a very well researched and written text that will be of interest to any student of international politics in general, and of great power intervention in particular.

*Craig Snyder*  
*Deakin University, Australia*

## Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace - or War

Mary B. Anderson

(London: Lynne Rienner, 1999)

161pp. Index. Hb.: ISBN 1-55587-833-4. Pb.: ISBN 1-55587-834-2.

*Do No Harm* examines the impact of international aid in situations of conflict. The author stresses how 'aid given in the context of a violent conflict becomes a part of that context and thus also of the conflict' (p.145). Much of the previous work in this field has highlighted the negative impacts of aid, such as reinforcing intergroup tensions or 'fuelling' war economies. Chapter 4 of *Do No Harm* highlights ways in which this misuse of aid may be overcome. Where, however, this book goes further, is in suggesting that not only must the misuse of aid be avoided; but that aid can and should be used as an instrument in promoting peace. In this respect a cursory glance at the book's title may be misleading. For Anderson, aid groups must go beyond the maxim of the Hippocratic Oath and look to impact upon conflicts in ways that will promote peace. Within wars, it is claimed, there are local capacities for peace which must be supported and reinforced by aid programs. The author articulates her belief in the essentially positive nature of 'peace' in Chapter 2 and 3. At times the crusading imagery begins to grate, although the author does acknowledge that war and peace are not simple matters of black and white.

The second section of the book examines five case studies where aid may have promoted peace. Based on the reflections of aid workers, analysis is given of programmes by, Save the Children in Tajikistan; UNICEF in Lebanon; the ICRC in Burundi; an indigenous NGO, Saint Xavier's Social Service in India; and Trocaire in Somalia. All the cases highlight the difficulty of the task which the author has set. This much she acknowledges herself. The further problem with the thesis is one which will be articulated from within the aid community. Many would undoubtedly concur with the general thrust that 'peace is a positive goal' which should be encouraged. They may be less comfortable with the suggestion that they should be active agents in the attainment of this goal. Arguing that because aid can be misused by those who wish to continue war, it can therefore be used to promote 'peace', raises more problems than may be initially apparent. The danger is that the very basis of aid work may be undermined through this process. Nonetheless, many of the recommendations are pertinent and the book is a timely counterbalance to the multiple attacks on aid. It is a welcome addition to the literature which should appeal to academics and aid workers alike.

Liam O'Hagan  
The Queen's University of Belfast

## International Law and Ethnic Conflict

Edited by David Wippman

(Cornell University Press, 1998)

Hb.: \$39.90/£29.50; ISBN 0-8014-3433-5.

Horrible human rights abuses, crucial questions of self-determination, and a greater willingness by external states and international organizations to intervene in ethnic conflicts make the issue of the relationship between international law and ethnic conflict quite pregnant in the post-Cold War period. This edited volume addresses a wide range of subjects from the legal theory behind the international law of nationalism and self-determination; to practical matters such as applications of the 1949 Genocide Convention, the involvement of international organizations in ethnic conflicts, internal political structures, refugees, and citizenship.

If one is looking for a reference book on the tenets of international law and their application to ethnic conflicts, this is not it. Instead, the essays in this volume largely take the legal realist position (not to be confused with political realism) which strives to go beyond treaties, conventions, and other international texts and injects into the law the conceptual framework, beliefs, desires, and prejudices of the international lawyers themselves. Although most of the articles take widely accepted law as their starting place, they take an expansive view on what international law should proscribe or guarantee. Some of the prescriptions seem to go too far and lack firm political grounding; nevertheless, they will spark debate.

The book is divided into two main parts: ethno-nationalism and legal theory; and institutional and policy responses to ethnic conflict. The second is far more practically minded than the first; though even in the second section, some of the articles are less applications of law than proposals for new law or new applications (e.g., Ruth Wedgwood's argument for prohibiting the use of force within states). In terms of legal theory, the articles by Lea Brilmayer, Fernando Teson, and Anne-Marie Slaughter seem to belong more in the realm of philosophy, but have definite relevance to which groups are awarded with sovereign statehood and why. Nathaniel Berman's historical approach to the (still developing) international law of nationalism is fascinating and enlightening. Steven Ratner's examination of where to draw borders is among the best in the volume. David Wippman's introduction and Tom Farer's conclusion nicely frame the relevant debates and provide some coherence to the project, though focus essays preceding each section should have been included.

Overall, this is a good book by the top international legal scholars. The less theoretical chapters are appropriate for

undergraduates, but the book seems more designed for graduate students and professionals in the fields of international law and ethnic conflict.

Thomas Ambrosio  
Western Kentucky University

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## The Violence Mythos

Barbara Whitmer

(Albany, SUNY Press, 1997)

224pp.Hb.: ISBN 0-7914-3517-0. Pb.: ISBN 0-7914 3518-0.

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How do we understand the societal and cultural meanings of violence? Why is violence so endemic and so routinely accepted? Whitmer's book traces these questions in order to ask what is at stake in our pervasive understandings and practices of violence. This book is useful for those interested in theoretical explanations of why violence is embedded in society, and how it continues to be repeated, justified and accepted.

Whitaker explains how violence is usually understood as innate and thus biologically based, which is why we require an array of societal controls to restrain our 'natural' urges to violence (eg: law, police). This book is an attempt to shift that understanding and suggest that violence *is not* innate, rather, violence is learned through and within a society that promotes and maintains it. Whitmer explains the ever presence of violence in society as a *mythos*, or a 'collection of beliefs' that 'implies understanding' (readers might find it helpful to think of discourse here).

The three sections of the book serve very different purposes, and don't necessarily have to be read in conjunction. In the first section, Whitaker explains how an 'innate' understanding of violence serves to structure both individuals (through a mind/body split) and cultures (through strategies of legitimation like the 'hero myth'). Of concern here are the processes by which individual anger gets expressed in violent ways (from wife battery to the Vietnam war), and how those expressions are *normalized* in society. For Whitmer, this process of normalization is crucial because it prevents us from addressing the trauma that violence engenders.

In the second section, Whitaker traces our understandings of violence through the insights of Freud, Girard and Derrida. Psychoanalytic readings situate violence as an expression of the unconscious 'death drive' that is repressed by our conscious urges for life, love and sexuality. Because a 'drive' is still too innate, Freud is supplanted with Ricoeur's 'interpretive hermeneutics'. In

this way, violence is historically embedded in language so that our desires get 'transformed into meaning'. Thus, violence is not innate, but rationalized through language. Whitmer then analyses the work of Girard in which violence is the result of threatened or disrupted desire. One does not simply desire an object, rather, one competes with others who *also* desire the same object. Violence emerges in that competition, and in the ensuing process of identifying and prosecuting a victim (the loser of the competition). Whitmer traces this 'mimetic triangle' and 'victim traumatology' through the therapeutic treatment of trauma (especially PTSD) to illustrate how our simultaneous desires for perpetrators, victims *and* heroes require a cycle of mistrust, domination and submission. Whitmer then moves on to a more deconstructive paradigm by using Derrida to explain the always already inscribed position of the expressing 'subject' in a system of linguistic signs. In effect, deconstruction establishes the violence of language itself, and thus of our 'ongoing trauma'. For Whitaker, deconstructive work is important because it gives us a space of transition where the authority of aggression and violence can finally be dismantled.

In the third section, Whitaker asserts that the problem of endemic and innate violence must be solved by effective recovery from trauma. We can do this by restoring trust in 'healthy relationships of the self, other and community' (p. 183), and as Gadamer instructs, losing ourselves in the 'play' of those relationships in order to re-gain trust. This process begins by refusing the usual dichotomies of victim/perpetrator, vanquished/hero and dominance/submission, and discovering other ways to 'attach' ourselves to one another in more 'interdependent' ways. Here, violence is discussed in terms of *already* deconstructed bodies and communities (eg: cyberbodies). For Whitaker, we recover from trauma by revaluing 'the body, trust and technology' (p.235 – beware: although impassioned and innovative, this section is also the most worrying in its claims to universalism, holism and healing).

In conclusion, this is an incredibly rich book, but it requires patience. At times, the breadth of the argument threatens its focus and the question of violence drops out altogether, but Whitaker's enviable ability to synthesize *very* complex theoretical arguments mitigates these scattered moments. Although her 'emotional' and slightly 'flakey' language will be new to some readers (especially those in positivist inspired social sciences), rest assured that it in no way detracts from the rigour of her argument. For those asking difficult and theoretical questions about our understandings of violence, *The Violence Mythos* is a must.

Debbie Lisle  
Lancaster University

## Politics & Popular Culture

John Street

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997)

212pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$59.95; ISBN 1-56639-602-6. Pb.:  
\$19.95; ISBN 1-56639-603-4.

In Britain at least, spin-doctory, image manipulation, sound bites and unashamed populism seem the very stuff of the contemporary political scene. For many commentators the trend is unwelcome: at best a confusing triumph of style over substance, at worst a distortion of the democratic process which leaves political discourse ever more distant from the concerns of the people. Others see this in less sinister terms, the continuation of politics by other (legitimate) means. In this thought provoking book, John Street introduces the key debates concerning the linkages between popular culture and politics clearly and concisely. This welcome quality, combined with an ongoing concern to engage with current theories and academic debates, underlines the book's usefulness for cultural and media studies, sociology and politics.

Given the wide-ranging scope of Street's enquiry, it is perhaps inevitable that the reader should at times be left hoping for a little more illustrative material to place some of the theoretical debates in context. For instance, one of the strongest sections, on the relationship between local government and the provision and control of popular culture, is based on the author's own detailed empirical research. Nevertheless, the ways that politicians (often cynically) seek to use popular culture to bolster their position and the impact of political decisions and policies at a global, national and local level are clearly brought out. Examples such as Norman Tebbit's 'cricket test' of national loyalties, or the culture of Loyalist communities in Northern Ireland explore connections between culture and nationalism. Street's argument that politics and popular culture has become inextricably linked is well supported.

Less convincing is the claim that when considering popular culture and politics we engage in a similar critical process based on aesthetic/ethical choices and the organisation of our identities and interests. Thus 'in arguing about popular culture we are arguing about ways of life' (p. 198). However, as Street himself demonstrates in the main body of the text, it is often questionable whether the cultural products emanating from multinational corporations, media conglomerates and on occasion, politicians can really be said to be 'popular'. This is a culture that is supplied and sold to the people, not produced by them. In that sense, the experience of cultural consumption, including individual choices over what is 'good' or 'bad', remains predominantly passive. Political judgements on the other hand, tend to spring from collective circumstance, are usually made on material rather than aesthetic grounds and ultimately, are capable of changing the world.

Richard Murgatroyd

Brunel University

page 8

## Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives

Edited by Anne McClintock, Aamir  
Mufti & Ella Shohat

(Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

Distributed by Taylor & Francis.

551pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8166-2648-0. Pb.: £19.95; ISBN  
0-8166-2649-9.

Postcolonial criticism, and postcolonial theory, although semantically and substantively somewhat distinct, address the various aspects of the postcolonial condition. *Dangerous Liaisons* is an edited project which uses postcolonial analysis, theory and criticism to address the constructions of nation, race, and gender in the Third World. In addition it also addresses issues of multiculturalism and diasporic identities in a postcolonial world. Previously published articles are used with newly written ones, to organize the book around four thematic parts entitled 'Contesting Nations', 'Multiculturalism and Diasporic Identities', 'Gender and the Politics of Race', and 'Postcolonial Theory'.

Part I includes a set of essays which highlight (a) the racialized and gendered nature of imperialist discourse, (b) the nation 'as a form of struggle against imperialism' (p. 3), and (c) the nation as 'a historically produced, unfinished, and contested terrain' (p. 4). For postcolonial scholars, the imperialist encounter has been a decisive moment in the creation of the enduring hierarchies of the world and the systematic structuring of ethnic, racial and gender conflict. This encounter has not only depended on force, but also on the creation of a racialized and gendered discourse. For Gauri Vishwanathan, the connections between culture and power are nowhere more visible than in the construction of the 'ideal Englishmen' who epitomizes liberal ideas of justice and fairness, a 'mental artifact' who is far removed from his real status as oppressor and subjugator. Edward Said's 'Zionism from the Standpoint of its Victims', and Ella Shohat's 'Sephardism in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of its Jewish Victims' discuss how the Zionist discourse about non-Jews uses the 'cultural currency' of a racialized imperialist discourse to justify the creation of Israel. That the construction of Israel has made the Palestinians homeless, and marginalized the 'Arab Jews' also called the Sephardi Jews in Israel, is not addressed in the discourse of Zionism.

Whereas Anne McClintock suggests that the 'domestic genealogy' of the nation is both racialized and gendered in which women become the symbolic markers of nationalism, Rob Nixon address the widely accepted assumption that cultural and ethnic identity is an acceptable basis of nationalist self-determination. Highlighting the connections between ethnicity, self-determination, and violence, Nixon warns us of the dangers of 'biological nationalism' as experienced in the former Yugoslavia.

Part II addresses the current debates on multiculturalism and diasporic identities which seek to situate Eurocentric knowledge in a historical and economic context and to unveil the diversity of global knowledge (Retamar). The voices of ethnic communities (African-American, Asian-American, Chicano, and Native-American), gender communities, and the 'new' communities of sexual identification (such as gays, lesbians, and bi-sexuals) have revealed the tensions in the politics of 'home' and location as exemplified by Lubiano, Hanchard, and Mercer. Stuart Hall and Robert Stam provide outstanding contributions in this section. Discussing the intersections of globalization and diasporic identities, Stuart Hall distinguishes between an older more defensive nationalism which guards against any penetrations of difference in the nation, and a corporate more exploratory nationalism which is 'trying to live with - and at the same moment overcome, sublimate, get hold of, and incorporate - difference' (p.183). Robert Stam addresses the older more defensive nationalism' myths about multiculturalism in a detailed and systematic manner.

Part III critiques the universalisms and epistemic authority of First World white feminism by exploring the practices through which racialized and gendered subjects are produced (Carby, Hook, Jaimes and Halsey, Lorde, Stoler) (p.7). In addition, Jaimes and Halsey bring Native American women to the forefront of the indigenous rights movement. Problematizing the representations of Third World women in Western feminist discourse Chandra Mohanty's classic 'Under Western Eyes' demonstrates the staying power of imperialist discourse.

Although there is now a substantial literature on postcolonial criticism and theory, the articles included in section IV stand out for their clarification, analysis, and critique of 'the postcolonial'. The poststructuralist origins of postcoloniality utilize the Foucauldian power-knowledge nexus to unsettle the received authority of imperialism, nationalism, and modernization discourse (Appiah, Diawra, Dirlif, Prakash). Thus the postcolonial scholar, according to Shohat and Mufti, can also thought of as post-nationalist, or Post-Third Worldist. Arik Dirlif's critique of postcolonialism comes from precisely this. Equating postcolonial criticism with the pathology of Third World intellectuals in the first World, he suggests, that the term postcolonial is so inclusive and vast that it loses any sense of accuracy and meaning.

Although the book is a fascinating and interestingly varied collection of pieces on postcolonial perspectives, there are several criticisms, that I have of the book. The first criticism is organizational. Leaving postcolonial theory to section IV, is a serious misjudgement in my mind. For a reader not experienced in postcolonial theory who may look for guidance in delineating postcolonialism and the usefulness of postcolonialism to contemporary analysis, it may have been useful to have theory in the first section.

Although the introduction by Mufti and Shohat introduces us to postcolonial perspectives, and indeed it is very useful, it is mostly an introduction to the book and not to postcolonial theory. Secondly, although the book's subtitle is 'Gender and Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives', gender is not the common thread that ties these chapters together. Race is much more of a common thread-thus it might have been more appropriate to have Race, Gender and Nation in postcolonial perspectives. It would more accurately reflect the postcolonial condition.

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## Identity and Affect: Experiences of Identity and a Globalising World

Edited by John R. Campbell & Alan Rew

(London: Pluto Press, 1999)  
306pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-7453-1428-7. Pb. ISBN 0-7453-1423-6.

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The main premise of *Identity and Affect* is that it draws its direction from the works of A. L. (Bill) Epstein, a pioneer in use of social constructivism in anthropological ethnographic studies. According to the editors, one of the primary ways that identity formation in post modern contexts needs to be studied is in its emotional affect, the 'anger, rage, fear, guilt, horror and outrage' which make up the lived experience of identity formation (p. 8). Unfortunately, the contributors, while generally thorough in their presentations of socially-constructed elements, are less clear in their linkages of these elements to the aforementioned emotional affects.

The introduction and chapters by Michael Young and Alan Rew best illustrate the role of affect in identity formation. Chapters by Stirrat and van Ufford allude to affectual components in their case studies, while others concentrated solely on Barth-esque examinations of social and cultural institutions and their roles in boundary formation and maintenance. One major problem of this work is the authors' and editors' contention that deep ethnographic surveys are the only method which can yield the right kind of data useful for identity research. The result is that - with few exceptions - the results of each survey are so mired in their contexts as to be inapplicable on a larger level. To be fair, some of the fault this reviewer finds undoubtedly stems from my own cross-disciplinary background and understanding of the phenomenon of identity formation. The fact that different disciplines attempt to broaden their understanding of such phenomenon is to be applauded, even if one remains



skeptical about a somewhat dogmatic conservatism in theories and methods applied. For students of anthropology looking for well written, concise ethnographic studies of identity construction, this book is a good read. However, for those readers who want a more cross-disciplinary and theoretically viable work on ethnicity or social identity, this reviewer recommends that the reader limit him or herself to the first chapter, or seek out texts with broader disciplinary and methodological backgrounds.

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## A Question of Identity

Edited by Anne J Kershen

(Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998)  
301pp. Index. Hb.: £42.50; ISBN 1-84014-558-7.

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While this work may, overall, provide interesting material for those studying first and second generation migration issues, the editor's assertion that 'as with a mirage in the desert, the truth will always be just out of reach' (p.19) unfortunately rings true throughout most of the book's thirteen chapters. The first portion of the book—consisting of eight chapters—focuses upon the British context, or rather upon small slices of the British context of migration and identification. Among chapters about British Jewry, Bangladeshi immigrants, and burgeoning Welsh identities, Karen Trew's chapter on the use of 'Northern Irish' identity stands out as being both cogent to the topic of ethnic conflict and as one of the few chapters which marries some theory to a discernable methodology. Trew's use of a large N along with reasonable conclusions stands in stark contrast to Chris Julios' chapter on the new American identity, which attempts to draw strong conclusions from survey questions posed to 57 high school students in New York. With the singular exceptions of Trew and Graham Harrison's chapter on 'Political Identities in Africa', most authors have been content to take a narrow view of their topic and to 'tell stories' rather than promote relevant findings or help us to understand identity in a deeper, more dynamic context. Only Harrison makes this attempt when, in his approach to political identity in post-colonial Africa, he argues that a contextual deconstruction of identity is necessary for understanding those post-colonial elements present in today's African conflicts. This admonition, along with Trew's examination of Northern Ireland, illustrate the ways in which identity research can help the analysis and resolution of ethnic conflicts. Unfortunately, the rest of the work seems bent on pursuing a 'mirage of truth' that it, and we, may never find.

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## Culture and Conflict Resolution

Kevin Avruch

(Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998)  
172pp. Hb.: \$29.95. ISBN 1-878379-83-6. Pb.: \$14.95;  
ISBN: 1-878379-82-8.

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Following on a theme from his own work at ICAR during and after John Burton's tenure there, Kevin Avruch lays out a most convincing argument for the inclusion of culture as a primary element of the study of deep rooted communal conflicts. However, unlike many others who argue that cultural elements render 'universalistic' theories of conflict resolution impossible Avruch offers some hope for scholar-practitioners rather than the usual prophecies of doom, gloom and impotence.

In his opening discussion of the nature of culture, Avruch focuses upon cognitive anthropology and the definition of culture as derived through individual experience, 'learned or created by individuals themselves or passed on to them socially by contemporaries or ancestors.'(p.5) These are best represented through the use of cognitive schemata by which individuals in different cultures organize their generic referents.(p.38) In refuting critics of a cultural approach to conflict resolution, Avruch neatly turns assertions of generality regarding negotiating processes and diplomacy on their heads by pointing out the cultural assumptions of both the practices and their practitioners. This is especially true in his treatment of the Realist assumption that power trumps everything, including culture. Avruch contends that this is not so because every use of power, from projection to perception is always part of a culturally constituted process of decision-making.(p.54) The final two sections of the book deal with the uses and difficulty of cultural analyses in conflict resolution. In framing the issue, Avruch admits that an entirely emic approach to conflict resolution runs the risk of sinking into a Post-Modern mire where the non-translatability of cultural signals leaves one stranded and unable to communicate or effect change. Likewise, the entirely etic approach is what Avruch has rightly criticized from the start as too broad to be realistically applied. Instead he proposes the skilful combination of the two wherein the etic approaches provide an admittedly rough 'first-cut' before the researcher delves into the situational context.

In analyzing conflict resolution in the problem-solving context, Avruch argues that despite some assertions to the contrary all of the major figures in this field utilize culturally sensitive methods in their intervention practice. However, he argues that cultural analysis needs to be made an explicit part of the problem-solving process with the intervenor being aware of the cultural schemata of the different parties and as a part of the process-assisting them to gain insights into each other's schemas while providing a clear understanding of their own (p.98).

The last may provide the strongest argument not only for the inclusion of cultural analysis in conflict resolution processes, but for a reasonable way of incorporating both etic and emic examinations into conflict resolution theory and practice. Overall Avruch makes a good argument for culture's inclusion as an integral part of the field.

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## **Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies**

Edited by Donatella della Porta & Herbert Reiter

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998)  
302pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 0-8166-3063-1. Pb.: £16.95;  
0-8166-3064-X.  
Distributed by Taylor & Francis.

Della Porta and Reiter have compiled an excellent volume of public order policing studies across 'established' and 'young' western democratic states.

