



REVIEWS

Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation

Nahla Abdo and Ronit Lentin (eds.)

Berghahn Books, 2002

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pp. 336 (including: bibliography & index)

Writing by feminists seeking to understand and analyse women's experiences of conflict and the terrible suffering which accompanies it has become relatively common over the last ten or twenty years. They represent an important and increasingly valuable thread in the study of ethnic violence by forcing activists, policymakers and academics to take account of its gendered components. This collection, whilst clearly in this tradition, is unusual and, for a number of reasons, disturbing.

The underlying idea, to examine the many forms of loss, suffering and 'dislocation' experienced by women from Palestinian and Israeli backgrounds through a series of personal narratives, is clearly set out in the introduction provided by the two editors. But the complex layers and sub-texts of this seemingly simple undertaking surface at once in these first pages. The two editors represent the two traditions and their joint introduction is in the form of a dialogue conducted between December 1999 and May 2001. Inevitably this struggles not only with the process of structuring and collating a book which draws on the common threads in the experiences of women from two traditions which frequently find dialogue almost impossible but also with the impact of the spiraling violence of the second, al-Aqsa, Intifada.

In a sense this dialogue lays all the problems bare and the life stories themselves serve to elaborate and personalise the key issues. However, this is not to minimise their impact since it is hard to read the whole set of narratives without experiencing a deep sense of despair. Many of stories are harrowing and the relentless catalogue of suffering in narrative after narrative is likely to leave the reader drained. Maybe this is one of the effects the writers were seeking to produce, perhaps we do need to be forcibly and repeatedly reminded just how awful some of the effects of conflict are for individuals, families and communities.

To pick out individual contributions seems almost inappropriate, as though it implied a hierarchy of suffering. At the same time there are clear and fascinating generational differences in the narratives. The accounts provided by the older Palestinian women in particular stand out with their spare, gaunt presentation. The recollection of horrific events in plain, almost detached and seemingly unemotional, style is deeply moving. Many of the younger women provide valuable details of context and explain the wider background against which individual events occurred but their accounts do not always have the force of those narrated by their mothers and grandmothers. Since many of these younger contributors are writers and academics it is not surprising that their political beliefs and theoretical understandings are interwoven with their personal accounts. This helps the reader to understand 'where the author is coming from', but just occasionally it also leaves a slight sense of the ideology dictating and shaping the story.

The most thought provoking aspect of the book, however, is linked to its basic structure. Although the editors go to considerable trouble to highlight the complexity of the relationship between the sufferings that women from Arab/Palestinian backgrounds have experienced since the establishment of the state of Israel and the suffering of those women from Jewish/Israeli communities during and since the Holocaust, the structure

inevitably invites comparison. But the reality of what has happened in Israel and the Occupied Territories since 1947-8, and what is happening now, makes this almost impossible. The current imbalance of power between the two communities and the fact that one group has physically displaced the other in many of the places they write about colours the whole narrative. On the one hand it makes it extremely difficult for the Arab/Palestinian women to empathise with Israeli concerns. On the other the Jewish/Israeli, women in spite of the fact that they hold liberal positions and express general distaste for aspects of current Israeli government policies, find it extremely disturbing to acknowledge the full force of what actually happened to many Palestinian communities. Perhaps one of the most telling accounts is Nira Yuval-Davis's painful recollection of the impact of discovering that the Palestinian she meets in London and begins a relationship with had, as a small child, been forced out of the fishing village which later became the idyllic location for her childhood family holidays. The problems which this imbalance creates could be cited as a weakness of the book but perhaps they are also part of a subtle sub-text through which the editors and authors invite us to look again at a seemingly intractable problem and consider what compromises and accommodations would have to be made to achieve any sort of stable future.

This is not an 'easy read' at any level but it is a book which should not be pigeonholed and perhaps ignored by many academics and policy makers with the argument that it is for women, feminists and liberals. It could be put on the required reading list for politicians and community leaders in divided societies everywhere. If they could really read with some semblance of an open mind it would not make their task simpler but it just might make a difference.

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Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention

Sumantra Bose

Hurst & Co., 2002

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PBK: ISBN: 1850655855 £15.95

pp. 295 (including; maps, figure, bibliography and index)

Bosnia after Dayton deserves to be widely read. Sumantra Bose provides a balanced and insightful study of the complex internal and external relationships of Bosnian politics, something that is rare in books on the region. The book examines the dilemmas facing the international community in establishing a multinational Bosnian state in circumstances where two of the three national communities (Bosnian Serbs and Croats) would prefer partition. He highlights that the Dayton Agreement, which ended the Bosnian war in 1995, has necessitated an internationally-led state-building process involving 'political engineering on a remarkable scale' (p. 3). The book seeks to learn the lessons and limitations of this engineering process.

Bose essentially defends the Dayton settlement, which resulted in the formal recognition of ethnic division between two substantially autonomous entities, the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska and the internally-divided Muslim-Croat Federation. The domestic political framework closely mirrors the former communist practice under Tito of the 'ethnic-key' where political positions are allocated on the basis of ethnic representation— institutionalizing the importance of ethnicity and the bargaining power of nationalist elites. This framework of elite consociation is shaped and enforced by a broad range of international institutions overseeing the Dayton process, headed by the international



High Representative, currently Lord Paddy Ashdown, who has the power to sack obstructive elected politicians and to directly impose legislation.

Bose's book is a response to the problems and lack of progress by the international community over the last six years. Essentially the Bosnian polity is as divided as before, with the vast majority of voters voting along ethnic lines and little likelihood that Bosnia's pre-war ethnic mix can ever be reconstituted. The lack of progress has led international policy to be vociferously attacked from two sides, by those who argue for greater integration and those who argue for greater ethnic separation. Bose tackles both sides with equal good sense and clarity. The partitionist argument is more of a minority concern, expressed earlier by American isolationist scholars and more recently by increasingly marginalized Bosnian Croat nationalists. Bose articulately argues that partition, population exchanges and the establishment of ethnically homogeneous statelets would neither have been a more realistic or less violent option. It was, in fact, the internationally-led partition of former Yugoslavia that resulted in the break-down of inter-ethnic consensus and led to war in Bosnia to start with.

