



REVIEWS

The Frontiers of the European Union

Malcolm Anderson with Eberhard Bort
Palgrave, 2001
HBK: ISBN: 03380435X £42.50
pp. 235 + viii (including: bibliography and index)

This book is packed with information on the internal and external frontiers of the European Union. As the authors note in the theoretical chapter (chapter 2), contemporary developments have changed the role of states and territory, increased cultural and economic flows across state frontiers, and problematised the very role of the state. Study of the European Union elucidates both the continuing relevance of internal state frontiers (chapter 3) and the changes in the role of these frontiers (the tour around the external frontiers of France in chapter 4 shows increasing trans-frontier cooperation). The external frontiers of the European union are toured in the next chapter, with a useful and timely discussion of the workings of the Shengen accord: its direction against immigrants from the Southern shores of the Mediterranean is clear, as are the relatively uniform standards of implementation despite the variation in the 'policeability' of the different borders.

In chapter 6 there is specific discussion of the Eastern frontiers of the European Union – at once the most variable, the most politically problematic, and as such the most interesting of the external frontiers. The mass of data is augmented by an impressively long bibliography which lists a wide range of national, regional and EU documents as well as giving a very useful compilation of scholarly literature on issues related to regions, borders and frontiers. The final chapter sums up the significance of much of the data negatively, by contrasting the expansion of the EU with that of the American frontier: 'this expansion cannot be a "manifest destiny"... because there can be no simple understanding of what is expanding, why and to what end.'(p. 183) Unlike the debate on the American frontier, that on the European frontier 'will inevitably be a disorderly one and carry with it the risk of disintegration into highly specialized discussions' (p. 183).

The quotation points to a problem which nagged this reader throughout the book: perhaps no 'simple' understanding is possible, but complex understandings may be possible which are neither disorderly nor disintegrative. Such understandings, however, are not easily found in the book. The methodology used in the research (interviews with border-region elites, a study of EU, national and regional documentation) encourages an outline of a wide range of cross-border projects with little evaluation of their wider significance. The problem was apparent at several points in chapter 6. After a long list of cross-frontier projects on the eastern borders of Germany, it was noted that they were not very effective in fulfilling their explicit objectives (p. 169). Where successful cooperation was noted, the criteria of 'success' were left unclear. Interaction between border-guards was noted, but its significance in terms of security, quality of life or simply lived experience in the region was not questioned.



The problem existed, too, in the discussion of the French internal frontiers of the EU. The coverage was impressive, but often I wanted to ask about the significance of the increasing cross-border linkages for identity, 'stateness', the lived experience of frontiers, of nations, or of Europe. On the Basque side of the Pyrenees, for example, is economic integration seen by the French or Spanish population to have any political meaning, or is the economic cooperation along the seacoast too far from the centers of Basque activism to impact on Basque consciousness? On the Catalan side, does the interaction have any cultural significance in a highly localistic society where traditionally the North began not in Paris but in Carcassonne? The questions are not merely empiricist but concern the significance of the information we are given for national identity, nationalist conflict, cultural distinction, and for assessment of the integrative capacity of the EU. These are, however, bigger questions than the book attempts to tackle. It is content with a level of 'disorder' even 'disintegration' in its presentation of the information. This might be seen as indicative of the newly post-modern world – more simply, however, it may be attributed to the methodology. In my view it is a loss. Malcolm Anderson is in a good position to give some answers about the significance of the developments he describes for identity and state projects in parts of the EU: so too is Eberhard Bort. I hope they will give us some of the answers in their next book.

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Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: An International Security Reader, Revised Edition

Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, (eds.)
MIT Press, 2001

Pbk: ISBN: 0262523159 £19.50 \$27.95

pp. xvi + 491 (including: suggestions for further reading)

This collection of essays, taken from articles previously published in the journal *International Security*, is a revised edition of a 1997 volume of the same name. It is not a second edition, since the original chapters that made up the first version have neither been reworked nor updated (as far as this reviewer can judge). Instead we get the addition of three new chapters culled from later editions of the source journal. All of the pieces are composed by US based academics with an expertise in international relations and comparative government.

The book is divided into three parts. The first explores the sources of nationalism and ethnic conflict. Here the five chapters are very much centred on proximate rather than underlying causes of conflict. Part two is interested in options for international action and includes discussions of military responses to refugee disasters, the role of air power in Kosovo, regional peacekeeping in Liberia and the limits of liberal internationalism as a peacebuilding strategy. The third part is entitled political challenges. Here we find analyses of refugee flows as grounds for international action, spoiler problems in peace processes, designing transitions from civil war, and in the final, provocative article by Kaufmann, possible and impossible solutions to ethnic civil wars. Kaufmann advances a fervent argument in favour of separatism, but it lacks the subtlety of the preceding chapters by Mueller and by Stedman that

recognise that there are internal divisions within each warring community and that ethnic conflicts are not a war of all against all. Mueller is especially good on how a relatively small number of 'empowered and unpoliced thugs' (p. 102) can wreak havoc on intercommunal relations.

The allocation of the articles to each of these three parts appears to be somewhat arbitrary as they all address more or less the same basic issue: what sort of threats do national and ethnic conflicts pose to the international political system and what can concerned states do to reduce or end their destructive impact? The overall tone is how to use coercion and inducements to manipulate conflict situations. Most authors do not address the legality and morality of such actions and the pluralist critique of the implicit solidarist assumptions of most of the authors is ignored. More was needed along the lines of Posner's observation that humanitarian intervention is 'less gentle than it sounds' (p. 232).

This does not mean that there is a consensus about issues. Indeed, in places, there appear to be real disagreements about what the most appropriate strategies should be. For example, Van Evera calls on Western powers to enforce a code of conduct on East European states that includes the adoption of market economic policies and a democratic form of government. On the other hand, several other chapters challenge a simplistic liberal internationalist approach. The chapter by Snyder and Ballentine argues that this 'conventional wisdom' (p. 61) overlooks the damage that can be inflicted on divided societies with a poorly developed civil society by elites that want to peddle explosive ethnic sentiments through a 'free press'. This critique is sustained in the chapter by Paris, which points out that the liberal internationalist 'paradigm' has been an ineffective model for peacebuilding because it does not take into account the destabilizing effects of the 'market democracy' remedy. However, these critics do not want to overthrow the liberal internationalist approach in favour of something more radical. Instead they offer modifications and improvements. Paris, for example, wants to claim both that the liberal internationalist approach is 'fundamentally flawed' (p. 324) and that it should not be abandoned but adjusted towards an approach labelled 'strategic liberalization'.

The most important contribution of this reader is to bring together a set of stimulating pieces on international responses to ethnic conflict. More could have been done, however, to add value to this collection. A tighter focus was needed in places, for example, there are chapters where the concentration on national and ethnic conflict is replaced with an analysis of internal conflict in general, weakening the impact of the volume as a whole. One wishes that the chapters from the 1997 edition had been updated. The economic boom in the Far East has ended and the war in Bosnia is no longer burning (though it has been smouldering for the past six years). It would also have been useful to include suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter, rather than at the end of the volume. An index would also have been helpful. The value of the volume has also been reduced by the fact that many of the most significant articles have now been expanded on and developed elsewhere – most notably Lake and Rothchild's piece on containing fear and Stephen Stedman's influential examination of the 'spoiler' problem in peacemaking. Brown's own contributions are based on material that appears elsewhere.



Nonetheless, for those who have not had access to these articles before, they provide a fine guide to important (relatively) recent scholarship in this area of study. Readers will be left with a greater awareness of the advantages and problems associated with different strategies used by outside parties that intervene in internal conflicts. Difficulties identified include how to induce compliance, how to promote change that does not add to a sense of insecurity and how to improve on peacebuilding that hitherto appears to have been based on overly-simplistic assumptions. With fifteen articles squeezed into just under 500 pages the book is good value for money. Just don't expect an in-depth analysis of why nationalism and ethnicity remain such important forces in the contemporary world.

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Modern Roots: studies of national identity

Alain Dieckhoff and Natividad Gutiérrez, eds.

Ashgate Publishing, 2001

Hbk ISBN: 0-7546-1152-3 £45.00 \$79.95

pp. 297 + xx (including: list of contributors, endnotes)

This collection was compiled from an Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences (ICCR) conference on 'Nationalism and National Identity', held in Paris on 3-6 July 1996, as well as from chapters that were commissioned specifically for this volume. They are united by a focus on the cultural roots of national identity. The book is divided into six sections, the first being the introduction (by Gutiérrez), and the last being the conclusion (by Dieckhoff).

In the introduction, Gutiérrez characterises the study of nationalism as divided between two approaches; the "modernists", especially Ernst Gellner, who emphasise that nationalism is a modern phenomenon, and the "historical culturalists", especially Anthony D. Smith, who see nationalism as part of a continuum of identity.