Superficially this book appears a rather disparate collection of papers, ranging from an examination of policing protest change in England and Wales from the 18th century to the present (Reiner), to a comparison of public order policing developments in Geneva and Zurich from the 1980s (Wisler and Kriesi), to the contemporary policing of football hooliganism in Italy (De Biasi), to the transition of policing from within a Fascist regime to a democratic republic in Florence between 1944-1948 (Reiter). Other papers examine various aspects of protest policing philosophy and practice across different temporal, spatial and contextual spans, including that in the United States (McPhail, Schweingruber and McCarthy), France (Fillieule and Jobard), London (Peter Waddington), Spain (Jaime-Jimenez and Reinares) and the pre-reunification F.R. of Germany (Winter). Many have involved in-depth research interviews with police practitioners.

All of these case-studies are, however, drawn together in comparative context through della Porta's earlier conceptualisation and theoretical analysis on 'Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State' (1995) which is outlined in her introduction with Reiter to this volume and to which many of the papers refer. Essentially, della Porta's argument is that public order policing is not simply a reactive outcome to protest, but rather that protest and policing is a mutually dynamic process (although as Fillieule and Jobard rightly mention, her examination primarily concentrates on the police *per se*). Further, she suggests that protest policing is determined on two primary levels: the first concerns 'a) the organizational features of the police, b) the configuration of power, c) public opinion,

d) the police occupational culture, and e) the interaction with protesters' (della Porta and Reiter, 1998: 2). The above are, however, subordinate to the second level, namely that of 'police knowledge' defined as 'the police's perception of ... their role and of ... external reality, which shapes the concrete policing of protest on the ground'. (della Porta and Reiter, 1998: 2, 22)

The outcome of the above in western democratic states has, della Porta and Reiter argue (although not all the contributors (viz. Reiner) agree in terms of primary tendency nor extent), been a shift from policing within a 'Staatspolizei' thesis to that of 'Bürgerpolizei' (Winter). In other words, public order policing, both in terms of philosophy (although della Porta does question the extent to which this has actually been internalized) and practice, has significantly shifted from being primarily State-oriented (protecting the *status quo*), to citizen-oriented (incorporating the notions of constitutionality and change). What this has meant in practical terms is a 'softer', more tolerant and conciliatory approach to protest policing by the police. Gary Marx does importantly warn in his afterword, however, that the papers here have generally only been concerned with the policing of 'relatively peaceful demonstrations'; despite this general trend, the 'iron fist' is still potentially present, and that the trend is neither linear nor universally applied (indeed, one of della Porta's interviewees states that this varies according to 'who is creating a problem for public order'). Della Porta adds that contemporary 'problem' groups tend to be those who are less political, less organised, and attract little media interest or public sympathy. She also crucially acknowledges that 'negotiation' still entails control, albeit less overt, through information gathering.

To conclude, whilst the contributions to this volume do not focus specifically on ethnic conflict, the book does provide an important, relevant and useful insight into the rationale of protest policing change and that of police policy decision-making that could be applied in this context.

Mike King  
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## **The Changing Nature of Democracy**

Edited by Takashi Inoguchi, Edward Newman & John Keane

(Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1998)  
285pp. Index. Pb.: £19.00; ISBN 92-808-1005-7.

The democratization literature is characterized by its popularity and by several points of controversy: how to define democracy, whether there are socioeconomic and cultural correlates of democracy and where in the world

they are applicable, and the process by which democratic rule becomes consolidated. Beyond contention is the need to explain the torrent of democratic regimes that flooded the globe during the Third Wave of democracy. This also is a critical juncture for the 'Third Wave' democratic countries. Without resolution of longstanding societal issues in newly democratized countries, the threat for democratic retrenchment, and possibly ethnic conflict, is increased.

Unfortunately, ethnic conflict is never seriously engaged as an influential actor in democratization in this otherwise fine edited collection that addresses the above issues. It brings together 15 significant international scholarly contributors, and allows them to write on their main subjects of inquiry. Thus, Bruce Russett discusses how 'Democracy and international peace can feed upon each other' (p. 167) while in separate contributions Philippe Schmitter, and Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz, outline their well-known analytical frameworks for consolidating newly democratic countries. (For Schmitter, a democracy is consolidated when politics are dull.) There are also strong essays on less well-discussed topics, such as Saad Eddin Ibrahim's illustration of democratic elements in Islam, and Bernard Crick's 'meditation on democracy' and the word's evolution in modern times.

The book is grouped into four main subject areas: defining democracy, the societal framework for democracy (the roles of the constitution, political parties, and mass media), international forces on democratization (the 'democratic peace,' the 'free market,' but curiously no mention of foreign policy or ethnic conflict), regional characteristics of democracy (highly pertinent discussions of 'Asian democracy,' the evolution of Eastern European democracy, and the welcome essay on democracy in Islam), and an exploration of democracy in different organizational frameworks such as the United Nations.

The book, therefore, serves as a nice collection of expert theorizing and praxis on a broad spectrum of democracy-related topics, though neglecting ethnic conflict. Its main contribution is to expose those unfamiliar with democratization themes to this literature. It is recommended reading for undergraduates and faculty alike (and would make for a good general reader in an undergraduate democratization course), though the most familiar of the authors present their well-known themes in a somewhat introductory fashion, making their essays be of less utility for faculty in the democratization field, though no less readable.

Ross E. Burkhart  
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## **The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies**

Edited by Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond & Marc F Plattner

Distributed by Eurospan (London: Lynne Rienner, 1999)  
395pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £47.95; ISBN 1-55587-773-7.  
Pb.: 19.95; ISBN 1-55587-774-4.

*The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, which grew out of the Third Vienna Dialogue on Democracy in 1997, is a rather dense, scholarly book aimed at those working in the field of accountability, rather than the curious lay person. The book is divided into six parts: Part 1 deals with the conceptual and normative issues of accountability while Parts 2 through 5 apply accountability to specific areas of state and non-state actors. Part 6 is a very brief conclusion.

Part 1 is a little difficult to follow: it deals with the philosophy of accountability and gives the reader the feeling of being in the middle of a circle of academics who know each other's work very well but who do not include you in the conversation. I longed to stop the authors and say 'talk to me! What does accountability mean to someone outside of your circle?'

What follows from Part 2 is an attempt to answer that plea. Various elements of civil society (electoral administration, judicial systems, corruption control and central banks) in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe and the Far East are examined for their successes and failures in applying the principles of accountability which the book defines as 'the continuing concern for checks and oversight, for surveillance and institutional constraints on the exercise of power' (p. 13).

The book is as notable for its omissions as its inclusions: I found it a bit odd that there was nothing about the role of the legislative branch of government and its role in accountability. Nor could I find anything about the role of the police or armed forces. Aren't these aspects of civil society also accountable as per the definition above? No state can divorce control of the judiciary and electoral processes from control of the military. And what about the role of the media in reporting adherence to or violation of accountability? I would have liked to have seen a section on how inter-state accountability works. Lastly, there is no mention of the relationship between state accountability and private enterprise.

That said, it is difficult to be critical of so worthy and comprehensive a book. The bibliography is extensive and cites sources in English, French, Spanish, Russian and

German. I would recommend this book as an excellent resource for someone who is interested in learning more about the issues and principles of accountability.

*Sidonie Resseguier de Miremont*

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## Human Rights in Global Politics

Edited by Tim Dunne & Nicholas J  
Wheeler

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)  
337pp. Index Hb.: ISBN 0-521-64138-1. Pb.: ISBN 0-521-64643-X

*Human Rights in Global Politics* focuses on 'the growing disparity between the almost globally accepted standard for the protection of universal human rights and the daily denial of those basic rights to millions of people'. (Preface and acknowledgements)

In order to answer this pressing question, most of the authors agree on the need to create a 'common citizenship', or as the other authors in the book defined it, a 'human rights culture', a 'global human being', a 'cosmopolitan democracy', or a 'common humanity'. If any of these is achieved, we could prevent the dehumanization of certain groups, which, as was demonstrated in the Balkan wars lead to the toleration of the most horrid human rights violations in the eyes of many, and without any action to prevent them from happening (Booth p. 63).

Later, the book offers an interesting, but unfinished discussion on whether the evolving 'human rights culture' is a way of western domination, or if there are certain values that need not to be ethnocentric, but define us as human beings.

However, the problem with the book starts when the discussion is '(ethno)centered' around the issue of who becomes the duty bearer when sovereign states are losing their predominance in international politics; whether it is now the task of the international civil society, or other emerging actors. At this point, the book loses its focus, only to recover it in the chapter by Gilbert Loescher, which provides a panoramic view of the issues faced by refugees and the internally displaced, establishing the connections between that problem and the widespread situation of violence in the world today. Loescher suggests that the means to end human rights violations lie in the capabilities to prevent and resolve conflict by the international community (which includes states, local and international NGO's and many other actors.)

As a reader concerned with human rights issues, one hopes to find clearer connections between the problems, the solutions and the viable institutions to promote the

universal respect of human rights. One needs to be educated on the more practical issues that illustrate the process that the theory is trying to describe. The other discussions are intellectually challenging, but 'academy-centric', which is in itself what the human rights workers in the field do not need when trying to stop a human rights violation from being committed.

Note: to Ms. Georgina Ashworth: The Inter American Commission of Human Rights is not based in Costa Rica, but in Washington, DC. The Inter American Court is based in Costa Rica.

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## Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration

Edited by RS Warner & JG Wittner

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

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.

The ethnographic studies are preceded by a general introduction which explains the larger project of which these chapters are a part. The concluding chapter evaluates the general orientation of the micro-studies from a broader perspective including issues such as globalisation.

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*University of Kent*

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## **Engendering Forced Migration. Theory and Practice**

Edited by Doreen Indra

(New York: Berghahn Books, 1999)  
390pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 1-57181-134-6. Pb.: ISBN 1-57181-135-4.

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With increased internal conflicts that cause uprooting of civilian populations, issues related to migration are gaining more interest among social scientists. The book, published by the Refugees and Forced Migration Studies Centre, and edited by Doreen Indra, represents one of the most interesting pieces of recent research in this field. The geography of the book is extensive: you will find research on migration issues in the countries of origin (Afghanistan, Mozambique, Zambia, Russia, Tanzania, or Kenya), and also in the host countries (Sweden, USA, Australia, UK, Canada). Another balance that is maintained in the edition is between the theoretical and practical discussions. While Doreen Indra seeks for the real objects of the gender issues of migration and development and does this through the analysis of three major gender approaches to development: women in development, women and development and gender and development, Barbara Harrell-Bond in her

interview shares with readers experiences gained during establishing the Refugees and Forced Migration Studies Centre in Oxford. Dianna Cammack unfolds the shocking truth how the US and other supporting countries have neglected radical fundamentalism of the Taliban and other freedom fighters in Afghanistan; and how the gender politics of these groups have practically eradicated any relief or development program related to women's issues. Khadija Elmadmad continues the dialogue, arguing for increased protection for Muslim refugee women. Carolyn Nordstrom rightfully asks about the role the girls play in the gender related emergency and development projects. Finally, Audrey Macklin, Heaven Crawley and Lisa Gilad's discussions of women's protection against gender related persecution under current migration conventions and practices of granting asylum by some countries could generate broader discussions on the amendment of the definition of the refugee and persecution as outlined by current legal instruments.

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## **Strangers, Ambivalence and Social Theory**

Bülent Diken

(Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998)  
352pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 1-84014-522-6.

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A joint publication of the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations of the University of Warwick and the Danish Centre for Migration and Ethnic Studies, this volume is an ambitious and sophisticated attempt to put the question of immigration into the framework of social theory. The politics of immigration, globalization, the economic dimension involved or the structural framework of immigration, social and spatial segregation, the arguments over tradition and cultural difference, are all issues addressed in the book under the light of the work provided by theorists like Foucault, Derrida, Bourdieu and Bauman among many others. The case study is the Turkish immigrant population in Denmark; an interesting case involving on the one hand an EU country with a tradition in democracy, human rights and social policies and on the other an immigrant population who's nationality is often seen as a problematic element in various EU countries or is even subjected to racist prejudice and discrimination.

Although, the relevance for ethnic conflict is not straightforward, parallels can be drawn if we realise that issues of immigration, ethnicity and conflict can all be analysed on the same set of self-other relations. The

process of othering immigrants and ethnic groups shares much more than is perhaps commonly understood. The overall project that Diken has undertaken has an immense depth and its intellectual boundaries extend well beyond any single one discipline and approach or for that case the issues involved in the debates about immigration. If there is one point of weakness that is the non-accessibility of the book. By moving into elaborate theoretical schemes, deep intellectual waters and by using enough of the specialised jargon Diken's work unfortunately fails to present an accessible reading for practitioners or even for those not aware of particular theoretical debates.

*Ioannis Armakolas*  
*INCORE, University of Ulster*

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## The Racial Contract

Charles W Mills

(Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997)  
171pp. Index. Hb.: £14.95; ISBN 0-8014-3454-8.

Professor Charles Mills in a compact yet revealing book attempts, and at times brilliantly succeeds, to redefine our traditional notion of contract theory. It is his basic premise that social contract theory is too narrowly defined and interpreted by both theorists and philosophers. It is his charge that these people, mostly white males, miss the exploitative nature of contract theory and as such allow one to justify or more importantly ignore what some scholars call the power of 'White Privilege'. That is, the unspoken but very real attitude that gives, particularly white males, special power relations that help maintain the dominance of White European society over non-white groups. Early in his book Professor Mills states, 'This book is an attempt to redirect your vision to make you see what, in essence has been there all along.' (p.2) (White Privilege) Gratefully a full reading of *The Racial Contract* fulfils this ambitious undertaking.

His book begins with a concise well-documented overview of how contract theory has failed to include the notion of race and how contract theory is used to rationalize the unequal distribution of social, political and economic power in the hands of a white, male dominated, community. He further explains how traditional contract theory is interpreted in such a narrow fashion that it fails to get at a key issue underlying the problem of conflict and exploitation: Race. He argues that contract theory is open only to a non-racial moral interpretation. He states, 'Whites take their racial privilege so much for granted that they do not even see it as 'political', as a form of domination.' (p.1) (White Privilege)

Dr. Mills in effect redefines modern global society as stemming from what he calls a 'Racial Contract'. That is

an exploitative moral, political, social and economic system doomed to maintain the dominance of white society. In essence, it is the Racial Contract that underlies much of today's ethnic conflict. He argues that over the past centuries white male dominance has been able to use social contract theory as the rational to control the world at large. He strongly states that for the most part theorists, mostly white, interpret world domination not as a by-product of racial and ethnic manipulation but as a natural progression of moral and natural law coming out of social contract theory. Mills argues that because 'contractarians' (p.5) fail to address race as a legitimate variable in social contract theory, that both normative and empirical thinkers could be wrong.

His most compelling argument is the demand that one must link race to the role it has played in determining relationships and benefits one acquires in any society. In effect, his thesis cites race as a major variable in maintaining the secondary status of racial groups. He further stipulates that people of color must be aware of this basic tenet, racial subordination, if they are to change their limited and secondary status in our present world. Furthermore, he feels that white society must also become aware that 'white privilege' is an unspoken benefit often not understood by those who benefit most, the White community, and until this process begins conflict between groups will not and in fact cannot be controlled. In essence, it is this exploitative nature of the Racial Contract that underlies much of today's ethnic conflicts. Mills clearly argues that the nature of the Racial Contract is so sublime that our present theorists and philosophers fail to take it into account when examining the nature of the various conflicts underlying the worlds political, social and economic unrest.

*John Valadez*  
*University of Wisconsin-Whitewater*

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## The Psychoanalysis of Race

Edited by Christopher Lane

(New York: Columbia University Press, 1998)  
445pp. Index. Hb.: ISBN 0-231-10946-6. Pb.: ISBN 0-231-10947-4.

A somewhat biased summary statement: this edited Volume of 18 articles consists mostly of discussions about critics who unfairly criticise critics and novelists. However, there is much of interest here. The majority of pieces are by university English teachers with a smattering of philosophers (Jacques Derrida) and social scientists. These are scholars well read in Freud, Jacques Lacan and Fritz Fanon. They are also, naturally, creatures of deconstruction.

In his introduction, Lane states, 'by highlighting racism's irrational forms, this collection demonstrates that prejudice

can coexist with the greatest support for ethnic and cultural diversity.’ (p 2); He has selected authors well versed in the literature, mostly novels; (e.g., E.M. Forster, Conrad), surrounding colonialism and post-colonialism; But there is also an immense variety here. From Amit S. Rai’s analytical discussion of a popular Hindi film from 1967, *Raat aur Din*, to Derrida’s analysis of what may underlie the word choices in the International Psychoanalytical Association’s Constitution of 1977, to Jacqueline Rose’s critique of Wulf Sach’s *Black Hamlet*, a non-fiction work by a Jewish psychoanalyst in S. Africa who befriended a native diviner who failed in an attempt to murder his wife ..... there is enormous breadth with much fine detail in the volumes’ 423 pages.

The book may have you running frequently to the dictionary if, like me, you are fuzzy about words like *joissance* and *alterity*. It’s all arranged in three sections: I. Current Dilemmas: Psychoanalysis and Post colonialism; II. History and the Origins of Racism; III. Psychoanalysis and Race: an Uncertain Conjunction. There are more conjunctions here than I have ever encountered before. I suspect almost everyone will find something new and challenging here and want to follow up with the help of the extensive bibliographies. For me, the best chapter was the last, ‘Bonding over Phobia’, by David Marriott. As a black, he delves deeply and convincingly into the complex morass of unconscious defense mechanisms and phobias that underlie ‘normal’ relationships between blacks and whites.

David Wolsk  
Victoria, B.C. Canada

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## **Tales of Dark-Skinned Women: Race, Gender and Global Culture**

Gargi Bhattacharya

(London: University College London Press, 1998)  
390pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 1-85728-611-1. Pb.: £13.95;  
ISBN 1-85728-612-X.

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Gargi Bhattacharya has written an innovative, and challenging book which deals with the questions of colonialism, the expansion of capitalism, and the violence wreaked in the globe through racism with both panache and pain. Articulating the necessity for taking embodied labour seriously, it at the same time weaves in issues centred around biological racism, Atlantic slavery, deaths of black people in British prisons, and resistance against racial degradation in its myriad forms. While analysing difference, Gargi Bhattacharya steers clear of nationalist certainties, and provides a sharp critique of racial absolutisms as well as proto-nationalist resolutions.

The writer is a lecturer in Cultural Studies and Sociology at the University of Birmingham, and takes the *Tales from One Thousand and One Nights* as seriously as she does *Das Kapital*. While centrally involved with telling stories, and analysing issues of representation, the book is insistent in its call to see through and go beyond representations to the stuff of social experience, lived realities and brutalising existences. In this, it succeeds in bringing together narrative tales, history, social theory and cultural analysis both productively and creatively.

Recalling Scheherazade in the *One Thousand and One Nights* and her ability to resist the power of a violent tyrant through entertaining him with tales, the book lays bare the power and tyranny of imperialism, the white male gaze, as well as fiction in subordinating women of colour. Herein enter the tales told by dark-skinned women - one a model, second a sportswoman, the third a newsreader and the fourth an entertainer - which comment and tell about embodied labour, flesh-work, the attempted stunting of minds and the possibilities for other kinds of futures. Within this, the body as the violent site of white male fantasy, and the body as impossibly and pleasurably owned by the dark-skinned women themselves, surface as a central tension which demands attention in the reshaping of racial images and myth-making.

*Tales of Dark-Skinned Women* is an important new book by a self-confident writer who is exploring the grim and mundane realities of racial oppression and racial myth-making through the medium of narrative stories. Here, she articulates the theme of narrativising as truth-telling and narrativising as healing - healing the wounds of history, of embodied pain, of daily racialised (and gendered) personal and social conflict. It stands as an important marker in the field of race and ethnic studies and cultural theory.

Parita Mukta  
University of Warwick

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## **The Silent War: Imperialism and the Changing Perception of Race**

Frank Füredi

(London: Pluto Press, 1998)  
282pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £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 to 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 damaging consequences of its racist tradition' (p.238).

John Tierney  
University of Durham

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## **Citizenship and Indigenous Australians: Changing Conceptions and Possibilities**

Edited by Nicolas Peterson & Will  
Sanders

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Hb.: £45.00/\$64.95; ISBN 0-521-62195-X. Pb.: £15.95/  
\$24.95; ISBN 0-521-62736-2.

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Beginning with a discussion of citizenship as defining membership of a common society, together with the rights and duties of that society's members, the underlying theme of this excellent collection of essays is that, for most of

Australia's colonial and post-colonial history, the majority of Aboriginal people have been denied full membership of Australian society. Although indigenous Australians achieved formal equal rights in the 1960s, and thus access to the same citizenship rights, as non-indigenous Australians, the contributors to this volume set out to consider just how far the question of the recognition of Aboriginal people's membership in their own indigenous social orders has been addressed. For the most part, the situation is one where the non-indigenous society, with its associated societal attitudes, cultural values, visions of nation-building and so on, continues to ignore the social and cultural contexts which provide the basis for Aboriginal identity and for the continuity and cultural viability of Aboriginal society.

The various contributors all provide excellent case studies which enhance the literature on the relationship of Aboriginal people to wider Australian society in historical and contemporary contexts. Marilyn Wood, for example, discusses the settler construction of indigenous identities in nineteenth century New South Wales, where indigenous rights to land were conceptually invalidated by settlers through the doctrine of *terra nullius*. In this way, indigenous social systems were undermined and Aboriginal people became marginalised *vis a vis* the settler society. Geoff Gray examines the policy in the mid-twentieth century that granting citizenship to Aboriginal peoples was only considered possible through a process of moral uplift, or a movement from nomadism to civilisation. Nicholas Peterson argues that dependency arose from the provision of social rights of citizenship in remote Aboriginal communities, but that this can only be analysed adequately with reference to the cultural and economic, as well as political aspects, of dependency, while David Trigger shows how dominant ideas of being a good citizen in Australia, which necessarily entail subscribing to the nation-building ideal of resource development, conflict with indigenous responses to mining. As Trigger points out, there is no clear sense among Aboriginal residents of communities close to mining projects, that they are obligated to support resource development because it is good for the nation. Rather, Aboriginal concern is expressed over damage to 'country' (the landscape and its material and spiritual properties) and over environmental pollution.

