



## REVIEWS

### **Nationalism, Devolution and the Challenge to the United Kingdom State**

Arthur Aughey

Pluto, 2001

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pp. 224 (including: bibliography & index)

Dahrendorf noted early in his 1982 Reith lectures *On Britain* that, unlike many Continental countries, Britain had long avoided any 'national question'. Instead the British question that taxed him and so many others at that time referred to the seemingly intractable problem of the country's relative economic decline – a decline that was a century old and still continuing. Britain with its poor economic growth, even poorer industrial relations and a propensity for wage inflation was often portrayed as the sick man of Europe. Now it is the other way round. The British question is no longer economic, but political. The governments of Thatcher and Blair, Conservative and New Labour, have gone a long way towards transforming the British economy at least in terms of securing a performance comparable to, sometimes conspicuously better than, those of other members of the European Union. But Britain now has a national question of real difficulty. In 1982 Dahrendorf could write, 'devolution may be an issue, but the nation is not. Felix Britannia!' Today no such easy happiness is possible.

Arthur Aughey, with his special interest in Ulster Scots, might be expected to offer challenging ideas on the British question - and so it proves. His is by far the best book in the rapidly expanding literature on devolution and the break-up of Britain, or the avoidance thereof, that I have yet seen. For Aughey four nations and a funeral is but one possibility; five nations and a future – the fifth being Britain – is another. In Part I, Aughey reviews a wide range of answers to three big 'Questions'. First, when was Britain? This addresses the historical formation of British identity and the historiography of Britain. In particular what made Britain between 1707 and 1837, according to Linda Colley's seminal text, above all Protestantism and empire, no longer makes it now. Second, what was Britain? Here Aughey explores whether 'Britishness involved an idea of the people and of its identity rather different from that of nationalism' (p. 27), vis-à-vis that of the constitutional people as the sovereign people. He is fascinating on the 'genteel tradition' of Britishness and on Ernest Barker's argument that nations are not given by nature but are rather made, and therefore modifiable. Barker also argued that social and cultural nations of the first degree could find political expression in a nation (not just state) of the second degree. Hence his 1927 claim that the British 'can be both multi-national and a single nation, and teach its citizens at one and the same time to glory both in the name of Scotsmen, or Welshmen or Englishmen and in the name of Britons' (p 34). Achieving this is, of course, easier said than done, and sometimes it has to be redone which is what the current debate about constitutional change is about. Quite where this leaves the Northern Irish then and now is another matter. Third (and note the change of tense), why is Britain? Does Britain, could Britain, stand for anything worth having? For Aughey, answers involving pragmatism, the civic tradition and pluralism still have some purchase.

Part II on 'Narratives' traces the Conservative and Labour ideas of the British nation and the policies which have accompanied them. Particular attention is paid to Tory Unionism, the contradictions of Thatcherism, Labour on class and nation, and new Labour's rebranding of Britain. A third chapter deals with national peoples with particular reference to debates about the national identities of the Welsh and the Scots. Along the

way, Aughey often takes issue with Ton Nairn Part III on 'Futures' discusses devolution, and assesses the prospects for regional government in England and/or an English parliament. Aughey sums up the English problem 'in these devolutionary times' astutely: 'on the one hand, for all the recent concern about an identity crisis, England's sense of nationhood remains deeply ingrained. On the other, local allegiance is also deeply ingrained but in a manner which rarely means identification with a region – however it may be defined' (p. 168). The final chapter considers Britain and its constituents, united or separated, in the European Union and the tangled arguments about sovereignty.

Aughey brings prodigious learning and great discernment, as well as style and lucidity, to debates which are always intellectually complex and often emotionally fraught. But he offers no certainties. Quite the contrary, Aughey takes the job of the academic to be to counter the ideologue. Where the ideologue seeks to remove ambiguity in the pursuit of certainty, Aughey resolves to reinstate a measure of ambiguity in the interests of accuracy. Even so, his conclusion is clear. Devolution is a new chapter in Britain's history but not necessarily the last. Ernest Barker carries more weight, it seems, than Tom Nairn.

### **Reference**

Dahrendorf, R., 1982, *On Britain*, BBC Publications, London

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### **From Pluralist to Patriotic Politics: Putting Practice First**

Charles Blattberg

Oxford University Press, 2000

HBK: ISBN 0-19-829688-6, £50.00      US\$85.00

v + 294 pp, (including: notes, bibliography & index)

In his book 'From Pluralist to Patriotic Politics', Charles Blattberg advances what he calls a 'patriotic' conception of politics that allows us to deal with moral and political conflict in such a way that incommensurable values may be reconciled. This conception, which bases itself on a rejection of the neutralist approach to politics and a critique of pluralism, advocates what Blattberg sees to be a superior alternative – hermeneutical practical reason assumed by the patriot.

Blattberg's choice of the term 'patriotic' may utterly confuse his readers, for the thesis that patriotic politics holds substantial advantages over pluralism isn't something that we expect in the age of transnationalism and globalisation. Conventionally, we associate a somewhat narrow focus with the term 'patriot', whereby the patriot commits her loyalty to her country and her nation. Precisely because it may evoke a particular ideology, Blattberg breaks with that meaning while, however, retaining the term – and it remains unclear throughout the book why he sticks to it. As Blattberg points out in the preface, in his usage the term 'patriotic politics' is meant to cover 'a whole philosophy of politics' (p. xi), one that draws flexible and dotted rather than – as the neutralist and, to an extent, the pluralist does – rigid and solid lines between goods or values. But we have to wait for the conclusion, where Blattberg actually gives reasons for holding on to the term: As for the first, he writes that 'patriotic' politics invokes the republican tradition of political liberty reminding us 'that politics should always strive to be true to the goods shared in common by all of a polity's citizens' (p. 199). He then goes on to argue that this requires the kind of reconciling dialogue offered by a hermeneutical approach to politics. The



second reason for a 'patriotic' politics that Blattberg offers is its ability to motivate people so that they stand up for their ideals. Throughout the book, I was wondering why Blattberg didn't call it 'hermeneutic politics' in the first place and these two reasons for a 'patriotic' politics, given at the end, did neither convince me otherwise nor did they remove the confusion that the word 'patriotic' evokes.

The book contains eight chapters, including an extensive introduction – in which Blattberg argues against neutralism – and a conclusion. In chapters two and three, Blattberg subjects the conceptions of politics advocated by pluralists to an in-depth examination. He introduces two pluralist polities, challenging the clear-cut distinctions that 'weak pluralists' such as Robert Dahl, Joseph Raz, and Michael Walzer are making between the state and civil society. By contrast, 'strong pluralists', while still recognising the state-civil society distinction, allow for the two domains' integrity to be compromised, in that, for example, the government answers to the demands of particular groups within society in granting them special status. Though strong pluralists go some way towards the dotted lines Blattberg advocates, it is their normative assumptions and their reasoning that he rejects in favour of hermeneutics. As he explains in chapter three, pluralists make an 'atomistic claim' (p. 75) regarding values in that they consider them to be isolated from each other. Furthermore, they claim that values may be expressed both 'thinly', that is, as a set of universal, out-of-context principles, and 'thickly', as embedded in certain historical circumstances. The practical reasoning that derives from the pluralist conception when confronted with a moral conflict is a 'zero-sum balancing of two or more clashing, independently distinct incommensurables' (p. 92). In doing so, the pluralist proceeds linearly, subjecting conflicting values to an instrumental rationality. As a result of pluralist compromising, moral loss is inevitable.

For Blattberg's hermeneuticist, these pluralist notions are unacceptable, as for him goods are always 'thick', that is integrated, contextualised, and part of a practise. Because, as Blattberg argues, for hermeneuticists goods are always integrated with each other, their reasoning can avoid the zero-sum nature of pluralist practical reasoning, and thus make room for a reconciliation of competing goods. 'Rather than weighing separate values *against* each other', the hermeneuticist strives 'to harmonize the regions of discord that the goods occupy within the whole' (p. 92). In doing so, the hermeneuticist engages in a conversation in which 'every good may be conceived only against the background of all the others' (p. 95). This includes hearing, and listening, to the other side, 'and so being open to transforming oneself through what one may learn' and, thus, for reconciliation (p. 102). As a result, the hermeneuticist differs from the pluralist in that the latter disengages himself from the conflicting values in search for a compromise, while the hermeneuticist is himself always embedded and can not simply bypass his self.

In chapters five to seven, Blattberg applies his notion of 'patriotic' politics to questions of governance, welfare, and recognition. To illustrate Blattberg's claim of the superiority of 'patriotic' politics, I will limit myself to a brief discussion of what he has to say about governance and how the conflicts that arise in a multicultural polity may be resolved. For the patriot, the real meaning of democracy is practise, that is, 'engaging in reconciliatory conversation about shared goods' (p. 160). As Blattberg argues, 'the goods of ostensibly separate ways of life are actually to some extent integrated' (p. 129). Therefore, questions of membership of the polity are not resolved by an instrumental process in which traditions shared by people are seen in isolation and so negotiated over. Rather the patriot will take a holistic approach in which what matters is 'the extent to which persons do or do not share in a public common good', and 'the varying extents to which all other kinds of goods are shared' (p. 159).

To me, Blattberg's dotted lines that allow for this kind of reconciliation are all too ideal. Looking at debates in Germany on immigration and the integration of foreigners, we are a fair way away from the 'patriotic' politics Blattberg envisions.

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### **Ethnography**

John Brewer

Open University Press, 2000

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PBK: ISBN: 0335202683 £16.99

pp. 224 (including: list of figures, glossary, bibliography & index)

*Ethnography* is a useful cornerstone to the new textbook series *Understanding Social Research*. The book provides an introduction to ethnography, not least for those engaged in researching ethnicity. Brewer's focus is the methodologies and methods of what he calls 'ethnography-understood-as-fieldwork' or 'little ethnography'. Here the emphasis is placed on systematic data collection mainly through the observation of people in local, 'natural' settings by a researcher participating in the setting. This type of research aims to capture people's social meanings and ordinary activities without imposing meanings on the data from outside. Brewer differentiates this from 'big ethnography' or ethnography as used as a synonym for qualitative research as a whole.

From this discussion of definitions and a brief description of the history and critiques of ethnography in the first chapter, Brewer moves on in the second chapter to consider methodology in ethnography and its relationship to method. He begins with a succinct and apposite comparison of positivist and naturalist (interpretive) ethnography. The largest part of this chapter, however, covers newer ground. Here, he looks at the crises of representation and legitimation in contemporary ethnography, describing the strong role the postmodern critique played in precipitating these crises. Critiquing the extreme postmodernist position which would consign ethnography to the waste bin, Brewer constructively defends ethnography. Here, he discusses the merits of forms of 'post postmodern' ethnography rooted in a combination of naturalism and postmodernism: subtle realism, analytical realism, critical realism and Brewer's own brand, the 'ethnographic imagination'. He also outlines criteria for good practice of these newer forms.