Gutiérrez and Dieckhoff favour the 'historical culturalist' perspective. Though they accept Gellner's view that nationalism is a modern phenomenon, produced by modern forms of society, they emphasise the importance of the underlying culture that assists in the justification and production of a sense of community. They do not consider this culture to be unchanging or ahistorical, as most nationalisms claim; rather, national culture constantly undergoes transformation and (re)production. At the same time, neither is it totally divorced from the past; nationalism draws upon, reinterprets and sometimes reinvents pre-existing culture in the process of self-definition. Hence the 'modern roots' in the title.

A series of theories of nationalism are presented in the second section. Anthony D. Smith offers a critique of modernist, post-modernist and Marxist approaches to the study of nationalism. He sees them as failing to pay sufficient attention to 'national identity'; the maintenance and reproduction of the cultural heritage of the nation, and the identification with that heritage. Smith has space only to present a summary of the arguments of other theoreticians, and his responses are equally brief.

Nevertheless, he provides a valuable overview of the lines of debate in the field today.

Smith characterises nationalism as arising through a combination of different streams of development, all emphasising cultural identity but some doing so more overtly than others. The importance of culture in all nationalisms is a point to which Dieckhoff returns in the conclusion. It is also supported by Corinne Delmas' chapter on the teaching of history at the end of the nineteenth century in France, the state supposedly most based on political rather than cultural definitions of nationalism.

Philippe Claret provides a summary of the separate Anglo-American and French strands of the psychoanalytical study of nationalism. He considers their differences and the history of their formation. While the psychoanalytical approach focuses on cultural values, thus explaining the chapter's presence, there is no sense of connection between Claret's work and the other texts in this volume. Nevertheless, it is a useful review chapter, especially for those unable to access the French literature.

There is greater connection with the chapter by Montserrat Guibernau, which critiques Gellner's theory of nationalism, representing the modern emphasis on culture as the product of differentiation of society preventing other forms of collective identity being cohesive. Like Smith, Guibernau sees nations as building their identity around cultural elements of the past, shaped in new ways to meet new demands. Guibernau argues that nationalism is experienced and understood through cultural symbols and the rituals which imbue them with meaning.

Guibernau is not alone in this approach; Gutiérrez also considers the symbolism of nationalism, in the form of archetypes and stereotypes. The issue of symbolising the nation is the focus of the third section of the book. Oliver Zimmer examines the geographical component of nationalism, specifically the importance of landscape in national identity. He uses as his model Switzerland, where identification with the landscape was used to counterbalance the threat of surrounding ethno-linguistic identities. Zimmer attempts to provide a theoretical framework for the study of the role of Landscape in the construction of national identity. This reflects a growing interest in the spatial component of nationalism, for example White's (2000) attempt to 'map' the spatial component of national sentiment. The issue of landscape has drawn considerable interest in the study of German nationalism, with the importance of the *Heimat*, the local region, as a means of imagining a broader German nation (Applegate 1990). Given the traditional strength of the cantons in Switzerland, consideration of regional identities within this framework would have been of interest.

Anne-Marie Thiesse and Catherine Bertho-Lavenir consider the process by which 'authentic' symbols and rituals were derived from real and supposed folklore practices, thus producing elements of 'national' cultures throughout Europe. Finally, this section is rounded out by Yolaine Cultiaux, who examines the role of historians in post-Franco Catalan identity.

The fourth section examines the teaching of national identity; the transmission of national culture to the nation, and the educators that carry out that process. This section includes the aforementioned chapter by Corinne Delmes. Julian Dierkes



examines teachers' unions in Japan and the two Germanys, and their attempts to come to terms with issues of national identity in the post-war decade. Defeat and occupation provided a moment of crisis in which national introspection led to the reform of national identity. The strength of the paper lies in the similarity of context of the three cases allowing identification and close analysis of specific differences. The limitation of the chapter is the narrowness of the sources Dierkes consults; he assumes the positions advanced in the official journals of the teaching unions reflect what was taught in the classrooms.

A broader range of sources are utilised by Christophe Jeffrelot. He considers the educational activities of organisations connected to the Party of the Indian People (BJP). Jeffrelot follows a reading of the organisations' official propaganda with case studies of several grass roots initiatives of BJP supporters. The case of India is particularly interesting because of the reinterpretation of pre-existing cultural practices, such as the caste system, into national identities. The intermeshing of the two is perhaps an example of what Chakrabarty (2000) describes as 'double consciousness'; the coexistence in the individual of conflicting modern and other worldviews.

The fifth section is devoted to disrupted national identities; national identities under challenge. Sallie Westwood examines the contestation of national identity in Ecuador, where ethnic, racial, class, indigenous and gender identities fracture the state-imposed nationalism and offer alternatives that are difficult for the state to co-opt. Gérard Groc considers the apparent failure of Kemalist nationalism in Turkey to sway large segments of the population, leading to a situation where the army acts to 'protect' the nation from the people. Finally, this section concludes with Catherine Durandin's examination of Romanian nationalism. Durandin considers the victim-mentality of Romanian nationalism, which arises as justification for the nation frequently failing to match the criteria of the imported model of identity that the intellectual elite attempt to impose upon it.

Overall, the volume has been well-selected with a good balance between theory and case studies. The texts are logically arranged, and drawn together well by the introduction and conclusion. Many chapters have been translated from French, making them more widely available. There was only one significant typesetting error; in Guibernau's chapter the endnotes seem to be out of order. The broad focus and extensive theoretical material mean that most readers will find at least several useful chapters herein.

References

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Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace

Paul Dixon

Palgrave, 2001

Hbk: ISBN: 0333729684 £47.50

Pbk: ISBN: 0333729692 £15.99

pp.334 (including: index, bibliography, appendix)

One of the best recent texts produced on the subject, *Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace* offers a fair-minded assessment of the roles of contemporary actors post-1968 and in the contemporary peace process. Dixon stresses the interconnections between power, ideology and reality, emphasising the constraints on the various political actors in pursuit of their goals. This three-tiered approach has much value. In analysing power relationships, Dixon assesses the physical force contest involving the British Government, loyalists and republicans. With no decisive winner in that contest (although the British held the upper hand) the ideological 'war' has been of huge importance in shaping the political agenda and mobilising popular support. The author suggests that the British Government failed to win the propaganda war. In assessing reality, as distinct from propaganda, the author attempts to examine whether objective truths can be obtained. Dixon uses the 'reality' approach to offer a sceptical view of several actions of the British Government. The 'no talking to terrorists' mantra had long appeared tired, even prior to the paramilitary ceasefires. Dixon argues that much righteous indignation from the British Government was synthetic, an example being the award of a United States visa to Gerry Adams in the mid-1990s.

Dixon suggests that all actors have moved away from power and ideology approaches towards analyses grounded in reality. This has allowed political elites to accept the necessity of difficult compromises. These compromises have then been sold to electoral constituencies and party members through an educative process and a series of choreographed events. The author asserts that British policy has been marked largely by continuity. In pursuing this argument, Dixon provides a few familiar potshots at the usual academic targets. He goes on to suggest that the British Government has pursued stability and has delivered this through 'appeasement of whatever forces it felt were likely to deliver a stable settlement' (p.293).

More contentiously, the author asserts that the British Government has been unable to impose its will on republicans or loyalists after 30 years of violence. It is true that the Good Friday Agreement is a compromise between the forces of the British Government and Irish republicanism. Yet, with Northern Ireland remaining part of the United Kingdom for the foreseeable future; the Irish Government abandoning its constitutional claim; Sinn Fein managing British rule at Stormont; the creation of a mere six new cross border bodies (approval for more only via parallel consent in the Assembly, therefore no more bodies thank you) and the IRA calling off its armed campaign, the compromise, at a constitutional level, is akin to that of a cat and a canary (this is not to underplay the importance of non-constitutional matters).



Dixon might usefully have contrasted the propaganda associated with the Good Friday Agreement – ‘no winners’; ‘historic compromise’; ‘only show in town’; ‘self-determination’ etc with the reality of the preservation of the Union. Tellingly, there are no references (Bean excepted) to the works of those, such as Anthony McIntyre, Mark Ryan or Suzanne Breen, who argue that the peace process has seen the death of republicanism. Instead, the limited material on republicanism is too self-referential and pays insufficient attention to perhaps the most important aspect of the peace process and what Dixon refers to as the propaganda war; the skilful management of Sinn Fein by the party’s leaders in settling for an Agreement considerably short of republican objectives.

The other main criticism of the book is that it overemphasises potential British withdrawal as a serious part of the political agenda. Thus, the author argues Unionist fears in respect of Sunningdale were “reasonable” rather than paranoid’ (p.157). Undoubtedly there has been a distinct lack of emotional commitment to the Union, exemplified, as the author notes, by Harold Wilson’s denunciation of loyalists as ‘spongers’. Obviously enforced power sharing and an Irish dimension were difficult for Unionists to stomach in 1974 (and remain problematic for some), but to conflate such ideas with a withdrawal agenda is to stretch a point. As Merlyn Rees later commented, the aim of British policy was to kid republicans through talk of withdrawal, whilst simultaneously shoring up security policy and the defence of the Union. To call the 1972-74 period the ‘first peace process’ (chapter 6) is surely to mislead, unless Faulkner Unionists, Alliance or the SDLP had hitherto unknown paramilitary wings. Republicans were committed to a united Ireland in 1972 and ended dialogue without reward in July that year; loyalists were not engaged at any time. There was no peace process, merely a brief political experiment in consociationalism in 1974.