Bose's explanation of the limits of the liberal internationalist project in Bosnia is the fascinating heart of the book and produces insights which can be generalised to other cases of international engineering in post-conflict societies. He argues that the assumption of many international community representatives that corrupt and authoritarian nationalist elites are the chief obstacle to externally-imposed progress ignores the fact that nationalist parties have mass support in Bosnian society. This mass support could be ascribed to a Bosnian 'herd-mentality' and belief that Bosnians do not understand their 'real' interests, or, argues Bose, it poses a genuine puzzle which should encourage the critical examination of international strategy.

He argues that nationalist sentiment is more than understandable in Bosnia in the aftermath of a civil war—fought over competing views of the legitimacy of a Bosnian state—and in a regional context where the international community formally sanctioned the death of the Yugoslav state and Yugoslav 'idea' in favour of ethnically-based republics. Bose argues that Bosnia cannot be studied in isolation from the region and that, in the long-term, it is only through greater regional inter-connections that inter-ethnic divisions in Bosnia can be substantially ameliorated. Meanwhile, to argue that national identities within Bosnia are artificial or even illegitimate, as many commentators do, is both ignorant and absurd. To insist that Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats did not have a genuine case for opposing a centralised Bosnian state or that they do not have a case for desiring more autonomy today does not help establish a basis for co-existence and consensus. Greater autonomy is necessary in order to legitimise the Bosnian state in the eyes of its citizens.

Bose astutely notes that it is not just the 'ethnic-key' which makes the international regulatory regime in Bosnia resemble the earlier days of Tito-style communism. The lack of transparency in international decision-making and lack of accountability of international policy-makers to Bosnian people has replaced politics by paternalism where decisions are made 'behind the scenes' while the public is assured 'that whatever was being done was in their best interests' (p. 275). He is critical of international policies which have attempted to coerce integration through sacking politicians, banning political parties and closing down radio stations and newspapers, arguing that this has done little to assuage people's genuine concerns and insecurities. The political process has also been degraded by its instrumentalist manipulation by international managers who have regularly tinkered with electoral rules in the attempt to bureaucratically 'engineer' the dominance of pliant client elites lacking in popular support.

Instead of stultifying or by-passing the political process, Bose advises that the political sphere is necessary for 'state-building'—providing a mechanism through which political

differences can be mediated, rather than merely suppressed or ignored. Putting forward a much needed creative and forward looking approach he advises that the international community should see the domestic political process as a vital mechanism for mediating conflicts and integrating society.

Bose defends the Dayton framework against its partitionist and integrationist critics. His defence, however, involves a fundamental critique of international institutional assumptions and practices that have, thus far, characterised the workings of the Dayton framework.

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The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid

Roane Carey (ed.)

Introduction by Noam Chomsky

Verso, 2001

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pp. 320 (including: index, notes, maps & web-guide)

Roane Carey's edited volume, published in the second half of 2001, is perhaps the first comprehensive attempt to analyse the current *Intifada* (Uprising). The book undoubtedly provides a much-needed introductory guide to understanding the current violence in Israel and the Palestinian (partly re-) Occupied Territories. This collection of articles by well known academics (Sarah Roy, Glenn Robinson) and careful observers of Palestinian life (Robert Fisk, Edward Said) is the first of its kind that tries to both explain the political roots of the current *Intifada* and act as a corrective to biased media representation of the conflict in the USA (hence the lengthy introduction by Noam Chomsky). Indeed, Roane Carey, of *The Nation* magazine (New York), introduces the book as a product of 'disgust at the mainstream media's consistent misrepresentation of the basic facts of this uprising' (p. 2). The book is nevertheless of general interest to understanding why the plight of Palestinians only grew worse during the 'peace process'.

Since the outbreak of violence in October 2000, academic work has, unsurprisingly, focused almost exclusively on the failure of Oslo to deliver peace. The authors argue, however, that the current crisis is not caused by the derailment of Oslo, it is the accords themselves that have caused the crisis. The book's central message is that the new *Intifada* was the predictable and logical outcome of Oslo.

So why, according to the contributors of this volume, was Oslo doomed to failure? Answers to this question are relayed in various different articles, each time from a number of different perspectives. Roy's study of economy, for example, offers three telling and irrefutable arguments. The first is the '[a]bandonment of international law in favour of bilateral negotiations between two parties of grossly unequal power' (p. 94). Palestinians agreed to renounce the mediation of existing international law instruments, such as the Geneva Conventions, and thus exposed themselves to domination through negotiations. Second, Oslo is characterized by a total economic dependency on the Palestinian side. This dependency is enforced through the mechanism of (unilaterally imposed) closure of borders and the distribution of privileges to some few co-opted Palestinians. Roy points out that the consequent:



economic losses to Palestinians during the post-Oslo period have been devastating. The average unemployment rate, for example, increased over nine fold between 1992 and 1996, rising from 3 percent to 28 percent, one of the highest unemployment rates among nearly 200 countries and political entities, according to the World Bank (pp. 91-2).

Third, essential issues (borders, East Jerusalem, settlements, water control and refugees) were postponed until final status talks. Thus, the transfer of Jewish civilian population into settlements inside the Territories (illegal under the Fourth Geneva Convention) steadily increased; the settler population almost doubled from 1993 until 2000 (from 100,000 to 170,000, without mentioning the almost 200,000 settlers living in expropriate lands in East Jerusalem). The continuous confiscation of Palestinian land and Oslo's depressing economic results were two key elements of a 'formula for conflict' (p. 71).