The next section of the book offers a lucid and interesting discussion of the research process, looking at research design, data collection techniques, case studies and good practice in the field. Throughout, Brewer argues for a systematic approach to fieldwork. There are valuable discussions of how ethnographic work can be generalised (an oft-discussed problem for case studies) and how qualitative sampling can be carried out. Brewer's discussion of the challenges of handling identity in the field is particularly enlightening. The section on the problem of handling ethnic identity partly draws on the experience of a Catholic researcher working in the largely Protestant police force in Northern Ireland. The section on ethics could be enhanced by a consideration of the links between ethics and methodologies and in particular by looking at the feminist critique of ethics.

Brewer's next chapter on data management, analysis, interpretation and presentation is particularly strong in showing the links between methodology and styles of work as well



as providing a guide to practice. There is also a useful discussion of the use of computer packages for data management and analysis. I might quibble slightly with Brewer here when he says that data management [categorising, indexing and coding of ethnographic data] 'is not a form of analysis' (p. 110). Imposing a classificatory system developed by the researchers (in the context of their world views and theoretical positions/assumptions as well their engagement with the data) might be seen as part of the analytical process. However, there is a good discussion of reflexivity later on, which bears on this issue, as well as useful practical guidance on being reflexive and writing reflexive ethnography, part of Brewer's useful section on writing ethnography.

The chapter on the uses of ethnography will be of particular interest to those researching ethnicity wishing to delve into what ethnography can do for them. Brewer looks at the contribution of ethnography to knowledge generation, theory creation and policy making. He notes that ethnography has been used in many disciplines (although it is traditionally associated with social anthropology and some branches of sociology) but has particular strengths and weaknesses. Drawing on the typology of ethnography according to forms of data collected based on Gubrium's work, Brewer describes structural, articulative and practical ethnographies. The first two in particular are useful for the study of ethnicity. Structural ethnographies generate knowledge about the subjective meanings with which people in the ethnographic setting interpret experience, meanings that are traditionally hidden. This type of ethnography was used in Whyte's classic 1950s study of ethnicity and other issues in 'corner boys' society in the US. Articulative ethnography goes further in examining sense-making procedures used by people to construct such subjective meanings. Brewer gives the example of the use of this type of ethnography to investigate how sectarianism is sustained in Northern Ireland amongst conservative evangelicals. On the other hand, he notes the limitations of ethnography in its ability to generate theory even in the middle range (since grand theories about society have become increasingly suspect the fact that ethnography cannot generate these should no longer be considered a problem). He discusses two approaches to theory development through ethnography, analytic induction and grounded theory, but he argues that both 'survive merely as badges of honour to which lip service is paid' (p. 151).

Brewer concludes by asking the question, 'Whither Ethnography?' He appropriately situates the discussion in the context of globalization, noting the threat to ethnography through the vaunted disappearance of the local 'field setting', via homogenisation processes. He states that, without the survival of the local, 'ethnography would be reduced to documenting the onward progress of globularity' (p. 186). Brewer makes his second strong and constructive defence of ethnography at this point. Arguing that under globalization localities tend to survive because global processes are always mediated locally, he suggests that in the context of globalization the future of ethnography should be to 'chart the experience of people in a local setting to demonstrate how global processes are mediated by local factors', to 'address the persistence of tradition' and to 'describe how traditional identities interface with globally structured ones' (p. 176). Again, these are crucial questions to students of ethnicity. Brewer illustrates how ethnography can illuminate these issues with case studies of local constructions of identity in Ulster Loyalism and local crime management in Belfast.

As a textbook, the layout of the book (with its 'boxed' examples) is helpful, the style clear and engaging and Brewer's enthusiasm for ethnography (despite its failings and challenges) stimulating. Each chapter contains a short suggested reading section, which I always find helpful. Those seeking a general text may find the selection of case studies here useful, particularly as we are benefiting from Brewer's reflections on some of his own experience as an ethnographer, but a little narrow in scope in thematic and regional

terms. On the other hand, as most of the examples in the book derive from Brewer's Northern Ireland research, this book will be of particular interest to those considering using ethnography in the areas of strongly contested identities, ethnic nationalisms and conflict, and, of course, in studies of the region itself.

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**Culture, Citizenship, and Community. A Contextual Exploration of Justice as Evenhandedness**

Joseph H. Carens

Oxford University Press, 2000

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pp. ix + 284 (including bibliography and index)

For Carens, most liberal responses to the questions raised by cultural diversity have paid insufficient attention to the theoretical significance of the way in which liberal states actually accommodate cultural diversity. *Culture, Citizenship, and Community* seeks to redress this imbalance by developing a contextual analysis of the challenges to the liberal conception of equal universal citizenship posed by demands for greater self-government and cultural commitments that potentially conflict with liberal principles.

Carens's analysis of these questions combines Walzer's concern with the historical and cultural particularity of different political communities with Kymlicka's commitment to multicultural citizenship. Whereas Kymlicka explores how liberal political communities ought to respond to cultural diversity, Walzer's emphasis upon the distinctiveness of political communities highlights not only how liberal democracies differ from other regimes, but also draws attention to the differences between various liberal democratic states. Although every liberal democratic regime must uphold certain principles such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion, majority rule and so on, these principles can be implemented in a variety of ways and practices among existing liberal democratic states differ significantly. Hence there can be reasonable disagreement about what the principles of liberal democratic justice require and within that range liberal states should be free to pursue different institutional arrangements and policies.

In order to explore just how wide this range can be with regard to the recognition of cultural diversity, Carens develops a sophisticated conception of justice that draws upon two distinct views of fairness: neutrality and evenhandedness. While the idea of fairness through neutrality is rooted in the fundamental liberal principle that people should be free to pursue and revise their own conceptions of the good, fairness through evenhandedness entails a sensitive weighing up of particular competing claims.

Although Carens acknowledges that the typically liberal ideal of fairness through neutrality has an important role to play in discussions of cultural diversity by setting clear limits to what may be done to promote a particular culture, he contends that neutrality on its own cannot provide an adequate account of justice. Not only does liberal democracy require that citizens share certain generic norms, attitudes and dispositions, every actual liberal democratic regime is thickly embedded in some particular cultural context. Hence the principle of neutrality must be tempered by the regard for local justice inherent in the idea of evenhandedness.

The strength of *Culture, Citizenship and Community*, and its most important contribution to debates surrounding cultural diversity, lies in the careful way in which Carens brings



these two notions of fairness to bear in his discussion of particular cases. Thus the book explores the possible tensions between the liberal commitment to equal opportunity and cultural diversity through the concrete cases of Asian-Americans, the Amish, African-Americans and women; considers the extent and manner in which liberal states can legitimately expect immigrants to conform to the dominant culture via the example of Quebec; looks at which kinds of cultural diversities liberal democracies can tolerate by assessing the relevant similarities between widely accepted Western cultural and religious practices and frequently criticised Islamic practices; analyses demands for aboriginal self-government via a discussion of the different responses by First Nations, Inuit and Métis to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; and debates efforts to protect cultural traditions by looking at the case of Fiji. In many of these discussions the interplay between the particularities of each case and the principle of liberal neutrality offers important insights. For example, while the Canadian Charter sets out to enable citizens to pursue their own conception of the good by safeguarding fundamental rights and freedoms, some aboriginal people have argued that the Charter should not apply to aboriginal governments, since it threatens to undermine cultural differences. As Carens rightly notes, in the Canadian context such fears must be seen in the light of the long historical experience of Canadian citizenship as a tool for the forced assimilation of Indians.

Although such careful analysis of particular cases is to be welcomed, the tensions between the commitment to autonomy (central to the principle of neutrality) and the respect for established cultural practices (inherent in the notion of evenhandedness) makes Carens' account of justice potentially problematic from a liberal perspective. The difficulties here are probably most apparent in relation to two issues central to many discussions of cultural diversity: the steps cultures may take to perpetuate their distinctive character; and the degree to which liberal societies should accommodate non-liberal cultures.

For Carens, policies like the Quebec language laws, which require that immigrants accept French as the language of public life, are justified to preserve the distinctive character of Quebec society. However policies that seek to guarantee the long-term survival of a particular cultural community by fixing the identity of new or future citizens are not readily compatible with the ideals of individual freedom and self-determination upon which liberalism is premised. Although immigrants can legitimately be asked to accept the constitutional principles anchored in the wider political culture, the liberal principle of impartiality implies that they cannot be expected to take on board the particular culture that prevails in a given country.

Carens is aware of the potential difficulty here and stresses that Quebecois culture should be defined in an open way with an almost exclusive emphasis on the French language as the shared cultural commitment and without privileging the culture of the descendants of the settlers of Quebec. However, not only may it be difficult in practice to distinguish between preserving the French language and upholding Quebecois culture, if the common cultural commitment could be limited to the French language it would be difficult to see what would remain of the Quebec demand for distinctiveness and why Quebec should be entitled to restrict the freedom of citizens.

Similar worries regarding the tensions between liberalism and pluralism surround Carens's discussion of gender equality. While the public culture of a liberal society must uphold the principle of gender equality, Carens argues that a commitment to pluralism requires that liberal societies tolerate many of the gender differences inherent in the internal cultures of religious and ethnic groups. However, the comparatively low esteem

in which women are held in such cultures and the restrictions cultural expectations place upon women's choices about the kind of lives they should lead, may well undermine women's sense of self-respect and thus threaten their ability to exercise their autonomy.

While Carens believes that the commitment to equality inherent in a liberal public culture subverts patriarchal values, the worry remains that traditional religious and ethnic sub-groups may be able to resist such pressures only too well. To see if such worries are justified requires precisely the careful analysis of particular cases that Carens develops so effectively in *Culture, Citizenship and Community*.

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### **International Refugee Law: A Reader**

B. S. Chimni (ed)

Sage Publications, 2000

HBK: ISBN: 0761993622 £39.99

pp. 613

This *Reader* brings together material from UN documents, conference addresses and a variety of journals and books including trusty textbooks such as Hathaway's *The Law of Refugee Status* (1991) and Guy Goodwin-Gill's *The Refugee in International Law* (1996). Even the well-read scholar of international refugee law is likely to find something new.

Chimni says of his *Reader* that it is 'intended for a wide and varied audience: student, researchers, judges, policy-makers and personnel of non-governmental organisations'. This target audience is an ambitiously wide one but Chimni outlines the main points of each chapter with an introduction that gives the articles greater coherence. The introductions will also be helpful to students who are less familiar with some of the issues. The *Reader* has been divided into eight chapters that deal with the definition of a 'refugee', the law of asylum, the rights and duties of refugees and the operation of the UNHCR. The next three chapters consider wider issues: the causes of refugee flows and the law of state responsibility, durable solutions, and the law of internally displaced persons. Finally, Chimni considers the legal condition of refugees in India, a country that is not a party to international refugee conventions.