The previous two paragraphs may be critical, but it is time to restate the positive aspects of Dixon’s work. His discussion of the civil rights movement, assessment of the growing crisis of British policy in the late 1960s and early 1970s and the analysis of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement offer some of the best objective treatments of the topics yet seen. The consideration of the roles played by non-republican actors in the peace process in later chapters is judicious. There are soundly based critiques of unionist and nationalist views of the peace process. Many of the conclusions are sensible. In particular, Dixon restates the importance of social class as an exacerbating factor (if not a causal one) in the maintenance of political difficulties. His outline of the lack of sympathy for unionism is cogent, emphasising how unionist moderates may be placed in difficult positions by the British Government due to a lack of empathy. This has been true in respect of the micro agenda of the Good Friday Agreement. The book displays a clear understanding of the nature and conduct of the propaganda war and the limits upon the development of British policy in Northern Ireland. As such, the book’s arguments deserve to be read by students and academics and argued over in seminar discussions.

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Containing Nationalism

Michael Hechter

Oxford University Press, 2000 (PBK: 2001)

HBK: ISBN 0198297424 £19.99

PBK: ISBN 019924751X £13.99

pp. vii + 256 pages (including: index, bibliography, 1 table, 6 figures)

When writing my undergraduate thesis on Northern Ireland at the University of Leipzig, Germany, I came across Michael Hechter's 1975 book *Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. Even though, in the end, I did not use much of Hechter's argument (nor did I become an advocate of the internal colonialism argument in relation to Northern Ireland), the book made a deep impression on me. Several years on, Hechter's latest book, *Containing Nationalism*, also impressed me – in its clarity, logic, and comprehensiveness of argument. In addition, I would probably subscribe to most of Hechter's contentions.

Containing Nationalism is about three questions: What are the causes of nationalism's modernity? Why is nationalism more prevalent in some countries than in others? How, if at all, is it possible to contain the 'dark side of nationalism', i.e., its association with violence? (pp. 3-4)

Hechter defines nationalism as 'collective action designed to render the boundaries of the nation congruent with those of its governance unit' (p. 7), with the governance unit being 'that territorial unit which is responsible for providing the bulk of social order and other collective goods – including protection from confiscation, justice and welfare – to its members' and that has 'the capacity to extract the revenue and other resources necessary to defray ... [the] production' of these collective goods (p. 9). This particular approach to nationalism is crucial to Hechter's argument in that it allows him to see nationalism as a political phenomenon in that its impact on the state in which it occurs is politically relevant – questioning the legitimacy of forms and institutions of government, the legitimacy of borders, etc. This approach also allows Hechter to distinguish nationalism from imperialism on the one hand and regionalism on the other. Equally important for the conclusiveness of Hechter's subsequent analysis is that he treats the state (in the sense of a territorial entity) as one particular, but not the only governance unit. From these two definitions, Hechter proceeds to describe nations as 'territorially concentrated ethnic groups' with 'an elaborated sense of collective history' which 'implies the existence of some social recognition of the national category, which leads to an available social identity.' (p. 14) The limitations of this approach are quite obvious: it excludes dispersed ethnic groups from the category of 'nation', and at least casts doubts over whether civic nations that combine multiple ethnic groups within them would qualify in Hechter's sense as nations. While this may limit the applicability of some of the solutions proposed in order to contain nationalism, it does not invalidate them or damage the conclusiveness or persuasiveness of the author's argument.

After exploring the modernity of nationalism, Hechter addresses the more important question why nationalism is more salient in some countries than in others. This question is closely linked to the issue of national identities and, in particular to their salience, and Hechter contends that it is the 'establishment and maintenance of a cultural division of labour' that is the key to understanding this phenomenon. Using



the examples of Quebec, Aruba, and the United States, Hechter makes clear that 'hierarchical and segmental cultural divisions of labour favour the establishment and maintenance of separate social identities' and that such cultural divisions of labour, therefore, 'provide an important social base for the development of nationalism if the relevant groups are territorially concentrated' (p. 107). Consequently, those countries are most likely to be confronted by persistently high levels of (peripheral) nationalism in which a cultural division of labour exists and where the respective groups live territorially concentrated and have little or no control over state policies that are directly relevant to the individual and collective welfare of their members. That is, in these countries national movements are more likely to exist that will demand sovereignty within their own governance unit congruent with the boundaries of their nation. Yet, while the demand for sovereignty is a necessary condition for nationalism, it is not a sufficient one. Rather, as Hechter rightly insists, '[n]ationalism requires the existence of organisations dedicated to pursuing national sovereignty.' (p. 125) They are needed to overcome the free-rider problem and to 'convince prospective members that sovereignty is a realistic prospect', none of which nationalist parties are likely or easily to achieve (p. 125). Over time and space, such organisations have taken various forms and shapes: nonconformist churches in Wales, youth organisations and fraternities in Germany, the Gaelic Athletic Association in Ireland, and a variety of voluntary associations in Africa (pp. 125-126).

In the final chapter of his analysis, Hechter approaches the third question, namely under what conditions (violent) nationalist conflict is likely to be contained. Concluding from the previous examination of the phenomenon, Hechter offers three possibilities: to 'increase the costs of collective action', to 'lower the salience of national identity', and to 'decrease the demand for national sovereignty.' (p. 135) For a variety of reasons, Hechter does not have much hope for the success of the former two, but strongly advocates institutional designs aimed at achieving the third. Such designs include consociationalism, electoral systems, and federalism, and it is the later that Hechter is particularly interested in as it is a form of indirect rule, one of the key concepts that informed much of his entire analysis of nationalism. While he is aware of the various controversies surrounding federalism, some new evidence (more widely discussed in his 1999 paper with Nobuyuki Takahashi, 'Political Decentralisation and Nationalist Conflict') leads him to suggest that '[d]ecentralisation is a spur to mobilisation among minority nations, for it places greater resources ... in the hands of nationalist leaders. As long as these leaders see a benefit in remaining part of the host-state, decentralisation ought to contain nationalist rebellion. If the central state implodes, however, then it has little to offer peripheral leaders and fragmentation is the likely consequence.' (p. 149) Key to any successful implementation of decentralisation is that 'central leaders ... find a way to credibly commit themselves to upholding their institutional commitments' which 'will be enhanced when the government provides for maximal procedural justice' (p. 153). Equally important, minority cultural protectionism must be made feasible by making it desirable for the majority, that is, the majority must be brought to understand that 'social order can be provided more efficiently in a society made up of different national groups' because 'a viable central state can profit from the social control activities of its constituent national groups' who 'can contribute to state-wide social order by regulating the behaviour of their members' (pp. 156-157).

The work is overall logical and consistent, but not without some minor flaws. I would disagree with Hechter's contention that 'Kosovar nationalism arose just after the imposition of direct rule' by Slobodan Milosevic in 1989 (p. 77). On the contrary, it had always been present, but had been contained through a mixture of repression (after 1981) and indirect rule (especially through the 1974 constitution). Equally, I would not accept that the 'distinguishing characteristic of peripheral nationalism is the demand for secession' (p. 78). Hungarian nationalism in Southern Slovakia and South Tyrolean nationalism in Italy, to give just two examples, have since long been associated with demands for increased autonomy within their respective host-states rather than with secession from them. It also seems highly unlikely to me that the 'Ossies', i.e., former citizens of East Germany, can be classified as a new nation in Germany (p. 135). For one, it is over time much more likely that the regional identities of Saxons, Thuringians, and so on will prevail over a common East German national identity, and secondly if such an identity was to become salient it would not be a case of re-emergence, but rather one of persistence as East Germany had existed as an independent state (as much as this was possible at the Cold War frontline in Europe) for forty years. Finally, the Frisians, to my knowledge, are more numerous in Germany and the Netherlands than they are in England (p. 135), and in these two countries they have quite a strong national identity, although there are few signs of nationalism as both their host-states and the supra-national structures of the European Union provide desirable collective goods in a way that a sovereign Frisian governance unit (or independent state) would be unlikely to match. None of that, of course, invalidates Hechter's general argument.

In conclusion, the most important point to be made in this review is that Michael Hechter has written a book that without a doubt makes a significant contribution not only to the theoretical debate on the concept of nationalism, but equally to the various theoretical and practical discourses addressing the ways it can be best managed and prevented from escalating into violence. As such it should find its way into many libraries and become an integrated part of any course on nationalism.

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Language, Ethnicity and the State: Volume 1: Minority Languages in the European Union, Volume 2: Minority Languages in Eastern Europe post-1989

Camille C. O'Reilly (ed.)