Thematically the book is divided into four uneven parts that deal with, respectively, repression and resistance (12 contributions), media war (2), refugees, remembrance and return (4) and activism awakened (2). Analytical articles (originally published in newspapers and magazines) appear alongside individually observed testimonies, some of which are rather unhappy (one often wonders why it always seems necessary to have foreigners recount their personal horror stories of an Uprising whose consequences three million Palestinians suffer daily). Although these accounts give the book a welcome groundedness in lived experience, the mode of narration leads at times to unnecessary dramatization.

The book will be received, of course, with all the predictable charges of pro-Palestinian partisanship given its list of contributors (Said, Chomsky and Bishara), unfair in the context of Edward Said's well known critical stance on Arafat and his cronies. A critical stance that is shared by many of the contributors to this volume.

The book perhaps fails to confront adequately the sad reality that factions of Palestinians have opted for violent confrontation. For a student seeking to grasp the current pattern of confrontation the book falls short in this respect. There is little doubt, moreover, that it suffers from its publication before the tragic events of September 11, 2001. Indeed, the type of violence it focuses on (low intensity conflict), is now arguably history, given that Israel has exploited the US-led 'war on terrorism' to step up its bids to establish military hegemony and reoccupying the Territories. The political parameters, too, have shifted. When helicopters launched rockets at the centre of Ramallah in October 2000, the international community expressed feelings of horror (as it did for the lynching of two Israeli soldiers). Now, month-long curfews, F-16 bombings in heavily populated civilian areas, and the systematic reoccupation of autonomous Palestinian zones scarcely raise an eyebrow. However, the analyses of Chomsky and Said on the semantics of violence demonstrate that the same rhetoric of terrorism and allegedly legitimate Israeli response was already in use during the first *Intifada* (1987-1993). Indeed the current dismissal of the Palestinian Authority as an invalid partner for peace is not time-specific, but part of a long-term Israeli phraseology, repeated hiding the illegal dimension of military occupation.

The book's subtitle ('Resisting Israel's Apartheid') suggests that the conflict's ethnic dimensions cannot be understood without reference to the problem of racism. The reluctance of many authors to accept *Intifada Al-Aqsa* as a label to describe the current Uprising, since it endows the struggle with what they see as a misleading religious dimension suggests that a more relevant means to think the conflict is in terms of a *colonial* situation in which the two sides are not equally matched. Although controversial, the apartheid analogy cannot be dismissed given that in the Occupied Territories a vast

majority (three millions Palestinians) are systematically oppressed and discriminated against because of the presence of some 400,000 settlers.

The apartheid analogy is perhaps less appropriate for the Palestinian citizens of Israel (about 20% of the population), since it is a minority. Bishara's interview, however, does shed much light on the systematic discriminatory nature of the Israeli state by the Ashkenazi (Jewish of Western origin) leadership over both its Palestinian and Mizrahi (Jewish of Oriental and Arab origins) components. Oren Yiftachel (2000) has gone as far as to speak of a 'de-Arabization' project by the Ashkenazi historical leadership. One way of describing this would be to say that Israel is an *ethnocratic* state that operates a *neo-colonial* regime in the Palestinian Occupied Territories.

Despite a few shortcomings, then, the articles collected here provide an intelligent attempt to disentangle the more difficult issues as well as those that have received less coverage (such as the situation of the Palestinian citizens of Israel, or the thorny issue of the refugees return), as well as the more obvious controversies surrounding Oslo and the occupation. It is a welcome antidote to the mystifying media coverage it so successfully dismantles, exposing, thereby, the harsh ongoing realities of neo-colonial power in the contemporary epoch.

Reference

Yiftachel, O., 2000, 'Ethnocracy and Its Discontents: Minority Protest in Israel', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 26 (Summer).

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The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After

Heather Deegan

Longman, 2001

PBK: ISBN: 0582382270 £22.99

pp. 272 (including: boxes, figures, tables, pictures, bibliography, appendices & index)

The 1994 official termination of the apartheid regime and peaceful inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the first president of the new, non-racial South Africa, have been both nationally and internationally recognized as examples of rare political virtue and savvy. Heather Deegan's *The Politics of the New South Africa* is one of several recent publications to have centred on the socio-political conditions that contributed to the making of what has been coined 'the South African miracle'. Within this wave of scholarship, Deegan's work does not contribute new theoretical or historical insights, but rather produces an introductory account of the history of apartheid and of the present-day South African nation.

The Politics of the New South Africa is particularly effective for a couple of reasons. For one thing Deegan assumes no previous knowledge of South African history from her reader, and thereby organizes her book into reader-friendly parts, chapters and sub-chapters that proceed in a linear chronological sequence from the 1910 establishment of the South African Union to the 1999 presidential elections. Deegan keeps from overwhelming her reader with details by dedicating no more than twenty pages to each section of her book and by giving only brief references to the pre-Union years. For example, she makes only a passing reference to the extended colonialist conflicts between the British and the Dutch, industrial developments, persecutions of the Khoikhoi, San, and African peoples and the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. Despite their



brevity, Deegan's chapters cover all the essential aspects of the apartheid era. Readers will find material on the systematic persecution of political opposition, the forced removals of entire 'non-white' communities, the Sharpesville massacre and the Soweto uprising as well as material on the creation of the 'homelands' and their failure to appease African and international scorn. The creation of the 'Black Consciousness' movement with Steve Biko as its leader, the border wars, the international support and sanctions the official South African government of the apartheid era received, the violent exchanges among the 'non-white' ethnic and racial groups, are also covered.