Professor Chimni is a leading scholar of refugee law in India, based at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi and since 1996 he has been an advisor to the UNHCR. He is a writer who has combined theory with practice. Although the title may suggest a rather dry comparison of the refugee laws on individual countries this *Reader* uses the words 'international refugee law' to suggest an analysis of refugee law as a global phenomena. So Chapter one 'Who is a Refugee?' seeks not merely to define a refugee in legal terms but to ask the far more interesting question of why a refugee is defined as a person fleeing state persecution rather than a person fleeing a natural disaster, war, or political and economic turmoil.

Chimni finds his answer by considering the development of modern day asylum law in the aftermath of the Second World War. It is easy to forget that the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees limits its ambit in terms of time and geography. Until these limitations were removed by the 1967 Protocol only those fleeing persecution as a result of an event occurring before 1 January 1951 could be protected as refugees and ratifying states could choose to exclude those fleeing persecution from a non-European country. Extracts from Hathaway's *The Law of Refugee Status* explain that



these restrictions met with Eurocentric concerns to redistribute the post-war refugee burden away from European shoulders. More subtly, but no less significantly, by defining refugees in terms of persecution due to civil or political status a powerful tool for condemning Soviet politics had been introduced.

The Cold War provides a framework for Chimni to explore other refugee issues. Chapter two considers the development of asylum law particularly since the Second World War. Quoting Guy Goodwin-Gill, Chimni notes that in 1951: 'voluntary repatriation was effectively obsolete. There was no talk of the temporary protection, temporary refuge, dealing with causes, promoting the condition for safe return, or preventing the necessity for flight.' For during the Cold War more than 90% of those given asylum in the West came from the communist block. They were welcomed and assimilated. The comparison with the treatment of asylum seekers today could not be starker. The talk now is of all those things that were an anathema less than 50 years ago. As the Cold War dissipated, Chimni observes, 'refugees have lost ideological and geopolitical value'.

Of particular interest is the chapter on internally displaced persons (IDPs). Now these people have their own chapter whereas, as Chimni notes in the preface, only a few years ago a book on international refugee law would not have contained much material on IDPs. In an extract from one of his own essays, *The Incarceration of Victims: Deconstructing Safety Zones* (1995), Chimni notes that IDPs are not really refugees at all because fleeing a state is a definitional trip-wire that distinguishes an IDP from a refugee. Yet the language of protection is increasingly applied to IDPs. After considering the treatment of IDPs in Iraq and the former Yugoslavia Chimni argues that IDPs and their places of 'refuge', usually called 'safety zones', constitute the new architecture of control that is being constructed in the aftermath of the Cold War. In a forthright passage Chimni states that safety zones are imposed by a UN Security Council dominated by two or three states as a pretext for intervening in the internal affairs of third world countries.

The strength of Chimni's Reader is that he focuses on texts and issues that draw attention to the relationship between power and law and to the contradiction between refugee law as a humanitarian idea and a tool of the powerful. So refreshing is his approach to international refugee law that it seems churlish to criticise it. But few of Chimni's texts post date 1995 and in the fast changing area of international refugee law this is unfortunate. Before the end of the Cold War this Reader could not have been written. Before the mid 1990s it would not have had a chapter on internally displaced persons. One wonders how the next edition will have changed when it surveys developments since 1995. Let us hope that Professor Chimni produces a second edition and that it does not have a five-year gestation.

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### **The Politics of Human Rights: A global perspective**

Tony Evans

Pluto Press, 2001

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pp. 144 (including: index & bibliography)

Tony Evans contends that elegant philosophical and by-the-book legal analyses of human rights can mask a messy political reality. In *US Hegemony and the Project of Universal Human Rights* (1996), Evans illustrated the normative force of human rights, but also showed how those norms could be twisted to political ends. In *The Politics of Human Rights*, Evans expands this critical argument. The book is a humane and engaging polemic against globalization on grounds that it undermines human rights and retards democratization.

Evans prepares a three-pronged indictment. First is the familiar charge that neo-liberalism has produced a harsh, hierarchical world in which human rights of low-end workers are trampled by political design, not merely as a result of economic forces. Second is the idea that international law and liberal institutions have cast human rights in terms of low-cost political rights, quashing virtually all discussion of subsistence rights and distributive justice. Third is the original and important claim that while today's human rights regime is global in scope, enforcement remains the bailiwick of sovereign states. Yet, Evans argues, states are so compromised by global capital that they are unwilling and unable to perform this duty. Developed countries and their foreign offices have essentially become agents for transnational corporations, while peripheral states furiously bid down environmental, workplace and other human rights and health standards in order to attract foreign investment.

This indictment is wrapped around a critical history of human rights. The guiding thread is that law and economics have conspired to subvert a more humane and socialistic vision of rights. States rich and poor have directly discounted the human rights of low-end workers, but they have also translated this bias into international law and organizations which privilege 'negative' civil and political rights over 'positive' social and economic ones. Although Evans doesn't mention it, the new American focus on international religious freedom, a pet project of religious conservatives that has become core US human rights policy, carries this trend to its logical end by fixing on the spiritual realm rather than the material world. Nor does international law hold much promise. A vestige of the state-centric age, law has become technical scaffolding on the New World Order, its contours moulded by *laissez-faire* rather than any independent form of justice. At most, its role is 'to provide a formal framework for human rights talk, not to challenge the current economic and political world order' (p. 49). Thus, a cramped view of justice has been institutionalized in a human rights regime that punishes discrete violations after the fact rather than proactively targeting structural causes.

As a corrective, Evans advances the idea of subsistence security as a basic 'negative' right, on the argument that human suffering can be relieved by shielding people from the disastrous institutions – the WTO, NAFTA, the IMF, for example – which have greased the skids of exploitation. This notion runs against the liberal current, to put it mildly. Evans describes how the neo-liberal juggernaut has been swept along by its own hegemonic ideology. That is, free trade is not merely considered beneficial, but also 'natural', 'inevitable' and in synch with 'common sense'. When Tony Blair declared that globalization was 'irresistible and irreversible' (p. 30), and Bill Clinton, addressing the WTO in 1998, said 'globalization is not a political choice – it is a fact' (p. 69), neo-liberalism had achieved the Gramscian nirvana of hegemony, where power politics fuses with political correctness. This view can also be overstated. Evans claims that the hegemony of neo-liberalism today is such that 'all issues must be subordinated to the imperatives of economic growth and development' (p. 46), and that 'legitimate human rights can only be defined as that set of rights that require government abstention from acts that violate the individual's freedom to invest time, capital and resources in processes of production and exchange' (p. 60).



On democratization, the book notes wisely that given the character of globalization one should treat with caution the formula 'if democracy then human rights' (p. 79). Evans believes that globalization jeopardizes liberal democracy by undermining the core conditions associated with it: territorial community, accountability, autonomy, and a sense of the common good. Evans sees instead a proliferation of 'low-intensity' democracies, which damp down religious, ethnic and other tensions (along with trade unions, environmental activism, dignified wages and a critical media) in order to create conditions for economic growth and development. Moreover, states increasingly relinquish their traditional functions to international organizations, which are often unaccountable and undemocratic. Evans contends that the state has become a 'passive unit of administration' rather than an 'active policy maker', its function to implement the diktats of the World Bank and the IMF, and serve as handmaiden to transnational corporations and a nexus for capital. All of which suggests 'the dangers of substituting the language of democracy for that of human rights' (p. 90).

Though globalization is hotly contested, the polemic can outrun the proof. One longs for definitive data on whether or not globalization has hindered or helped international human rights. The issue may simply not be settled, or the effects of globalization may be more ambiguous than our pundits suggest. Certainly structural inequalities abound, and capitalism has undoubtedly introduced insecurities unknown in traditional societies. Yet, while in some cases globalization has been brutal towards human rights, in other instances it has lifted people out of misery. As Robert Brenner and other 'statist' political economists have argued, some poor, peripheral countries have accommodated international capital more ingeniously than others. The institutions of globalization probably have speeded this process and increased the gap between outcomes, particularly with regard to democratic development. But localities may have greater autonomy than Evans allows. Good or bad, the effects of globalization are not foreordained.

### **Reference**

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**Thomas W. Smith**, University of South Florida, USA

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### **Urban Exodus: Why the Jews left Boston and the Catholics Stayed**

Gerald Gamm

Harvard University Press, 1999

HBK: ISBN: 0674930703 \$42.00 £28.95

Pbk: ISBN: 0674005589 \$20.95 £13.95

pp. 384 (including: footnotes, index, maps & pictures)

This book examines interactions between and within Jews and Catholics in Dorchester and Roxbury, inner suburbs of Boston, Massachusetts, from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-1990s. The study contrasts their different responses to the inward-movement of other ethnic groups, especially African-Americans: and as its sub-title suggests, primarily addresses the question of why the Jews left while the Catholics stayed put.

The book starts and ends with dramatic contrasts between the abandoned Jewish Seaver Street Temple, 'awesome in its loneliness' (p. 1) and the vibrant Catholic church and

school in the same neighbourhood. A photograph shows the temple shortly after its dedication in 1925, when it was a source of inspiration and inward-movement of Jews. The Jewish community, however, felt itself under increasing threat by the 1950s; exodus was under way by the 1960s and the temple was closed in 1971. It was briefly used as a Jewish day school and an African-American school for performing arts before being abandoned yet again; in the mid-1990s there was 'nothing left but the husk' (p. 2). In contrast, just a few blocks away St Peter's Church remained busy in the 1990s as the centre of a community and intimately associated with St Peter's School.

Gamm combines a densely descriptive historical analysis of the experiences of the two groups with an analytical account of the differences between them, and stresses the significance of institutions in neighbourhood change. He argues that because Catholic congregations are organised on a spatially defined parish basis, whereas Jewish congregations are essentially a-spatial, the latter have less attachment to a particular area and are more likely to move away when feeling threatened. He argues that the hierarchical structures of Catholicism, and the restriction of parish membership to residents within a specific geographical area, contrast with the greater autonomy enjoyed by Jewish congregations. He reviews some literature on urban neighbourhood change and suggests that other authors have paid insufficient attention to the impact of different religious institutions, including their sources of authority and their geographical organisation.

The book examines changes in the Jewish and Catholic communities in inner Boston in great detail, especially throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This provides some rich and fascinating accounts of individuals within the two communities and may be interesting to specialists interested in local community history or to members of those communities. I greatly enjoyed the richness of these accounts, although this degree of detail adds little to the book's main thesis.