All the authors of this volume address issues beyond Australia by showing that the concept of citizenship in a multicultural society - and how it can be achieved or granted to minority groups - is highly contested. As the example of Australia shows, citizenship can also subordinate a sense of indigenous identity to national identity. As Trigger suggests, in a multicultural society, the concept of citizenship should be broadened to include recognition of cultural citizenship. In this way, cultural citizenship would imply that worldviews and practices (which are often inconsistent with those of the dominant cultural or ethnic group in a society) should be recognised and given moral weight. The danger, however, is that, as



has happened in Australia, the politics of Aboriginal identity has disrupted the established ideologies of civic society and moral solidarity. As movements for self-determination continue to grow in many other parts of the world, this collection raises the question of how possible it is to reconcile the equal rights accorded to all citizens with the special cultural and ethnic group rights increasingly demanded by indigenous peoples.

Mark Nuttall  
University of Aberdeen

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## **Citizens Without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship**

John Chesterman & Brian Galligan

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)  
277pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £45.00; ISBN 0-521-59230-5. Pb.:  
£15.95; ISBN 0-521-59751 X.

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Aborigines did not gain full Australian citizenship until the 1960s. In 1962 legislation was passed which allowed all adult Aborigines to vote, and in 1967 there was an amendment to the 1901 Constitution as a result of which the Australian federal government was enabled to pass laws with respect to Aborigines. The 1962 change is self-explanatory, while the 1967 one can be best explained as giving the Canberra government the power to intervene on behalf of Aborigines against state governments in Western Australia and Queensland where the treatment of Aborigines was most overtly racist. It is popularly believed that these two legislative changes gave Aborigines citizenship rights which the founding constitution had withheld from them.

Chesterman and Galligan argue that it was not the 1901 Constitution which had excluded Aborigines. This was a document which simply continued the well-established Australian colonial precedent of denying Aborigines the rights and privileges possessed by other British subjects in the sub-continent. That is, in the colonial period various local governments all had similar legislation to ensure that Aborigines were subject to repressive laws and regulations. These denied them basic rights such as freedom of movement, free bargaining for employment, and free choice of a marriage partner. These governments also directly repressed Aborigines by making them subject to special curfews and to discipline for insubordination. In other words, the 1901 Constitution was a non-event in the history of Aboriginal citizenship because the exclusion of indigenous people from Australian public life was a well-established custom which the constitution avoided addressing. All the Australian colonies (except for Tasmania which claimed to have no Aborigines) possessed administrative apparatus which rigidly controlled

Aborigines in segregated facilities. Chesterman and Galligan argue that the only passages in the federal constitution which refer to Aborigines left their governance and political rights totally in the hands of the former colonies - called states from 1901. After federation the states enforced bureaucratic governance upon Aborigines in an increasing rigid process which reached its high point during the 1930s. Even after the 1930s Aborigines were controlled. For example, in Western Australia the Natives (Citizenship Rights) Act, 1944, allowed some Aborigines to possess citizenship, but this status would be lost if the Aboriginal citizen contracted a disease such as leprosy or syphilis. The Aborigine citizen was also required to carry his certificate of citizenship with a photograph of the holder attached.

This limited form of citizenship existed until the federal changes in the 1960s, and is the reason why Chesterman and Galligan emphasize that Aborigines were treated as citizens with no rights.

However, this argument leads to the most problematic feature of this book. The volume is mis-titled. The book is primarily a legal and administrative history of official Australian treatment of Aborigines. In fact, it is an excellent survey of this subject which uses a wide range of primary and secondary sources. However, it claims to be more. Its title promises to examine Citizens Without Rights but neither rights nor citizenship theory is seriously analysed. The work contains no historical or contemporary analysis of what citizenship might have meant, or might mean, to either nineteenth or twentieth century white Australians. Instead, it relies upon brief mentions of Aristotle and Rousseau which stress that a citizen is someone who both rules and is ruled. While these references are useful in emphasising that modern democratic citizenship involves equality and participation, they do little to help the reader weigh the evidence which Chesterman and Galligan - with the occasional assistance of Tom Clarke - have compiled. To explain: late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Australian citizenship was rather like what George Armstrong Kelly explained as state membership where the group found its unity in submission to law. ('Who needs a theory of citizenship?' *Theorizing Citizenship*, ed. Ronald Beiner, State University of New York Press, 1995, pp. 79-104). From this historical perspective a citizen was someone who was subject to the laws of a state. This notion of citizenship does not entail that citizens were equal or that they participated. From this formal perspective, Aborigines were citizens who were ruled by various Australian colonial or state governments.

Aborigines received special benefits to which ordinary Australian citizens were not entitled, but were very rarely entitled to vote, nor to receive general benefits such as the old age pensions and maternity allowances which were the citizenship rights claimed by white Australians after World War I. The idea that citizenship was an entitlement marks an important change in Australian citizenship, and

had a profound effect upon the treatment of Aborigines. As Chesterman and Galligan repeatedly and correctly observe, Aborigines on reserves and in special camps were given food, shelter and medical care, but were denied the benefits white Australians received as their due. This feature about Australian citizenship has nothing to do with the notion, which the authors draw from Aristotle and Rousseau, that a citizen is someone who participates in making laws and in governing. It was equal entitlement, rather than participation, which became the criterion for defining citizenship. This kind of citizenship was even more exclusionary than the older colonial view of citizenship in which equality would have meant equality under the law. Of course, in practice, Aborigines were not treated equally under either kind of citizenship, but, in theory, the older view was less exclusive, because white Australian and Aborigines were equally under the law.

The difficulty in adopting a participatory notion of citizenship when discussing Australian treatment of Aborigines is that it had no bearing on the treatment of Aborigines in the past. The politicians and officials whose institutional activities Chesterman and Galligan condemn were supported by the majority of the Australian democratic voters whom they represented. Participation worked to repress Aborigines. This is illustrated by an example given by Chesterman and Galligan in which Aboriginal children received a less favourable education because 'white parents often protested successfully if they discovered that their children were being educated with Aboriginal children'. Demands for racial exclusion were popular, while pressure for reform was imposed upon Australia by unrepresentative figures such as church leaders or academics. Even more telling is the fact that effective pressure for the better treatment of Aborigines after World War I was external, and came from the British Imperial government. This suggests that before the 1967 referendum, which favoured constitutional reform on the subject, higher amounts of democratic participation in Australia would have been repressive. Like participation, equality is an awkward theoretical tool for Chesterman and Galligan. They are well aware that, on occasion, equality has been used by the white majority that was hostile to the rights of the indigenous minority. Further, they view the present situation of equal citizenship for Aborigines as a boon which might have aided them in the early twentieth century, but which is now used against them in struggles over land rights and self-determination. In conclusion, neither participation nor equality provides Chesterman and Galligan with a set of citizenship values that would protect indigenous people in a democracy. Their views are similar to those of liberal democrats everywhere, but something more specific is needed if the interests of Australian, or of other, indigenous peoples are to be included in the modern state.

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## **Commodifying Communism: Business, Trust, and Politics in a Chinese City**

David L Wank

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)  
298pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £35.00/US\$59.95; ISBN 0-521-  
62073-2.

The book is a result of ethnographic fieldwork in Xiamen, a special economic zone in Fujian, China. The fieldwork lasted almost two years in 1988-1990, investigated 69 various 'private' enterprises and interviewed 200 entrepreneurs. It tried to find out how commodified Chinese communist officialdom, especially local officials, maintained mutually beneficial commercial clientelist networks with the entrepreneurs and help the latter pursue their business activities. In 1995, Wank went back to Xiamen for a short visit. However, most original material was painstakingly gathered in the earlier fieldwork.

In addition to the useful first-hand material, the author makes a rigorous theoretical analysis and interpretation of the collected data. His institutional commodification account challenges the more conventional traditional culture and market economy accounts. He argues that the institutionalized presence of state power in commercial competition in market sectors and exchanges between public units and private companies which create mutual benefit from commodification of public resources have led to China's rapid economic growth. However, China's experience confounds the conventional wisdom that markets promote democracy and democracy is more conducive to markets. He further points out that further emergence of markets may encourage rather than undermine the presence of local government in the market economy. Moreover, clientelist ties are a durable contracting mode in a market economy and can operate in an institutionally plural context. In terms of the role of local government, he asserts that policies of active state participation in the economy are increasingly seen as stimulating the more rapid growth of a capitalist market economy.

All these are bold and certainly controversial theoretical points to make. Wank has vigorously and persuasively made them. However, they do sound like the 'neo-authoritarian' views expressed by XiaoGongquan, Zhang Bingjiu and others in the late 1980s. They also seem to fit well with the 'Asian values' advocated by Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew and Malaysia's Mahatir Mohamad. Unfortunately for Wank, the book had been written before the onset of the current Asian economic crisis in 1997. Thus, his statement that the most rapidly growing market economy in the late twentieth century, namely the Chinese

economy, is also one of the few remaining communist party-states needs to be more carefully scrutinized. The sort of rapid growth envisaged in 1995 is no longer possible in 1999. In the late 1990s, is China still a communist or rather an authoritarian Confucian state? That is a debatable question. More seriously, the kind of official-entrepreneur clientelism described by Wank as acceptable in late 1980s and early 1990s is increasingly unacceptable to Premier Zhu Rongqi and his reformists. Within such a short time span, to generalize what he keenly observed in his fieldwork into such radical theoretical statements seems hasty.

Still, this is an exciting and challenging book to read. It should cause a lot of rethinking and redefining of orthodox western theories on developmental political economy.

*CL Chiou*  
*The University of Queensland*

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## **Democratization in China and Taiwan: The Adaptability of Leninist Parties**

Bruce J. Dickson

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)  
276 pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £37.50; ISBN 0-19-829269-4.

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Can the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) democratize as Taiwan's Nationalist Party (Kuomintang - KMT) has done in the past decade? Bruce Dickson's excellent book explains why it can not. Dickson demonstrates that the Chinese Communist Party is trapped in the classic dilemma of reform. '[S]hould the CCP signal its willingness to adapt, it is likely to be overwhelmed by a popular upsurge. As was the norm for most other communist parties, attempts by the CCP to undertake responsive adaptation will likely lead not to the transformation of the regime but to its collapse.' (p. 14) The CCP is unable to democratize because of its own institutional practices and personnel. Its leaders have never trusted democracy and have always responded with repression to any domestic threats, and presumably are unable to act very differently in the future.

In contrast Taiwan had a special relationship with the United States which meant that a large portion of the KMT's leadership received higher education in the United States and grew familiar with democracy. Because the KMT's roots were in China's mainland, it was quite repressive and unpopular in Taiwan, even if it provided rapid economic growth. Particularly in the 1970s when the United States switched diplomatic recognition to China, the KMT desperately needed to consolidate its legitimacy with both the domestic population and the United States. A transition to democracy satisfied both needs.

While the book does not deal directly with ethnic differences, it does deal with regional differences and the implications in Taiwan when a political party based in one part of a country ends up ruling a small island province. In this case there was a lot of friction for decades until intermarriage reduced the sense of disparate identities. The KMT ultimately chose to democratize and essentially convert itself from a mainlanders' party to a new party that could compete for Taiwanese votes. Whether it will succeed in this striking transition remains to be seen.

Dickson's conclusions are based on a meticulous review of the CCP and KMT's institutional history, with citations to the key literature of decades of China studies. The book also provides an excellent (and still all too rare) bridge between Chinese area studies and general literature on organizational and political change. It is an excellent book for graduate students and scholars of both China and political change.

*Benedict Stavis*  
*Temple University*

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## **Life on the Outside: The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism**

Ølvind Fuglerud

(London: Pluto Press, 1999)  
212pp. Hb.: £40.00; ISBN 0-7453-1438-4. Pb.: £12.99; ISBN 0-7453-1433-3

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With increased displacement and refugee flows since the end of the Cold War, research on transnational identities by anthropologists has proliferated. About 40 countries have produced 25-30 million asylum seekers or refugees. But empirically grounded studies on radicalised Diaspora supporting nationalist, separatist and irredentist movements are few. Among the most notable are: Andrew J. Wilson's *Irish America and the Ulster Conflict (1968-1995)* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1995) and Darshan Singh Tatla's *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood* (London: UCL Press, 1999) and the current work by Fuglerud. Diasporas supporting insurgent networks engaged in international propaganda, fund raising, and procurement are extremely difficult to research. Often, the level of secrecy between the insurgent-Diaspora nexus determines the success of the ethnic project either to create autonomy, independence or reunification. Other than the current study by Fuglerud, there is only one other study on the radicalised Tamil Diaspora in the open literature. Although the author does not refer to Christopher McDowell, in many ways, the current study forms a companion volume or a sequel

to *A Tamil Asylum Diaspora: Sri Lankan Migration, Settlement and Politics in Switzerland* (New York Berghahn: 1996) 208pp.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam draws support from politicised segments of its 850,000 strong world-wide Tamil Diaspora to politically and militarily campaign for a mono-ethnic state in Sri Lanka. Fuglerud's study, based on extensive fieldwork both in Norway and Sri Lanka, draws from his valuable experience as a Norwegian immigration official and a NGO worker. Fuglerud, currently senior researcher, Centre for Development, University of Norway, examines the Sri Lankan Diaspora production, formation and development through several theoretical frameworks: migration, globalization and identity politics.

After discussing the dynamics of the Tamil community and the conflict, Fuglerud's study assesses the difficulties the Sri Lankan and host states have in reintegrating the Diaspora into the parent community. The author confides that his initial belief - that it was 'necessary and possible' (p. 19) for governments to access refugee claims in order to provide to those who need it most - was shattered by his findings. As with every major study, Fuglerud's work is not without flaws. As most researchers are emotionally influenced by the community they study, Fuglerud too develops an emotional attachment and sits on judgement of the 'other' community. 'There is no doubt that the main responsibility for the political catastrophe which Sri Lanka is must be put on the shoulders of opportunistic and short-sighted political leaders on the Sinhalese side.' (p. 31) The inherent vulnerability of sympathy by both foreign and native researchers to their subjects, can be minimised by conducting comparative research say between the Tamil Diaspora in Norway and another Scandinavian country or between the Tamil and Kurdish Diasporas in Norway. In this context, Alexander George's Structured Focus Comparison Method would have enhanced the value of such a study. Other than this flaw, Fuglerud's work demonstrates hardwork, sound analysis and a high level of integrity.

On Diaspora nationalism, which the author terms 'long distance nationalism' or 'exile nationalism', the Fuglerud study is a prototype for any anthropologist or political scientist working on politicised-radicalised Diaspora. Although *Life of the Outside* is his first book, the access and incisive analysis Fuglerud brings to his craft promises much greater works in the future.

Rohan Gunaratna  
University of St Andrews

## Politics, Society and Cosmology in India's North East

N. Vijaylakshmi Brara

(Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1998)  
263pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$24.95; ISBN 0-19-564331-3.

How can the concept of the state best be understood in terms of seeking explanations of such phenomena as ethnic conflict, social and cultural change and political dissent? And what discipline or disciplines provides the most appropriate methodology for exploring the concept of the state? Certainly, the concept of the state is central to both the study of ethnic conflict, and to the origins of much ethnic conflict. The creation of states by the administrative decrees of former colonial or military powers underlies much of the ethnic conflict in the contemporary world. The assumptions that a state is whatever a ruling power defines it to be, and that residents within its borders will both conform to the definition and find a sufficient basis for common identity, have been demonstrated, time and time again, to be false. N. Vijaylakshmi Brara's fascinating book is less significant in the study of ethnic conflict for its description of Manipur society and culture than for its innovative and challenging theoretical and methodological approaches. Its focus on the state as defined by collective memory, common culture and myth, and the continuing ritual of the people, and provides a model which might profitably be applied to other societies. Its emphasis on the importance of how people remember their past (as distinct from, and often in contradiction with official or academic histories) might also be usefully considered in other contexts.

Manipur is a state on the north eastern edge of India, sharing part of its border with Myanmar (Burma). Originally a collection of heterogeneous principalities, its population includes the Meiteis, who are mainly Hindu and live in the Manipur Valley, and various Naga and Kuki tribes, who are predominantly Christian and live in the surrounding hills. Although culturally different and geographically separated, the peoples have, as the author shows, developed myths of a common origin, and share many cultural characteristics, including religious rituals. Manipur only acquired statehood with responsible government in 1971; prior to that it was administered by the President of India through an appointed Chief Commissioner.

Brara explores the concept of the state from the perspective of culture, rather than as an entity defined by governance, rules and power. Applying the methodology of cultural anthropology, she seeks to understand how collective memories, perceptions of the cosmic world, rituals, belief systems and kinship structures provide the basis for a holistic definition of the state, and enable the conflicts currently existing within the region to be understood. Importantly, Brara has not relied on traditional historical

sources alone, but has sought to understand the history as it is remembered by the people; she endeavoured to 'comprehend 'peoples' perception of their own history and society' [p.5]. The work uses Clifford Geertz's concept of the 'theatre state' which 'involves studying the state structure of a given society through the elements of culture, an understanding of rituals, an observance of symbolic codes in interpersonal behaviour among people, a study of the emphasis placed on myths, including origin myths, and in considering the people's perception of their state, their kings and their society. So, it evolves from and revolves around a comprehensive understanding of a given society.' [p.7] Geertz explained his concept by drawing a parallel between the state-craft of the Balinese State and theatrical art in his *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). However, as Brara notes: 'The limitation in Clifford Geertz's methodology of cultural constructs lies in the fact that it does not emphasise the need for interaction with the people one is studying, dwelling only on the realms of mythology and legend.' [p.23] Brara has used Geertz's approach as a basis for her study, but has added to it both 'the observation and interaction approach by conducting rigorous fieldwork' and 'an attempt to relate these cultural aspects and structures to contemporary social and political relations in Manipur.' [p.25] Thus she endeavours to analyse the cultural constructs of the state both from an historical and an anthropological perspective, and to use this analysis to understand the culture within the contemporary state. In doing so, she shares in the 'growing interest among anthropologists in the historical approach and in combining this with the anthropological approach in studying beliefs and practices.' [p.242] But, beyond that, she 'wanted to go further and link culture and the past of the society to its present. My main aim was to make this study relevant by analysing the new problems emerging in Manipur and the consequent changes in the state apparatus, as well as the changing perceptions of the concept of the state in people's minds.' [p.252] And, as external influences promoting or even compelling change impact upon traditional indigenous societies throughout the world, there is often (as there is in Manipur) a 'resurgence of interest in the past': 'Even while opening up more and more to the outside world, these societies are returning to their roots, their culture and their belief systems, informed by an understanding that such a return to the past could help preserve the identity of their communities that are constantly being threatened by the inroads made by more dominant cultures.' [p. vi]

Beyond the (to the western reader) obscurity of the peoples being studied, this fine work should provoke much thought about the approach taken in attempts to understand conflicts within and between states. It includes a good bibliography of works on social theory and methodology, as well as on Indian society and culture.

Gregory Tillett  
University of Western Sydney, Nepean

## **Identities and Rights. Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India**

Gurpreet Mahajan

(Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1998)  
190pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £17.99; ISBN 0-19-5644174.

Democracy in India is under introspection as never before. With the rise of the Hindu right as represented by the Bharatiya Janata Party, the issue of rights, especially of minority rights, has become a highly contested subject. Indeed, the very nature of the Nehruvian liberal democracy is itself at stake.

The aim of this slim volume is to evaluate the experience of Indian democracy within the framework of democratic theory. This is done by looking at issues of citizenship, minority rights, the relationship between religious communities and the state, secularism and affirmative action. There is a detailed discussion of these aspects within five chapters. Recent case law is presented to highlight contemporary developments as well as illustrate the continuing evolution of democratic practise.

Mahajan rejects the reading of India as a formal democracy where the liberal aspects are heavily compromised. Such a reading, according to her, often arises as a result of an uncritical application of a model of European liberal democracy to India. The experience of Indian democracy since 1947, on the other hand, suggests that many aspects are more than 'liberal'. In fact, many of the problems that have bedevilled liberal democracies in Europe, such as group rights, have been imaginatively overcome in the case of India. The distinctiveness of Indian democratic experience, in Mahajan's view, is apparent in the fact that the 'central concepts of liberalism - namely individualism, secularism, the distinction between the private and the public - are either unnecessary or inappropriate for India. Secularism is inapplicable while individualism is undesirable. Besides, the quality of tolerance, that is highly valued by liberals, is an intrinsic attribute of Hinduism'. (p23)

Mahajan is quite successful in putting forward the case for the cultural and historical peculiarities of Indian democracy. In the critique of European liberal democracy, however, the emphasis is perhaps too much on the Anglo-Saxon version rather than the continental tradition. Key issues - religious freedom and article 25 (2) - are sometimes skated over or footnoted. A conclusion would greatly have enhanced the clarity of the volume which seems to end abruptly.

Despite these weaknesses this short volume will be keenly read by those interested in democracy in the developing world. It provides an important agenda for the further exploration of Indian democratic experience.

Gurharpal Singh  
University of Hull

## The Sikhs of the Punjab

JS Grewal

(Revised Edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

277pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £15.95/\$24.95; ISBN 0-521-63764-3.

This, a revised edition of *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, is an important book. It constitutes an authoritative history of the development of the religion and culture of the Sikh community and of the competing traditions of which it is composed. It is a fine example of a descriptive historiography. While perhaps not the intent, the work also provides a crisp and measured history of northern India from the perspective of the Sikh historical experience.

The work commences with a vivid description of the social context of Guru Nanak's life and ministry, continues through the complex issues and relationships surrounding leadership succession through Guru Govind Singh, provides a delineation of the development of the empire of Ranjit Singh and the accommodation with the British successors to the Mughal Empire at the demise of the empire of the Sikhs and the impending demise of the Mughals. While conceived in broad strokes, the descriptions and analysis nevertheless move close to the content of cultural imbeddedness to facilitate contextual meaning and understanding. The book includes a rather substantial glossary, an equally detailed and useful three-century calendar of events as well as a rich and authoritative bibliographical essay.