Palgrave, 2001

(Vol. 1) Hbk: ISBN: 033392925X £42.50

pp. x + 183 (including: index and chapter references)

(Vol. 2) Hbk: ISBN: 0333929241 £45.00

pp. xii, 228 (including: index and chapter references)

Language has loomed large over European politics since the end of the Middle Ages when, in Western and Central Europe, Latin was replaced by new upstarts in its role of the sole written language of religion, politics and intellectual discourse. Next, at the end of the 18th century Herder's thesis on equality and uniqueness of all idioms allowed for the coupling of political projects with 'their own' languages. People could



not just speak any more. They had to articulate utterances in something reified as a language and readily reducible to writing. In the age of nation-states the ideal of popular sovereignty was reflected in the practice of popular literacy. Literacy in a standardized official/national language not only empowered the citizenry but also enclosed them in the confines of their nation-state and subjected to the power center that controlled this state and the language's usage.

These two volumes provide a valuable examination of the minority languages of contemporary Europe. An initial difficulty encountered in such a study is how to characterize such languages? The concept of 'minority language' is as much fraught with problems of definition as the idea of 'minority' itself. There is no legally-binding definition of 'minority' in international law. Therefore, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities is a weak instrument as it is left to the signatory states' discretion which human groups to grant with stipulated rights. An even greater predicament is suffered by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, in the scope of which the signatory has the choice of branding a language as 'regional' and, thus, to deny the status of minority to a minority.

The difficulty of definition aside, these two companion volumes offer the reader a rich selection of case studies written from various (inter-)disciplinary perspectives ranging from history, sociology, ethnography, sociolinguistics to the study of nationalism and ethnicity. The first volume focuses on the European Union where multiculturalism and multilingualism is de rigueur of political rhetoric but not practice. The member states' official/national languages construed as EU official languages rule supreme. Some support to pre-selected minority languages is channeled via the Dublin-based European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. This novel coinage of 'lesser used language' additionally obfuscates the power game between the dominant and minority languages (Dónall Ó Riagáin).

The studies of Corsican (Alexandra Jaffe), Catalan (Susan DiGiacomo), Breton (Lenora Timm) concentrate on the uneasy relationship between the state and the minority language. The latter can be connected to a national project or to reaffirmation of ethnic-cum-regional distinctiveness. The Irish Gaelic is a coupling of socially minority but politically official language that allows the Irish to negotiate their national identity vis-à-vis the Anglophone British (Camille C. O'Reilly). The volume closes with two significant analyses. One scrutinizes the attempt at forging a non-language-based regional identity in Northern Italy that would transcend this area's multilingualism (Jaro Stacul). In the other, Tom Cheesman shows that immigrant languages are not newcomers to Europe (Arabic, Turkish) nor can they be indefinitely denied the status of 'minority' and 'European' languages (Hindi, Kurdish, Vietnamese) with the necessary increase of immigration to well-to-do but aging Europe.

From the second volume, devoted to Eastern Europe after the fall of communism, it is obvious that the ethnic nationalist equation of language with nation and state still rules the postcommunist reality. This region used to be the meeting point of ecclesiastical and diplomatic literacies expressed in Church Slavonic, Byzantine Greek, Ottoman Turkish as well as classical Arabic and Persian prior to the 19th and 20th centuries when a plethora of newly standardized national idioms superseded these languages. Nationalism still creates new languages as in the Yugoslav

successor states (Robert D. Greenberg) and Moldova (Tom J. Hegarty) but certain political choices can unmake them too as in the case of gradually suppressed and Russified Belarusan (Curt Woolhiser).

Religiously and culturally variegated groups can seek to reassert their separateness from their ethnic kin as in the case of Romania's Banat Bulgarians who write their idiom in Latin characters and call it Paulician in order to make it different from Cyrillic-based standard Bulgarian (Rossitza Guentheva). Minorities also have to deal with the rapid language change brought about by the unexpected emergence of the post-Soviet nation-states grounded in ethnic nationalism pegged onto specific national languages. John Dobson analyses the situation of Russian-speakers in Latvia, while Rebecca Gilbert that of the Russophone Jews in Ukraine.

In this context Stefan Wolff's contribution on the German minorities in the Czech Republic and Poland is an odd one as he gives little attention to language. His focus is on international politics. From the picture painted one can hardly see that Poland's Germans concentrated in Upper Silesia overwhelmingly do not speak German. They negotiate their ethnic-national-religious-cultural identity through their bilingualism in their own Slavic dialect/Slavic-Germanic creole and standard Polish. German played the same role as Polish prior to 1945.

O'Reilly's taking of the minority language situation in Europe (along with Barbour and Carmichael's *Language and Nationalism in Europe*) is bound to remain the yardstick for further research into this problematic in near future. There are, however, a number of shortcomings in these two volumes. On the whole, the splitting of the tackled problematic into two volumes sadly reinforces the pre-1989 thinking on Europe as divided by the iron curtain between East and West. This contradicts the extension of membership in the Council of Europe to the post-communist and post-Soviet states, and the EU's imminent eastward enlargement. This stance also neglects the variegated sociolinguistic situation of the Roma – Europe's largest diasporic minority of more than 10 million.

The restriction of the first volume to the European Union has omitted Switzerland, with its intricate but working institutional and administrative structure based on language, religion and canton sovereignty, from scrutiny. Moreover, despite sticking only to the EU, Scandinavia and Greece somehow escaped the purview. The EU's wide-ranging political borders also create the possibility of scrutinizing the Arabic-Spanish interaction in Spain's North African exclaves of Ceuta and Melilla as well as probing into the sociolinguistic situation of French Guyana located in Latin America. Neither are attempted.

The second volume also has its discontents. First, the title's 'Eastern Europe' is not defined. Nowadays, in the post-Cold War discourse one tends to speak of (East-) Central Europe in relation to the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia. The post-Yugoslav states, Albania, Bulgaria and Romania are grouped under the badge of 'Southeastern Europe', while the designation of 'Eastern Europe' is limited to the post-Soviet states with the exception of the Baltic republics out of which Lithuania and Latvia aspire to Central Europe, whereas Estonia sees itself as part of Scandinavia. To do justice to the political and social changes in this area, demographically and territorially twice as large as Western Europe, one should



devote to it at least two volumes that would cover the sociolinguistic-cum-political situation also in the Caucasus, Russia and Central Europe.

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Tomasz Kamusella, Opole University, Poland

To Kill a Nation: The Attack on Yugoslavia

Michael Parenti

Verso, 2000 (Paperback, 2002)

Hbk: ISBN: 1859847765 £16.00 \$22.00

PbK: ISBN: 1859843662 £12.00 \$18.00

pp. 246 (including: notes and index)

The title of this book might lead prospective readers to expect another political history chronicling the destruction of Yugoslavia in the wars in the early 1990s. Instead, the reader will quickly find that the subject of this book is the purported destruction of the Serbian people throughout the 1990s by the pro-NATO 'west', culminating in the air strikes against Kosovo in 1999. However, this book is not so much an account of the political and social odyssey of the Serbian people in the 1990s as it is a platform for the author to lash out against his personal enemies - NATO (particularly the US), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and multinational companies. In fact, Michael Parenti fails to achieve either of his presumed goals, as his shallow account of the events in the Balkans in the 1990s is propagandistic in its vacuity, and his anti-globalization ideology lacks the facts and supporting data to win any new converts.

Parenti argues that the west, led by the US, had an interest in bringing about the dissolution of the state of Yugoslavia because it stood as a successful example of a socialist political and economic system that ran afoul of the anti-Communist sentiment of the late 1980s and early 1990s. He refers to the economic success of socialist Yugoslavia, blaming its demise not on the unsustainability of the socialist model, but on the backlash caused by the borrowing, debt financing, strict IMF restructuring requirements, and the general recession of the 1970s.

He selectively cites Susan Woodward's expertly researched work on the economic crisis of socialist Yugoslavia, without reviewing the key point of her thesis: that the confluence of domestic economic liberalism and political conservatism resulted in the inability of the government to respond to the needs of its economy and its citizens in a time of transition. Rather than an example of the painful but natural crises that economies in transition must experience as they liberalize and move toward market principles, Parenti argues that the IMF requirements and US demands were part of a strategy deliberately designed to fragment Yugoslavia.

Against this backdrop, he begins to describe how Slovenia, Croatia, and even Bosnia sought to breakaway from Yugoslavia, while Belgrade sought to keep the country together. He does not address the concerns held by many non-Serbian Yugoslavs concerning rising Serbian nationalism and the belief that Belgrade only wanted a unified state so that it, and therefore Serbia, could be in control of such a unified state.