The book's sub-title suggests that it is concerned with differences between groups defined in terms of members' *religions* and that this distinction provides an explanation of different group behaviours. I am not sure that the book succeeds as well in this analytical objective as in its dense description of changing communities.

Firstly, the text makes clear that the groups are not just defined by religion, but by their *ethno*-religious characteristics. The key dynamic influencing movement and resistance, moreover, was in-migration by other ethnic groups (*not* defined primarily by religion). In much of the book, 'Catholics' are *Irish* Roman Catholics: all the priests, for example, had Irish names. Scant regard is paid to other Catholic communities in Boston or other US cities, though it is noted towards the end of the book that Hispanics were moving into the neighbourhoods as the Irish moved out. The book, therefore, is about why *one* Irish Roman Catholic community stayed in Boston and a *particular* Jewish community left. Gamm suggests that Irish Catholics were racist defenders of their turf: '... the Catholic parish became the institutional nexus for white resistance... The parish was a fortress for old-time residents... Conscious policies of racial discrimination helped restrict entrance to the parish's institutions at a time when the area's population had begun to change' (p. 239). This emphasis on ethno-religious identity, rather than religion alone, raises doubts about Gamm's key explanatory variable for the different behaviour of two groups, namely features of different *religious* institutions. The racism and resistance, as discussed, could derive as much from their being *Irish* as being Catholic. That possibility is not explored and so I was left feeling that the analysis was at best only half-done.

Secondly, it is remarkable that Gamm has virtually nothing to say about the *origins* of these Jews and Catholics. Perhaps the Irish diaspora and the flight of Jews from



oppression in Europe are too well-chronicled to bear mention, but Gamm's central thesis would have been stronger if it had been demonstrated that the Catholics had come to Boston as a result of *greater* pressures than those experienced by other immigrants. If that were not the case, and we can not tell from his evidence, then the central thesis effectively becomes an assertion about the behaviour of groups *only once they are in US cities*. This is implausible, and would certainly require further elaboration and evidence.

Thirdly, by the end of the book we see that the Irish Catholic community barely remained in the neighbourhoods by the mid-1990s anyway, thus it had merely stayed *longer* than the Jewish community. Out-movement by successful Irish Catholics is mentioned in the prologue, where Gamm notes that St Peter's School and Parish were no longer 'an Irish Catholic stronghold' by 1991. Thus the resilience of the Catholic parish may owe as much to other Catholic incomers, especially Hispanic but also African-Americans. A sub-title which more accurately reflects the actual content of the book would be something like 'Why the Jews left Boston before the Catholics'.

The book has limited discussion of debates about residential segregation and changing urban ecologies and is very light on recent urban analysis. Overall, though, it is a well-written work, with an interesting central thesis, which could stimulate further debate and research.

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### **The Kosovo Crisis: The Last American War in Europe?**

Tony Weymouth and Stanley Henig (eds.)

Reuters/Pearson Education, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 0273651587 £19.99

pp. 316

This ambitious edited collection approaches the Kosovo crisis squarely in its international context. Rather than focus on the history of Kosovo and the Balkan region, or the conflict itself, this book studies the external reactions of the major Western powers and international institutions that chose to intervene in the Kosovo crisis. Most of the individually commissioned chapters are dedicated to policy-making debates within a single government or international institution, including Britain, Italy, Germany, France, Russia, the United States, the European Union, NATO and the UN. There is also a chapter on the media and two chapters with differing perspectives on Kosovo.

The promising potential of the book's structure and aims can be seen in Umberto Morelli's chapter on Italy, Sabrina Ramet and Phil Lyon's chapter on Germany and Bernard Lamizet and Sylvie Debras' chapter on France. These consider how the Kosovo conflict was a catalyst for changes in both the domestic and the foreign politics of these major European states. The end of the political alignments of the Cold War had made these changes necessary, but it was only through the highly moralised debate around the Kosovo crisis that old political party identities and state constitutions could be finally recast. This process highlighted not only the political bankruptcy of the Euro-communist left and German Greens, forcing them to jettison resistance to American militarism and renounce their former political *raison d'être*, but also the demise of the Gaullist right in France. While the foreign policy of both France and Italy was hastily realigned to post-Cold War circumstances, it was Germany which gained most from the Kosovo conflict,

tearing-up the constitutional restrictions on militarism abroad and legitimising a new expansionist international role for the European powerhouse.

Christopher Williams and Zinaida Golenkova's chapter on Russia is also of interest, usefully highlighting the collapse of Russian international influence since the end of the Cold War and how any international 'assertiveness' is heavily muted by economic dependence on maintaining good relations with the US and Western Europe. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is John Simons' Kosovo chapter which raises a series of challenging questions over international policy and flags up how NATO's moral narrative sits uneasily with the complexities of the Balkan situation and could have destabilising consequences. Despite being flagged up in the introductory chapter as a 'pro-Serbian text', this chapter is a highly prescient one regarding the regional consequences of the conflict. Simons asks if the time will come 'when KFOR will be forced to carry out joint counter-insurgency operations with the Yugoslav army?' due to the creation of safe havens for terrorists raiding Serbia and Macedonia, and successfully draws out the irrational nature of much of Western policy-making in the region.

The editors state that they hope the book will amount to more than the sum of its parts; unfortunately it fails to achieve this aim. It does little to tie together its themes by drawing out the dynamic of Western intervention or, as flagged-up in the sub-title, establishing the likely consequences of the conflict for European/US cooperation and for the post-Cold War international order. The reason for this lies mainly in the oversimplified and frustratingly superficial nature of the majority of the rest of the contributions. Unfortunately some of the key chapters, especially Christopher Williams' Kosovo background and Sabrina Ramet's on the United States, are badly written and poorly researched, with them both misspelling the names of key commentators and political figures. Williams regularly refers to Maria Todorova (the author of the excellent *Imagining the Balkans*) as Tomova (pp. 15, 37, 290, 315) and Ramet's anti-Serb tirade is replete with the crudest of *ad hominem* criticisms of commentators with whom she disagrees. These and several other chapters, including those on Britain, the media, NATO and the UN, attempt to provide a crude apologia for their chosen government or international institution, and in the process tend to degenerate into superficial description, platitude or polemical bias.

The excessively defensive and uncritical style of the majority of the chapters compromises any analytical claims made for the book. Anthony Weymouth's chapter on the media is disappointingly uninformed and uncritical, focusing on how the ideological legacy of Nazism and the Cold War can justify 'unintentional' media distortions rather than any desire to mislead the public. Peter Anderson's NATO chapter celebrates how the alliance 'was relatively restrained in terms of the level of 'aggression'' (p. 184) and how NATO's 12,000 bombing raids from 15,000 feet allegedly helped realise the ethical value that 'the taking of innocent human life is not permissible' (p. 200). This lack of critical engagement with the subject matter is particularly disappointing in David Travers' chapter on the UN where he seeks to deny the importance of NATO's sidelining of the UN, argues that the Secretary-General and international secretariat have been strengthened, and seeks to blame Belgrade, Russia and China for the farcical performance of the UN protectorate administration in Kosovo.

The book's editors are right to flag up the importance of the Kosovo war for post-Cold War international relations, unfortunately the book, for the most part, fails to grasp the implications for international law and the UN framework of sovereign equality. In rejecting any critical perspective, the book has few insights to offer. This rather conservative approach is highlighted by Stanley Henig's conclusion, which sees the Kosovo conflict as an ongoing Balkan war 'entering its eighth century' (p. 277) and



regards the impact of NATO's usurpation of the UN as having 'not brought any significant change' (p. 285).

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Todorova, Maria, (1997), *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

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### **Un/settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions**

Barnor Hesse (ed.)

Zed Books, 2000

HBK: ISBN: 1856495590 £49.95 \$69.95

PBK: ISBN: 1856495604 £15.95 \$25.00

pp. 288, (including: bibliographical references & index)

Hesse's edited volume, *Un/settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions*, is divided in two parts, 'Diaspora Formations' and 'Cultural Entanglements'. The introductory chapter by Hesse sets the tone of the book and presents perhaps necessary, discussion on terms such multiculturalism, race, diaspora, transruptions and cultural entanglements, particularly the complexity and discourse of these subjects and even more so the context in which these terms are used. In the introduction Hesse refers to three ways, or connecting thoughts, by which the book 'explores' the multicultural: looking at the meaning of diaspora formations; challenging the concept of homogeneity of national and social forms through the analysis of cultural entanglements; analysing, through the concept of transruptions, the unsettlement of diasporas in Western societies.

The first part focuses on the experiences of a diaspora. Hesse writes that '[d]iaspora formations currently define the post-colonial sense in the proliferation of and interaction between cultural differences that shape transnational configurations of dispersed histories and identities within and against the cultural legislation of the western nation' (p. 20). This is well illustrated in Sayyid's chapter 'Beyond Westphalia: Nations and Diasporas—the Case of the Muslim Umma' and in St Lois chapter 'Readings within a Diasporic Boundary: Transatlantic Black Performance and the Poetic Imperative in Sport'. Both with interesting examples of more loosely formed diaspora communities.

The two remaining chapters, Parker's 'The Chinese Takeaway and the Diasporic Habitus: Space, Time and Power Geometrics' and Hesse's 'Diasporicity: Black Britain's Post-Colonial Formations' are two excellent and informative contributions. Parker's use of the take-away in describing the dynamics of 'celebratory multiculturalism' and 'ethnic food' (for an interesting contemporary example of references to 'ethnic food' as a way of discussing multiculturalism see: Cook 2001) shows the need to look at the larger picture and what Parker refers to as the 'ethnoscape'. Hesse, in his chapter elegantly dissects the concept of 'Black Britishness', with particular reference to the arrival of the SS Empire Windrush in 1948. Both chapters provide the reader with an extensive overview of the diaspora concept and the search for identity in a political, cultural, social and historical context and they are, in my opinion, the most accessible chapters in the volume. These two chapters superbly deal with the concept of 'ethnic communities' and how they are constructed and particularly how these develop and change. Perhaps Parker and Hesse's chapters also stand out because they so accurately deal with the situation in today's Britain.

The second section has its focus set on 'post-colonial cultural differences', particularly those which can be described as 'marginal or minority concerns. These are cultural differences which do not fit dominant national categories or social conventions of analysis and tend to be silenced, devalued or misrecognized' (p. 22). The first chapter of the section, Alexander's '(Dis)Entangling the 'Asian Gang': Ethnicity, Identity, Masculinity' is, in hindsight of the problems in Oldham in the summer of this year, of particular interest, as Alexander carefully examines issues regarding gender and race. She refers to 'racialisation' of masculinity and its representation in, for example, the media. She concludes by referring to this weave as 'a product of complex processes of racialisation and hyper-masculinization.' (p. 145). The chapter is somewhat 'heavy'—but this is perhaps necessary, just referring to 'Asian gangs' (as media tends to do) somehow misses the point, the reality is more complicated than that and therein lies the strength of this chapter. The chapter by Noble, 'Ragga Music: Dis/Respecting Black Women and Dis/Reputable Sexualities' is an interesting contribution as it opens up further discussion on what she refers to as 'Black female desire'. These two chapters well illustrate and clarify the concept of entanglement.