Deegan also dedicates over half her book to contemplating the socio-political transformations of the most recent, democratic decade. This part of the book includes chapters dedicated to: the production of the first multiracial South African elections of 1994, the creation and dilemmas of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings that lasted from 1996-98, and the present day racial, ethnic, gender, and class tensions. Upon finishing *The Politics of the New South Africa* the novice student of modern South Africa will have a solid understanding of the nation's key historical events.

Moreover, even those who may have already read more extensive accounts of the South African past will find the book a useful source of reference material. Deegan takes extra care to footnote the extensive scholarly literature and cite it in her bibliography. Perhaps even more helpful is the wealth of material found in tables, boxes, figures and the appendices. These include historical maps, tables with detailed descriptions of political parties and their leaders, and interesting statistics accumulated throughout the second half of the twentieth century and pertaining to the beliefs, prejudices, likes and dislikes, hopes and fears of all South Africans.

The chapters that describe the series of political transitions that began in 1990 contain explanatory drawings for helping the reader understand the otherwise convoluted structures of administrative bodies that were put together to monitor and safeguard the fairness of the proceedings. The bodies she covers include: the Transitional Executive Council and sub-councils that negotiated the Interim Constitution and actual political transition, as well as the Independent Electoral Commission that was put in place to ensure the multiracial democratic elections in 1994. Boxed inserts interspersed throughout the book offer snippets from important historical texts such as the African National Congress' Freedom Charter written in 1956, and Mandela's speech given upon receipt of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report. In addition to these boxes the book includes a wonderful appendix section filled with documents that any scholar interested in South Africa may wish to have in her possession: the 1989 Harare Declaration issued by the Organization of African Unity, F.W. de Klerk's parliamentary address on February 2, 1990, Mandela's speech after being released from the Robben Island prison, and the 1996 establishment of a Bill of Rights, among others. As an extra treat, Deegan also offers some provoking images that enhance the reader's appreciation of the South African experience. Such images include the famous picture of Hector Peterson's dead body being carried away during the Soweto riots of 1976, the long lines of South Africans waiting to vote for the first time in their lives in 1994, the human sculptures of Jane Alexander, political cartoons, and political campaign posters and voter educational materials from the 1999 elections.

A reader who is easily disoriented by the abundance of boxes, figures, tables, statistics, images, and excerpts from political documents and speeches, may find Deegan's book chaotic. Those who expect to learn the effects of the AIDS epidemic currently devastating Southern Africa at large and South Africa in particular, will find the book deficient. Deegan, who gives an extensive analysis of how unemployment and violence have affected South Africa since 1994, offers nothing more than a passing mention to the topics of AIDS and other health concerns. Missing also are the political relations of South

Africa in the current volatile international scene, the lawsuits pursued by victims of apartheid against multinationals and financial institutions that profited from the inequities of the previous regime, and other such discussions. These are disappointing omissions, explainable only if one accounts for the fact that a 2001 publication cannot help but fall short of keeping up with the continuous socio-political developments and concerns of a democracy as young as that of the new South Africa. With this in mind, I believe that Deegan's text is worth recommending as an introduction to the recent history of South Africa.

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Fragile Peace: State Failure, Violence and Development in Crisis Regions

Tobias Diebel with Alex Klein

Zed Books (in Association with The Development and Peace Foundation, Bonn), 2002

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PBK: ISBN: 184277171X £14.95 \$22.50

pp. 265 (including: index)

Fragile Peace provides an interesting overview of the question of how, how long and under what circumstances peace may have a chance to prevail in crisis regions. Divided into three parts, each with a different focus on the problem of making or maintaining of peace, the book outlines a broad range of theoretical problems and empirical case studies.

The book is a valuable resource for the field of peace and conflict studies. Part one touches on three basic problems (in three articles), namely the possible contribution of external actors to the transformation of war-torn societies (Nicole Ball), the challenges for international law in cases of state failure and armed conflict (Hans-Joachim Heintze) and the question of decentralization, division of power and crisis prevention (Andreas Mehler). These contributions, in conjunction with the regional analyses, underline the fact 'that today it is no longer possible to confine conflicts to regional theatres in an era of globalization' (p. 212).

Why this is the case is illustrated in part two, which focuses on regional case studies. The Caucasus, Central America and the Horn of Africa are the regions of conflict examined in the book. The authors examine the state of 'peace' in war-torn societies which are in transition between war and a rather undefined state of being, not necessarily peace in a Western understanding. There are two chapters devoted to each region, one giving a general overview of the region, its conflict history and the current state of being and a second one examining in detail one aspect and country in that region. Each of the regions is identified with one special problem that seems paramount for the understanding of conflict and the possibility of making peace therein.

In the Caucasus, 'one of today's most explosive arenas of ethno-territorial conflicts' (p. 91) as Rainer Freitag-Wirringhaus describes it, the heart of the problem lies in the ethnic make up of the former Soviet republics and the latter's legacy of political elites and power structures. The region is also plagued by the problem of organised crime. Most of these states, formed during and after the demise of the Soviet Union are authoritarian states. State building in that sense becomes difficult and continuously contested, as the ethnic patterns of each state clash with the politics of the respective rulers. Irredentism, civil wars over territory and resources are the outcome of this and



peace seems to be difficult to establish with governments of that kind. The case study of Georgia, by David Darchiashvili, supports these arguments. In Georgia some of the greatest problems are an insufficient legal system, lack of democratic control of the law enforcement agencies and internal conflicts with minorities (p. 110).