The author's treatment of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most egregious exercise of revisionism in the book, and is in itself an insult to the victims of this bloody war. Early on he raises the issue of Alija Izetbegovic's 'real' goal of turning Bosnia into an Islamic state, arguing that the anti-Belgrade west covered up these true intentions for their own purposes (p. 52). He legitimizes indicted war criminal Radovan Karadzic by referring to his 'anti-separatist goal', (p. 58) failing to mention his use of tactics of ethnic cleansing as a means toward that goal. When he does address instances of Serb-led ethnic cleansing actions (such as those in Prijedor) he dismisses any potential link or chain of command with leaders in Belgrade by pinning these atrocities on independent gangs of Serbian paramilitaries (p. 64-65). He trivializes the conditions of the sieged city of Sarajevo by suggesting that, 1000 days into the siege, local markets offered 'oranges, lemons and bananas' at reasonable prices (p. 73). He plays with numbers and statistics to dismiss claims of rape as a tool of ethnic cleansing, and questions the scale of the massacre at Srebrenica in 1995 (pp. 82, 89).

In his discussion concerning the air strikes in Kosovo, he again raises the issue of Islamic fundamentalism, the terrorist activities of the KLA, and covert CIA support activities to anti-Serbian parties. He fails to mention the impact of the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy, or of the repression in the region by Belgrade throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Parenti characterizes the Rambouillet meetings and accords as an 'ambush', and the post-airstrike international administration as an attempt by NATO to control the region for their own economic gain. While chronicling the actions of NATO against the Serbian people, and viewing the ICTY as patently un-objective (in spite of the fact that non-Serbian people have been indicted and tried), he refutes the claims of genocidal acts by Belgrade in a chapter entitled, 'Where Are All the Bodies Buried?'

The closing chapters of the book move into a tirade against international investors, 'big business' and 'corporate America', Parenti's true war criminals. In no part of the book does he question the integrity, motives or methods of Slobodan Milosevic, or his role in the tragedies throughout the 1990s. Instead, he acclaims the multiethnicity of Serbia and of Belgrade in particular, while condemning the 'ethnically cleansed Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo' (p. 187).

While Parenti includes a list of notes to document his sources, his presentation and use of sources is selective and deceptive. He often confuses timeframes to achieve his own desired effect. Many of his sources would be welcome reading for conspiracy theorists, while failing to make it past a respected peer-reviewed journal, or even a self-respecting dissertation committee.

A minor positive feature of the book results from the author's zeal to illustrate that non-Serbian parties were guilty of atrocities as well. His portrait of Franjo Tudjman's



policies and practices (particularly the cleansing of Serbs from the Krajina) is a reminder that Croatia has a recent past that must be confronted even in the increasingly moderate and reforming Croatian government.

This book is not simply disappointing, but disturbing in its content and purpose. As a very short book, it lacks the depth and background needed for a topic as complex as the late 20th century Balkans. Parenti's personal ideology and his manipulation of the facts of the past ten years does a disservice to the Balkan people as well as interested outside readers, and fails to lend any substance to scholarly debate on the subject of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the world's response. A critical analysis of Belgrade's role in the break-up of Yugoslavia, of media coverage of the Balkans in the 1990s, of Serbian leadership throughout the 1990s, and of the viewpoints of the Serbian people of the events of the 1990s, would be a welcome addition to the literature. This ideologically motivated work is not such a contribution.

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The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies: States of Unease

David Pearson

Palgrave, 2001

Hbk: ISBN: 0333636872 £42.50

pp. viii + 228 (including: index, bibliography and notes)

Pearson's book provides a powerful sociological argument for why 'settler societies' are (in) 'states of unease' as a result of ethnicity and nationalism. Pearson argues that this unease is partly a product of globalisation and the advent of a post-modern world. Globalisation has led to a questioning of identity in all nations and the fluidity of identities is a key characteristic of the post-modern world. Pearson states that such unease is exacerbated in the settler societies with which he is concerned because they have ongoing histories of nation-building in the context of mass colonisation in areas already inhabited by 'aboriginal' peoples. The modernist master narratives of nation- and state- building and national identity still assume a great importance in the creation of such 'unease.'

Pearson traces in detail how and why such 'unease' develops using case studies of three settler societies in an ambitious comparative study. In order to be able to draw useful comparisons and contrasts to illustrate his argument, Pearson selects the cases of the ex-colonies Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These societies are good examples to use because they display *some* commonalities in terms of history and current political position. All were formerly British colonies and all are currently semi-peripheral in global economic and political terms. At the same time, these nations display some diversity, such as in the unique presence of a strong Francophone community in Canada (Quebec) and in the relatively empowered 'indigenous' community in New Zealand.

These comparisons and contrasts are made through the development of a very useful comparative framework. Refusing to 'hold constant' any of the principal groupings in his discussion of settler societies, Pearson begins with the critique of

definitions of settler societies such as that given by Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis: '[s]ocieties in which Europeans have settled, where their descendants have remained politically dominant over indigenous peoples, and where a heterogeneous society has developed in class, ethnic and racial terms' (1995:3 quoted on p. 5). Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis themselves note that although this definition does describe the balance of power in settler societies, it has limitations. It conceals differentiation within the 'Europeans' category. It also hides important aspects of the dynamics of the relations *between* groups within *and* beyond society. Finally, it relegates the study of indigenous peoples to studies of 'pre-contact' history.

The first way in which Pearson seeks to overcome these problems is by giving *equal* emphasis in his analysis to the aboriginal populations, the settler populations, and other more recently arrived immigrant populations. These three groups form the three points of the 'triangle' in his discussion. Pearson also acknowledges the heterogeneity of each group. Secondly, Pearson traces the pre-colonisation histories of *all* three of these groups, arguing that the way these pre-histories are separately constructed as foundational myths, as well as the way they intermingle, are important areas for the understanding of ethnic politics in settler societies. Thirdly, Pearson does indeed consider both the dynamics of the relations between the three groups and the influence of the relationships between these groups and groupings outside the national context. These are the relationships between European settlers as diasporas with the nations from whence their forebears came, the relationships of recent immigrants and the communities from where they originated and the relationships between aboriginal groups and other indigenous groups which have developed as part of the creation of international social movements within the context of globalisation.

Pearson also notes that other key concepts in the discussion, such as aboriginal, minority and diaspora, need to be problematised. He notes that none of these concepts are neutral or unproblematic. To take one example, he looks at 'aboriginal' and notes the pejorative connotations. He also notes what can be considered distinctive about aboriginal populations. For many intents and purposes, aboriginal populations can be considered as minorities, in the sense of marginalised and disempowered groups of people. However, what makes aboriginal populations different is the history of dispossession and the way in which claims may be made under current legislation to reverse or at least temper some of the negative effects of this dispossession.

It is impossible to give more than a taste of the richness of Pearson's discussion. Pearson traces the broad changes over time for each of the three groups within each of the case study societies, without compromising on descriptions of the contradictions and 'messy' detail. These settler societies were created as societies dominated by the colonial imperative to subordinate and exploit Aboriginal peoples (largely for land, rather than labour, in these cases). Later on, they became societies dominated by assimilationism and then more recently by more multicultural approaches to managing ethnic diversity (a diversity including newer immigrant populations by this stage). Pearson notes the importance within the historical trajectories he traces of these settler states being weak states. This means that the politically dominant settler community has all along needed to offer representation in order to co-opt the indigenous, and later the newer immigrant communities. This



process effectively created a new 'space' in society for pan-tribal indigenous organisation and later, the organisation of new immigrant political groups. In turn, this has facilitated the articulation of new identities, ethnicities and nationalisms and associated claims to self-determination, property and other rights within the new states. In other words, it has been in the very process of nation-building itself that new sources of unease have been created.

Pearson neatly weaves into the argument the wider global context here. He acknowledges the importance of the international self-determination discourse and globalisation, particularly in the refashioning of aboriginal peoples as 'first nations' demanding group rights within the new social contexts of global social movements and the international legal and human rights debates about indigenous peoples held within the UN. Pearson also argues that the unease is a product of the ending of European settlers' strong ties with the colonial power and the international devaluation of the concept of Britishness as an identity to be aspired to, which has led to strong status anxiety amongst this group.

If I would make any criticism of this book, it would be that at times Pearson seems to 'pack too much in'. Having given valid reasons for not including the US amongst the case studies (including the fact that the US can be regarded as a 'core' country, politically and economically speaking), he does in fact make use of US material on aboriginal peoples. Pearson also contrasts the meaning and type of US multiculturalism with that in the case study countries as well as the UK. In addition, Pearson spends perhaps too much time discussing Quebec. In terms of the sociological theory, it might also have been useful to consider a discussion of 'agency' (the new aboriginal groupings that appeared as a result of the representational spaces offered, for example, are characterised as offering 'resistance' rather than 'agency').

The comparisons and contrasts between the case study countries certainly prove enlightening within the framework which Pearson sets out. It would be interesting to explore how far the framework and the general findings are applicable to other settler societies. Pearson's work is not only comprehensive, it is also written in an engaging and accessible style. I would recommend this text to those interested in issues of ethnicity, nationalism and state and nation-building, particularly to those interested in these issues in the context of settler societies.