Stuart Hall's conclusion of the book provides a layman with food for thought with an insightful and understanding analysis—something welcomed when dealing with a complicated theoretical framework in a somewhat complex historical context. This chapter ties the volume together very well, particularly as Hall attempts to reassess previous findings and to establish what he refers to as the 'new political logic'. Together with Hesse's introduction the various concepts are re-assessed and re-assembled, as is the 'homogeneity of the British culture'—and perhaps the need to establish this inclusiveness.

I welcomed the opportunity to read *Un/settled Multiculturalisms: Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions*. It adds to the growing number of titles in the field and ON THE subject of multiculturalism, particularly as it questions definitions and concepts we more or less tend to take for granted. I found the approach to 'ethnic communities' and the discussions on 'group identities' interesting and helpful as this is an issue which needs to be discussed here and now wherever we are (perhaps whoever we are?). The volume is therefore an important contribution in an ongoing debate. The downside is perhaps the sometimes-complicated theoretical approach in some of the chapters, which makes the reading somewhat challenging and that is a shame. However, the volume does deliver, and does deal with the premises set out in the introduction.

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### **Globalization and National Identities: Crisis or Opportunity?**

Paul Kennedy and Catherine J. Danks (eds)

Palgrave, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 0333929632 £45.00

pp. 256, (including: Bibliography, List of Tables, Notes on the Contributors, List of Abbreviations & Index)

This book is an editorial product of a 1999 conference on *Globalization and Identities* sponsored by the Institute for Global Studies and the Department of Sociology at Manchester Metropolitan University. Its premise is that the concept of identity should be viewed in light of its potential for social fragmentation, and that the impact of globalism on any society may be seen as either a threat or an opportunity. Poignantly, in light of the September 11<sup>th</sup> events in the United States, one is tempted to ask: 1) How does the creation or the revitalization of the American 'patriotic' identity impact globalization, and 2) Does globalism also influences such groups as the Taliban and their erstwhile 'guest' Osama bin Laden?

Globalism and identity have been described in numerous ways. Joseph Nye (2001) views the potential for their use in the creation of a worldwide civil discourse stressing 'democratic accountability.' William Anthony Hay (2001) urges us to distinguish between globalism and multiculturalism, while Mohammed Noman Galal (2001) suggests we consider international discourses in terms of interdependence rather than globalism. The *Economist*, not to be deterred, believes that nothing is really new in this debate, at least from the economic perspective, since globalism has been with us since at least 1570. Peter van Horn (2001) classifies identity in terms of 'branded' states interacting within a global polity. Finally, Julie Scott (Kennedy and Danks 2001) notes that globalism, 'Is a contested term and that it can be taken in its broadest sense to refer to the seemingly unstoppable and accelerating process whereby the world becomes increasingly interlinked and interdependent through convergence of its economic, cultural and political systems.' (p. 89)

Paul Kennedy and Catherine Danks, the editors of this book, divide their work into the following three sections based upon the perceived threats and opportunities of global influences. Part I describes groups under pressure, Part II discusses opportunities and successful adaptations to globalist influences, and Part III reviews those specific identity challenges from globalism where it is hard to predict future results. Though the editors believe that this format may be 'somewhat contrived,' I share their belief that this classification scheme does, 'Relatively little injustice to empirical reality while providing a useful framework for thinking about the issues of identity formation, and its tensions and dynamics, at a time of rapid globalization' (Kennedy and Danks 2001, p.21).

The essays that stand out for me include Paul Kennedy's introductory piece 'Globalization and the Crisis of National identity,' where he lays out the work's format and then discusses current trends in the diverse views of globalization. The key for him is that identity formation is a dynamic process and if a society is to survive in the 21<sup>st</sup> century's version of relative pluralism, an identity group must exhibit flexibility. Noting the above, the approach for an operations-oriented practitioner of cultural conflict resolution such as myself is to distinguish successful models of adaptation to globalism and then use these in an appropriate manner based upon specific circumstances.

I found the contributions to Part I, representing case studies for groups under pressure, to be of mixed quality. Catherine Danks' piece on 'Russia in Search of Itself,' initially provided a good sense of why Russians need a new identity, but she never seemed to

offer reasons for this other than in terms of a generalized response to what she refers to as Russia's perceived humiliation and their traditional distrust of the Western 'other.' Ioannis Armakolas' essay on Bosnian Serbs supplied appropriate theoretical constructs for Serbian paranoia but was never able to evoke for me the revulsion I experienced in viewing the results of their ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and later Kosovo. On the other hand, Julie Scott's piece on the Christian fundamentalist's response to the battle with modernization was well done and offered an excellent historical context for the impact of globalization for this and other similar movements. Ironically, considering the subject matter of this book, Scott's composition was the first place in this entire work, page 89 out of 256 pages, where even an attempt was made to define globalization.

The essays in Part II relating to the advantages of globalization were generally better done than those in Part I. I found Asawin Nedpogaea's piece 'Glocal Culture in the Thai Media,' to be fascinating and an easy read. His thesis is that the Thai identity has been enhanced by the impact of globalization and he used an adroit analysis of Thai advertising strategy emphasizing the influence of the Western 'other' to great advantage. In G. Honor Fagan's piece on 'Globalization, Identity, and Ireland,' the author argues that Ireland's ability to re-invent itself is based upon traditional Celtic values. She suggests that the 'new' Ireland has been successfully able to 'brand' itself using a mix of economic, traditional and global influences. Also in this section Darren O'Byrne discusses the political implications of globalization noting that globalization has 'de-linked' both society and culture from the politics of the nation-state. This is an intriguing process that could lead the practitioner of international politics to ponder whether there is a transnational political identity, and if so, how is it formed and maintained?

In Part III, 'The Challenge of an Uncertain Future,' there were two essays I found of interest. Elizabeth Stanley's piece on South Africa offers a good historical analysis of the South African context regarding their experience with the impact of globalism on the Truth and Reconciliation process. John Books' discussion of the deconstruction of Scotland was well conceived but was probably better at describing global development theories than reviewing the evolution of Scottish nationalism.

In sum, I found this work to be a good read with particular application for those interested in reviewing contemporary case studies regarding global culture and identity issues. Though from an editorial perspective it must have been difficult to blend the results of a wide-ranging conference in to a book. Further, some of the contributions fell short owing to their over reliance on jargon rather than developing cohesive arguments. This, however, should not deter the academic reader from relying on this volume as a good contemporary reference for the impact of globalism on identity, cultural reconciliation and transformative issues.

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### **Asian Nationalism**

Michael Leifer (ed.)

Routledge, 2000

PBK: ISBN: 0415232856 £17.99

pp. 203 (including: bibliography & index)

The academic study of nationalism underwent somewhat of a renaissance in the late 1980s/ early 1990s with the onset of post-Cold War globalisation and the so-called 'end of ideology'. As communism fell and nations crumbled and re-formed along ethnic lines in Eastern and Central Europe, the search for new (or renewed) national identities became a core feature of state building, and nationalism became the 'new' ideology. In Asia too, states and citizens began to reformulate national identities, although the rise of nationalist sentiment in some nation-states was viewed with some concern in 'the West'. *Asian Nationalism* is a collection of essays by academics based at the London School of Economics that seeks to put the 'resurgence' of nationalism in the 1990s in Asia firmly within a historical and theoretical framework, dispelling many myths along the way.

The book is made up of ten chapters, with the first and last offering, respectively, an introduction and conclusion to the study of nationalism in general, and the study of Asian nationalism in an international context. The remaining eight chapters cover China (x 2) and Taiwan, Japan, India and Pakistan, the Philippines and Indonesia, each providing a useful potted history of nationalist movements (ranging from the pre-modern era to the present day), the emergence of nation-states and the struggles within those states between different nationalist voices. Anthony D. Smith provides the introductory chapter which takes us on a whistle-stop tour of the mainstream approaches to the study of nationalism. For the novice this is essential background, and an excellent introduction to the minefield of nationalism. Here we are introduced to the great names – Gellner, Hobsbawm, Anderson and so on – within an easily digestible typology and a clear focus.

The following three chapters are concerned with China and Taiwan. Yahuda's chapter on Chinese nationalism examines Chinese notions of the state from the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty to the present day, taking in the territorial basis, the ethnic make-up, and the aims and identity of the various Chinese states. Yahuda's point about the inability of minority groups in China to seek self-determination under a Han-dominated patriotism is developed in the following chapter by Karmel who considers the reasons for rise of ethnic nationalism amongst the peoples of Tibet and Xinjiang during the reform period, citing such factors as the challenges posed by the collapse of the Soviet Union, regional poverty and economic disparities between the minorities and Han Chinese, the persistence of centrally-inspired Han ethnocentrism, and the stifling of religious freedom. Taiwanese nationalism – or rather the lack of – is the subject of Christopher Hughes chapter which considers the constraints on the emergence of a strong sense of nationalism. Amongst these constraints are the dominance of the PRC's 'one China policy' and the attendant lack of international recognition of Taiwan as an independent sovereign state. In addition, Hughes outlines the lack of consensus within Taiwan on what constitutes 'Taiwaneseness' (plus a tendency for Taiwan residents to forge links with the mainland, further blurring the boundaries of national identity). Thus, referring to Gellner, Hughes suggests that Taiwan is 'moving towards a 'post-nationalist' political settlement' (p. 64), and highlights the creative ways in which the discourse on Taiwan's identity evolved in the 1990s. The section on East Asian nationalisms is rounded off with Nish's short piece on Japan which provides an overview of Japanese nationalism through

the ages, and concludes that at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Japan's was a 'mature nationalism', 'less sinister than it was in the past' despite the re-emergence of controversies over textbooks and the national flag and anthem (p. 88-9).

South Asia is represented by essays on Pakistan and India. The divisive nature of language, territory and religion is highlighted in these chapters. In the chapter on India, Desai takes us through a history of Indian nationhood, introducing the concept of communalism (Hindu-Muslim riots) and identifying the emergence of a national consciousness at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, national consciousness took the form of an association with one of three 'subjecthoods' – the British, Maratha and Moghul empires – but Desai carefully traces the evolution of Indian nationalism thereafter, and the lengthy struggle for supremacy between proponents of three models of nationhood (Congress, federal and Muslim League). India's independence and partition did not bring an end to struggles over national identity, and Desai goes on to describe the problems faced by Indian leadership from 1947 to the present day, when once again several models present themselves as options for India's future. Pakistan's experiences as a nation state (or rather a *staatnation* p.127) are considerably shorter but no less tumultuous than others represented in the book, as the chapter by Hussain highlights. This chapter explains the origins, and reasons for the persistence, of rivalry between Pakistan and India, and the Kashmir situation, with an excellent overview of the ethnic and religious issues which continue to plague Pakistan today.