In Central America, (Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, Belize and Costa Rica), the obstacles for a lasting peace can be found in the massive involvement of external actors, namely the USA and the changing forms of violence, in the partly insufficiently handled decommissioning of weapons by various guerrilla movements. This leads Sabine Kurtenbach to say that it is not a pacification and a winding down of social conflict that can be witnessed, but rather a transformation of the form of violence encountered in some of these countries. Organised criminal groups are the only form of collective violence apparent, but most of the violence is individual and stems from the poverty and the marginalization of large segments of the population. These are the exact breeding grounds for old and new forms of violence (129f, 137ff). Despite this pessimistic view of the peace processes in this region, it can be said that peace missions and the termination of violent civil wars was successful through the involvement of external players, regional and international, (i.e. neighbouring countries as well as the European Union, the United States or the United Nations and other supranational institutions). Bernardo Arévalo de León's study of Guatemala clearly shows these transformations in the form of violence.

The third region, the Horn of Africa, faced similar problems. It did so, however, in a context where state building and governance are even more problematic. Borders, for one, do not play an important role in this area with one of the worlds largest population of nomadic people constantly transgressing state borders in accordance with their own migration patterns (p. 157). The root causes of conflict in the fragile political environment of the region are conflicts over resources, environmental degradation and the role of the state, which are rather weak or often non-existent. Alex Klein draws a comprehensive, often disheartening, but realistic picture of this African region, which like no other is connected to the global system of conflict—and after September 11th to the 'global network of terror', as some would have it. Siegfried Pausewang presents a detailed analysis of a crisis of state in Ethiopia, in which the crisis results in the contradiction between the claims of a constitutional democracy and the interests of the power holders and their ruling party.

The most interesting contribution to this collection are the remaining two by Tobias Debiel, writing on 'Privatized Violence' and Axel Klein and James Oporia-Ekwaro on the 'Challenges of Identity Conflicts, Organized Crime and Transnational Terrorism'. Debiel's focus on 'privatized violence' is especially worthy of mention as it perfectly describes the problems of state security in the 21st century – after September 11th. Terrorism, organized crime and the various measures taken against these phenomena must be seen in a new light, that make peace initiatives of any kind a much bigger challenge.

The term 'privatized violence' refers to the loss of control by some states over their monopoly on the legitimate use of violence, and the state's resultant loss of control over its territory and peoples' security. The most obvious example of this is the growing number of security services offered, including mercenaries and the like, by non-state actors, a particularly acute problem in Africa and Latin America (p. 7). A 'market in violence' is replacing state regulation. This market now determines how and in what form violence will take place and with which side effects: drug trafficking, war-lordism and organized crime (p. 195). September 11th indicates another aspect of privatisation of violence, states are now facing a new threat of privatized violence that cannot be ascribed to any given state, but operates in a network-like structure across the globe. Security measures against these groups and conflict resolution scenarios seem to be ever more complicated if at all possible. In this regard the term helps to describe the current

situation of state and state failure in parts of the world and hence the sources of current conflicts, a task that the whole book perfectly achieves and hence is a useful and detailed resource for regional and theoretical analysis in the field of peace and conflict studies.

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No More Killing Fields: Preventing Deadly Conflict

David A. Hamburg

Rowman and Littlefield, 2002

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pp. xxv + 365 (including: notes, bibliography, index & appendices)

Probably the most significant marker of the (short lived) New World Order was American hegemony with a self-perception of the United States being the world's night watchman and moral compass. Dominance need not be reflected solely in terms of military might: it can assert itself culturally. How long was it, for example, before we found ourselves reverting to the staccato shorthand of '9/11' and 'Ground Zero' to convey our sense of bewilderment at the horrendous events at the Twin Towers and elsewhere? And as we mark the countdown to 'regime change' in Iraq how many of us query whether the Bush administration possesses that moral compass? These queries are relevant in the light of David Hamburg's significant contribution to the literature on preventive diplomacy.

This book is odd in that it is part-memoir, part-synthesis, part-audit and partly subversive. It fits into that last category in that Hamburg's mission statement is intent on rescuing American foreign policy from its own hegemonic reach and placing it more firmly in an interdependent world. There is little overt criticism of US policy, and what there is, is measured and heartfelt. Instead Hamburg takes us on a journey through the excesses of the twentieth century—what the philosopher Edith Wyschogrod (1990) calls the 'century of man-made mass death'—to enable us to look at conflict transformation afresh. Hamburg's personal journey began in May 1975 when four of his students were kidnapped in Tanzania. The months of intensive negotiation it took to have them released 'turned me toward a deeper quest for understanding the causes of human conflict and an active search for more effective practices of conflict resolution and violent prevention' (p. 187). The journey culminates with the publication of this book, itself a capstone of the voluminous research carried out by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, a body created by Hamburg and Cyrus Vance in 1994.

This reviewer was present at the very grand launch of the Commission's Final Report in December 1997 in Washington DC. It was evident then that the media was deeply sceptical of the one big idea emanating from years of research at the cost of millions of dollars. The one big idea was preventive diplomacy, a term first coined by Dag Hammarskjöld in 1960 when he sought to find ways to prevent local conflicts from feeding into the larger superpower rivalry. It was an idea whose time had not yet come and it is only in recent years with the end of the Cold War and the intensification of ethnic, religious and regional conflicts that it has merited serious consideration. Few in 1997 could foresee that terrorism could be so pervasive, invasive and innovative as it proved to be in September 2001. It put to rest the complacent nostrum that generally ethnic conflict was remote from the First World and that a policy of 'doing nothing' would suffice.

Hamburg and his ilk, who argued for a policy of humanitarian realism, were considered to be too softly focused. It was easy to be cynical. Indeed the very title of this book and its



frontispiece—a photograph of a young boy holding a dove against a devastated landscape—could encourage the skeptics. But it is the contemporary context and the moral suasion that Hamburg brings to his argument that counts. His is a common sense approach built on a mass of applied research. Besides a policy of preventive diplomacy he argues for the building of democratic institutions and the upgrading of socioeconomic development to create a ‘coalition of the “willing”’ (p. 236). It is the antithesis of isolationism and unipolarism.