Reference

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Cambodia: Change and Continuity in Contemporary Politics

Sorpong Peou (ed)

Ashgate, 2001

Series: The International Library of Social Change in Asia Pacific

HBK: ISBN: 0754621197 £90.00

574 pp (including: name index, chapter references)

This volume is a collection of already published journal articles written by a range of contributors, to which Peou contributes. It does not reflect particularly diverse views, with almost one quarter of the articles derived from one journal. Nor does it include the three leading scholars of Cambodia, DP Chandler (2000), B Kiernan (1996) and M Vickery (1999). In their absence, and in the absence of new, unpublished material, it is not an original contribution to the field of Cambodia studies. The series preface claims that it is intended to collate up to date material for researchers and others, but only one article out of the 25 is later than 1997. For a 2001 publication, this is not particularly helpful. The general themes are peace, political development, economic development, and human and gendered rights

In the context of *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, I will focus on ethnicity and human rights. Chou Meng Tarr provides a very well organised recent history of Cambodian-Viet Nameese relations in an article from the journal *Race and Class* (originally published in 1992). This uses the French colonial experience in all of Indochina to explain the early evolution of 'traditional' Khmer (Cambodian) resentment towards Viet Nameese people. The orthodox view is that race and ethnic tensions stem from the annexation of Lower Cambodia (now South Viet Nam), to the Viet Nameese about three centuries ago. Chou illustrates well the myth constructions and perpetuation of the urban class as a key determinant of negative and racist perceptions of Viet Nameese people. She contrasts this with the more benign and positive rural view. This is important because much previous work generalizes that racist views of ethnic Viet Nameese were universal in Cambodia.

Also at variance from orthodoxy is Chou's analysis of the Viet Nameese presence in the 1980s. After the Viet Nameese overthrew Pol Pot in 1979, the resulting presence has variously been described as 'occupation' or 'liberation', depending on one's ideology/sympathy. Within Cambodia, it was primarily the latter, Chou argues. She moves to argue that views to the contrary were mainly a product of easily propagandized overseas Khmers, keen to continue Western demonisation of Viet Nam, coupled to aggressive media propaganda led by the US and extended in Australia and the UK. Chou's contribution here is important and coincides with other emerging analyses, such as Ramses Amer's (see below) which clearly challenge propagandistic accusation of Viet Nameese imperialism and despotism. It would have been useful if she had provided more detail in her references, (such as; times, locations, and even perhaps names where appropriate), if only to demonstrate the full extent of geographical coverage and the time periods involved.

The second article on Viet Nameese ethnicity is by Ramses Amer for the *Journal of Contemporary Southeast Asia* (1994). Amer offers a very well summarized account of the tensions *within* the Khmer royalty and *between* Thai and Viet Nameese competition for influence over the country prior to the arrival of the French *colons*. He then locates institutional and cultural-historical trends in the persecution of Viet



Nameese people within changing regimes in the wider context of political affiliations with South or North Viet Nam. He emphasises parallels in the manner in which Khmers justified their violent racism.

Amer then turns to the controversial 1980s, and offers primary evidence regarding the attitudes of the ruling elite to the return of Viet Nameese people after their departure during the Democratic Kampuchea period. I would have liked to see the sources discussed but Amer's other work is methodologically reliable and his evidence is corroborated by fieldwork that I conducted between 1991 and 1998 (some of this material is available in: Roberts, 2001). The evidence demonstrates the empowerment of Cambodian authorities to regulate Viet Nameese immigration, in clear contrast to the still-believed propaganda of the 1980s that claimed, without substantive evidence, that Viet Nam was in complete control. The themes Amer identifies are consistent through Khmer history; anti-Viet Nameese racism by Khmers manipulated by urban-socialized elites in the wider context of those elites' relations with pro-US Viet Nameese elements. The not-pro-US PRK regime facilitated by the Viet Nameese after 1979, did not continue such xenophobic policies, but suffered political antagonism by racist pro-US Khmer elements again manipulating politics with the Viet Nameese 'colonisation' card. History both repeated and mirrored itself, and Amer's analysis reveals this with great clarity.

Terence Duffy's article, 'Towards a Culture of Human Rights in Cambodia', while descriptive and easily consumable, is disappointing and tendentious. Intellectually, Duffy's description of the excesses of the Khmer Rouge era is at the expense of thoughtful analysis of *why* it was done. Tendentiously, Duffy is keen to demonise the former Communist leadership and discredit them, adopting what Professor Michael Vickery refers to as the uncritical 'Standard Total View', uncritically repeating questionable and often unsubstantiated secondary sources. He is quick to point out the role of dissident members of the much maligned Cambodian People's Party (CPP) in a post-1993 UN-run election secession, but omits the role of the CPP Prime Minister, Hun Sen, in ending it. He is keen to recall that Mr. Hun Sen was a member of the Khmer Rouge, but omits that he was amongst the first to defect in order to halt the regime's murderous practices. He further demonizes the CPP-dominated government for erecting memorials to the dead because they are political showcases, but appears to have no problem with Belsen and Dachau. There is little room for such nonsense in the scholarly debate on human rights management.

Duffy's uncritical STV finds further expression in his scrutiny of Khmer Rouge policy. He makes no reference to the justifiable anti-imperialist perspectives of the leadership, or to Khieu Samphan's doctoral dissertation that identifies sources of poverty and woe in external industrialization and intervention. He is as uncritical of the mass evacuation of the cities undertaken in April 1975. Whilst few would agree with the rapacity and cruelty with which this was carried out, it was quiet *explicable*, given the swollen urban habitation depopulating the rice-producing rural areas and the attendant food deprivation. The bulk, then, of this article is given over to uncritical renderings and repetitions of views long since discredited in many quarters, based on weak sources (one of which is apparently 'on file with the author' – note 53). The descriptive narrative and discussions of progress have already issued forth in numerous other, better forms than this. In short, this article offers nothing towards its title and lets the volume down.

The book is probably acceptable for undergraduates and postgraduates newly exposed to Cambodia, but it reflects a narrow perspective and does not include any works of the best scholars of the subject. Referencing style is inconsistent and poorly edited, and the print quality is poor. Although it makes some works accessible in a reference format, there are better ways to find out about Cambodia than this book.

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Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia (Revised Edition)

Urmila Phadnis & Rajat Ganguly

Sage, 2001

Hbk: ISBN: 0761994386 £ 35.00

Pbk: ISBN: 0761994394 £ 14.99

pp. 470 (including: index, bibliography)

At a time when the world is witnessing the break-up of states and the intensification of ethnic violence in parts of Asia, Africa and Europe, the present book is a timely revised edition. According to the authors, the need for an analysis of ethnic politics is established by the fact that 90% of the world's states are ethnically heterogeneous. South Asia, where nation-states have gained independence from colonial domination and where every state is also beset by ethnic conflicts, provides fertile ground for an exploration of ethnicity and nation-building.

Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia covers a wide range of material. The authors: identify various theories and approaches to ethnicity and nation-building, provide an overview of ethnic groups in South Asia, an analysis of the South Asian states' systems, perspectives, policies and strategies of central leadership on ethnicity, analyze the demands of ethnic movements, the dynamics of autonomy and secession and the external dimensions of ethnic separatism. The book is limited in its territorial focus; the authors do not analyze South Asian countries in a comparative/contrastive framework.

As far as the definition of ethnicity is concerned, the authors label it as a fluid concept whose boundaries are porous. Although cultural markers are the prime factors, caste, religion and tribal affinities are also included to explain the case of India, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

In its theoretical application, the book adheres to the modernisation school of thought in order to explain the rise of ethnic politics in South Asia. According to this



school of thought, increasing socio-economic modernisation contains the seeds of both ethnic amelioration and conflagration. The expanding 'power cake' in a society leads to increasing inequality and increasing demands from ethnic groups (which if not satisfied) results in ethno-political violence. Although one would assume that it would be the deprived and relatively backward and marginalised groups who would resort to violence, the authors contend that it is the relatively privileged who express grief and sorrow over loss of political and economic power.

The case of Pakistan provides partial evidence to support this argument. The Bengalis and the Baluch in the post-colonial dynamics of political, economic and social development in Pakistan did not experience a loss of privilege and power, however, both these ethnic movements were quite militant and violent in tone. The Sindhis and Muhajirs, on the other hand, did experience a loss of power and privilege. Ethnic amelioration results if the 'power cake' is too small and thus ethnic demands are less vigorous as in Bhutan. Ethnicity, as the authors rightly point out, is socially constructed and expressed in particular episodes of history. They indicate various ways in which the social construction of ethnicity is influenced by both domestic and international factors.

The book, however, suffers from a number of weaknesses. A crucial problem with Phadnis and Ganguly's analysis is that the authors fail to provide an adequate definition of the 'state'. Thus, the terms 'state', 'central leadership' and 'government' are used synonymously where modern sociological literature differentiates between these terms. This is an important oversight in an analysis of ethnic politics and nation-building since the 'state' is the most important variable in such an analysis. This is specially the case in countries where the colonial legacy of an overdeveloped and centralised state structure, coupled with imbalances in economic development, has been one of the major factors in the consequent hardening and intensification of ethnic conflicts.