The starting point for the chapter on Indonesia (Michael Leifer) are the events of the late 1990s (the fall of Suharto and East Timorese independence) both examples of 'the relatively subordinate role' that nationalism played under Suharto (p. 154). As Leifer shows, this is in contrast to Sukarno's 'romantic' nationalism used as an 'emotive symbolism' during the years of struggle against the Dutch and the British. This is not to say that nationalist sentiment was lacking in post-Suharto Indonesia, rather it 'assumed a muted quality for the reasons of political economy and regional cooperative security' (p. 167). By the late 1990s, however, a more strident nationalist mood came to the fore in response to IMF intervention in the economy and international criticism of the East Timor situation. But Leifer assures us that this mood has not been exploited by political forces, nor is it likely to as long as economic recovery remains high on the agenda for Indonesia's leaders. James Putzel's chapter on the Philippines explores the relationship between nationalism and democracy, arguing that 'the content of Philippine nationalism has never been particularly democratic' (p. 171) and that a Filipino identity is hard to define. Tracing the history of the Philippines, Putzel describes the phases of nationalism up to and beyond independence in 1946, domestic political struggles and the various attempts to implement some form of democracy. Putzel is circumspect on the future of democracy in the Philippines, warning that 'an ugly, ethnically-defined nationalism could re-emerge in a time of economic crisis' (p. 184).

I have only a few reservations about this book. First, Smith's attempts to draw up a theoretical framework in the introduction are picked up in some, but not all, chapters. The task of tying up the loose ends is therefore left to James Mayall who questions the extent to which the Asian experience of nationalism conforms to, or challenges, Western conceptions, concluding in favour of the former. Second, some chapters lack balance (and length), and China/Taiwan are allotted three fairly lengthy chapters whereas the chapters on Japan and the Philippines are somewhat shorter. Chinese nationalism has been well covered (even over-exposed) in academic writing in recent years – so maybe a more comparative or integrated approach would have provided a fresh look at the subject.



Nonetheless, this is a timely book which touches upon issues that remain at the forefront of current affairs in 2001 (East Timor, China-Taiwan relations, Islam). In sum, it should be essential reading for any undergraduate or postgraduate student seeking an accessible overview of nationalism in general, and Asian nationalism in particular.

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### **Reimagining the Nation-State: The Contested Terrains of Nation-Building**

Jim Mac Laughlin

Pluto Press, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 0745313698 £45.00 \$49.95

PBK: ISBN: 0745313647 £15.99 \$27.50

pp. 304 (including: notes & index)

When offered this book for review, I took the title to refer to both debates about the (re)imagining of national communities (following Benedict Anderson) and debates about the place of, and prospects for, the nation-state in a globalising age (following innumerable social scientists from Daniel Bell onwards). I was wrong. It is a book about nation-building in Ireland, and mostly pre-partition nation-building at that. And I do mean nation-building in Ireland and not just Irish nation-building as Jim Mac Laughlin pays a lot of attention to Ulster unionism and British nation-building. I mention this not just because titles and sub-titles can be deceptive but because my interest in questions of nation has largely extended to Britain, the Netherlands, and Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe. I shall thus comment on Mac Laughlin, often critically, but also from a particular perspective. In particular, I am incapable of judging how perceptive, innovative and resourceful he has been in his use of Irish historical sources. There could well be distinguished scholarship here which I, in my ignorance, pass over in silence.

Mac Laughlin is a historical geographer who takes his theoretical bearings from a number of sources, but principally Gramsci and Anderson. What appeals in Gramsci is his version of human beings as neither wholly determined or wholly determining and his conceptions of contested hegemony and organic intellectuals. From Anderson he takes the motif of the imagining and reimagining of communities. But Mac Laughlin remains a geographer and is averse to abstractions which overlook that situated actors are indeed geographically situated. Hence his preferred theorizing of nationalism 'as an historical and geographical happening, one which binds people and place together in concrete social and political settings' (p. 33), and his interest in the contested terrain, the alternative engagements with the very land, of Ireland.

The best feature of the book is the insight it gives into the political predicament of Ireland today. When the English, and the Scots, and later the British, came to Ireland they did so believing themselves to be superior peoples with an opportunity to exploit and a mission to civilize the Celtic Irish. The Irish were savage and poor beyond necessity, failing even to manage the land productively. Variations on this theme are explored in considerable detail. But the social and economic gap between the stubbornly Catholic Irish and their Protestant settler neighbours and political masters closed only slowly. Additionally, the cultural gap did not so much close as change. Civilising the Irish turned out to be only partly a story of the Irish adopting the manners of the invaders; it was also a story of the Irish resisting by recovering and promoting their rich Celtic cultural inheritance. The barbarians had a history after all. Instead of the cultured and the cultureless, the polished and the rude of the Enlightenment (including very much the

Scottish Enlightenment), there were two cultures the Celtic and Catholic Irish and the Protestant English, Scottish and British. Mac Laughlin is very interesting on the part played by the larger farmers ('kulaks'), the petty bourgeoisie and the Catholic priesthood in the formation of an Irish ethno-nation in the nineteenth century, without ever forgetting the class interests at work in the formation of the 'big nation' nationalism of the Ulster Unionists.

This brings us to the predicament of Ireland today. The 1916 proclamation of the provisional government of the Irish Republic refers to the people of Ireland as if there was only one and its inheritance is Celtic. That vein of Irish ethno-nationalism necessarily excludes the Other - the Protestants, the Anglo-Irish and especially the Ulster Unionists. The Ulster Unionists in turn have refused to 'surrender' to the papists in the republic. Those committed to bringing the two peoples of Ireland into one community and one polity have thus to define and develop a new inclusive and plural Ireland and much has been done along these lines. The disappointment of Mac Laughlin's book is not so much that it concentrates on the two old Irelands but that it ignores the seeds of the new. An historical geographer has the right to decide his or her historical period, and Mac Laughlin's sweep from medieval times to the early twentieth century is already vast, but the reader has the right to some conclusions and could be expected to want them to include some reflections on the significance or otherwise of his historical geography for what is happening in the vibrant Ireland of today. Astonishingly there are none - not just no reflections, no conclusions. The last chapter, one of the best, deals with the parts played by priests, professionals and the larger farmers in Irish nation-building in Donegal between the 1880s and partition, and that's that.

I have three other grouses. The first is that the book is irritatingly repetitive. Most points seem to be made many times, and Mac Laughlin's favourite verbal formulations are also used again and again. The book reads a bit like a collection of essays which have not been fully converted into a book. Editor, where were you? The second is that the passing comparisons with other countries are sometimes open to question. The several references to nineteenth century Poland, for example, always omit any mention of the partitions, which renders them misleading. And finally, Mac Laughlin is not always secure in his references to England as distinct from Scotland, as distinct from Britain, and in his references to Scotland as whole, or to Highland Scotland, as distinct from Lowland Scotland. He is, of course, hardly alone in that, but then one expects more of a writer on nations and nationalism.

For all my criticisms, it would wrong to end on a negative note. I learned a great deal from Mac Laughlin and he made me want to read more about Ireland. I am therefore in his debt and suspect very many other readers will be too.

**Christopher G.A. Bryant**, University of Salford, UK

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**War, Hunger, and Displacement: The Origins of Humanitarian Emergencies.  
Volume 1: Analysis, Volume 2: Case Studies**

E. Wayne Nafziger, Frances Stewart and Raimo Vayrynen (eds.)

Oxford University Press, 2000

(Vol. 1) HBK: ISBN 0198297394 £55.00

(Vol. 2) HBK: ISBN 0198297408 £55.00

This two-volume work is the result of an initiative from the United Nations University/WIDER in Helsinki and Queen Elizabeth House at Oxford. The latter brings an



interdisciplinary developmental approach to the project with UNU/WIDER providing a largely economic perspective to conflict analysis.

The interdisciplinary nature of the books is particularly interesting for this journal, as the study of ethnopolitics is itself truly interdisciplinary. Whatever one may think of the departmental divisions in academia it is true to say that people reading this journal will most likely be cast as sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, historians, and scholars of international relations and other disciplines. Of course the divisions are to some extent arbitrary and many scholars will easily overlap between disciplines. What is perhaps most interesting about the project under review is that it engages the discipline of economics. Of course, most of us subscribe to the notion that it is important to consider economic factors when examining ethnic conflict. This is not a particularly new or enlightening insight. The importance of economics in the political sphere, or indeed as a political sphere, has been highlighted by figures as diverse as Karl Marx and Bill Clinton. It is the case, however, that many academics, while aware that economic factors are important determinants of ethnic conflict, do not explore this claim in any great detail. This book seeks to provide a more detailed and sophisticated analysis of economic factors than is sometimes the case and to combine this with political and social analysis. This is both interesting and challenging for this reviewer. Perhaps the project is not quite the 'first comprehensive study of the economic, social, and political roots of humanitarian emergencies', as it claims, but it is certainly a thorough study of the subject matter.

Volume 1 then examines the economic, social and political explanations of the roots and causes of conflict. While these factors will overlap, indeed this is main point of the book, they are largely treated individually in this volume.

Before we get to these explanations, Raimo Vayrynen provides a chapter examining the concept of complex humanitarian emergencies. This is welcome and thankfully there is no danger of the authors lazily employing the idea of humanitarian emergencies in the simple terms have other have done.

After this introduction we get chapters which examine some of the economic causes of humanitarian emergencies, and issues of resource competition. Readers without a background in economics should perhaps take a deep breath before delving into the chapter by Nafzinger and Auvinen with its dependent variables and regression analyses. Of course the study of political economy closes the gap between the disciplines but it is heartening to be able to argue that economic factors are important in understanding the causes of conflict with some substance behind the claim.

We are also offered more 'political' understandings of what causes conflict, in particular from Kal Holsti. David Keen then provides a useful link between economics and politics in his examination of the function of violence, which he makes clear, is not irrational for those who use it. As he says, 'crime pays' (pp. 283-302). Many will be familiar with Keen's previous work and he is a useful addition to this cast list.