While strong on descriptive political history, the work is less rich with respect to the social history of the Sikh community. The work would be enriched, for example, by an examination of the means of attraction and encompassment of new recruits and the means of communication among various local congregations spread across much of the Mughal Empire as it would by an investigation of the sinews of coherence within a community of devotees that included ritually exclusive social segments with roots in Hindu social structure. The volume provides a delineation of regional consciousness and competition for political advantage within the Sikh community, but no real explanation for Sikh exclusivism and centripetal political inclination. There is, in short, no theory of the Sikh movement of the late 20th Century. Such a theory is important not only for understanding and engaging current discontents in the Punjab, but also for informing our understanding of the genesis and forms of religious conflict more generally.

This said, however, it must also be said that this book has legs. It is must reading for anyone interested in the Sikh community and the Punjab; it will no doubt be a classic reference for years to come.

Richard Sisson  
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## India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years

Edited by Selig S. Harrison, Paul H. Kreisberg & Dennis Kux

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

216pp. Index. £32.50/US\$49.95; ISBN 0-521-64185-3. Pb.: £10.95/US\$16.95; ISBN 0-521-64585-9.

This book, a collection of essays by ten prominent scholars, emanates from a conference marking the fiftieth anniversaries of India and Pakistan as independent countries at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in 1997. The nine essays - which are not comparative, but consider India and Pakistan separately - analyze the progress, problems and prospects of two countries which constitute one fifth of the world's population. They assess domestic political developments, economic directions, social trends, and foreign and security policies, including relations with the United States.

As Sonalde Desai and Katherine F. Sreedhar state, the goals of India's founders were, 'first, to unify the nation; next, to build a modern industrial state and promote economic growth; and in the course of those achievements, to reduce poverty and inequalities' (pp. 107-08). Paul Brass asserts that while India remains almost unique among new states in its ability to hold democratic elections, resist military coups, and incorporate new groups into the political process, it has witnessed increased corruption, communal tendencies, and institutional decay. John Adams traces the course of economic planning from Nehruvian reliance on industrialization at the expense of agriculture, through Indira Gandhi's subsequent attempts to lure voting blocs with redistributive policies, and ultimately the free market reforms of the past decade. The new policies, which have yielded GNP growth of from 6%-8%, however, have served to widen the economic disparities within the country. The sizes of the upper and lower classes are expanding dramatically. Life expectancy has doubled from 32 to 61 years since independence, but more than half of all children are malnourished. Since 1961 male literacy has doubled from 34% to 64% and female literacy has tripled from 13% to 39% for an average of 48% for both sexes, but spending on education and health lags behind most other Asian states.

The record in Pakistan, as Anita Weiss documents, is even worse. Key social-development indicators, such as sanitation, caloric intake, adult literacy - 36.4% for males and only 23% for females - remain among the lowest in the world, while population growth is one of the highest. The country's 161.8 million people are expected to double by the year 2017. Shared religion has failed to create a common identity among diverse ethnic and linguistic

groups. Robert LaPorte explains how institutional performance has declined, as malaise and corruption in the civil service have increased to the highest levels in Asia. Marvin Weinbaum claims that there is a failure of governance which he attributes to a nonrepresentative, unaccountable decision-making process, chronic political instability and an obstructionist bureaucratic culture. Civil society is in danger of collapsing, as a self-serving leadership's misguided priorities have caused 70% of the country's budget to go for defense spending and debt servicing.

Clearly the strategic inheritance resulting from the partition of 1947 - especially the unresolved territorial dispute in Kashmir - has mandated that defense spending remain a disproportionate priority for two countries with scarce resources. Thomas Perry Thornton eloquently describes how Pakistan's continuing insecurity led it to seek alliances with the United States and China, and ultimately to produce nuclear weapons. Sumit Ganguly shows how the pillars of India's foreign policy - anti-colonialism, global redistributive justice, and nonalignment - have lost their relevance. Both countries are searching for a meaningful role in the post-cold war world. Stephen P. Cohen depicts the dilemma the United States has faced in attempting to formulate a policy towards either of these mutually hostile states without antagonizing the other - a situation that left both Islamabad and New Delhi dissatisfied, and the United States reluctant to get involved in a region where it had marginal interests.

The book's principal contribution is that it provides lay readers and scholars with nine well-written surveys and valuable data about the first fifty years of two ethnically diverse, populous countries. While one could make the case that the record suggests that Pakistan is a failed state and India is a state that is not working, the editors, who summarize each selection, prefer to conclude that they compare well with the performance of the United States in the years between the late 1820s and the Civil War.

*Arthur G. Rubinoff*  
*The University of Toronto*

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## **The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood**

**Darshan Singh Tatla**

(London: University College London Press, 1999)  
327pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 1-85728-300-7. Pb.: £14.95;  
ISBN 1-85728-301-5.

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Operation Bluestar was the central government's belated response to Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his followers' strategy of violence which aimed both to drive Hindus

from Punjab and to provoke a backlash forcing Sikhs living elsewhere in India to seek the safety of their 'home' state. Thus would be created 'Khalistan', an independent homeland for Sikhs. With the violence spiralling out of control, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sent the army into Punjab on 2 June 1984. From 5-6 June, the army and the militants fought a ferocious battle over the Golden Temple complex where Bhindranwale and a large number of his followers were sheltering. While the Golden Temple (*Hari Mandir*) itself sustained limited damage, the *Akal Takht* (Eternal Throne) was almost destroyed and the precious Golden Temple reference library set on fire.

For Darshan Singh Tatla, Operation Bluestar was the 'crucial' (p 210) event that transformed Sikhs' understanding of their identity: 'From a self-confident religious community, the Sikhs rapidly acquired many characteristics of a persecuted minority' (p 1). In particular, argues Tatla, the threat of an overly centralised and overtly Hindu India practising 'ethnocracy' (p 36) rather than democracy led the one million-strong Sikh diaspora to take up the role of popularisers - and chief fund-raisers - for Khalistan. Furthermore, their reaction to Operation Bluestar 'enabled them to redraw a strict definition of Sikh identity, highlighting the religious tradition and collective symbols of the community instead of the geography, language and cultural traits' (p 210). Tatla also describes how support for Khalistan fed on the alienation which many Sikhs living abroad had long felt but rarely articulated.

Tatla's excellent work underscores the 'situational' (p 210) nature of ethnic consciousness. Why then does he only grudgingly admit that, for the Sikh diaspora, 'a broader loyalty towards India probably still exists' (p210)? While viewing the recent cricket World Cup clash between Pakistan and India with a mixed crowd of University of Bradford students, raucous cries of 'Pakistan Zindabad!' were met with equally heartfelt shouts of 'India! India! India!' from Sikh as well as other Indian supporters. Only once - when Robin Singh was batting - did several Sikh students raise a short-lived chant of 'Khalistan!' With the return of peace to Punjab and the entrance of the Akali Dal (the main Sikh political party) into the recent national coalition government of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party, support for Khalistan has become a slogan rather than a belief.

*Apurba Kundu*  
*University of Bradford*

## Frontiersmen: Warfare in Africa since 1950

Anthony Clayton

(London: University College London Press, 1999)  
235pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: ISBN 1-85728-524-7.  
Pb.: 1-85728-525-5.

The author examines armed conflicts in Africa since 1950, ranging from those in industrialized states like South Africa, to battles in essentially stateless regions. The main theme of the book is that these varied conflicts fit a 'frontiersmen' framework, in which enterprising individuals and groups battle for resources and opportunity.

This thesis suffers from vagueness; all conflicts have an element of battling over resources. Taken together, however, Clayton's case studies show warfare in Africa 'superceding the Western style nation, though not doing so deliberately' (p. 207). Battles in Sierra Leone and Congo are a far cry from anti-colonial struggles of Algeria or Angola in the 1960s and 1970s. The former are much concerned with access to loot. In the latter, insurgents fought to make states in a European image. Guinea-Bissau highlights this change. During the 1960s and 1970s, Amilcar Cabral used warfare to build institutions of rule. Since 1998, the country has been gripped by divisive factional fighting. Viewed through the lens of the organization and goals of warfare, colonialism and the immediate Cold War aftermath appears as a parenthesis, rather than an end for significant parts of Africa.

These changes raise several questions. First, why are so few 'new' insurgencies secessionist? Of the cases that Clayton describes, only Biafra's and Katanga's leaders advertised that they would create new states. More recently, insurgents in Eritrea and Somaliland justified separation in terms of restoring colonial era boundaries. Most insurgents, notes Clayton, aim to capture State House. Has the idea of European style states deserted African insurgents?

Second, what is the nature of African warfare at the close of the century? Clayton writes that 'few approximate to accepted Western concepts of war, that is, warfare between armies of nation states or European civil wars.' (p. 205). Yet Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front shows South African anti-insurgency methods in their use of exemplary violence to control non-combatants. Mozambique's RENAMO was, as Clayton points out, a Rhodesian, then South African proxy. Liberian warlord (then President) Charles Taylor picked up this strategy when he threatened to 'do a RENAMO' on neighboring

Sierra Leone (p. 196). The use of home guards in the Sierra Leone Government's battle against insurgents derives directly from South Africa, through the training of a South African company, Executive Outcomes.

None of these comments, however, detract from my conclusion that this is a fine piece of scholarship that is required reading for students of African warfare.

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## Peacekeeping in Africa

Edited by Oliver Furley & Roy May

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998)  
319pp. Hb.: £42.50; ISBN 1-85972-492-2.

In an era when ethnic conflicts across the world are becoming ever more common and the west seems to be developing 'Africa fatigue' in particular, *Peacekeeping in Africa* presents a timely review of recent conflicts in Africa, and asks how the continent, with its lack of peacekeeping resources, can begin to cope with this lack of interest.

In their introduction, Furley and May point out that few books on peacekeeping concentrate solely on Africa, and state that their aims are to provide 'substantial' background material and cover the main peacekeeping operations in this region. (p.3) The book covers the policies and actions of international organisations such as the OAU and the UN, together with sub-regional powers and NGO players. It concentrates to a large extent on post-1989 peacekeeping efforts (with the exception of a case study on the OAU's involvement in Chad in 1981).

The volume is split into three sections - World Perspectives (consisting of an introduction, the recent evolution of peacekeeping in Africa, regional peacekeeping, and the role of the US/France/Britain); Case Studies of Zimbabwe, Chad, Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi; and Wider Issues (the role of NGOs, the military and views of the 'peacekept').

Although some of the case studies (notably Chad, Namibia and Mozambique) include some background to the disputes involved, for me there was a lack of context to peacekeeping in this volume, in terms of pre-1989 history in Africa, and in a worldwide sense. The case studies themselves were excellent - charting the recent development of peacekeeping, warts and all, from the disasters of 'mission-creep' in Somalia to the relative successes of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and their effects on the populations of the region. Asking the question 'should



Africa take responsibility for its own peacekeeping?' the case studies allow comparisons of purely UN peacekeeping operations with African intervention in Chad and Liberia.

However, the most thought-provoking of the chapters proves to be that by Christopher Clapham, 'Being peacekept'. He brings a much-needed perspective on peacekeeping, especially on how it is viewed by the combatants in the conflicts. He points out that applying 'uniform principles of international peacekeeping' to African conflicts has had very different outcomes, depending much more on the impact of peacekeeping on the local combatants than on the peacekeepers themselves.(p.318)

An interesting volume on Africa, which provides food for thought in the case of ongoing conflicts such as Eritrea-Ethiopia.

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*International Boundaries Research Unit, University of Durham*

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## **Africa's New Leaders: Democracy or State Reconstruction?**

Marina Ottaway

(New York: Carnegie Institution for International Peace, 1999)  
138pp. Pb.: \$10.95; ISBN 0-87003-134-1.

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Marina Ottaway has written an excellent study, largely targeted at policy circles, on the group of 'new leaders' in Africa, including those in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda, and Rwanda (Kagame). The regimes and their leaders have common qualities: friendliness to US policy concerns; countries torn asunder by ethnic fratricide and civil war; leaders who have emphasized the need for state reconstruction and opposed the pressures of external donors for creating multiparty democracy; success in re-establishing state institutions, and the economy (less so Rwanda); and aggressiveness in foreign policy, a readiness to use force and support others to secure their own interests and intervene in the internal affairs of neighboring states. Ottaway is sympathetic to the needs for state reconstruction and critical of the simplicity of U.S. pressures for democracy. She argues that understanding the leaders and their policies is key in countries where institutions are weak. After a chapter on state collapse, Ottaway devotes a chapter each to Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Uganda, setting out clearly progress and problems in the domains of rebuilding the state (power, authority, administration) and economy and relevant steps to engage popular participation. Ottaway also devotes a chapter to Rwanda and Congo/Zaire, arguing how Rwanda resembles the 'new leader' states and the multiple failures of Kabila exclude the Congo from the concept. Ottaway seems to trace

Congo's current problems primarily to Kabila's inabilities, whereas in other chapters the intractability of the problems the leaders face is highlighted. Ottaway also devotes a chapter to the current context, where international institutions have failed to deal with Africa's problems, a chains of crises has engulfed east-central Africa, and the new leaders have cooperated in interventions not only for their security but to rebuild the entire region. This is new but unregulated by adherence to any major principles, which may have contributed to the useless, costly Eritrean-Ethiopian war since June 1998.

Ottaway devotes particular attention to how the new leaders have dealt with ethnic and other social conflicts that created government collapse in these key states. The discussion on building ethnic federation in Ethiopia, Museveni's attempts to create broad ethnic/regional support for Uganda's government, and the intractability of the ethnic hatred and fear in Rwanda is particularly good. Ottaway assesses carefully if current policies are creating conditions for future democratization in these three distinct countries in an excellent final chapter.

*Jon Kraus*  
*State University of New York – Fredonia*

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## **Challenging the State: Churches as Political Actors in South Africa 1980 - 1994**

Tristan Anne Borer

(Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998)  
289pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: ISBN 0-268-00829-9.

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I have already advised my friends in theological and reference libraries to ensure they have a copy available. Professor Borer has produced a disciplined analysis of the contrasting statements and activities of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) as against those of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) from 1980 to 1994.

The text examines the political and religious contexts of the period and the specific responses of the two organisations. The genius is in the juxtaposition of the different themes allowing the reader a useful access to the development of theological argument through the period under review. The material is detailed and is based on numerous documents and personal interviews. The study examines the issues of political, social and religious responses to racial division and conflict in apartheid South Africa and in so doing examines these issues wherever they may arise.

Do not miss the 56 pages of notes. These are filled with fascinating additions to the main text as well as some diverting items of interest that add texture to the general review. The bibliography provides an impressive array of useful publications for further study.

An introductory chapter giving a brief historic review leading up to the situation in 1980 is most helpful. As is a closing chapter that examines the theological questions raised by the political changes brought by the new dispensation of democratic non-racial government. The questions about the response of contextual theology to a major shift in the politico-social context give the book an open ended style that challenges the church and its theological institutions to future study and debate.

Indeed, my copy has many question marks in its margins. A few of these query assumptions about statements and events, but the vast majority are there because the work raises questions that demand further consideration.

I have two difficulties:

The problem in comparing the SACC and SACBC, although acknowledged, remains. They were and are very different types of organisations, especially in regard to accountability.

Without denying the author's sensitivity to the issues under review, there is a clinical precision to this work that seems at times to ignore the deep human feelings wrought by the life and death struggle of the time.

Neither difficulty relates to the complete work nor detracts from the value of this impressive study which I would recommend to anyone who has interest in South Africa itself or the worldwide phenomena of racism and ethnic conflict.

*Bernard Spong (Rev)*

*Recently retired from the South African Council of Churches*

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## **Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa**

Edited by Sarah Nuttall & Carli Coetzee

(Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998)  
300pp. Index. Pb.: £14.99; ISBN 0-19-571503-9

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Examining the ways in which South Africans choose to remember their conflicted past through the process of negotiating memory and 'truth', this book grapples with

the ways in which a created history may either prevent or renew a cycle of future violence. In shaping these public/private post-conflict identities, the authors try to answer the vital questions: 'Who were we when we fought?'; 'Who are we now that we've stopped?'; and, 'How can we stop ourselves from repeating it in the future?'

Divided into four sections, the first; 'Truth, memory, narrative', includes essays by the writers, academics, and poets addressing the value and limitations of the TRC. Njabulo Ndebele argues that the horrific surrealism of apartheid surpasses any attempt to find meaning for it other than through narratives that may have less to do with facts themselves than with their recall and 'revelation of meaning through [their] imaginative combination'. (p.21) Andre Brink insists that it is the way we think about the past that 'poses the conditions for the future'. (p.33)

In section II, 'The remembered self', the editors and others wrestle with the complexities and tensions inherent in depicting autobiographical and collective identity. Carli Coetzee questions an interesting historic twist as she describes a recent trend among Afrikaners to link to an African identity by reclaiming their connection to a widowed African Khoikhoi woman named Krotoa who had two children by a Danish surgeon in 17<sup>th</sup> century Cape Town. They were taken from her, she was banished to Robben Island, and her mixed race children were raised as 'white' to become now newly acknowledged 'founding members of many Afrikaner families'. (p.112)

The contributors to Section III, 'Museums, memorials, and public memory' discuss the institutional challenges of interpreting the past. Patricia Davison describes museums as 'mirrors of power' mediating the past, present and future in 'authorized versions' of that past that 'involves both remembering and forgetting, inclusion and exclusion'. (p.145) In the final Section, 'Inscribing the past', the authors, address the 'shortness of memory', the consumer marketing of formerly significant political rhetoric, and the 'new language policy' of the New Constitution. (p.12)

In my opinion, this collection of essays would be a solid addition to the reference library of anyone interested in contemporary attempts to rebuild an individual and collective identity after conflict. Quoted, but unfortunately not included as a contributor, Mahmood Mamdani's warning that 'in the aftermath of conflict, healing is not a foregone conclusion', resonates as the cautionary theme throughout this book. (p.71)

*Marcia Byrom Hartwell*  
*University of Oxford*

## Death of Dignity: Angola's Civil War

Victoria Brittain

(London: Pluto Press, 1998)

108pp. Index. Bibl. Hb. 0-7453-1252-7. Pb.: £9.99;

ISBN 0-7453-1247-0.

Brittain is well known for her sustained coverage of Angola in the pages of *The Guardian* and elsewhere, but here puts together her own narrative of that country's history since independence. She uses a chronological structure to set out her account pieced together through years of visiting the country and talking with its people. There are seven chapters on the years 1975-96. An Epilogue, which was written in 1997, considers the implications of Kabila's capture of power in Zaire, reflecting the then common optimism about the future for Africa run by a new generation of leaders.

That there is a need for such an account is a reflection of a number of features of Angola's history: its relative obscurity; its complexity; but also the highly ideological concerns which lie behind most of the public accounts of the various periods. As one of the main sites of the Cold War, and being intensely caught up with South Africa's own political history, accounts of the war along the way were often intended to support one or other side. Brittain herself has been one of those who was at pains to assemble evidence which showed up the deceit of those supporting the cause of UNITA, South Africa and the USA. Such concerns are also apparent in the first half of this account, but in the second part Brittain is critical not only of the ignorance and lack of courage of the international community but also of the Angolan government supporters.

The author is not unusual in not considering that ethnicity was a feature in this history of conflict. The only times ethnicity is mentioned here is when reviewing the urban terrors of 1992-4, in which she describes how Ovimbundu people were in hiding from MPLA supporters who might assume they were UNITA supporters (p.65), and the distress of some Ovimbundu people on hearing that Savimbi was claiming to be acting in their interest, when they considered themselves to be his victims (p.77). Debates about the significance of the MPLA leadership are also alluded to but not analysed in any detail. As the war continues long after the end of the Cold War and is once again tied to events in what now is the Democratic Republic of Congo, the issue of ethnicity is one which will surely receive more attention in the future.

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University of Bradford

## Voting for Peace: Postconflict Elections in Liberia

Terence Lyons

(Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999)

104pp. Index. Pb.: ISBN 0-8157-5353-5.

On 19 July 1997, the Liberian people participated in Special Elections that resulted in the election of rebel leader Charles Taylor, thus heralding the end of ethnic strife and civil war that plagued the country for seven years. In the book *Voting for Peace: Postconflict Elections in Liberia*, Terence Lyons presents a concise overview of the events leading up to the Special Elections, paying particular attention to the relationship between war termination, elections, and democratization in Liberia and beyond. For Lyons, the Liberian case demonstrates that '[t]o insist that post conflict elections should not be held until the enabling environment of democratization is in place may mean missing an opportunity to help end the war and this could lead the country back into conflict' (p. 17).

This book is divided into four well-written chapters, with a detailed Appendix which lists the key actors involved in the transition process, a well-documented Notes section, and a user-friendly Index. The first chapter analytically addressed the 'potential and limits of post conflict elections as a mechanism to facilitate conflict management and democratization' (p. 2). For Lyons, the successful implementation of peace agreements in post conflict countries is a delicate process that requires a realistic and workable plan, a clear understanding of the role of interim governments in the transition process, the skilful management of 'inevitable security dilemmas among the combatants' (p. 11), the demilitarization of politics, and a properly timed election.

The following two chapters focus on the specific case of Liberia. Chapter Two chronologically details Liberia's violent civil war, addressing the impact of ethnicity on this process. This is followed by a detailed overview of the July 19, 1997 Special Elections. The final chapter offers several lessons that were learned from the transition process from violent conflict to elections. Lyons argues that the elections played an important role in terminating the civil war and recognizing the existing power relations in the country, but they had a minimal impact on nurturing democracy. The elections also provided the Nigeria-dominated Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) forces with the face-saving opportunity to disengage from the civil war, and retreat from their anti-Taylor rhetoric and military advances during the ECOWAS peace-keeping mission in Liberia during the civil war.

For student and scholar, novice and expert, this book offers a chance to understand the complexities of the transition from ethnic conflict/civil war to democracy. As the Liberia case demonstrates, elections can play an instrumental role in the process of war termination, but there is no guarantee that the ballot box will inevitably facilitate the emergence of a democracy.

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## **Losing Place: Refugee Populations and Rural Transformations in East Africa**

**Johnathan Bascom**

(New York: Berghahn Books, 1998)  
200pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £25.00; ISBN 1-57181-083-8.