The book refers to the expansion of state sponsored activities related to political, social and economic development, increasing centralisation and growing homogenisation as vague indicators of general tendencies in the state systems of South Asia. A more composite analysis of the state structure, however, requires a closer look at the bureaucratic dimension of the state, that is, state administration and military apparatus. With the exception of Pakistan and Bangladesh (and that too briefly and not substantively), the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the state is absent from Phadnis and Ganguly's analysis.

One is appalled by the superficial nature of the analysis found in their discussion of individual South Asian countries. India, according to authors, can be described as an ethnically heterogeneous system while the rest of South Asia as an ethnically centralised system. The basis for this contention is the constitutional guarantees offered to the ethnic groups in India and the lack of it in the rest of the South Asian countries. It may be argued, however, that the real contest for power is at the 'state' level where actual power resides. Often interest groups have complained of bureaucratic hurdles related not to inefficiency but to discrimination on grounds of its particular ethnic composition. In stark contrast, ethnic groups with representation at the governmental level may find themselves in military confrontation with the 'state'. One can indeed argue that governmental politics is being destabilised in India due to

the relative decline of the Congress Party. The ability of the 'state' to deal with ethnic groups, however, remains strong. The crushing of the Sikh movement in the 1980s and the military involvement in Kashmir are major examples of the 'state's' ability to deal with ethnic dissent.

The wide range of material covered in *Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia* is both its major strength and its main weakness. A range of, very different, nation-states are covered in the book, but the disparate analysis leaves the reader grasping for truths with reference to ethnicity and nation-building in South Asia. The theoretical framework, and its application on a regional basis, could have been better attempted by signifying the role of the 'state' in augmenting and mediating conflicts between different ethnic groups.

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Stereotyping: the Politics of Representation

Michael Pickering

Palgrave, 2001

Hbk: ISBN 0-333-77209-1 £49.50

Pbk: ISBN 0-333-77210-5 £16.99

pp. 246, (including: preface, list of figures, bibliography, author and subject indices)

'We have met the enemy, and it is us'.

Pogo¹

Stereotyping as a psychological and discourse device is a protean phenomenon running through diverse fields of social sciences like a red thread. This is precisely what makes it so hard to study and at the same time so interesting. In *Stereotyping*, Michael Pickering has taken up this task, delivering a complex critique of the simplifying readings of the stereotyping process.

In all probability, stereotyping, although not perceived as such, has been with man since time immemorial. Yet the mere fact that today it can be named and, if named, will justly draw criticism, does not itself protect us from falling into its trap. After all, as has been confirmed both in natural and social sciences, reality is an elusive beast and does not offer any hard-and-fast reference points to establish an 'objective' perception of a person or phenomenon. Therefore even seemingly objective assessments of others may be tainted by involuntary bias.

The argument of the book starts by pointing out an important misperception of the implication of the dual nature of stereotypes (Chapters 1 and 2). On the one hand, stereotypes are seen as misinformed pictures presenting those reflected in them in a way which does not correspond to reality. On the other, they are regarded as categories, classing perceptual input according to an array of common denominators

¹ A popular saying attributed to Walt Kelly's character, Pogo, in the King Features comic strip (quoted in James Austin, "Zen and the Brain", MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England 1998, p. 43).



and thus enabling us to manipulate big blocks of similar data. Obviously, the second conception relates to the effective use of the processing capacity of our brains and is in many respects essential for human functioning. Yet it does not have to entail stereotyping: 'A stereotype is not identical with a category; it is rather a fixed idea that accompanies a category' (Allport, quoted p. 28). Thus, a category only becomes stereotypical if we refuse to adapt it to incoming information.

The argument continues as follows. Chapter 3 analyses the relationship between the stereotype and the category of the Other, showing how, along with increasing recognition of the arbitrary nature of many social distinctions, the latter came to supplant stereotypes as the prevalent term signifying unwelcome aspects of reality or the self that society tries to keep at bay. The improvement of this substitution upon the stereotype (as an exaggerated and simplifying inclusion in a category on the basis of a limited number of attributes) consists in the fact that where stereotypes circulate below the level of critical attention, 'othering' is liable to raise questions because it categorises by exclusion (as non-something) and thereby points attention also to its opposite, inclusion.

Chapters 4 and 5 respectively examine the inclusive construction of national identity and the exclusive construction of its opposite. Dr Pickering shows how most or all of the many identifications the members of a society subscribe to are likely to be trumped by the 'national', which is 'where the notion of a national "self" is most dangerous, spawning the belief that it has its own inner voice, its own will, its own destiny to which all others are alien' (p. 92). Such self-worship automatically creates the categories 'us' and 'them', with 'them' helping to define 'us' as positive by being negative. 'They' is freely allowed as a composite category, subsuming widely differing groups—yet these can all be conveniently lumped together as 'non-us', in extreme cases paving the road to racism or messianism. Thus, for instance, the concept of the Primitive, as well as—for the British—the Irish (as wild backward drunkards), the French (as promiscuous, effeminate and devious blasphemers) and others.

Chapter 6 examines the stereotyping pitfalls riddling the road to reconstructing the experience of the groups, nations and races subjected to colonisation—both physically, by direct occupation, and mentally, by creating discourses determining the identity of the colonised by reference to the colonisers. We do not have (and will probably never have) any cure-all solution to the problems inherent in any attempts—themselves also socially and ideologically situated—to retell the stories of the colonised and the colonisers 'objectively', weaving them into a complex picture of what actually took place. In spite of this, Dr Pickering succeeds admirably in steering his readers through the shoals of grand-theory historicism and excessive reliance on individual agency, pointing to the eventual (if exceptional) possibility of arriving at an informed understanding of past realities. Indeed, there may be no ready recipe for dismantling the intertwining and multilayered, deeply inculcated ideological constructs underlying patterns of oppression past and present. Yet, we should make every effort to restore them to conscious examination. One way this can be accomplished is to 'reverse-engineer' the stereotypes employed in the representations such patterns generate in their practice, making adjustments where the representation is by triangulation found not to fit with the life of the respective society at the time.

Chapter 7 takes up the question of the nature of social norms and their relation to stereotypes. '[The] relationship to its sustaining environment is what makes anything normal or pathological and informs any distinction between them' (p. 176). This relatively recent realisation took a long time to form because of the XIX-century transfer of the notion of progress onto the 'is'-concept of normality. This effectively added to it a layer which may be described as 'ought' and could not but sow confusion: is it alright to be as we are or is it only alright if we are as we should be? Such a situation is only too happy to piggyback on stereotypes and, indeed, because the dual-yet-one normality needs constant 'normalisation' (consolidation by pointing out additional abnormalities and deviations), induces the creation of more of them.

Chapter 8 sums up the argument by outlining the inherent danger posed to all stereotyped conceptions by the appearance of outsiders who are either unaware of the stereotypical categories or decide to opt out of their framework altogether. With the demise of the closed society of rural communities and the advent of Modernity, the category of the Stranger has in fact become very wide. Contemporary urban agglomerations are a far cry from the *Gemeinschaft*-type villages of pre-modern times and consist of people who have acquired a quasi-right to treat even their neighbours as strangers. Such an attitude, when reciprocated, rids us effectively of a considerable amount of peer pressure, yet does not of itself solve the problem of stereotyping. The latter simply shifts, focussing on farther outgroups and minority in-groups, or starting to rend the individual psyche itself. We may have come a long way from the hardship and tribulations of our early ages, but this has not yet added enough flexibility to our thinking. Yet it is precisely this that we need at the present point in history, where technological advances are overtaking our cognitive habits at ever increasing speeds.

The book covers a vast intellectual territory, engaging with the work of the relevant theorists and researchers of the fields it touches, aligning them to yield an understanding of the habits of our cultures and minds. It is a complex piece of compelling scholarship and represents an important step in consolidating social science insights into the workings of our individual and cultural identities.

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The Work of the UN in Cyprus: Promoting Peace and Development

Oliver P. Richmond and James Ker-Lindsay (eds.)

Palgrave, 2001

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pp. xxiii + 253 (including: index)



This collection of eight essays, analysing the wide range of UN involvement in Cyprus, fills a major gap in the literature on the Cyprus conflict. Thus far, hardly anything had been written on the UN's development and humanitarian work on the island. Including these aspects, and combining them with the more well known peacekeeping and peacemaking activities, allows for a more nuanced evaluation of the UN's work in Cyprus, which has all too often been deemed an outright failure. Moreover, this volume is an important addition to the literature on the UN as an organisation, giving insights into the various facets and the mechanics of its operations, though I am more sceptical than the editors as to the extent to which the UN endeavour in Cyprus may serve as a prototype for engagements in other parts of the world.