He asks his readers to ‘take away from this book a sense of the tangible promise of preventive diplomacy for coping with emerging crises before they become catastrophes’ (p. 227). It is an eloquent plea that now is being taken seriously by governments, transnational organisations and NGOs. He challenges the Woodrow Wilson model of a world of discrete nation-states by citing a distinguished African diplomat who argues that sovereignty carries responsibilities and that if these are not upheld the international community has a moral and legal right to intervene on behalf of citizens whose rights are ignored, neglected or violated by the state. It is an argument that is compelling but it has to be said that the 133 countries who gathered in Warsaw in June 2000 to support democratic principles for human rights were in favour of consolidation and cooperation only ‘with due respect to sovereignty and the principle of non-interference in internal affairs’ (p. 290).

So work remains to be done. Hamburg will not despair. He can take comfort from the knowledge that an idea that was launched in 1960 is only now becoming fashionable. This book bears witness to the huge intellectual propagation of the concept by organizations like Carnegie and individuals (although he is too modest to say so) like the author. It is rich in detail, in sources and resources, in humanitarian optimism and is the perfect antidote to the cynicism of the century of man-made mass death. More importantly it has an agent who can move forward the work of Hamburg’s generation and that is Kofi Annan. In many respects that will be the true test of preventive diplomacy—can the United Nations run with it in the face of powerful vested interests? If so the UN becomes the world’s night watchman and moral compass, a position that was envisaged for it at its inception. Hamburg demonstrates that we are living in interesting times and not in the ancient Chinese sense but in a world where humanitarianism matches realism. For that and that alone this is a conspicuous and challenging publication.

Reference

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Paul Arthur, University of Ulster, UK

The Fall of Apartheid: The Inside Story from Smuts to Mbeki

Robert Harvey

Palgrave, 2001

Hbk: ISBN 0-333-80247-0

pp. 256 (includes: index and select bibliography)

The title of this book is deeply misleading. This is not an analysis of the collapse of apartheid based on the thesis that the system contained the seeds of its own destruction going back to the defeat of Smuts in the 1948 general election in South Africa, as seems the most plausible reading of the title. The awkwardness of the title reflects the fact that there are really two short books contained within one set of covers. One tells the story of pre-negotiations between the South African government and the African National

Congress (ANC) during the 1980s, focused principally on the previously largely untold story of the British channel in these talks about talks. The other is a potted history of South Africa going back to the negotiations that concluded the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, involving the young advocate, Jan Smuts – hence the reference to Smuts in the title. Did the publishers think that the story of the pre-negotiations was too slight or too specialised a topic to be published as a book on its own or was it the author's idea to pad his material out?

But however the structure was arrived at, it was misconceived, since unfortunately the author does not have sufficient knowledge of South African history to do justice to the subject in the seven chapters he devotes to it. In his acknowledgements the author thanks the veteran journalist, Anthony Sampson, for reading the manuscript and for correcting many errors, as well as contributing a preface. (In his preface, Sampson rightly focuses on the significance of the part of the book dealing with the Mells Parks talks held at the initiative of the public affairs director of Consolidated Gold Fields, Michael Young, between October 1987 and July 1990.) Despite Sampson's efforts, however, the historical section of the book contains many errors and misconceptions, some of such a striking character that one fears that South African readers will burst out laughing at a number of them. The author has not been helped by the sources he relied upon for his part of the book, including a sensationalist potboiler about the Afrikaner secret society, the Broederbond.

Unfortunately, straightforward factual errors are not confined to the historical section, which the charitable reader might simply disregard. They are also present in the account of the South African transition itself. Confusion (or perhaps typographical error) abounds in relation to the dates of events, including that of Mandela's release. The author refers to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) as the Council for a Democratic South Africa, says that it was boycotted by the Communist Party as opposed to the Conservative Party, and wrongly assumes that negotiations continued under the aegis of CODESA in 1993. All this is a great pity since it detracts from the core of the book, the author's account of the talks in the British channel between members of the Afrikaner elite and the top-ranking leaders of the ANC, based on access to Michael Young's records. These pre-negotiations were taking place in parallel with another set of secret talks taking place in the same period, those between the South African government and the prisoner, Nelson Mandela.

With considerable analytical skill, Robert Harvey discusses the political problems that the existence of two sets of talks posed to the parties, but particularly for the ANC which was the more vulnerable to 'divide and rule' tactics. This was especially so, early in the process. As Harvey puts it,

[Mandela] had no idea that the government was already negotiating with the ANC at Mells and no way of knowing that he might be used to undermine their negotiating position. The ANC outside had no way of knowing what was being said in the talks between Mandela and the government. The latter, it seemed, held all the cards (pp. 143-4).

How Thabo Mbeki, the leading figure in the Mells Parks talks, and Nelson Mandela avoided the traps while ensuring the process moved forward makes for fascinating reading. Mandela's genius is widely appreciated, so it is Mbeki whose reputation is enhanced by this book. There are lessons here for mediators and negotiators dealing with other intractable political conflicts. Indeed, chapters on these lessons would have been a much better use of Robert Harvey's intuitive understanding of political issues than his hasty attempt to mug up on South African history. In spite of its flaws this is a book that



those interested in the South African transition ought to read as it adds a further dimension to our understanding of what happened. However, there is another aspect of the book that will frustrate specialist readers. The book has no footnotes, endnotes or references, though occasionally sources (without page numbers) are identified in the text. The general reader is likely to be bemused by the book's different levels.