Increasingly, the displacement of civilian population – under the guise of ‘ethnic cleansing’ or some other pretext – is no longer just the byproduct of war, but a goal in its own right. The human suffering which underlies it, as well as its impact on regional peace and security, has brought into sharp focus the ways in which different categories of people are marginal to the states in which they live and the various forms of insecurity confronting them. Empirically rooted in East Africa, Johnathan Bascom’s book demonstrates in a dramatic way the catastrophic insecurity of ordinary people in circumstances where states – and the international system of states – are either unable to provide protection or are themselves the principal sources of violence.

Detailed, as it is informative, this book probes the economic forces and social processes responsible for shaping the everyday existence for refugees as they move through exile. It reformulates the idea of refugee integration as an ongoing process of active straturation – between refugees, the host community, and the external actors such as states, relief agencies, and the global economy – that pivots on changing relationships of conflict and inequity. The central, and justifiable, claim of the book is that all facets of the refugee experience – migration, resettlement, repatriation and reintegration – represent an ongoing process of choice made and played out in a changing regional/global context. In a significant and timely way, the book highlights the plight of a population without protection from any state – some falling prey to the remnants of the very state that was once supposed to be their protector.

*Nana Poku*  
*Southampton University*

## **Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa**

**John Markakis**

(London: Sage/PRIO, 1998)  
212pp. Index. Bibl. ISBN 08039-88478.

Over the last three decades, the Horn of Africa, arguably the poorest region in the world, has been embroiled in, and continues to experience, spiralling conflicts, drought and famine, economic stagnation, and food and environmental insecurity. *Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa* addresses the roots of these problems, assesses what has been done and suggests what could or should be done to reverse this trend of economic deterioration and regional instability.

The first part of the book, which is divided into three parts, focuses on the interplay between food security, environmental degradation and population growth. The wealth of information in this section alone makes the book an invaluable asset. However, the author’s somewhat neo-Malthusian approach, together with his uncritical acceptance of the evidence for widespread ecological deterioration, will no doubt invite critical comment.

Part Two: ‘Conflict’ will be of particular interest to readers of this *Digest*. In a detailed examination of the origins and forms of the different conflicts in the region, Markakis challenges explanations which root the cause of the conflicts in ethnicity: ethnicity was not a causal factor of conflict in either Eritrea or Southern Sudan, both of which involved regions inhabited by several ethnic groups which made common cause in the struggle for power, or in Somalia, where the opposing forces all belong to the same ethnic group. In those cases where ethnicity was a contributory factor, within Ethiopia proper and in the conflict that erupted in Djibouti in the early 1990s, ethnic identities and divisions only gained political expression as a result of political mobilisation by elites. Markakis’ insightful analysis shows that it is, rather, the interaction of a combination of factors – the arbitrary imposition of colonial boundaries, the ethnocentric nature of post-colonial regimes and the project of nation building (forced cultural assimilation), the prevalence of clientelist politics, limited and uneven economic development – which has prompted major challenges to the rule of the existing regimes, which to some degree also constituted struggles for control of the state and state resources.

Among the proposed solutions to regional instability discussed in the final section, is the need for a re-examination of the appropriateness of the imported concept of the ‘nation-state’. A further, related (albeit not new) proposal, based partly on the recognition that conflicts, although internal in origin (except for the Somali invasion

of Ethiopia in 1977), are rarely confined within state boundaries, and partly on the recognition of existing economic linkages and complementarities, calls for greater regional economic co-operation - trade, food security, free movement of peoples (especially pastoralists), and management of shared water and river systems. Arguably, greater economic integration will undermine historical patterns of mutual intervention in the affairs of neighbouring states and foster a greater commitment to regional peace. However, the re-emergence of conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea since the publication of this book does raise questions, not only about the future relations between these two countries, but also about the prospects for regional economic co-operation.

June Rock  
University of Leeds

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## **Prelude to Nuremberg: Allied War Crimes Policy and the Question of Punishment**

Arieh J Kochavi

(Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998)  
312pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$34.95; ISBN 0-8078-2433-X.

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Kochavi, in this well-researched history on the creation of the Allied policy concerning war crimes, has done a great service by investigating the political processes in conflict during the five years before the Nuremberg trials began in late 1945. There are few histories of the political and diplomatic attitudes and bickering of Eden and the Foreign Office, FDR, Russia and the Allies whether at war or sitting on their neutral hands. It was not an easy road for the governments-in-exile and the major Allies to agree on notions of punishment for 'aggressive war' and 'crimes against humanity'. We learn from Kochavi that cooperation on basic rules was difficult even to the setting up of the United Nations War Crimes Commission to collect evidence for cases to be tried after the war. These disagreements were a mirror of what was to happen in the post-war years at the UN and during the early disagreements of the Cold War. Add to this the fears of the governments-in-exile and you have a recipe for disaster, where nothing would have been done.

This topic is relevant to war criminal concerns in present-day Yugoslavia. A war crimes judge stated recently that fighting must cease, the ravaged country must be willing to hand over suspected criminals and the rule of law prevail rather than each group revert to barbarism by shooting their criminal suspects without trial. Kochavi alludes to this in the Czech assassination of Heydrich where the repercussions were that hundreds were executed as a

payback. In a sense properly constituted trials of war criminals begins the process back from the hell that was war to a civilised humanity.

Seven well-constructed chapters with sub-headings outline a well-balanced history up to the Nuremberg Charter. Kochavi rightly does not focus on what was happening to the Jews in Poland because the little that was known was incomprehensible. Eden has told us this in the past and recently the US Prosecutor, Telford Taylor (1992) stated that even though he worked in intelligence he was ignorant until late 1945. Richard Breitman's *Official Secrets* (1998) has revealed US and British suppression of information about the Nazi killing operations when they cracked police codes. This reader however wished that the author would have shown us the stages of awareness as the policy-makers came to realise what had happened at Babi Yar, Lidice and Katyn.

This original analysis on the origins of the Nuremberg tribunal is an important reminder that the prosecution of war crimes depends more on *force majeure* than on legal debates even in our own time with Rwanda, Sudan or Yugoslavia.

Ray Duplain  
Deakin University

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## **America and the Muslim Middle East: Memos to a President**

Edited by Philip D. Zelikow & Robert B. Zoellick

(Washington DC: The Aspen Institute, 1998)  
Distributed by Brookings Institution Press.  
194pp. Pb.: \$12.95; ISBN 0-89843-239-1.

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Since the disintegration of the Former Soviet Union and the official end of the Cold War, there has been increased speculation on the rise of Islam as a potential threat to Western countries in particular the United States of America. Subsequent events such as the 1991 Gulf War and the surge in radical Islamic groups in various parts of the Muslim world have added weight to this argument. The media, assisted by a number of academics, see this confrontation between Islamic radical groups and the West as an inevitable collision of two juxtaposed ideological systems brought into contact by forces of globalisation and the new political world order advocated by the USA. It is, therefore, timely that Zelikow and Zoellick edit a book on the relationship between America and the Muslim Middle East where a comprehensive debate on certain key issues in this relationship are undertaken by expert scholars and policy advisors.

The editors adopted a clever way to disseminate information on American-Muslim politics to a broad readership, beyond the usual academic consumers. This is achieved through an innovative and well-structured design where experts are asked to respond, in the form of a memo to the President, to specific questions which are carefully formulated to stimulate information. This is then followed by a summary of the general debate between the invited guest experts and the policy advisers is summarized and presented at the end of the session. In all, there are four sections in this book structured around the issues of America and the Muslim world; America and Saudi Arabia; America and Iran, and America and Turkey.

The first section on America and the Muslim world focuses on issues related to the position of Islamic states in the new world order, the surge in Islamic extremism and the likely impact this may have on American interests and policies in the Muslim Middle East. Among the reasons that turned Islam into a mobilizing political factor, Oliver Roy in his memorandum (p.36) cites the worsening economic conditions, the tremendous demographic changes and the inability of secular ideologies to respond to the new economic and political challenges with appropriate policies. This statement sets the scene for the remaining three sessions. In fact, the second section looks at the relationship America has built over the years with Saudi Arabia and the importance of keeping the *status quo* so long as Saudi Arabia continues to moderate world prices for oil and serve as a military ally whenever these interests are threatened. The third section on Iran discusses the socio-political changes in Iran since the 1979 revolution and the need to modify America's unilateral diplomatic and economic sanctions which, after all, were not adhered to by Russia, Japan, China and European countries. The fourth section outlines the importance of Turkey as a strategic NATO ally located between Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East. The main argument that emerged from the discussion is that Turkey should be assisted by the USA in ensuring European Union admission and in having easier access to American military assistance and equipment as the military is still at the core of Turkish politics. The question of ethnic conflict in Cyprus between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots, as well as the continuing unresolved problem of the separatist Kurdish groups such as the PKK remain among the most challenging aspects of Turkish politics.

Overall, this book is an excellent source of information on the relationship between the Muslim Middle East and America. The editors did the topic justice by creating a context for debate similar to what happens in the real policy-making process. Despite its obvious inclination towards a predominantly American perspective, the book still makes an excellent starting point for students, academics and anyone interested in America's foreign policy in the Muslim Middle East.

*Fethi Mansouri*  
Deakin University, Australia

## The Making of Israeli Militarism

Uri Ben-Eliezer

(Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998)  
278pp. Index. Hb.: £28.50; ISBN 0253333873.

Uri Ben-Eliezer's excellent analysis, exhaustively researched, of two decades of foment from 1936 within the nascent Israel hopes to persuade us that man and his social groupings readily drench themselves in blood not because of any innate aggression but rather that 'social organisation, politics and culture' are the principal components of conflict.

Militarism and the effect of 'praetorianism', a term denoting 'the army's possible intervention in politics under the threat or actual use of arms' is the focus of Ben-Eliezer's analysis of how the 'military way' evolved as Israel's new solution to the 'Arab Problem' in the settling of Palestine. The catalyst for this apparent sea-change in Jewish outlook was the Arab Revolt of 1936-1939 when the majority population revolted against the continued Jewish settlement of Palestine. Concomitant events in Europe, a shift in British Middle East policy and a possible German invasion of Palestine created a situation where the idea of getting your revenge in first took hold amongst ideological youths and then later became the 'official' State policy that led to the Arab demographic in Palestine to fall from 90% in 1917 to 20% at the end of the 1948 conflict. Now as we know, there is nothing like an ideological youth with his mind untrammelled by other peoples realities to start a bit of bother. In one of the book's many insights which Ben-Eliezer reveals to us we learn that these youths liked nothing better than a campfire, a singsong and night-time operations against Arab villages. What is this fascination that canvas holds for right-wing youth groups? This author quotes a contemporary British source who spoke of the 'saliently totalitarian, militaristic and national-socialist approach of the new Zionism'.

You may have gathered that I am not a Zionist and this book hasn't changed that. It is however a thoroughly enjoyable read, obviously well researched without letting its footnotes trip up the flow of what is a dramatic period of history. It is blatantly partisan especially in the opening chapters where the author writes in reverential terms of 'military operations' which in reality were little more than opportunistic murders by the all-singing all-camping brigade. His description of the 1948 conflict, in particular the refugee problem pulls no punches however. Tellingly there is not a single mention in this book of an Arab name.

*Adrian McNickle*

## For the Future of Israel

Shimon Peres & Robert Littell

(Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998)  
206pp. Hb.: £16.00; ISBN 0-8018-5928-X.

*For the Future of Israel* is a thoughtful introspective book made up of a series of five conversations between the journalist and author Robert Littell and one of the living icons of Israeli politics, Shimon Peres. The topics covered range from personal subjects such as Peres's immigration to Israel from a small, predominantly Jewish town in Belorussia in 1934, to his involvement in the early Zionist movement, his long collaboration first with David Ben Gurion and later with Yitzhak Rabin, his political career, the intifada and the Oslo Accord, and Israel's friends and foes, especially the Americans and the Palestinians. Littell's questions are well informed and frequently capture the rich texture of Jewish historical experience and the life of Israel. Peres' responses, however, are often too measured and refined, as if the long-time politician is still worried about the next election. He refuses to criticize anyone, neither Ben Gurion, for whom his reverence is shown early on in the book, nor Rabin, although one gets glimpses of the two's stormy friendship and different perspectives, nor even Yassir Arafat or Hafiz Assad. Among the book's original contributions is the revelation that Yassir Arafat appears to have tried to negotiate with Israel directly as early as the 1970s, using the late Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and Senegal's former president Léopold Senghor as intermediaries (pp. 84-5). Also apparent, especially in the later chapters, in which Peres comes across as less formal (less of a Politician) and more forthcoming, are repeated indications of his distaste for continued military conflict with Israel's long-time adversaries. 'A war that doesn't take place,' he is quoted as saying, 'may be the best war' (p. 100). Of the reasons behind pursuing the secret negotiations that led to the Oslo Accord, he says: '[Rabin and I] felt that we were at the last stage of our lives and that our task should be to make all the hard decisions in order to save the younger generation from living with the dilemmas' (pp. 139-140). Nevertheless, especially early on in the book, one does get the impression that the former Defense Minister still views many Palestinians as faceless enemies and as nuisances blocking Israel's early attempts at state-building. All in all, this is a book of tremendous value for anyone interested in the serious study of Israel, its conflicts with the Palestinians and with other Arabs, and Shimon Peres' contributions to war and peace.

Mehran Kamrava  
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## Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide

Branimar Anzulovic

(New York: New York University Press, 1999)  
233pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: 0-8147-0671-1. Pb.: ISBN 0-8147-0672-X.

In *Heavenly Serbia* Branimir Anzulovic attempts to demonstrate a relationship between the Serbian national ideology which focuses on the myth of Kosovo, and the Serbian 'genocidal' wars of Yugoslav disintegration. Although the author fails miserably in proving this point, by using biased historical information, he succeeds well in demonizing the Serbian nation. But let's go step by step. While in the first chapter Anzulovic portrays the dominant Serbian national myth, that of a heavenly Serbia, created after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, in the second he deals with the 'impact of the Turkish conquest on Serbian national consciousness.' (p.6) These two chapters are intriguing although speculations such as that 'the traditional subservience of the Orthodox Church to the state may be an important reason why communist totalitarianism first came to power in an Orthodox country, and why Orthodox countries have had greater difficulties than Catholic and Protestant countries fighting and dismantling communist regimes' (p. 29), and that 'the transformation of Vlachs into Serbs explains why until 1995 there was a higher concentration of Serbs in parts of Bosnia and Croatia...' (p.43) abound. The third chapter, in which the author asserts that there is an endemic violence in the Balkan highlands is dubious at best. How does the author support the claim about the high level of violence in the Balkan mountainous regions is not clear. Neither are we convinced about the effects of the literary epic *The Mountain Wreath* written by Petar Petrovic Njegosh on the 'spread of violence beyond the Dinaric area.' (p.45) Anzulovic's supporting evidence, folk songs such as 'Grujo's Wife Treachery', do not seem too persuasive. Chapter four examines the development of XIX century Serbian nationalism. Anzulovic depicts the 'psychological climate for the recent wars for a Greater Serbia' (p.7) in chapter five, while in chapter six he explains how the Western world became accomplice to the 1990's Serbian nationalism. Thus, only in the last three chapters does the author develop his main argument - that Serbian intellectuals in congruence with the church and, ever since the rise of Milosevic, the ruling elites, have permeated the myth of the heavenly Serbian people and used it as a tool for aggression. However, contemporary Serbian nationalism was not driven by historical romanticism but by more practical and geo-strategic reasons, that is, quest for political control of territories where Serbs lived. The ethnic conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia did not occur because the Serbs believed that they are the chosen nation, but because many of them wanted, and one might add not without a just reason, to live in an essentially Serbian state.

Zhidas Daskalovski  
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## **Ethnic Conflicts and Civil Society: Proposals for a New Era in Eastern Europe**

Edited by Andres Klinke, Ortwin Renn,  
& Jean-Paul Lehnert

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998)

282pp. Bibl. Hb.: £42.50; ISBN 1-84014-455-6. Pb.: ISBN 1-84014-462-9.

*Ethnic Conflicts and Civil Society* constitutes an attempt to analyse some of the countries where ethnic politics (as in the Ukraine) or ethnic conflict (as in former Yugoslavia) took precedence over the development of a civil society. Beyond analysis, this edited volume, the outcome of a conference in Luxembourg, seeks to point to ways out of the ethnic vicious circle and towards inter-ethnic co-operation (such as in Switzerland or the United States).

The editors and Ursel Schlichting attempt in two separate articles to find an overall theoretical approach to ethnic conflicts and their resolution. Klinke, Renn and Lehnert present the federalism of the United States as a positive example for resolving tensions between antagonistic ethnic groups. Renn further elaborates the 'main principle of social cohesion in the United States' in a separate article. While the authors correctly identify the reasons for successful multiethnic coexistence in the United States, it cannot directly serve as an example for Central and Eastern Europe. The United States as an immigrant society presupposes a degree of voluntarism (with the notable exception of native Americans and African-Americans) in opting for the 'melting pot'. In Central and Eastern Europe the multi-ethnicity, however, is the outcome of states moving, while populations involuntarily become a minority in a nation state of the majority. The absence of 'historical rights' and territory of ethnic groups in the United States is the outcome of an immigrant society, while reducing the historical and geographical justifications for ethnic predominance in South-eastern Europe will remain much more difficult to be overcome. The approach presented by Albert Reiterer and Kurt Spillmann, who introduce, respectively, Western Europe (Belgium in particular) and Switzerland as examples, tends to offer greater potential in the cases under consideration here. While both countries, especially Belgium, possess considerable internal tensions, the overlapping multiple institutional networks, the great degree of decentralisation and the multiple channels of intra-'ethnic' communication have enabled a peaceful coexistence.

The case studies from Central and Eastern Europe mostly serve to demonstrate the problems of unresolved ethnic tensions. Nadia Skenderovic Cuk describes the Yugoslav case as such, while Mirijana Morokvasic, Drago Rokсандic

and Silvo Devetak discuss the particular cases of the Vojvodina, Croatia and Slovenia, respectively. All the authors correctly examine the positive signs of multi-ethnic co-operation these cases, despite the overall conflict. Besides former Yugoslavia, Ukraine and Romania are also examined in separate articles.

Altogether this edited volume touches as many ethnic conflicts and multi-ethnic settings, as it leaves out. The challenges in the Southern Balkans (Macedonia, Kosovo, and Bulgaria) are unfortunately not mentioned. Also some West European mechanisms for the resolution of ethnic tensions would have merited further discussion, such as the status of Swedes in Finland or the autonomy of Catalonia in Spain. Finally, one has to beware of seeing Western Europe as a 'cure' for the problems in Eastern Europe. Ethnic politics remain problematic in large parts of Western Europe as well, and some of the most promising theoretical concepts for the solution of such conflicts, in particular cultural autonomy have their origins in South-eastern Europe.

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## **The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe**

Edited by Sten Berglund, Tomas Hellén  
& Frank H Aarebrot

(Cheltenham, UK: Edgar Elgar, 1998)

395pp. Index. Hb.: £59.95; ISBN 1-85898-840-3.

This is a very interesting reference book of the political changes in Eastern Europe since the demise of communism. It will prove to be of great use for everybody involved in research on Eastern Europe, but it can also offer considerable introductory information to those who have not followed the most recent developments in the region. The handbook provides examinations of elections, governments, electoral systems, and constitutions and offers historical and comparative perspectives on the political and social consequences of the transition. The focal point of all the analyses and approaches are the cleavages in the political systems and societies. Conclusions are also attempted for the existence and salience of these cleavages at the national level and in the region as a whole. Different chapters provide an account of the changes in the political scene for each one of the countries examined. These chapters are probably more of use to specialised researchers. The three chapters compiled by the editors, in which they attempt a comparative analysis and draw conclusions for the region as a whole, are generally the most stimulating ones. In these chapters there are some very insightful discussions about the relevance



of transition theories, the role of cleavages in transitional societies, the extent to which there is a link between the cleavage structure and the emergence of party systems, and the prospects of the current effort at democracy in Eastern Europe compared to the previous ones during this century. Various interesting findings are compared and summarised in these chapters. Both historical and contemporary cleavages are deemed important with variations from country to country. Interestingly, and against the established theory, it is concluded that democratic consolidation may occur in a setting of weak cleavage crystallisation.

Among the controversial points of the book is the rationalisation of the editors' for the selection of their 'sample' and the exclusion of all the CIS states, Albania and most of the former Yugoslav states. This is no neutral issue nor one that the editors can evaluate against some neutral criteria. In return this exclusion reproduces an image of these regions/states as unstable, non-democratic and generally problematic. There is a general tendency, unjustified I believe, in the book for division and subdivision of states into groups, not least for the ones under examination. More often than not these attempts reproduce representations of some regions or states as traditionally less democratic, backward, unstable and the rest. This is much implied, for example, in the editors' discussion on the consequences of the fault-lines of empires, religions and cultures or in the discussion about the historical continuity in Eastern Europe. Since categorisation within Central and Eastern Europe is a particularly politicised issue and bears with it grave consequences, not least for the enlargement of the Western institutions much aspired by all the states in the region, such projects if tried should be handled with more care.

*Ioannis Armakolas*  
*Tip O'Neill Fellow, INCORE*

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## **Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Russian and American Perspectives**

Edited by Alexei Arbatov, Abram Chayes, Antonia Handler Chayes, & Lara Olson

(Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997)  
556pp. Index.

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All those concerned with understanding and managing conflict in the former Soviet Union will want this volume on their desks. Provided with maps and high level editing, it is the single most comprehensive and intelligent analysis of the conflicts plaguing the area. The heart of the book consists of six richly detailed case studies of post-Cold

War conflicts, together with a useful introduction by Alexei Arbatov and three final essays. The studies focus on North Ossetia and Igushetia, the Crimean Republic, Moldova and Transdnier, Latvia, Kazakhstan, and then once again returns to the Caucasus to examine the conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

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

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

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

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*University of Kent at Canterbury*

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## **Russia Confronts Chechnya: Roots of a Separatist Conflict**

John B. Dunlop

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)  
234 pp. Index. ISBN 0-521-63184-X. Pb.: ISBN 0-521-63619-1.