The contributions are drawn from a range of academic disciplines, including political geography, anthropology, and area studies, and are grouped into three main parts. The two chapters of Part One set the scene by providing the historical background to the UN's involvement in Cyprus. Hubert Faustmann presents a very thorough account of repeated Greek attempts, during the 1950s, to internationalise the Greek Cypriot conflict with Britain over ending the latter's colonial rule, through UN fora. He explains why the UN refrained from becoming involved, given the power balance within the organisation and particularly US resistance against active UN engagement. However, as James Ker-Lindsay's contribution shows, the UN was unable to uphold its stance of staying out of Cyprus once it became apparent that Britain saw herself overburdened by the task of peacekeeping, after the constitutional breakdown and resulting inter-communal violence in 1963/64. As the ensuing contributions in this volume make abundantly clear, two issues from these early episodes were to become crucial for the course of UN involvement on the island. First, the dilemma of international organisations having to depend on the willingness, leverage, and resources of their sovereign member states, and second, the problem of maintaining an image of impartiality in the eyes of the conflict parties.

The three chapters of Part Two deal with the peacekeeping and peacemaking activities of the UN. Dan Lindley's assessment of the role of the UN Peacekeeping Force on Cyprus (UNFICYP) shows why the presence of this force remains vital. He argues that UNFICYP has contributed significantly to peace and stability by putting a damper on the approximately 1000 incidents it confronts annually. Removing the Force would therefore increase the odds of conflict escalating into war. In his view these achievements should not be underestimated and any other expectations may simply be too high, especially given the constraints under which UNFICYP must operate. Oliver Richmond provides an in-depth analysis of direct UN mediation in 1964/1965. He shows how the conflict parties used the UN to enhance their negotiating positions vis-à-vis their opponents and how the mediation effort became hostage to, and incapacitated by, this 'game'. Edward Newman's review of four Secretary-Generals' efforts at using their 'Good Offices' in Cyprus is a lucid illustration of the limitations of the Secretary-General's efforts, when his activities are 'out of synch' with those of external actors or do not receive the necessary backing of major powers, 'which are capable of bringing real leverage to bear upon the situation' (p. 127). However, as Newman also points out, the Secretary-Generals were able to use their Office in different ways to contribute to settlement efforts by showing authority, leadership, creativity, and thus helped in keeping the talks process going.

The third and, from my perspective, the most interesting part of the book is dedicated to the UN's contribution to the economic and infrastructural development of the island, and its humanitarian work. In Chapter 6, Peter Hocknell examines the initiatives of the UN Development Programme. While acknowledging that UNDP played an important role in enhancing the development of Cyprus, his main point is on its failure to transcend the political divide and operate on a truly island-wide scale. He argues that in dealing with and through the solely Greek Cypriot government UNDP actually served to legitimise this very divide. In Chapter 7, Paul Sant Cassia explores the activities of the UN appointed Committee of the Missing (CMP), concerning the nearly two and a half thousand Greek and Turkish Cypriots, who disappeared between 1964 and 1974. He maintains that 'the CMP has had no effect in resolving the problem it was set up to resolve' (p. 231). While the politicisation of this deeply humanitarian issue has served as an escape clause, Cassia argues that the main reasons for CMP's failure lie in the different views of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot sides of what constitutes the 'humanitarian', combined with the UN's failure to acknowledge local sensitivities of this issue. In the final chapter, Madeleine Demetriou analyses the work of the UN High Commission for Refugees. She argues that the UNHCR helped significantly in ameliorating the situation of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, who became displaced as a result of the Turkish intervention in 1974. Moreover, Demetriou notes how the UNHCR as a 'non-political' agency adopted a new and 'political' role over the years, as it became successfully involved in projects fostering bi-communal co-operation, largely due to the wishes of the main donor for these projects, the US.

In sum, this volume gives a critical insight into the multi-faceted activities of the UN in Cyprus, and provides an important resource for all those studying the long-standing conflict on this island.

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Relocating Germanness: Discursive Disunity in Unified Germany

Patrick Stevenson and John Theobald (eds.)

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US edition: Hbk: ISBN: 0312230435 \$75.00

pp. 290 (including: preface, list of figures, list of tables, notes on contributors, chapter references, index)

This new volume on *Relocating Germanness* is the result of an interdisciplinary conference, which took place in Southampton back in April 1998. Selected papers from the conference have been edited and collected in this book, focusing on issues relevant for the continuing east-west division of Germany (p. x). The volume is framed by a thoughtful introduction by Patrick Stevenson and John Theobald, who also have written the conclusion. In-between, 13 chapters investigate selected cases, including television, 'Kabarett', advertising, media reporting, communicative practises, and competing language ideologies. According to the editors, the volume: 'addresses cultural complexities and pluralities, unforeseen at the moment of political



and economic unification in Germany in 1990... the book seeks both to define more closely and sensitively the processes which have occurred at the cultural/linguistic level, and to suggest that it is at this level that socially valuable diagnosis can take place, and that constructive approaches to Germany's continuing east-west cultural divide can be indicated (p.1). Large parts of the book 'are taking forward a tradition of socially active linguistic analysis and criticism of public discourse which spans the twentieth century' (p.8). Thus the contributions should be viewed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis.

The reviewer himself being a historian with strong interest in Germany and German studies read the volume with the eyes of an 'outsider', without any knowledge of the scholarly discourse in the field of linguistics, discourse and communication. Many approaches seemed new and surprising. The volume offers many interesting and relevant points, contributing to enlighten and understand contemporary Germany, especially the Eastern parts of it.

Thus, Ulrike Hanna Meinhof in her chapter on the new Germany on the screen offers an analysis of, how November 9th, being both the day of anti-Jewish pogroms in 1938, and marking the events of 1989, when the Wall was overcome, has been reflected on German TV in 1989, 1994, and 1998. She shows, how in 1998 any 'joyful commemoration of the bringing down of the Wall and any celebration of unity between east and west has been superseded by grim and divisive memories of the GDR, at struggle to find new (political) roles in a united Germany, and a continuing deep unease about the legacy of the Third Reich' (p.41).

Joanne McNally's chapter on East German 'Kabarett' shows, how the group 'Die Distle' has reacted and adapted to the realities of unified Germany by contrasting contents before and after 1989. She concludes: 'Despite a stylistic break with the GDR and new themes of interest to both east and west, socialist ideas have not been abandoned. Since unification, there is, to a certain extent, a continuity of strategies in East German Kabarett; former socialist slogans and songs are also deployed for satirical effect. This, in turn, reinforces an east German identity and, with respect to cultural misbehaviour, can be perceived as promoting an 'in-group' with which the west will not always be able to identify' (p.73). As a third example, Helen Kelly-Holmes offers a stimulating analysis of 'Advertising Discourse and Constructions of German Identity'. She shows, how regional identities have prevailed, even have been reinforced, and 'form a key element in advertising strategies' (p.106). Interesting points and conclusions are also found in the other contributions to the volume.

However, in the end, the reviewer was wondering what exactly all these case studies actually tell us about the concept of Germanness. Does the volume 'relocate' Germanness? How so? National identities in general are complex issues. They are multidimensional and contextual. This volume offers valuable details adding to the knowledge on some aspects of Germanness, but it does not attempt to cover the full range. Nor does it explicitly define the meaning, context or concept of Germanness referred to. Germanness in present-day Germany is not only a matter of East and West, but also includes discourses on migrants and minorities, not the least ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet states. The important aspects of Germanness produced or reproduced, caused or (de-)constructed by German refugees and expellees after 1945, and of East Germans fleeing the DDR up till 1989

have to be considered as well. Further, north-south divisions within Germany with considerable differences between the primarily Protestant north and Catholic south and possible consequences for mentalities and levels or intensity of regional and national identification are not addressed in this book, although it very well might be relevant analysing identity of East Germans.

Actually, the contributions in this volume mostly deal with the East German aspects of German identity; studies of West German identity are the exception, although they are found in some chapters. Thus, the book offers interesting and valuable analyses and interpretations of East German patterns of identity; but it does not offer the full and complementary 'other half', and, consequently, also not the 'whole picture'. It mostly relocates eastern Germanness. By stressing this by no doubt important aspect of Germanness, the volume might itself by the choice of chapters confirm the hypothesis of persistent disunity in unified Germany. It might have been relevant to add discussions on how the choice of subjects might influence the perception of the theme as well.

Another key element seems to be underrepresented or even missing in the book: the political aspect, and the consequences of the divide. Especially in the field of political participation and voting preferences, there is an evident divide between East and West. It would have been interesting to include some reflections on how the diagnosed differences between East and West lead to different political identifications – maybe even to some extent alienating West Germans from the ones in the Eastern parts of the state. Here a case study on Berlin would have been extremely relevant, including aspects of language and culture as well. In the most recent elections in Berlin in October 2001, the division between East and West once more became obvious when the PDS won all voting districts in former East Berlin and none in the western parts of the city – with almost 50% of the votes in the East and only 6.6% in the West. What does this persistent divide tell us about Germanness more than a decade after reunification? Reflections on political behaviour might add elements to a differentiated answer to the question, how and why social and cultural disunity still persists. Still, the authors have produced an interesting volume. It is a relevant and timely book, encouraging the interested reader to think about aspects of cultural and linguistic life in reunified Germany.

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