Chapter 9 of Volume 1 will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. Examining the case of Matabeleland, Joleyn Alexander, Jo Ann McGregor and Terence Ranger provide a review that is critical of explanations for conflict that label it as 'ethnic', particularly in Africa, and that explain conflict as the product of disintegrating or 'collapsed' states. They conclude that, 'ethnicity may come to be experienced as the cause of conflict by perpetrators and victims alike, and it may be blamed for conflict by commentators in the western media, but academics, journalists and those who intervene

in such conflicts have a responsibility to explore the historical myths which have sustained violent conflicts, to look beyond simple and reductive explanations to the political and economic context in which understandings of ethnicity are produced' (p.327). Certainly this is laudable and most of us would probably reject simple theories of tribal ethnic hatreds as explanations for conflict. This does not mean, however, that we can ignore the importance of ethnicity and ethnic group identification. Rather, we must take account, as the authors do to some extent, that however ethnicity is constructed and however historical memory is reimagined, it retains a potency for better or worse.

The main finding of Volume 1 is that in complex humanitarian emergencies, 'there is an interaction between factors with group perceptions and identity being enhanced by sharp group differences in political participation, economic assets and income and social access and well-being' (p. 31).

In Volume 2 the authors seek to apply the lessons of the first Volume to a series of case studies. The authors in these case studies reintegrate the economic, political, environmental and ethnic factors that were largely dealt with separately in Volume 1 in order to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the particular cases. Obviously readers prior knowledge and expertise with regard to these case studies will vary enormously. Of the cases under examination Rwanda is best known to me and the work of Peter Uvin, who writes the chapter, will be familiar to anyone who has studied this case. The other chosen case studies are Afghanistan, Cambodia, Iraq, Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia and Sierra Leone, Congo (Zaire), Kenya, Haiti, El Salvador and the South Caucasus. Each case emphasises to different degrees a number of the explanations laid out in Volume 1 of the Book. They are interesting analyses with strong bibliographies, a remark that can be applied to the books as a whole.

The stated aim of the project is then to take forward this analysis and use it to formulate strategies for tackling the underlying causes of complex emergencies. We are promised a third Volume from the project, which will specifically address the prevention of humanitarian emergencies. The thinking behind such an aim is obviously that if you can better understand the root causes of these 'humanitarian crises' then you can try to provide policy that is more proactive and seeks to prevent or alleviate rather than react after a crisis has happened. To this end the editors stress the need for policy that is inclusive, both economically and politically with respect to all groups so as to reduce horizontal inequalities and help reduce tensions that can lead to conflict. Of course they recognise that very often it is a government in power that is the chief source of discrimination. They are not slow to point out the failings of 'bad rulers'. They suggest that institutions such as the IMF and World Bank may apply more pressure on governments to this effect. And yet when such institutions and others adopt such tactics it raises a whole series of new problems. It is a conundrum that we call for outside intervention or influence on the one hand, while on the other hand we have to be so wary of it. Perhaps more importantly, the perceived cost to governments and others in the 'international community', both in economic and political terms, of adopting the kind of worldview suggested in the book is such that it will not be universally applied.

Does the book deliver on the lofty claims set out at the beginning? The book started out by warning of the dangers of generalisations and stressing the complexity surrounding the cause of conflicts. It emphasised the importance of looking at economic, political and social factors for a more nuanced understanding of conflict. In some respects we're at the same point some 850 pages later. Frankly this is not a surprise. There are no easily digestible, short and snappy answers to the questions of what causes conflict and humanitarian emergencies. If there were we'd, probably, have found them a long time



ago. What this project does is to put flesh on the bones of a lot of the claims about conflict that we readily make without giving much thought to.

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**Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History (third edition)**

Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

Longman, 2000

PBK: ISBN: 0321033272 £19.99

244 pp, (including: notes, tables & index)

This relatively short book (around 200 pages) provides something between an introductory text on international conflict and an introduction to international politics after 1945. Nye's approach differs from that of regular textbooks in both international relations and modern history in that it tries to illustrate broad, general theories of international relations through references to specific historical events and in-depth case studies.

The first chapter of the book seeks to demonstrate the enduring nature of international politics by showing that the events in the Peloponnesian war are not fundamentally different from contemporary events in world politics. Nye provides a cute example presenting Thucydides' Melian dialogue, with merely a few words substituted, as how a Soviet general might explain his country's actions in Afghanistan in December 1979.

The subsequent chapters of the book attempt to show how different theories emphasizing factors at the level of the international system, the character of individual states and leaders and the interplay between domestic and international politics can be used to explain major conflicts in the twentieth century.

Nye's book is primarily intended for undergraduate teaching. For this purpose the book clearly has many strong pedagogical sides. The approach is quite successful in showing how specific events may be interpreted in light of general theories, and how historical cases can be used to evaluate the plausibility of theoretical arguments. The book is generally concise and well written. Another advantage is that the text easily can be read at several different levels of difficulty. It is simple enough that most students will grasp the key concepts. At the same time, it is rich enough to raise more challenging issues for advanced readers.

Its strengths notwithstanding, the book is not devoid of problems. Nye tends to introduce various theories – such as realism, liberalism, and constructivism – and then examine how these theories would account for some specific event in world history. Not content with simply summarizing the theories and letting the reader assess how well they stand up confronted with the empirical evidence, the author himself seems compelled to offer attempts to evaluate their respective strong and weak points. Unfortunately, Nye has a somewhat irritating tendency to conclude that all theories are 'a little right' since they help illuminate certain aspects of international conflict rather than focus on their differences. If these really were competing theories in the way that they are introduced in this text, then it would seem questionable whether all of the theories may be combined or compliment each other. Moreover, students may be left with the impression that all theories are equally good and that there are few reasons

why one may prefer some theories over others. It would be useful to introduce students to some more explicit standards for evaluating theories in light of historical evidence.

Another main weakness is that the term conflict is never explicitly defined anywhere in the book. Nye uses the concept conflict in a fashion encompassing a rather heterogeneous type of international incidents and incompatibilities, including major armed conflicts such as the two world wars, latent hostility and rivalry between the superpowers during the cold war, conflict of interest among states in the 1973 oil crisis, and civil wars or conflict among actors within states. Many will question whether the same theories can be used to explain why conflict of interests arises in the first place and why incompatibilities lead to confrontation by violence rather than alternative means. The broad view of conflict is difficult to combine with the claim that there is something distinctive about international politics, which is at least partly defended in the first part of the book.

Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the coverage of the role of ethnicity and nationalism in international conflicts. Nye argues that nationalism can play an important role in conflict as a mobilizing force. Nationalism appears to provide a stronger basis for group mobilization than other social groups such as class. Nationalism is held responsible for the demise of great powers such as Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire in World War I, and is considered a key cause of many contemporary conflicts such as Bosnia and Kosovo. Nye argues that nationalism is fostered when group identities are challenged by major social changes. Although Nye acknowledges that most individuals have many group references, he has little to say about why some potential group identities become politicized while others do not. Even if nationalism may be inherently defined on the basis of opposition to other groups, all nationalist movements do obviously not acquire violent forms. Nye notes that this is the case and tentatively suggests that forces such as economic prosperity and democracy may foster alternative means of resolving disputes. However, his treatment of theories of nationalism is quite brief, and no cases of ethnic conflicts are considered in much detail.

These problems notwithstanding, Nye's book provides an excellent text for undergraduate teaching. The book will engage beginning students to think about international conflicts in a theoretical fashion and provide a useful supplement to more traditional textbooks. This will eventually also provide a better basis for thinking about 'new' issues in the study of conflict such as ethnic conflict and nationalism.

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### **The New Macedonian Question**

James Pettifer (ed.)

Palgrave, 2001

PBK: ISBN: 033392066X £17.99

pp. 311 (including: chronologies, maps, notes, suggestions for further reading & index)

This paperback edition of a book that was originally published in hardback in 1999 is in many ways engaged in a race against the rapid pace of changing events in Southeast Europe. Writing a book or editing a collection that includes coverage of contemporary affairs is always a challenge, as a well-thought out work can be overtaken by events, becoming an unintended work of history. James Pettifer acknowledges this in the preface to the paperback edition, as he offers the reader a resource aimed at informing discussion on the highly complex issue known as 'the Macedonian question'.



The chapters in this book are organised in 4 sections: 'The National Question in Modern Macedonia', 'Ethnic Minorities', 'Historical Perspectives', and 'International Relations of the New State'. The range of topics covered are broad and wide-ranging, and it is impossible to individually review the full scope of themes: Macedonia's internal politics and foreign affairs, the policies of neighbouring states regarding the country, protection of minority rights within Macedonia, historical underpinnings to contemporary problems, and more.

A few gems do stand out. Hugh Poulton's chapter 'Non-Albanian Muslim Minorities in Macedonia', illustrates the deeper complexity of the nationalities question by reminding the reader of the existence of the Pomaks, Torbesi, and Goran – the Islamicised Slavs of the region. Tom Winniffrith's chapter 'The Vlachs of the Republic of Macedonia' proposes that the Vlach model of seeking cultural privileges but not political demands might make it a model for complex multiethnic societies. 'In a way the Vlachs are perfect Balkan citizens, able to preserve their culture without recourse to war or politics, violence or dishonesty' (p. 134). Pettifer's chapter, 'The New Macedonian Question', clearly sets out the various interpretations of 'The Question' through the perspectives of Macedonia's geographical neighbours: Albania, Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria, providing a solid basis for understanding the interaction of internal and external affairs in Macedonian politics.

Dimitar Mircev's contribution to the volume, 'Engineering the Foreign Policy of a New Independent State: The Case of Macedonia, 1990-6', provides a strong overview of Macedonia's careful and difficult balancing act as it sought to carve out its own sphere in the international arena at a time in which the international community was focused on the warring factions of the former Yugoslavia. Sophia Clement, in her chapter 'Former Yugoslav Macedonia, the Regional Setting and European Security: Towards Balkan Stability?' notes that as Macedonia's conflicts stem from internal issues, 'NATO's presence is not appropriate' (p. 296). This is a particularly interesting example of the pace of regional events, opinion, and policy, as at the time of writing this NATO is currently involved in Macedonia, and may remain there in one capacity or another for some time.

While no book can be everything to everyone, this volume suffers from two primary flaws that reflect the difficult nature of the content, and which could be easily remedied. First, in selecting the chapters for this volume, Pettifer clearly sought to represent a wide variety of backgrounds and perspectives. Writers from Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece join with authors from throughout Europe, though there are few Macedonian voices included. However, these authors at times bring their various perspectives on the Macedonian question to their contributions in ways that can be problematic.

For example, Gjorgji Caca's chapter 'Status and Rights of Nationalities' provides a thorough review of the constitutional safeguards of minority rights and protections. However, his favourable, near propagandistic review of these constitutional provisions is only tempered in the final paragraph of the chapter, in which he acknowledges that 'a serious defect of the overall and consistent realisation of the rights of nationalities established by the Constitution is that some of them are not operational within the proposed laws' (p. 164). This understatement is not supplemented by a necessary look at *why* such operationalisation of constitutional provisions is lacking. Similarly, Evangelos Kofos' chapter, 'Greek Policy Considerations over FYROM Independence and Recognition' at times leads the reader to question the objectivity of the author. Phrases such as 'Skopje became the harbinger of a major escalation of propaganda against Greece', or

'the new irritants from the Slav Macedonian nationalists' (p. 233) at times detract the reader from the objective and otherwise informative parts of the text.