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This is the first of a two-volume work dealing with the confrontation of the Russian state and the peoples of Chechnya from Imperial times to the present day. In this book, John B. Dunlop, a noted scholar of the anti-Soviet

Russian nationalism that began to emerge in various forms in the USSR in the late 1960's, chronicles the Russian engagement in Chechnya through the middle of the last war there, which resulted in Chechnya's *de facto* secession from the Russian Federation. Dunlop has written a highly competent and comprehensive history of Russian-Chechen relations, exploiting available Russian as well as Western source material exhaustively. The book is focused on the single case of Russian-Chechen conflict and is not concerned with conceptual or theoretical issues that might build intellectual bridges to other cases or to the theory of ethnic and nationalist conflict. Still, the subject is of considerable importance: because of the scale of the recent war and the destruction of much of Chechnya; because of what the Russian decision to invade Chechnya tells us about the state of Russian democracy; because of what the failure of the Russian military and political effort to subdue Chechnya tells us about the state of the Russian state itself; and not least because the Russian decision for war in Chechnya may be contrasted so sharply with Russian agreement to settle relations with the internal republic of Tatarstan - which made Chechen-like claims for independence - on the basis of a federal 'treaty' in early 1994. Moreover, the reader will find Dunlop's judgments sound throughout: on how historical memory shaped the indisposition of Russian and Chechen elites to understand and compromise with each other; on the uniqueness of the Chechen case for the multi-national and in part ethno-federal state that contemporary Russia is; on the non-inevitability of the war itself; and finally, though more implicitly, on how central, closed patterns of Kremlin decision-making on national security have not changed from the Cuban Missile Crisis to the invasion of Afghanistan to the decision to invade Chechnya in December 1994. A final irony: the sensible Russian argument on Kosovo that force cannot be readily applied to solve deeply rooted ethnic conflicts certainly applied to Russia's conundrum in Chechnya. Russia's objection to the use of force in Kosovo, of course, was not a principled one but based rather on the fact that Russia was being left out.

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University of Virginia

## **Muslim European Youth: Reproducing Ethnicity, Religion, Culture**

Edited by Steven Vertovec & Alisdair  
Rogers

(Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998)  
215pp. Bibl. Hb.: £35.00; ISBN 1-84014-341-X.

This edited book addresses whether young Muslims growing up in five West European countries are assimilating to the European cultures, retaining the traditional Muslim cultures of their parents, contributing

to a revival of some kind of fundamentalist Islam, or doing something else. In their theoretical introduction, the editors argue that these youths are mainly doing something else - gaining "multiple cultural competence" (p. 6). That is, they flexibly use and combine different aspects of the cultures of their parents and of the countries in which they live. The multiple-competence perspective is broadly supported by the individual contributions. It is also important for the editors' more general critique of cultural essentialism, and as their rebuttal of the commonplace idea that these youths are helplessly "caught between two cultures" (p. 17).

However, those interested in ethnic conflict will want to conceptualize the cultural responses of Muslim youths in categories which permit exploring possible connections between cultures and politics. Are the emerging Muslim cultures consistent with the liberal-democratic political orders of Western Europe? Are they likely to be influenced by Islamic states and movements outside Europe? What kind of substantive demands are Muslim youths likely to bring to the politics of their new countries? Indeed, the editors sketch a number of trends which arise from general aspects of the immigrant experience since the 1960s, and which bear on these questions. Muslim youths have been exposed to widespread discrimination by natives in their new countries; they have also experienced three decades of ethnic and religious mobilization by Muslim groups, as well as anti-racist and human-rights campaigns on their behalf by natives. Presumably, these experiences make them more likely to identify and mobilize politically as Muslims or as members of ethnic minorities. As an expression of their estrangement from European society, Muslim youths are also self-consciously engaging in a regeneration of Muslim practices. This includes identifying with an international Islam rather than their parents' ethnonationalist understanding of Islam. Under the influence of Western education, and breaking from their parents' generation, they tend to adopt a critical, intellectual approach to religion and to keep religion separate from other parts of their lives. Indeed, younger Muslims often become interested in religion only after marrying and having children, and even then, many of them - like their Christian counterparts - limit their religious practice to festivals, births, marriages, and deaths. Unlike their parents, young Muslims are comfortable with the local European languages, largely accept Western consumerism, join new associations and subscribe to new publications to discuss topics such as sexuality and racism, and question their parents' authority at least on selected issues.

In short, Muslim youths tend to possess large repertoires of possible responses to their conditions as immigrant minorities in Europe. This has an important implication for ethnic conflict: the kinds of responses which come to the fore and predominate have depended, and will continue to depend, upon particular political events and contexts.

Three of the book's ten empirical chapters (which were written by sociologists and anthropologists) include a major focus on ethnic conflict or political participation. These contributions note that the Rushdie affair and the Gulf War were occasions for media attention on Muslims in Europe, some widely reported attempts at extremist Muslim mobilization, and increases in Muslim identification.

But these authors also show that political contexts, locally as well as nationally, are important factors shaping the form which Muslim mobilization takes. As the editors write, 'the political organization of Muslim youths is ... shaped by their own needs and interests on the one hand, and the availability of political openings on the other' (p. 16). For example, Samad's chapter on Britain traces the rise of British Muslim organizations and identities as in large part a response to the Thatcher governments' attacks on the strongholds of multi-culturalism in local government. Moreover, local political contexts are also important in shaping ethnic mobilization, and the responses of local political systems can vary a great deal. For example, in his chapter on Muslim organizations in the Netherlands, Thijl Sunier describes how the Rotterdam borough governments provided access to political decision-making, in part by subsidizing Islamic organizations to participate in a massive urban-renewal process. As urban renewal was coming to a close in the mid-1990s, some of these organizations' younger leaders have turned toward representing Muslim interests in other aspects of local urban policy, in contrast to the inward-facing orientation of the older generation of leaders.

By contrast, Steven Vertovec, in a chapter on Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims in the town of Keighley, near Bradford, describes a pattern of social and economic exclusion from the white community, and the failure of the traditional Muslim organizations to successfully incorporate Muslim youth. This pattern of exclusion and disorganization helped to spur a politically militant response to the Rushdie Affair, including a 1989 demonstration attended by more than one thousand young Muslim males, many carrying 'Kill Rushdie' signs. Even after the affair subsided, many Muslims remained bitter and become angry when Rushdie is mentioned. While openings in local politics can help socialize the next generations of Muslim leaders into democratic politics, as in Rotterdam, the failure to provide such openings creates new opportunities for the next generation of extremist leaders to mobilize outside and even against the practices of liberal democracy.

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## Minorities in Southeast Europe: Inclusion and Exclusion

Hugh Poulton

(London: Minority Rights Group, 1998)

40pp. Bibl. £4.95; ISBN 1-897-693-42-7.

This is one more report by the Minority Rights Group on the condition of minorities in Southeast Europe. Hugh Poulton, the author of the book *The Balkans: Minorities and states in conflict*, attempts to give a short and concise review of the subject. Amongst others he presents issues such as the nature of the states in the Balkans and their perception of minorities, the politics of identity in the region, and issues of citizenship. Due probably to the limited length of this report, the author does not spend much time on analysis. Terms and concepts are only used to demonstrate the points which refer to plain presentation of facts and limited analysis of developments. The author for example, can question the usefulness of territorial autonomy in the Balkans, without offering any elaboration other than the hint that it presents a 'dangerous precedent' in Bosnia (p.33).

The minorities and their interaction with their respective states are well analysed, but what is missing from the report is the international element. This is no less significant issue in the Balkans where often the perception or the treatment of minorities depended on the condition of the relations with neighbouring countries. It is no coincidence that the description of what are called 'transnational minorities', the usually forgotten minorities with no kin-state in the area, is better and more well-balanced.

Poulton's explanatory engine in this report is the legacy of the Ottoman *millet* system. In my view, too much significance is assigned to it. This has the effect of undermining other important factors like the role of the elites and nationalist ideologies in the Balkan states. For example, attention is not paid to the extremely interesting process whereby Western European nationalist ideals were brought into the region resulting in conflicts between their agents and the old local elites of the *millet* system. On the other hand, although the author stresses the importance of the *millet* tradition, he usually evaluates the region's national building processes against purely Western conceptions of the national. The fostering of national identities for political reasons is pointed out, but it would have been much more interesting if the author could elaborate more or if he could provide insights on the most recent of such processes, most notably these of the Bosnian Muslims and the Macedonians.

Poulton is careful with the use of terminology, the only exception being the extensive use of 'assimilation'. He

generally avoids the reification of certain representations of the Balkans although he could have eluded giving ethnic cleansing a 'perennial' status in the area. Concluding, the report notwithstanding certain missing elements is a well informed short introduction to the minority issues of the Balkans, providing insights on both history and latest developments.

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*Tip O'Neill Fellow, INCORE*

## **Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and Fascism in France**

Michael Winock

(Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998)  
 Distributed by Cambridge University Press.

351pp. Index. Hb.: £35.00/US \$55.00; ISBN 0-8047-3286-8.

Michael Winock's collection of essays on the three inter-related themes of nationalism, anti-Semitism and fascism was first published in French by *Editions du Seuil* in 1990. The work is guided by two notions of nationalism: the 'open,' optimistic vision of 'patriots,' and the 'closed,' threatened world of 'nationalists,' whose appeal is based on a pessimistic assessment of decadence and threatened identity. Covering a wide range of ground, Winock shows how the 'open nationalism,' originating in the Enlightenment and the Revolution of 1789, held sway in France for much of the nineteenth century before the emergence of Boulangism in the 1880s, and the subsequent anti-Dreyfus movement. The main body of analysis, however, concentrates on the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, weaving between different historical periods and personalities in its treatment of the three core themes.

From the outset, one sees an overlap between strands of 'open' and 'closed' nationalism, and Winock acknowledges that 'it would be wrong to imagine a watertight partition.' (p.6) Indeed, through the rich historical material that follows, he explores, often implicitly though, what he calls the 'passageways, convergences, even compromises' between the two. (p.6) At the same time, this is a highly opinionated work. As contemporary France undergoes a series of economic and social crises, there exists, in Winock's view, a real danger to democracy from 'eloquent orators of political oversimplification and the prophets of doom.' (p.25) General de Gaulle is portrayed as the last great nationalist (in the 'open' sense of the term), and the somewhat abrupt end to the book makes little effort to hide the author's views: 'The heroic age is over. And so we are disenchanted.' (p.316)

Given the rise of nationalist movements over the last decade not just in France, but across many parts of Europe,

this translation is a timely exposure of a work which deserves an international audience. Indeed, with so much academic attention currently focused on Jean-Marie Le Pen and the *Front National*, Winock's historical perspective provides important reference points as well as a more widely applicable conceptual framework.

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## **Discourses of Antiracism in France. (Research in Ethnic Relations Series)**

C Lloyd

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998)

277pp. Bibl. Hb.: £39.95; ISBN 1-84014-345-2.

Lloyd argues that France has an antiracist tradition which is longer established than in most other countries; the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme was established in 1898, the Ligue Contre l'Anitsemittism et le Racisme in 1928. France has often prided itself on the inclusive Enlightenment sentiments expressed in the Revolution. Lloyd points out that Jews were emancipated in France in 1791 and slavery ended in 1794. More recently Presidents have expressed the belief that France is inherently antiracist since all residents share a broader French identity, beneath which racial or ethnic identity is subsumed. Following victory in the 1998 World Cup football finals President Chirac boasted that the success of the multi-ethnic team was proof of the country's strong multicultural society.

In contrast, of course, is substantial evidence of racism, fascism and antisemitism in French society, many instances of which are discussed by Lloyd. From the Dreyfus affair at the end of the 19th century through to the relative success of the Front National, contemporary French history provides more than enough evidence to indicate that problems of racism remain.

Lloyd's book offers a fascinating critical examination of the nature of antiracism in a society which, it appears, is frequently prone to assure itself of its liberal credentials at the expense of denying problems of racism, antisemitism and xenophobia which clearly do exist. The centrality of antiracism to certain discourses relating to the French Revolution and the Enlightenment are explored and Lloyd suggests that attempts to characterise antiracism as fundamental to the republican ideal began to flounder in the 1960s. Those engaged in antiracist campaigning in the immediate post Second World War period found themselves pulled between a position that claimed French tradition embodied humanitarian and emancipatory ideals while simultaneously recognising the continuing legacy of racism. Racism directed at migrants living in France resurfaced during the Algerian War and served to quash

post-war optimism that fascism and intolerance were defeated.

This book provides an absorbing and thorough discussion of the development of antiracism in France, which charts how opposition to discrimination has evolved in the post-1945 period, examines those whose experiences racism have been represented in antiracist movements, considers how notions of 'solidarity' have informed antiracism, and argues that antiracism amounts to a hegemonic project in France. It is discussion of this latter point that provides the central argument of Lloyd's book. She suggests that antiracism has been taken for granted in conceptual terms, and considered simply as opposition to racism. Antiracism is rarely taken as a positive movement in its own terms and has tended to remain negatively defined in terms of what it opposes. Against a growing emphasis on the plurality of racisms and notions of racialisation as diffuse social processes containing internally contradictory and incoherent elements, simplistic definitions of antiracism become increasingly untenable. Lloyd's (1998: 4) insistence that 'far from being simply an organised opposition to racism, antiracism expressed an alternative social project, a different conception of society' develops a more challenging and profound political agenda. At the heart of this hegemonic approach to antiracism, Lloyd argues, must be social justice and equality and the development of broadly based alliances at local, national and European levels. Towards the end of her book Lloyd (1998: 247) observes that 'antiracism is a largely un-investigated subject'. Her empirical account of the development of antiracist movements in France and critical examination of the conceptual vacuum that has often been at their heart provides a very good basis from which this omission can begin to be rectified.

*Michael Rowe*  
*University of Leicester*

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## **The Racialisation of Disorder in Twentieth Century Britain**

**Michael Rowe**

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998)

211pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £37.50; ISBN 1-84014-528-5.

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There is a burgeoning literature on the aetiology of disorder in Britain, much of it now stemming from the work of cultural and social geographers, rather from the more traditional array of sociologists, social policy analysts, psychologists and criminologists. This book represents a creditable attempt at evaluating the merits and demerits of existing theoretical paradigms and developing a distinctive approach.

It will be of use first and foremost to students of 'race' and ethnicity. The assessment of competing theoretical approaches to the subject (contained in chapter 2), though somewhat mechanical, is solid and generally even handed, in the sense of presenting the merits of those approaches with which the author clearly has little sympathy. His preferred option, the 'critical realist racialisation problematic' is defended cogently (though the 'explanatory' diagram on page 44 fails to aid in this process).

The second major advantage, from the student's point of view, lies in the use of four case studies. There are separate chapters devoted to the Liverpool 'race' riots of 1919, disturbances surrounding the activities of the British Union of Fascists in the 1930s, the 'riots' in London and Nottingham in the late 1950s, and the disorders at Broadwater Farm in Tottenham, north London in October 1985. These are excellent summaries both of the events themselves and of the nature of the surrounding discourses (notwithstanding the voluminous literature elsewhere).

As with many texts which focus predominantly on discourse analysis a number of questions remain. There is an uneasy tension surrounding the relation between discourse and material reality, i.e. between discourse and the thing/essence to be explained. It is also not at all clear how 'racialisation' occurs. Is it simply a set of competing discourses? Why are some disorders 'racialised' and not others (here we simply have a sample of four 'events' which were)? Are 'racialisation' and 'ethnicisation' the same thing (here they are implicitly conflated)? Were discourses about 'race' at the time of the Liverpool riots merely 'more or less common-sensical'; 'racialised ideas (being) axiomatic and taken-for-granted' (page 179)? Perhaps they were if we employ a Gramscian notion of ideology. Finally, if we are to accept the notion of a multiplicity of *racisms*, there needs to be a clear conception of what 'racism' is.

*Peter Ratcliffe*  
*University of Warwick*

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## **Policing Northern Ireland: Proposals for a New Start**

**John McGarry & Brendan O'Leary**

(Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1999)

146pp. Index. Pb. £9.99; ISBN 0-85640-648-1.

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The nature of policing is inevitably a crucial political issue in areas of national or ethnic conflict. As part of the Good Friday Agreement, the document central to the peace process in Northern Ireland, an independent commission,

chaired by former Hong Kong governor Chris Patten, was set up to 'bring forward proposals for future policing structures and arrangements'. In *Policing Northern Ireland* McGarry and O'Leary offer Patten a range of recommendations whilst attempting to remain consistent to the terms of reference set for the Commission and the letter and spirit of the Good Friday Agreement (p.4).

McGarry and O'Leary review policing in Northern Ireland and most particularly why the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), in its present form, has little legitimacy amongst Irish nationalists. The minority, Catholic, community are underrepresented in the RUC, they make up 43% of the population of Northern Ireland and only 7.5% of total RUC personnel (p.45). McGarry and O'Leary point out that many of those Catholics in the RUC probably have a unionist rather than Irish nationalist political outlook (Ch.3). The police are perceived by most nationalists not to be impartial because of their history as defenders of the British state, their close relationship with Unionist governments from 1922 to 1972, and their role in policing the 'troubles'. Their relationship with unionism is also reflected in their name, the 'Royal' Ulster Constabulary, many of their associated symbols and the flying of the Union flag at police stations (Ch.4). This has led most republicans to demand disbandment of the RUC, all nationalists to call for major reform, but most unionists accepting only minimal changes based on moving to peace (Ch.1).

McGarry and O'Leary's recommendations are in many ways radical but in some aspects disappointingly mainstream. They suggest a range of measures to increase recruitment of nationalists whilst downsizing the force along with 'civilianisation' of training and the development of an impartial working environment. They recommend a range of re-structuring options leading to a form of two-tier policing (Ch.5) with accountability through local elected bodies and an elected Northern Ireland Police Committee (Ch.6).

The book offers a good overview of the debate and some, and maybe many, of their recommendations should appear in the Patten report leading to a police service quite different to the RUC. Yet, there is little in the way of lateral thinking. There is little said about partnership or multi-agency approaches to problems. Aside from accountability there is no discussion about how communities can be resourced and empowered to deal with policing issues. The underline assumption is that policing problems are dealt with by reforming the institution of the police. I hope that the Patten Commission interpret their terms of reference in a broader way than McGarry and O'Leary.

*Dominic Bryan*  
*Democratic Dialogue, Belfast*

## Northern Ireland: The Context for Conflict and for Reconciliation

Craig Seaton

(Lanham: University Press of America, 1998)  
287pp. Index. Bibl. Pb.: £23.50; ISBN 0-7618-1031-5.

The author, who directs an academic program in Canada, lamented the lack of a short introductory text on the conflict in Northern Ireland that would be suitable for his students. With some justification the author points out that the wealth of previously published material on 'the Troubles' can sometimes make the study of the conflict more difficult.

In writing the book the author set himself the goal of producing a 'primer' that covers the issues, the history, information on important people and organisations, and an overview of some theoretical aspects of the conflict. The resulting book achieves this particular goal. The primer style is immediately evident because almost half of the 287 pages are taken up by material arranged in appendices. These cover things such as: the Ulster Covenant, the Irish Constitution, the IRA Training Manual, and a Directory of Peace and Reconciliation Groups.

The body of the book, the first 150 pages, is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter provides a 'sociological perspective' on the conflict. The second covers a range of information including; a chronology, abbreviations, important organisations and events, terminology, and geographical areas. Chapter three is devoted to key historical events while chapter four contains brief abstracts on key individuals. The issues surrounding, and obstacles to, the search for peace are briefly discussed in chapter five. Chapter six outlines the most important groups that have been involved in attempts at reconciliation in the region. Chapter seven contains brief abstracts on some of the resources that are available including; books (12), documentaries (3) (on commercial video), web sites (6), and movies (4). The final chapter, chapter eight, is a short synopsis of what has happened in the region and what the author believes is likely to happen.

As with any book dealing with contemporary volatile events some parts of the text, for example the section on important individuals, will become out-of-date quite quickly. There is also the problem of trying to explain the complexities of the conflict in 150 pages. The author has had to make a selection of what he considers to be relevant information. Inevitably some of the choices, for example the list of 12 books in the resource chapter, would have been made differently by other authors. There are also a few small inaccuracies but these don't detract from the overall content. These minor criticisms aside the book will prove to be a useful resource for people with little prior knowledge of the conflict in Northern Ireland.

*Martin Melaugh*  
*University of Ulster*

## Northern Ireland's Troubles: The Human Costs

Marie-Therese Fay, Mike Morrissey & Marie Smyth

(London: Pluto Press, 1999)

229pp. Index. Bibl. £45.00; ISBN 0-7453-1379-5. Pb.: £12.99; ISBN 0-7453-1374-4.

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If the Northern Irish Peace Process does succeed, and a permanent cessation of violence is achieved, a number of questions remain. Not the least of these are how to think about the 'Thirty Year Crisis' that preceded the peace, and how/can violent sectarian history be interpreted and remembered in a fashion which reinforces, not jeopardises, a peace settlement? How do we forgive but not forget? This is the question which underlies this important and timely study.

This book sets out the parameters of the problem by looking at the human costs of the 'troubles' in Northern Ireland. Yet, it is not just another indictment of a tragedy that has killed thousands and disfigured Republican-Unionist relations for generations; nor is it an exercise in apportioning blame between the various agencies involved. It is, rather, an attempt through the use of meticulously gathered data to explain the geographic, religious, age and gender distribution of violent deaths in Northern Ireland and to place this human suffering in a socio-economic context.

The medium of statistics might seem a dull way to explain the scale of human tragedy and loss experienced over three decades; far better perhaps to have told or retold the 'sad' stories that have witnessed widows, parents and children at countless gravesides - and yet this approach, which includes charts, tables and graphs, works. The statistics sometimes speak for themselves and point to the very specific nature of the conflict. Just under quarter of all victims were 21 years of age or younger and almost half were aged 22-39. Thus nearly three quarters of those who died did not reach their fortieth year. This was, in many ways, a young man's conflict and one waged again (as the data shows) between individuals in the streets, in parts of the countryside and in the absence of 'heavy weaponry'. This identification of youth with the effects of violence is crucial; yet there is also a broader point, successful reconstruction must include all those most affected by the conflict.