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The New Germany and Migration in Europe

Barbara Marshall

Manchester University Press, 2000

HBK: ISBN: 0719043352 £45.00

PBK: ISBN: 0719043360 £14.99

pp. 186 (including: index)

On 1 March 2002, Germany's parliament, the Bundestag, adopted a new law on immigration. On 22 March 2002, the upper house in which the individual states are represented, the Bundesrat, following a highly emotional debate and a dispute over the validity of the vote of the state of Brandenburg, passed the law as well with a narrow margin. On 20 June 2002, President Johannes Rau signed the law after careful consideration of the vote of the Bundesrat. Rau criticised the way, the Bundesrat had adopted the law, and encouraged a decision by the constitutional court, Bundesverfassungsgericht. Then, on 15 July 2002, the Conservative governments of six states filed a complaint with the constitutional court, based on the voting procedure in the Bundesrat. Thus, the Conservative opposition even after the elections of 22 September hopes to prevent the law becoming effective on 1 January 2003.

The issue of migration is of foremost interest to German society. Migration politics and issues related to immigration and integration regularly trigger emotional and impetuous dispute. The federal government has become tougher in its approach, and in Summer 2002, the Social-Democrat Minister of the Interior, Otto Schily, stated that the best form of integration is assimilation. Keeping these recent developments in mind, Barbara Marshall's book on Germany and migration in Europe, even two years after it was published, still seems very timely. She addresses issues and trends which still are of foremost actuality. Marshall analyses and discusses a number of problems: How migration has been 'acting as a catalyst for a certain maturing process in Germany's political culture', and the impact of migration on the wider German society (p. 2). She wants to 'consider together some of the more important facets of migration for Germany, which in the existing literature have tended to be examined separately' (p. 4).

Immigration to Germany actually includes several types of migration. Thus, Marshall distinguishes four main groups, which can be sub-divided into two 'German' and two non-German groups: German refugees and expellees following World War II, ethnic Germans, labour migrants (guest workers), and asylum seekers. After the war, some 15 million Germans from provinces now incorporated into Poland and the Soviet Union, but also from German minorities all over Eastern Europe, were forced to migrate West. Most of the refugees and expellees eventually arrived in Western Germany, changing the composition of the population, and causing many challenges concerning political, social and economic integration. In 1950, 16.4 per cent of Federal Republic of Germany's (FRG) population were refugees. Marshall states, that the integration of this massive influx of Germans was remarkably successful (p. 7). The second category of migrants is the heterogeneous group of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the USSR migrating to primarily FRG. As long as the flow of ethnic Germans was relatively small and restricted,

this did not cause any real problems in West German society. However, with the upheavals around 1989, migration became unrestricted. In 1986, some 43,000 migrated, in 1989 their number went up to 400,000. Thus, during the period 1950-1998, a total of 3.9 million ethnic Germans arrived in FRG (p. 55). Unfortunately, Marshall does not point out that, especially in the 1990s, a large and increasing share of ethnic Germans, (now some 100,000 annually), mostly arriving from the post-Soviet states, are counted as ethnic Germans even though they actually are descendents of ethnic Germans and often (through intermarriage) belong to other ethnic groups.

The two non-German categories of migrants are foreigners, arriving in Germany as 'guest workers' (labour migrants) and asylum-seekers. The recruitment of labour from Southern Europe, Turkey and Northern Africa started in the early 1950s, initially in a rotation system regularly replacing the workers, which continued up till 1973 (p. 11). Then, the first oil crises lead to a ban on labour migrants. Asylum seekers have a different status. According to the Germany's Basic Law, every politically persecuted person has the right to asylum' (p. 15). Initially this category of migrants was rather insignificant. Up until 1973 it did not cause any political dispute, which was explained by the fact that most asylum-seekers came from Eastern Europe – and, as Marshall points out, 'they were white and their flight could be used for political purposes' in the context of the Cold War and a divided Germany (p. 15). However from 1973 the composition of asylum-seekers changed radically, when more and more arrived from other parts of the World. Simultaneously the assumption of abuse of the asylum provision became an element of the public West German political discourse, continuing up until the present day. After Germany's reunification, the issue of asylum-seekers became of foremost interest, causing political and social unrest, followed by many cases of violent acts, including murder, against individual asylum-seekers and arson attacks on asylum centres. During the years 1988-1997, more than 2 million applications for asylum were submitted in Germany (table, p. 34), coinciding with large-scale in-migration of ethnic Germans. The highest number of asylum seekers was registered in 1992, when 438,000 submitted their application, 61% of them had their origin in post-Communist Europe. Finally, even a fifth group of migrants have arrived in increasing numbers in Germany after the collapse of Communism—Jews from the former Soviet Union (p. 34). By February 1999 more than 102,000 Jews had been admitted (p. 34).

Marshall discusses the problems and implications of each of these groups. She takes a closer look at the socio-economic aspects of immigration, the impacts on the German economy and the labour market, and the challenges to the German welfare state. In each case, she offers relevant data, argues and shows her points clearly. She even offers some comparative data showing patterns of migration to other European countries (for instance, pp. 22, 34). Unfortunately, she rarely extends her analysis to a comparison between Germany and other European states. This could have added a relevant perspective and contributed to the main analysis, pointing to similarities and differences. However, she does include the supra-European dimension in a chapter addressing migration within the context of EC and EU policies (pp. 118ff.).

A full chapter is devoted to the issue of citizenship and immigration law (pp. 138ff), leading to the adoption in May 1999 of a law easing the acquisition of German nationality, especially for children of non-German migrants born in Germany. The new law allowed limited dual nationality up to the age of 23 years (p. 152). The political discussion about a new immigration law is introduced as well, but naturally, the dispute and final adoption of the new immigration law in 2002, could not be included.

Marshall's final assessment is that many 'aspects of Germany's migration policies have been short-term, pragmatic responses to specific emergencies or requirements without a



consistent central approach. But there might also be signs that the country is learning to live with migration as part of its new 'normality', such as the new nationality law. However, the fact that over three million signatures against the inclusion of dual nationality in the Act could be collected within three months also indicated the particular, tortuous relationship to this reality by a large section of the German people' (p. 165).