The second problem concerns the timeframe in which the various pieces were written; a potentially confusing issue in a volume with that many chapters, and on a subject that is changing so quickly. The introduction and chapters 2 and 10 (all by Pettifer) are the only new material that distinguish the paperback from the 1999 hardback (it should be noted that Chapter 2 itself is a reprint from a 1992 article). Many of the other chapters are reprints of pieces originally printed in years past. Pettifer's inclusion of older, reprinted pieces can be useful in reflecting the past debates that have shaped contemporary views. This is a useful exercise as the reader soon recognises that many issues have existed *within* Macedonia for a long period of time, while the *external* appreciation or interest in these issues has changed. However, reading chapters that were written at a variety of times, or that were contemporary in the original hardback but are now dated, can be confusing. The readers may find themselves continually referring to the first page of the chapter, to determine just when and under what circumstances various pieces were developed.

These two problems could potentially be addressed in future editions by inclusion of an editor's abstract or short introduction at the beginning of each chapter. An editorial introduction describing the timeframe in which the chapter was written, describing the background of the writer, articulating the primary arguments and perspectives of the author, and possibly challenging the reader to read the text to follow with certain considerations in mind, would provide the reader with an important contextual framework.

This volume provides a broad and useful overview of a complex subject. The maps, chronologies, and suggested reading list complement the individual chapters and help to make the book a general resource on the topic. However, readers new to the subject matter could become confused by the wide number of issues and often conflicting views expressed by the authors. This book will be most useful to readers with an intermediate understanding of Macedonia, who are interested in exploring some of the sub-currents that affect the country and the region. Pettifer's book does not seek to answer 'the Macedonian Question', but it will lead to more readers considering the nature and importance of this question.

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### **Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy**

Kenneth A. Schultz

Cambridge University Press, 2001

Hbk ISBN 0-521-79227-4 £40.00

Pbk ISBN 0-521-79669-5 £14.95

pp. xv+301 (including: references, index & appendices)

It is always a pleasure to read a book with such a broad scope and possible important consequences not only for political theory, but also practice as the one written so intelligently by Kenneth Schultz. However, reviewing a work, whose aim is to develop a different (if not completely new) approach to the issues that it studies, has not been an easy task. Especially, when one considers the topics discussed in Schultz's research: democracy, information distribution and war (or the threat to use force). Obviously, the



broad ramifications of such an investigation put the reader at a disadvantage, presenting him or her with the difficulty to grasp the complex subject matter. Nevertheless, the author's lucidity as well as command of his topic take one on a step-by-step exploration through a theory (with potentially significant political implications), which outlines Schultz's conviction that 'if democracies want to enjoy the benefits of their institutions while minimizing the liabilities, the answer lies not in circumventing debate or suppressing dissent but in *building true consensus*' (p. 246, my emphasis). A corollary, whose far-reaching implications have been made obvious in the unfortunate aftermath of the post-September 11 events, not only in the US, but also around the globe.

The author's analysis proceeds in two complementary parts – theoretical and empirical. Each of the eight chapters develops the interaction between nation-states in the international political arena and the role of their respective domestic politics for inter-state relations. The methods made available for studying and understanding the subsequent decision-making processes are put into the context of states' response to a threat of force (owing to a clash of preferences), which brings tension in inter-state affairs that has the potential to escalate into a war. The model worked out by Schultz is self-situated between 'neorealism and democratic peace theory' (p. 16) and pivots itself on the role of information in international relations, rather than on the interaction 'between interests and outcomes' (p. 17). The exploration of a series of statistical analyses and historical case studies, combined with the meticulously arranged and very helpful appendices on crisis bargaining, provide the necessary background, for solving the main riddle in this study: how will the spread of democracy affect 'the role of force in politics among nations' (p. 235). In his attempt to provide an answer to such a query, Schultz differentiates between selective and effective aspects of the threats to use force. The former feature deals with the nature of public contestation in a democratic environment, which places constraints on the government to issue threats and engage in international warmongering. The latter is based on the credibility of a threat and the signal that it sends to the target state. Schultz's treatment of the empirical evidence convinces him 'that democracy lowers the probability that the state will initiate or become the target of a crisis that escalates to war' (p. 234), because the space it provides for open public debate 'mitigates the problems associated with asymmetric information, reducing the attendant danger of military conflict' (p. 10). But if they have to use force, the threat issued by a democratic state is 'more credible [and it is] resisted at a lower rate' (p. 114).

What can be found problematic with this research is the premise of the study that 'international crises are driven by states' efforts to communicate and/or exploit private information' (p. 6). Following this statement, the subsequent discussions and inferences of the interaction between democracy and coercive diplomacy are played out in the context of nation-states' interaction, where the major concern is 'the need to defend the national interest in a dangerous world' (p. 20). The emergence of what has been called supranational (non-national)/economic states/entities on the horizon of political theory has not been considered by the author. Moreover, despite the number of examples and empirical evidence provided as supplementary material, (at times) one cannot help feeling like being present at a series of laboratory experiments, which although quite fascinating would not pertain to the immediate world of international relations. However, a dismissal of Schultz's exploration on these counts would be too harsh a verdict for such an informative and dedicated study. Instead, an explanation could be found in Schultz's thrust to emphasize his own train of thoughts, by consciously sidelining some other theoretical aspects that might have muddled the reader and could have cost the consistency of his line of argumentation. Perhaps a footnoted discussion on the importance of third-party actors (corporations, non-profits, etc.) or mediation could have

endowed such an investigation with an added dimension of more immediate applicability. Another would-be flaw (well-acknowledged by the author) is the glossing over the nature of the preferences that the different sides could have when involved in an inter-state crisis situation. The study takes nearly for granted that the challenger and the target would like a share of the goods that are at stake. However, in a situation when the challenger's interest is not in the distribution but in the destruction of the target and the goods altogether, then the models developed by the author would not hold water. That is why a more in-depth analysis of the types of preferences that individual actors might have in international relations could have saved Schultz's study from some undeserved criticism.

Nevertheless, despite these weaknesses the conclusions on the relation between the spread of democracy and the existence of war would be very informative both for the student and practitioner of international relations. The perspectives from the theory of information, which Schultz takes, make his investigation a very important and stimulating work in the field. It will therefore be very useful for anyone working and dealing with international security issues; and perhaps, it would provoke others to further and elaborate the issues stirred up by Schultz's research.

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### **Nationalism in Italian Politics: The stories of the Northern League 1980-2000**

Damian Tambini

Routledge, 2001

HBK: ISBN 0-415-24698-9 £50.00

Xvi + 176 pp., (including: 10 tables, 5 figures, bibliography &, index).

As its title suggests, *Nationalism in Italian Politics* is a volume that, in some of its chapters at least, seeks to challenge conventional accounts of the emergence and growth of the Northern League. 'Nationalism' is a notion that has tended not to be used comfortably in connection with the League given the absence, on the part of the groups it claims to represent, of most of the basic attributes of nationhood. But this is the author's basic point, set out in chapter one: nations are posited entities, socially constructed through processes of political mobilisation, and the League has repeatedly sought to use political mobilisation for this purpose. The book's central thesis, then, is that if we are correctly to understand the League phenomenon, we have to see it as a nationalist movement, where nationalism' is a political strategy that mobilises people because it is a set of claims that provides a feeling of ethnic identity. It provides this identity by marking, in public communication, symbolic boundaries that define 'in' and 'out' groups and that thereby make previously apolitical groups self-conscious as political actors.

Of course, nationalist identity construction was not a strategy that the League could successfully apply at will: it required fertile terrain, and chapter two describes in rich detail those features of the historico-social context that were most relevant for the League's growth: the growing economic divide between North and South, and accompanying internal migration, from the 1950s on; a 'blocked' political system and growing discontent with the 'political class'; cultural stereotypes and widespread latent hostility among northerners towards southerners. Subsequent chapters outline the various phases of the movement's development – from the origins of the Lombard League in the early 1980s to the formation of the Northern League in 1990; from the League's participation in government in 1994, to its search for a new stance to



distinguish itself in the electoral market in the years thereafter. There is also a chapter on the organisation of the League. This, besides providing a description of the League's internal design also provides a useful overview of the social characteristics and attitudes of voters and members during the period of its growth.

As, to my knowledge, the first book-length study of the Northern League to be made available in English, this volume will be of undoubted value to both undergraduate and graduate students of Italian politics and contemporary history in the English-speaking world. However, I am less sure how useful it will be to specialists of Italian politics and the League. For while the 'nationalist' reading of the League is interesting, the chronology of the League's development, to which the larger part of the work is devoted will, one suspects, already be quite familiar to the specialist.

I am not sure, either, just how *much* the author's 'nationalist' interpretation contributes to our understanding of the League. There are two points here. First, many of the features (especially identity construction) that Tambini takes as typical of nationalism as a mobilising device and that he regards as so central to understanding the League are in no sense unique to it and may well be deployed, with greater or lesser success, by most parties. As Tambini himself acknowledges, 'there is a strong argument to be made that identity is the key resource in any attempt to create a political movement' (p. 14). But if that is the case, we are left wondering exactly what purchase it gives us on the growth of the League in particular. Second, if, as the author argues, 'federalism, 'ethno-nationalism', separatism and the cultural stereotyping that go with them were merely tools for ... the assault on state power by the League' (p. 128), then the question remains, what was it about the League that was driving the application of these tools, and what was the nature of the link between such 'driving forces' on the one hand and the external conditions (North-South divide, crisis of the traditional governing class etc) which, on the other hand, are conventionally thought of as having contributed to the League's success? One's guess is that the author would regard the question itself as illegitimate, as evidence of the 'essentialism' (p. 6) of which he regards much earlier research on the League as having been guilty. But I have to confess that I fail to grasp the argument. I grant that the League is many things 'in part, none of them fully, and more besides' (isn't this true of most things?); but surely the point is that analysing the League as one or other of these things allows us to understand it better than if we analyse it as something else. If I am both a father and a member of a university, the chances are you will understand my behaviour towards my children better if you analyse it in terms of the concept 'fatherhood' than if you analyse it in terms of the concept 'academic'.

In sum, therefore, the author tends to overstate his case somewhat. That said, viewed, in more modest terms, as a descriptive account of the growth of the League to its height in 1994/5 (the period since then is dealt with, more briefly, in the final chapter) it is hard to find fault with this book. It is certainly a 'must' for inclusion on the reading lists of most Italian politics courses.

**James Newell**, University of Salford, UK