So this is not just a catalogue of 'facts'. It is an invaluable account of the economic dimension of conflict and it clearly indicates the correlation between social and economic conditions and violence: we are predominantly what our economic circumstances make of us. An obvious conclusion is that peace must be underwritten by economic restructuring. Indeed, the last few years, which have witnessed an outburst of peace, have been among the most prosperous for the Northern Irish economy, if not for all sections of the population. Yet economic restructuring is probably easier, as the authors recognise, than the restructuring of mindsets.

We therefore return to the question of how to remember without replicating. Can we be emancipated from the past? The authors of this study certainly believe so: their recipe for the future in Ireland is a plea for an understanding of how others have suffered, an acknowledgement of the hierarchies of pain and responsibility, a bringing in of those marginalised by the violence and an attempt to 'communalise' these memories for a fully rounded picture of the past. It is the hope of leaving behind the violence but of absorbing its lessons. Is it, in other words, possible to think beyond our own skins and our own grief? (Ken Booth, 'Three Tyrannies' in Tim Dunne and Nicholas J. Wheeler, ed, *Human Rights in Global Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) The authors believe that there is no other way: only time will tell whether they are correct, or whether in another few years, another statistical survey of those killed in Northern Ireland, will be necessary.

*Caroline Kennedy-Pipe*  
*University of Durham*

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## The Republican Ideal: Current Perspectives

Edited by Norman Porter

(Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 1998)

182pp. Index. Pb.: £12.99; ISBN 0-85640-627-9.

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In this edited volume, six political activists from the North and South of Ireland deconstruct and/or reconstruct the republican ideal to give it pertinence for reaching an agreement between two traditions, one overwhelmingly Gaelic, Catholic and nationalist, the other British, Protestant and unionist. The contributors include Martin

Mansergh of Fianna Fail, Mitchell McLaughlin of Sinn Féin, and Des O'Hagan of the Workers' Party, all of whom have strong republican roots, and, somewhat surprisingly, three representatives from parties outside the republican tradition: Eamon Hanna of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, David Cook of the Alliance Party, and Avila Kilmurray and Monica McWilliams of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. Along with advocating their political preferences, the contributors present a range of opinions and views that illustrate the varied aspects and different interpretations of republicanism. This, of course, is the collections' intention, to make us acutely aware that republicanism is not an extremist form of Irish nationalism nor is it a movement solely bent on physical force to achieve reunification.

Norman Porter, a disaffected unionist, provides an excellent introduction that examines the different priorities associated with the republican ideal. They are: resolution of the national question, commitment to a republican form of government, and transforming society. As Porter points out, none of the contributors endorse irredentism or promote the strident exclusivity of a Gaelic Ireland; rather their universal theme is one of inclusiveness, pluralism, anti-sectarianism, and democratic participation. As for republicanism's lingering identification with cultural nationalism, Porter suggests that nationalism is giving way to a less threatening sense of belonging that will allow those who identify as Irish, British, or whatever to engage in the political process without their nationality shackling them to preordained political outcomes.

The individual contributions, while varying in quality, do help to separate the republican ideal from myth and address unionists' misperceptions. Published in the bicentennial year of the United Irishmen's Uprising of 1798, many of the essays dwell on republicanism's historical development in Ireland; of these Mansergh's account is the best. O'Hagan stands almost alone in making the case for organizing republican society along socialist lines, though one suspects Sinn Fein will increasingly draw upon a radical republicanism with working-class appeal in the South. While the contributors conjure up contrasting visions of republicanism and the future, the problem for each is how to realize the ideal and, for unionists who will not be convinced, how to make republicanism in practice less menacing.

William A. Hazleton  
Miami University, Ohio

## Divided Society: Ethnic Minorities and Racism in Northern Ireland

Edited by Paul Hainsworth

(London: Pluto Press, 1998)

270pp. Index. Bibl. £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, Travelers, 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 Travelers 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.

Anthony M. Messina  
Tufts University

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## **Whistling Past the Graveyard: Constitutional Abeyances, Quebec, and the Future of Canada**

David M Thomas

(Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997)  
263pp. Index. Pb.: £15.99; Bibl. ISBN 0-19-541215-X.

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The constitutional issue has been analysed from almost every possible angle over the past decades. The patriation of the Canadian constitution in 1982 and the collapse of the two constitutional agreements of Meech and Charlottetown have attracted the attention of many scholars in Canada and abroad. A countless number of books and academic articles have been written on this topic. Is there any room for a new perspective on this old issue? What can be learned for those interested in studying how ethnic or national conflicts have to be managed? David M. Thomas has written one of the most original and thoughtful books on this matter. He deals with the crucial issue that surrounds the successful integration of small nations within larger states.

Thomas supports the view that constitutions conceal as well as reveal. And the success comes from the avoidance of the intractable. In this perspective, the theme of avoidance leads to the notion of constitutional abeyance. The author borrows this idea from Michael Foley's *The Silence of Constitutions* and uses it in order to provide a fresh look on the evolution of the Canadian constitutional history. He explains convincingly what abeyance is and is not and goes on the terrain of Edmond Burke in stressing, among other things, that 'unsuspecting confidence' is essential to political stability. Thomas rereads Canadian history in that perspective. He describes what the Canadian abeyances have been and how Canadians are now treating them. He mentions that 'in the past, our democracy was built upon forms of power-sharing that were frequently dualist in practice. [...] It accepts anomalies and identities, protects group rights, believes in accommodation and incrementalism and a 'politics of security'. Now we have moved towards the ideas that democracy is based upon majority rule, American-style individual rights, and the politics of principle. This approach makes abeyance

maintenance far more difficult, and if we cannot maintain them there will be some serious consequences [...]' (p. 40). He discusses how the one abeyance capable of tearing Canada apart, namely the status, place, and powers of Quebec, remained buried and how, from the mid-1960s, it emerged at the forefront of the Canadian constitutional issue. Thomas demonstrates that 'the settled unsettlement of the preceding century had given way to 'unsettled unsettlement'' (p. 220), and that Pierre Trudeau, the former Canadian Prime Minister, tackled that abeyance vigorously by outflanking it, by erecting counterweights, and by confrontation. The author pushes the idea that the notion of abeyance should be added to the Canadian constitutional lexicon, and should become part of the way Canadians view constitutional issues. Hence, the constitutional battleground reflects the Canadian inability to deal with them satisfactorily. Thomas favours a much clearer statement of dualism and a formal recognition of Quebec's distinctiveness. I can only agree to that prescription.

François Rocher  
Carleton University

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## **Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada**

Will Kymlicka

(Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998)  
220pp. Index. Pb.: ISBN 0-19-541314-8.

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Will Kymlicka's latest contribution, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*, builds upon his earlier, path-breaking work. This new book will disappoint those seeking new intellectual departures. However, as the author notes at the outset, his motive is more 'practical' than 'theoretical.'

The work marks a new stage in Kymlicka's engagement with Canadian public policy in three separate, but related ways. First of all, the book's style and compactness are explicitly designed for a non-specialist audience. Second, it displays a marked attempt to distance itself from more radical, oppositionalist writing on multiculturalism. In this way, Kymlicka is positioning himself as a voice of the centre-left, seeking to engage with a skeptical English-Canadian public that is increasingly hostile to the claims of multiculturalism. Accordingly, the book seeks to converse with two high-profile, articulate critics of Canada's multiculturalism policy, Neil Bissoondath and Richard Gwyn, both of whom recently excoriated multiculturalism as a divisive ideology.

Kymlicka agrees that their sentiments, which reflect those of the majority of native-born Canadians, are not entirely unfounded. For example, Kymlicka accepts the charge that Canada's political and cultural elites have used the stick of white guilt to suppress debate on the multiculturalism issue and have failed to reassure anglophone Canadians as to where the limits of the policy lie. (pp. 66-8) Yet Kymlicka rejects most of the criticism of the multiculturalism policy as empirically untenable. As evidence, he cites the fact that multiculturalism's record at promoting the integration of ethnic groups is impressive – better than in countries which have failed to adopt the policy and better than used to be the case before the adoption of the Canadian policy in 1971.

The volume is divided into two parts, corresponding to the author's familiar distinction between immigrant and national minorities. Kymlicka defends multiculturalism as appropriate for immigrant groups, while multinational federalism is endorsed for national groups. In light of the populist/elitist and regional/federal tensions within anglophone Canada, however, one may ask whether Kymlicka's assessment of that nation's pan-Canadian attachment rings true. If not, the path to Canadian unity may lie more in the direction of cultivating a nascent English-Canadian national identity than in refining multinationalist federal strategies – whose soundness has already been demonstrated by the likes of Laforest and McRoberts.

Notwithstanding such criticism, Kymlicka's conclusions are sensible and his style accessible, hence this book is recommended for specialist and non-specialist alike.

*Eric Kaufmann*  
*University of Southampton*

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## **Cold New World: Growing Up in a Harder Country**

**William Finnegan**

(London: Picador, 1999)  
421pp. Index. Pb.: £8.99; ISBN 0-330-37445-1.

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This is pop social science at its best. Indeed it provides a valuable lesson for those of us social scientists churning out incomprehensible jargon-laden journal fodder for imagined audiences. This is an excellent, sympathetic inquiry into a modern social phenomenon in the United States. For the first time in two hundred years, many young Americans face the possibility of poorer economic prospects than the previous generation.

To understand this phenomenon and the personal impact it has on its subjects, William Finnegan, a writer from *The New Yorker* magazine, picked four case studies. But Finnegan's case studies turn out to be much more than small *n* variables. Instead, they are real people, families and communities. Over a sustained period, Finnegan befriended young people in four communities: New Haven, Connecticut; San Augustine County, Texas; the Yakima Valley, Washington State; and the Antelope Valley in northern Los Angeles County. Sections of each community faced multiple marginalisation and made up a check-list of social deprivation, economic decline, family disintegration, substance abuse and political alienation.

The author went far beyond in-depth interviews with the young people. He became a regular fixture in their homes, socialising with them, trying to understand their gang culture, talking with their parents (two parent families were an absolute rarity), and making contact with local educators, law enforcement officers and community activists.

Finnegan's access, perseverance and powers of observation make for a remarkable social commentary. At times he is candid that his objective of author neutrality was stretched to the limit. Given his closeness to his subjects, it is not surprising that Finnegan did cross the line on a number of occasions. Once, for example, he funded one subject, a Mexican American just released from prison, to move away from home because of the likelihood that he would become a victim of inter-racial gang violence. Yet, Finnegan resists the temptation to paint his subjects as 'loveable rogues'. He does not offer excuses, nor does he shy away from reporting the violence, drug-dealing, spousal abuse, racism and other unsavoury features of his young subject's lives.

What makes the book particularly relevant for readers of this *Digest* is the prevailing influence of race, territorial segregation and immigration in all of the marginalised communities under study. One white inhabitant pointed to a map on Finnegan's first day in San Augustine and said "See, all this here...is blacks".(p. 198) An explicit message throughout the book is that many members of America's growing underclass have little faith in very institutions meant to protect them from political and economic disenfranchisement or racial discrimination and violence. More worrying, few have any faith in the power of human agency, whether family or personal, to alleviate their situation. This is an excellent work. Buy it. Read it.

*Roger Mac Ginty*  
*Lancaster University*

## **Struggle for Ethnic Identity: Narratives by Asian American Professionals**

Edited by Pyong Gap Min & Rose Kim

(Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1999)  
240pp. Bibl. Hb.: £30.00; ISBN 0-7619-9066-6. Pb.: £14.99;  
ISBN 0-7619-9067-4.

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The arrival of large numbers of Asian migrants in the U.S. since the mid-1960s has offered a powerful challenge for established understandings of racial and ethnic relations, which have been based upon the Black/White model. Unfortunately, students of American society have done a poor job of addressing this development. Instead, the diverse new population is often characterized via ill-fitting ingrained categories. Conservatives have depicted Asians as super-achieving model minorities (ignoring their very real confrontations with racism), while leftists often portray the group as just another set of victims of American oppression, omitting their educational, economic and cultural achievements, which generally exceed those of native whites.

*Struggle for Ethnic Identity* does much to correct the simplistic and ideologically-driven rendering of Asian-American experiences. The book begins with an exhaustive and cutting-edge review of social science perspectives on ethnicity. Following this, are 15 life histories written by Asian-American men and women of various nationalities, occupations, generations in the U.S., and viewpoints. The book concludes with the editors' discussion of these life histories.

The real strength of the book is in the varied life stories. They reflect the diverse and complicated outlooks of these individuals, as well as the process of growth and change - in both personal philosophy and broader circumstances - that shape self-understanding. These essays, as well as the editors' reflections upon them, grant a degree of richness and complexity to our comprehension of ethnic identity that goes well beyond reductionist clichés. We see how individuals work to fit into the larger society while building connections to their own groups, and others both within and beyond the U.S.. Respondents describe how they have both idealized and loathed the various cultures and nationalities with which they are associated (American, co-national, pan-ethnic). Reflecting an array of attitudes, some contributors trace the origins of their personal troubles to larger social structures. Others blame parents, spouses or employers. Finally, these men and women critically reflect upon the gendered roles and structures of opportunity available within their countries of origin, ethnic communities, and in American society.

In conclusion, *Struggle for Ethnic Identity: Narratives by Asian American Professionals* offers an outstanding synthesis of social science and oral history. It provides a nuanced examination of Asian-American autobiographies that steers clear of the ideological blinders that hinder much contemporary discourse about race. Of interest to novice and specialist alike, the book reveals much about the experience of Asian Americans while also yielding insights into the importance of ethnicity, generation, nationality and gender as bases of human identity.

*Steven J. Gold*  
*Michigan State University*

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## **Asian America through the Lens: History, Representations, and Identity**

Jun Xing

(Walnut Creek, Ca.: Altamira Press, 1998)  
248pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £27.00; ISBN 0-7619-9175-1. Pb.:  
£12.99; ISBN 0-7619-9176-X.

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Jun Xing has written an interesting, informative, and thought-provoking book on Asian American independent films. He attempts to accomplish three broad goals: (1) to inform the reader of the achievement, creativity, and productivity of Asian American cinema; (2) to provide a critical concept for analyzing the ways in which Asian Americans have been represented in the media; and (3) to examine the historical and cultural contexts under which Asian American cultural productions were made and the role of Asians in American film history.

Xing begins with a discussion of Asian American cultural identities, arguing that conflicts about Asian American identities emerge not from essentialism but from various sites of representation. The first two chapters lay out the theoretical framework, guiding the analysis of the emergence and development of Asian American cinema. He addresses the debate on 'what is Asian American filming' in Chapter 1, identifying three contested approaches - the essentialist, the activist, and the aesthetic. He points out that the relationship between power and representation underlies the essentialist approach, which has grown out of 'a long period of frustration and anger among Asian Americans over the degradation of their images on the silver screen' (p. 35). He then demonstrates that, because of persistent institutional racism against Asian Americans, Asian American filmmaking has become a

powerful tool in achieving a political agenda for minority rights and social change. Xing argues that, while the essentialist and activist approaches focus on identity and power, the aesthetic approach is more inclusive of the critical elements of Asian American films, that is, 'an authentic Asian American point of view, a sensitive portrayal of Asian American characters and communities, and a set of culturally specific artistic innovations' (p. 45). Xing goes on to provide a historical overview of Asian and Asian American images in Hollywood in Chapter 2. He contends that cinematic Asian representation should be analyzed not only in terms of stereotyping, but also in the contexts of institutional control over representation and the racial stratification of role playing.

Xing classifies a selected group of representative Asian American films into three categories - social history documentation, family dramas, and avant-garde films by Asian American women - and offers an in-depth discussion of each category in chapters 3 to 5. He shows how these films reflect on the various aspects of Asian American experience and on the often conflicting views and orientations of Asian and Asian American filmmakers and film critics. Xing devotes a chapter to examining the impacts of marginalization and white racism on Asian American cinematic strategies and practices. He asserts that both the internal tension among Asian American filmmakers over integrative strategies (aiming at popular acceptance) and oppositional strategies (oriented toward self-determination) and the fight against marginalization imposed by Hollywood are characteristic of Asian American filmmaking. In the concluding chapter, Xing illustrates parallel trends of diversity and globalization in Asian American cinema.

The book includes a list of selected filmography. Xing carefully selects the films and videos that are original products with significant Asian American or Asian immigrant involvement in the creative process as screenwriters, producers, or directors and with Asian American or Asian diasporic-related themes. This list provides a valuable source of teaching material for instructors in history, anthropology, sociology, and the varying sub-fields of Asian American Studies. By any measure, this book is extremely informative and well balanced, contributing significantly to our understanding of the complexity and intricacies of practices and strategies in minority representation.

*Min Zhou*  
*University of California, Los Angeles*

## **Mexican Workers and the State: From the Porfiriato to NAFTA**

**Norman Caulfield**

(Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1998)  
180pp. Index. Bibl. \$24.95; ISBN 0-87565-192-5.

The core of this short work is a narrative of Mexican labor organization, mostly at the national level, from the chaotic days of the 1910-20 revolution/civil war, to the high point of state power in its confrontation with the railway workers in 1958-9 when the state imposed 'charrismo', a peculiarly Mexican form of government control of labor. This part of the story is supported with local accounts in journals and newspapers, consular reports and the like. It is supplemented with briefer, secondary accounts of the Porfiriato period (pre 1910) and the story after 1959.

It is a story of frustrated radicalism in a radical age. The author recounts clearly and in detail the early competition between the radicalisms of socialists, communists and the IWW, and the rise and demise of quasi-official confederations such as CROM. Changing Presidents used and controlled organized labor for domestic political purposes. By the WWII years the conflicts were organized around the strategic games of major powers. But although Mexico subtly used the threat of non-alignment as leverage, for labor, only limited degrees of autonomy were achieved, not a radical program.

Knowing these factional struggles helps understand the complexities of Mexican corporatism. It was certainly not a copy of the Fascist or Catholic forms. It always allowed for dissidents and fringe autonomous groups. It was above all a question of political power, both domestic and international, not of law.

One would wish for more than a narrative, though. The context of the New Deal, Nazism, WWII and the Cold War are barely mentioned. The actions of, among others, American labor are hard to understand without it. In Mexico, the agrarian issue, indigenous groups, the clash with the Church and the taming of the military, are ignored. The significance of the adoption of the import substitution industrialization strategy is not analyzed.

True, one cannot expect a comprehensive history in a short book, but the result is to produce a useful and readable, but conventional account of the left, of radicals and moderates, syndicalists and corporatists, nationalists and opportunists in a crucial period of Mexican history.

*Douglas A Chalmers*  
*Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies*  
*Columbia University*

## Native Resistance and the Pax Colonial in New Spain

Edited by Susan Schroeder

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998)

200pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: £42.75; ISBN 0-8032-4266-2. Pb.:

£18.95; ISBN 0-8032-9249-X.

This book is a collection of essays seeking to explode the myth that, after the initial conquest, Native American tribes submitted generally peacefully to Spanish rule until the nineteenth century. What the authors show is that Indians throughout Mexico were always willing to resist the Spanish with varying degrees of success.

Of all the regions of Spain's American empire, Mexico was probably the most stable, which is why the myth of the Pax Colonial emerged. Yet even here, Native Americans continually tested the boundaries of Spanish rule, with violent, if unco-ordinated rebellions occurring regularly. What is fascinating is how the tactics of rebellion changed over time, as cultural adaptation became cultural norm. Indians were always aware of the differences between themselves and the Spanish, yet certain cultural traits brought to the Americas by the Spanish, most notably Catholicism, sometimes formed the basis of resistance to colonial rule. Startled Jesuits occasionally saw their own religion adapted and used against them, especially the stress on a messianic saviour who would save his suffering people from slavery. In this adoption of the 'good bits' of Christianity, Indians in New Spain were joined by the other oppressed mass in the Americas, African slaves. By the eighteenth century, highly developed guerrilla warfare tactics successfully demonstrated the weak military control Spain had over much of her empire. Indeed in forcing the Spanish to the negotiating table to end a long-running dispute, hardly the action of a colonial power in firm command of its empire, Native Americans showed that European control in the America was always, to some degree, superficial.

These are well written and very readable essays, which force us to reassess our assumptions about the submission of any conquered people to colonial rule, even if that conquest happened centuries before.

*Tim Lockley*  
*University of Warwick*

## Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights

Edited by William V. Flores & Rina  
Benmayor

(Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997)

322pp. Index. ISBN 0-8070-4634-5.

Pb.: ISBN 0-8070-4635-3.

A significant new addition to the ever-growing body of citizenship and 'new citizen' literature, this book offers a provocative description of how some Latinos in the United States are struggling to gain rights and respect within the parameters of a concept the book's writers define as 'cultural citizenship.'

As a basic premise of the book, the authors view Latinos as outsiders in their homeland since they contend that Latinos are considered foreigners and immigrants even though they might hold legal citizenship. The authors argue that all people of Mexican, Central American, and South American descent are 'Latino' whether they are recently arrived immigrants from Argentina or fifth generation Mexicans whose family history predates that of the U.S. annexation of present-day California. Thus, although Latinos in the U.S. compose a rather large, heterogeneous group, the authors make a persuasive argument that people of Latin American descent, regardless of their national origin or legal citizenship status, face particular challenges to gain rights and respect, or 'cultural citizenship,' in U.S. society.

A rather open-ended concept, the term 'cultural citizenship' was first introduced by Renato Rosaldo of Stanford University in 1987 to the Latino Cultural Studies Working Group (some of whose members are contributors to this book). Throughout the edited volume, the definitions of 'cultural citizenship' seem to vary according to the particular writer, and also by the wide range of case studies used to illustrate the concept. For example, one contributor summarizes the general idea of the concept by writing that '...cultural citizenship is a process that involves claiming membership in, and remaking, America' (p.58) Another writer defines the concept by arguing that 'Cultural citizenship can be thought of as a broad range of activities of everyday life through which Latinos and other groups claim space in society, define their communities, and claim rights. (p.262)

According to the editors, the intent of the book is to better understand 'how cultural phenomena . . . cross the political realm and contribute to the process of affirming and building an emerging Latino identity and political and social consciousness.' (p.6) To illustrate this concept, the

essays cover a diverse array of activities such as the participation of Latino women in a cannery strike in Watsonville, California; the experiences of Puerto Ricans in a literacy class in New York; and the weekly exchanges at a swap meet in San Jose, California.

At times the authors seem to give overly generalized examples of why cultural citizenship represents the experiences of Latinos in the US. However, the book does succeed in offering a convincing alternative view to the notion of citizenship. In contrast with the outdated assimilationist model of citizenship, the authors of this book contend that Latinos are 'not only entering (US) society, they are reshaping it, remoulding it in their own image.' (p.277)

Thus, apart from describing Latinos' struggle to gain formal citizenship, the writers also offer compelling evidence of how the fabric of U.S. society is changing and becoming enriched in response to the infusion of Latinos and other non-white groups. Given the current climate in the US, where there is a growing tide of nativist legislation designed to eliminate affirmative action, cut back welfare, and drastically restrict the rights of immigrants, this book is particularly relevant and timely.

*Heather McPhail*  
*Inter-American Development Bank*

## **Identity and Power: Puerto Rican Politics and the Challenge of Ethnicity**

José E Cruz

(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)

278pp. Index. Bibl. Hb.: \$59.95; ISBN 1-56639-604-2. Pb.:

\$22.95; ISBN 1-56639-605-0.

Using the case study of the Puerto Rican experience in Hartford, Connecticut, from 1983-1991, the author of this book attempts to describe political mobilization as an expression of what he calls, 'identity politics.' According to the author, the aim of the book is to analyze '...how Puerto Ricans used ethnicity to tackle adversity and exploit opportunities to channel the energy created by the bonds of identity into the pursuit of political enfranchisement' (p. xi).

Relying upon his own personal experience as a Puerto Rican migrant to Hartford, Connecticut, as well as his recent doctoral research in the city, the author offers a

highly detailed chronicle of what can be viewed as the recent Puerto Rican experience in Hartford. He states that similar to the experience of other recent migrants, ethnicity structured his experience in Hartford in both positive and negative ways. In his case, however, he asserts that 'otherness has been my ticket into mainstream society' (p. xi).

For author José Cruz, 'identity politics' can be defined as 'the move from ethnic awareness to power awareness, and from interests to an interest group' (p.10). Therefore, the emphasis is on group, rather than individual claims. In contrast with the conventional view of 'identity politics' that emphasizes its inevitable effects of separatism, victimization, and instability, Cruz argues that the recent Puerto Rican experience in Hartford illustrates exactly the opposite. Based on his research, Cruz concludes that as a result of 'identity politics,' Puerto Ricans become 'incorporated,' which he understands as the process of entering society and politics. Thus for Cruz, the recent Puerto Rican experience in Hartford is an example of the process of empowerment, where ethnicity, or 'identity politics,' played a dominant role.

The focus for most of the book is the detailed analysis of the Puerto Rican Political Action Committee of Connecticut (PRPAC) from 1983-1991, particularly the actions of its prominent leader, Edwin Vargas Jr.. For Cruz, the PRPAC during recent decades epitomizes his interpretation of identity politics. With a combination of demographic growth, leadership development, and an intense organizational drive that rallied around the idea of ethnicity and group interests, the PRPAC are able to make significant gains to positions of political power in Hartford. Yet, as the author notes, the experience of the PRPAC shows that the relationship between access to power and socio-economic gains is not always positively correlated. This basic paradox of political life later generates disillusionment and dissension among the Puerto Rican community in Hartford.

Finally, a major criticism with this book is the fact that at times it reads too much like a doctoral dissertation, which of course it is based upon. While the theoretical tangents and reference reviews by others in his field are interesting and relevant to his argument at times, the book would be a lot more coherent and compelling if many of these had been left in the dissertation. Overall however, the book offers an interesting case study, and broadens our understanding of identity politics and urban mobilization.

*Heather McPhail*  
*Inter-American Development Bank*

## **Puerto Rican Jam: Rethinking Colonialism and Nationalism**

Edited by Frances Negron-Muntaner &  
Ramon Grosfoguel

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997)

Distributed by Taylor & Francis

303pp. Index. Hb.: ISBN 0-8166-2848-3. Pb.: £16.95;

ISBN 0-8166-2849.

This book is unusual for an edited volume in that its thirteen essays contribute to a cohesive and integrated analysis of the chosen subject - how to think about Puerto Rican conceptions of self and community - of *puertorriquenidad* (Puerto Ricanness). The central argument is that both nationalist *and* colonialist political and cultural agendas, and the frameworks of thought in which they flourish, are inappropriate for understanding Puerto Rican society and aspirations. The authors argue that the mass of Puerto Ricans recognise the inapplicability of both these projects for Puerto Rico - having a much more sophisticated understanding of politics and culture than the elites who represent them in government. That this is so is born out in referenda where the majority of Puerto Ricans have rejected both independence *and* statehood (that is becoming part of the United States of America).

*La puertorriquenidad* cannot be understood through nationalist and colonialist tropes which are essentialist, simplistic and exclusionist - tending to flatten multivariate experiences and feelings of identity. The book therefore investigates the multiple identities which constitute different sorts of *puertorriquenidad* and it does this by privileging difference and awarding value to fluidity. If identity can be spoken of at all it is as a thing in motion, a constitution in the making, composed of multiple, overlapping, changing but still culturally specific senses of self and community. Thus Spanish *and* English *and* Spanglish are equally legitimate, equally valid signs of *puertorriquenidad*.

More radically, but equally convincingly, the authors' argument is not simply that homosexual and heterosexual; Black, White, Latino, the different experiences of class and location constitute equally valid sets of Puerto Rican experience but that the categories themselves need to be questioned. The articulations that attempt to imagine and construct the individual within the constraints of a

preconceived identity have themselves been socially and historically constituted through practice - the practice of the individuals themselves as well as the practice of colonial and nationalist discourse. Categories *and* practice need to be unpacked, historicised, denaturalised and textualised. The book provides fine examples of accessible and pertinent use of post-structural analysis used as de-textualising methodologies to complement de-reifying strategies. The authors demolish notions of ethnic fixity - in the case of *puertorriquenidad* or in any other case - by the arguments and the epistemology, by juxtaposing and integrating form and content.

The theme is Puerto Rico but the book has important things to say to all scholars of politics, sociology and literary theory as well as to those who blindly pose nationalism - always by its nature cruel and exclusive - as the only alternative to forms of colonialism. It deserves to be widely read.

*Hazel Smith*

*University of Warwick*

## **Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico**

Edited by John Holloway & Eloína  
Peláez

(London: Pluto Press, 1998)

201pp. Index. Hb.: £40.00; ISBN 07453-1178-4. Pb.: £13.99;

ISBN 0-7453-1177-6.

On 1 January 1994, the previously unheard of Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) occupied the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas and a number of other towns in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas. Most EZLN members were from indigenous ethnic groups. Their main motivation was their social, economic, political and cultural exclusion from a Mexico which was developing unevenly. A decade of neo-liberalism had emphasised the marginalisation of the poor, the rural, the landless and the indigenous. The uprising was timed to coincide with Mexico's entry to NAFTA, a move the EZLN felt would further immiserate peasant farmers. Government proposals to repeal land re-distribution legislation were a further motivation.

The initial government military reaction gave way to an offer to enter into negotiations. While the EZLN wanted the talks to tackle country-wide issues such as social exclusion and electoral reform, the government was anxious to pursue a minimalist approach. A stop-go peace process followed, punctuated by military offensives and

increased civil disobedience in Chiapas. As a backdrop, Mexico slipped into crises of political and economic confidence, both not entirely unrelated to events in Chiapas.

Chapters on the symbolism of Zapatism, its reaction to global capitalism, Zapatista indigenous women, the use of computer communications to circumvent State attempts to isolate the region and Zapatism's influence on the rest of Mexico make for an eclectic survey of a rather idiosyncratic revolution. Unusually, Zapatism did not want to take power, they wanted to re-distribute it. They seemed genuinely egalitarian in decision making processes.

But the book is partial, in both senses of the word. First, it lacks basic facts on the uprising and subsequent peace process. When, what and where are seemingly secondary to grinding Marxist analyses. No casualty figures are given. Details of the peace process are sketchy. Reality might, after all, interfere with theory! Second, the book is written from a pro-Zapatista position which hampers an objective analysis of their position and methods. Finally, the book's central argument is that the Zapatista revolution marked a re-invention and re-legitimation of the very notion of revolution. This is especially the case in the face of the seemingly world-wide victory for neo-liberal orthodoxy. This is an interesting argument and is reinforced by the quirky nature of the EZLN's approach to conflict and negotiation. The editors fail, however, to examine whether the lessons of Zapatism can be transferred to other situations.

*Roger Mac Ginty*  
*Lancaster University*

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## **The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru**

**Gustavo Gorriti**

(Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999)  
290pp. Index. Hb.: \$60.00; ISBN 0-8078-2373-2. Pb.: \$24.95;  
ISBN 0-8078-4676-7.

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This journalistic account of the early years of one of Latin America's most brutal and virulent insurgencies arrives almost a decade after the appearance of the original Spanish version. Gustavo Gorriti, who covered the Shining Path as a journalist for the Peruvian magazine *Caretas*, uses the movement's own documents and numerous interviews to weave a psychological narrative of the development of Shining Path ideology, and its political and military strategies, during a three-year period, beginning with its first violent attacks in 1980 and ending with President Belaunde's decision in 1982 to call in the armed forces. Gorriti demonstrates with understated disgust how the Peruvian government's reluctance to call in the military, only recently retired from government, and

the incompetence and venality of police and intelligence units, prevented the government from crushing the movement when it was still fragile.

The book was originally intended to be the first of three volumes on the Shining Path's bloody war against the Peruvian state. That war raged into the mid-1990s, when Peruvian intelligence officers finally captured the group's messianic leader, Abimael Guzman. These intentions were abandoned when Gorriti fled Peru after his imprisonment by the Fujimori government in 1992.

Gorriti was among the first to put the movement's seemingly random and inexplicable attacks on state institutions and humble peasants alike into a coherent narrative. His meticulous dissection of the evolution of Shining Path's political line - Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine pushed by Guzman to its illogical extreme - challenged prevailing interpretations derived from the movement's origin in the most Indian province of the country, as well as deep-seated fears among Peru's white elite of the violent revenge of the Inca kingdom.

Military intelligence analysts throughout the hemisphere continue to interpret the ethnic origin of many of the movement's combatants as a resurgence of ethnic violence - a tendency exacerbated by superficial comparisons to Mexico's Maya-based Chiapas rebellion. In contrast, Gorriti demonstrates the lower-middle-class, light-skinned, urban, university-educated origin of the movement's leaders and its primary ideologue. Unfortunately, the book fails to examine fully the social and cultural context in which the movement emerged, which might help explain how the fanatical movement gained a loyal following in the mid-1980s.

*Donna Lee Van Cott*  
*University of Tennessee*

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## **Regional Mechanisms and International Security in Latin America**

**Edited by Olga Pellicer**

(Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1998)  
158pp. Pb.: £11.50; ISBN 92-808-0967-9.

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Olga Pellicer's edited volume *Regional Mechanisms and International Security in Latin America* brings together noted specialists who deal with four major themes related to the contemporary Interamerican security environment:



defining security in Latin America, regional mechanisms and international security, a case study of the UN's role in Central America, and Latin American perspectives on UN action. The volume's main contribution is its sophisticated discussion of the changing nature of Interamerican security. By recognizing processes of globalization, interdependence, and the significance of the end of the Cold War, the volume successfully shows how new security threats have been combined and superimposed upon the old ones. Crime, drug-trafficking, ethnic conflict, human insecurity, and severe socio-economic inequalities are identified by authors as replacing sovereignty-based notions of security. The work makes clear that the multiplication in definitions of security has proceeded differently in Central and South America, given disparities in the size, economic status, and capabilities of distinct countries. However, the contributors perhaps overstate the extent to which so-called 'new' threats to security are new, and the extent to which the old ones have disappeared. Many of the so-called new threats were historically subsumed under the more visible and seemingly pressing issue of the threat of communism. They were dealt with as they are now: by a multiplicity of actors in an *ad-hoc* way. Also, while it would be pleasant to consign traditional inter-state conflict to the dustbin of history, one should bear in mind that rarely have nations gone to war in the region. The continent's recent peace is not that radical a departure from the historical Interamerican experience. That said, the book does raise some very interesting propositions concerning the varying definitions of security in the region, which have profound significance for hemispheric foreign policies.

While the book provides an excellent analysis of the problem, it is weaker in proposing concrete measures to enhance security. Contributors correctly underscore the necessity of building upon already-existent regional security mechanisms, as opposed to building comprehensive new ones from the bottom up. Many chapters make general recommendations concerning the need to 'coordinate policies', 'build trust', 'engage in regional cooperation', and for institutions to 'renew themselves.' However, all but a few of the chapters lack specificity in terms of how precisely these goals can be achieved (the Puchala and Blachman chapter does the best job). While the book is a strong contribution in terms of diagnosis of the problems, the context of Interamerican security, and the outlines of general strategy to remedy these problems, we are left wondering what concretely should be the course of treatment for Interamerican security dilemmas.

*Peter Siavelis*

*Wake Forest University, North Carolina*

## **The Inter-American System of Human Rights**

**Edited by David Harris & Stephen  
Livingstone**

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)

588pp. Index. Hb.: £65.00; ISBN 0-19-826552-2.

The collection of essays is intended to provide European lawyers and scholars with a background into the inter-American human rights system, as Europeans are now forced to face rights violations in Turkey, Yugoslavia and elsewhere on the scale of those witnessed throughout the Americas in the 1970s and 80s.

The pieces assembled do well in their analysis of both the successes and the shortcomings of the 1948 Organization of American States (OAS) Charter and its application by the Inter-American Commission and Court of Human Rights. The work recognizes the Court's landmark stance on disappearances in the *Velasquez Rodriguez* case in Honduras, and its increased prominence thereafter, while in essays such as Hurst Hannum's 'The Protection of Indigenous Rights in the Inter-American System' (pp. 323-43), the stance is more critical. Hannum notes the Commission lacked special authority or obligation to concern itself with the problems of the indigenous (p. 325), and has only recently begun to embrace the rights of the indigenous as a central concern.

The concluding essay, 'Procedural Shortcomings in the Defense of Human Rights: An Inequality of Arms' (pp. 421-40) by José Miguel Vivanco (Executive Director of Human Rights Watch/Americas) and Lisa L. Bhansali provides a balanced look into the future of the inter-American system. The authors emphasize that although most Latin democracies acknowledge human rights violations, they continue to employ a 'double discourse' (421). 'They recognize the importance of human rights principles, but when confronted with a case before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, they question the necessity of the system and sometimes even work to undermine its effectiveness' (421). These and other such problems, such as unpredictability and inconsistency in application of the Commission's rules and guidelines, continue to hinder the OAS Charter.

On the whole, *The Inter-American System of Human Rights* is a narrowly focused collection of articles clearly intended for legal scholars and practitioners with an interest in the Americas. Its utility for European counterparts, or scholars with a more general interest in the human rights discourse seems rather minimal.

*Eamon Joyce*  
*Vassar College*

## Contents continued....

|   |       |   |       |
|---|-------|---|-------|
| Sarah Nuttall & Carli Coetzee<br><i>-reviewed by Marcia Byrom Hartwell</i>                  |       | John McGarry & Brendan O'Leary<br><i>-reviewed by Dominic Bryan</i>                             |       |
| <b>Negotiating the Past: The making of memory in South Africa</b>                           | 27    | <b>Policing Northern Ireland: Proposals for a New Start</b>                                     | 38-39 |
| Victoria Brittain<br><i>-reviewed by Donna Pankhurst</i>                                    | 28    | Craig Seaton<br><i>-reviewed by Martin Melaugh</i>  | 39    |
| <b>Death of Dignity: Angola's Civil War</b>   | 28    | <b>Northern Ireland: The Context for Conflict and for Reconciliation</b>                        | 39    |
| Terence Lyons<br><i>-reviewed by Paul J Kaiser</i>  | 28-29 | Marie-Therese Fay, Mike Morrissey & Marie Smith<br><i>-reviewed by Caroline Kennedy-Pipe</i>    | 40    |
| <b>Voting for Peace: Postconflict Elections in Liberia</b>                                  | 28-29 | <b>Northern Ireland's Troubles: The Human Costs</b>   | 40    |
| Johnathan Bascom<br><i>-reviewed by Nana Poku</i>   | 29    | Norman Porter ed<br><i>-reviewed by William a Hazleton</i>                                      | 40-41 |
| <b>Losing Place: Refugee Populations and Rural Transformations in East Africa</b>           | 29    | <b>The Republican Ideal: Current Perspectives</b>   | 40-41 |
| John Markakis<br><i>-reviewed by June Rock</i>  | 29-30 | Paul Hainsworth<br><i>-reviewed by Anthony M Messina</i>  | 41-42 |
| <b>Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa</b>  | 29-30 | <b>Divided Society: Ethnic Minorities and Racism in Northern Ireland</b>                        | 41-42 |
| Arieh J Kochavi<br><i>-reviewed by Ray Duplain</i>  | 30    | David M Thomas<br><i>-reviewed by François Rocher</i>   | 42    |
| <b>Prelude to Nuremberg: Allied War Crimes Policy and the Question of Punishment</b>        | 30    | <b>Whistling Past the Graveyard: Constitutional Abeyances, Quebec, and the Future of Canada</b> | 42    |
| Philip D Zelikow & Robert B Zoellick eds<br><i>-reviewed by Fethi Mansouri</i>              | 30-31 | Will Kymlicka<br><i>-reviewed by Eric Kaufmann</i>  | 42-43 |
| <b>America and the Muslim Middle East: Memos to a President</b>                             | 30-31 | <b>Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada</b>                            | 42-43 |
| Uri Ben-Eliezer<br><i>-reviewed by Adrian McNickle</i>                                      | 31    | William Finnegan<br><i>-reviewed by Roger Mac Ginty</i>   | 43    |
| <b>The Making of Israeli Militarism</b>   | 31    | <b>Cold New World: Growing Up in a Harder Country</b>   | 43    |
| Shimon Peres & Robert Littell<br><i>-reviewed by Mehran Kamrava</i>                         | 32    | Pyong Gap Min & Rose Kim eds<br><i>-reviewed by Steven J Gold</i>                               | 44    |
| <b>For the Future of Israel</b>   | 32    | <b>Struggle for Ethnic Identity: Narratives by Asian American Professionals</b>                 | 44    |
| Branimar Anzulovic<br><i>-reviewed by Zhidas Daskalovski</i>                                | 32    | Jun Xing<br><i>-reviewed by Mia Zhon</i>  | 44-45 |
| <b>Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide</b>   | 32    | <b>Asian America through the Lens: History, Representations and Identity</b>                    | 44-45 |
| Andres Klinke, Ortwin Renn, Jean-Paul Lehnrs eds<br><i>-reviewed by Florian Bieber</i>      | 33    | Norman Caulfield<br><i>-reviewed by Douglas A Chalmers</i>                                      | 45    |
| <b>Ethnic Conflicts and Civil Society: Proposals for a New Era in Eastern Europe</b>        | 33    | <b>Mexican Workers and the State: From the Porfiriato to NAFTA</b>                              | 45    |
| Sten Berglund, Tomas Hellén & Frank H Aarebrot eds<br><i>-reviewed by Ioannis Armakolas</i> | 33-34 | Susan Schroeder ed<br><i>-reviewed by Tim Lockley</i>   | 46    |
| <b>The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe</b>                                   | 33-34 | <b>Native Resistance and the Pax Colonial in New Spain</b>                                      | 46    |
| Alexei Arbatov, et al eds<br><i>-reviewed by Richard Sakwa</i>                              | 34    | William V. Flores & Rina Benmayor eds<br><i>-reviewed by Heather McPhail</i>                    | 46-47 |
| <b>Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Russian and American Perspectives</b>      | 34    | <b>Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights</b>                        | 46-47 |
| John B Dunlop<br><i>-reviewed by Allen C Lynch</i>  | 34-35 | José E Cruz<br><i>-reviewed by Heather McPhail</i>  | 47    |
| <b>Russia Confronts Chechnya: Roots of a Separatist Conflict</b>                            | 34-35 | <b>Identity and Power: Puerto Rican Politics and the Challenge of Ethnicity</b>                 | 47    |
| Steven Vertovec & Alisdair Rogers eds<br><i>-reviewed by Roger Karapin</i>                  | 35-36 | Frances Negron-Muntaner et al eds<br><i>-reviewed by Hazel Smith</i>                            | 48    |
| <b>Muslim European Youth: Reproducing Ethnicity, Religion, Culture</b>                      | 35-36 | <b>Puerto Rican Jam: Rethinking Colonialism and Nationalism</b>                                 | 48    |
| Hugh Poulton<br><i>-reviewed by Ioannis Armakolas</i>                                       | 36-37 | John Holloway & Eloína Peláez eds<br><i>-reviewed by Roger Mac Ginty</i>                        | 48-49 |
| <b>Minorities in Southeast Europe: Inclusion and Exclusion</b>                              | 36-37 | <b>Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico</b>  | 48-49 |
| Michael Winock<br><i>-reviewed by Jonathan Lipkin</i>                                       | 37    | Gustavo Gorriti<br><i>-reviewed by Donna Lee Van Cott</i>                                       | 49    |
| <b>Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and Fascism in France</b>                                     | 37    | <b>The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru</b>                               | 49    |
| C Lloyd<br><i>-reviewed by Michael Rowe</i>   | 37-38 | Olga Pellicer ed<br><i>-reviewed by Peter Siavelis</i>  | 49-50 |
| <b>Discourses of Antiracism in France.</b>  | 37-38 | <b>Regional Mechanisms and International Security in Latin America</b>                          | 49-50 |
| Michael Rowe<br><i>-reviewed by Peter Ratcliffe</i>   | 38    | David Harris & Stephen Livingstone<br><i>-reviewed by Eamon Joyce</i>                           | 50    |
| <b>The Racialisation of Disorder in Twentieth Century Britain</b>                           | 38    | <b>The Inter-American System of Human Rights</b>  | 50    |