As stated in the beginning of this review, Marshall's book is a relevant and important contribution to the study of migration, not only in the case of Germany, but also in a wider European perspective.

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Right-sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders

Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, Thomas Callaghy (eds)

Oxford University Press, 2001

HBK: ISBN: 0199244901 £30.00

pp. 444 (including: maps, references & index)

This is an excellent book and seems set to become a foundational work. In this edited collection eleven authors engage with the concepts of right-sizing, right-shaping and right-peopling the state with the intention of extending and advancing the theory of state contraction and expansion developed by Ian Lustick in *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands*. In that book, Lustick developed a theory which sought to identify the conditions under which states would be prepared to yield sovereignty over parts of their territory.

The book originated with an SSRC workshop which began in 1997 and is a good example of the kind of work the New York based organisation appears to be trying to encourage: work which is both theoretically strong and directly politically relevant.

At the heart of the book is the editors' ambition to begin laying down an academic foundation for new international norms and policy approaches that admit the possibility of changing international boundaries in the pursuit of political stability. The editors aim to challenge 'traditional and prevailing prejudices against adjustments in the territorial location of boundaries' (Lustick, p. 392). The editors have a clear policy agenda that is baldly stated. In the introduction O'Leary expresses the hope that 'present hypocrisies may be replaced by effective moral codes' (p. 28). While in the conclusion Lustick writes that: 'One of the most important challenges of the Cold war era is to develop new perspectives on how to cope with the inevitability of change in the way states and nations/peoples are matched with one another' (p. 389).

Brendan O'Leary has written both the introduction to the book and the first chapter. His typically jaunty style is in evidence in the chapter 'The elements of right-sizing and right-peopling the state', in which he provides a short political history of territory and political borders since the dawn of time. He writes of 'Rational emperors... fleeing their subjects in ways that encouraged them to believe that being a sheep was not so bad after all' and of 'the thugs who called themselves the best: nobles or aristocrats' (p. 18). At the end of the chapter O'Leary teases out certain aspects of Lustick's theory while also summing up the constructive criticisms of the theory made by some contributors to the book.

The book displays the kind of coherence and clear sense of purpose which is lacking in many edited books. All of the authors engage directly with the theoretical issues around right-sizing and with Lustick's theorisation of the concept, each of them discussing these ideas in the context of particular geographical areas. All of the contributors bring a

wealth of empirical data and a fine-grained understanding of the specifics of place to the book.

The book includes case studies of the Democratic Republic of Congo (by Thomas Callaghy, one of the co-editors), Pakistan (Vali Nasr), Jordan (Marc Lynch) and Russia and the other ex-Soviet Socialist Republics (Alexander J. Motyl). Two chapters examine the Kurds, one as a 'problem' for the Republic of Turkey (Ümit Cizre) the other examines the plight of the Kurdish people in Iraq (Denise Natali). Two chapters take a comparative approach Stephen Zunes deals with Western Sahara and East Timor, Oren Yiftachel compares three situations in which consociational government was put in place as part of a 'right-shaping' strategy: Belgium, Cyprus and Lebanon.

Yiftachel focuses on territorial aspects of the three consociational governments that he examines. He concludes by arguing that a key element in stable consociational arrangements, an element in ensuring that 'right-shaping' is morally and normatively 'right' (in that it allows justice and stability), is minority territorial integrity. It is fascinating that Yiftachel should identify this as so important when it is perhaps one of the most difficult and controversial aspects of inter-ethnic relations. Most states are hugely resistant to any such recognition, at least within their own boundaries. This goes far beyond the principle of federal autonomy. It also conflicts very directly with western liberal ideas of individual freedom. Nonetheless there is no doubt that many states have less formal low-level policies that do this to some extent. Many more have policies that deliberately attempt to break down such integrity. It is an awkward area, full of moral and philosophical difficulties but one that is well worth exploring further, and indicative of the difficult issues raised by this volume.

In the conclusion Ian Lustick gracefully accepts criticisms and extensions to his theory and emphasises that his intention is not to argue for anarchy and instability but to open up a debate about using boundary changes to bolster stability.

One of the most interesting aspects of the book is the way in which discussion of right-sizing is tied by so many of the authors to right-shaping and right-peopling policies, emphasising the continuum between international politics focused around international borders, and the internal politics of ethnicity and identity. It shows how clear and direct is the link between those internal state policies on citizenship, identity and loyalty which reach deep into people's day-to-day lives, and the particular shape and character of a state's external borders.

This is an amazingly rich book, both theoretically and empirically. It is to be hoped that the approach taken in this book and its central theoretical concerns permeate deeply into the disciplines of political science, political geography and international relations.

Reference

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Sacrifice as Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994

Christopher C. Taylor

Berg, 2001 (originally published in hardback 1999)

Hbk: ISBN 1859732739 £42.00 \$65.00

Pbk: ISBN 185973278X £14.99 \$19.50

pp. 197 (includes: index and bibliography)

The aim of Christopher Taylor's book appears to be to arrive at some kind of understanding of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Unfortunately, he never adequately outlines what the overall purpose of the work is. The introduction makes up a sizeable chunk of what is a comparatively small book, yet is almost entirely a descriptive narrative of his experiences living in Rwanda and his escape to Kenya. While fascinating on a personal level, bringing to life the oppressive atmosphere of a country about to descend into brutal genocide, this takes up a lot of anecdotal room in a small academic text. This problem is compounded by the fact that the first chapter, a summary of Rwanda's political history, while being rich in background detail is also primarily descriptive and lacking in analysis.

In his chapter on the 'Hamitic hypothesis', Taylor reveals his excellent scholarly abilities. This theory developed in Europe in the nineteenth century, as part of the new pseudo-scientific ideas of race. To account for troubling evidence of advanced civilisational traits they found in east central Africa, which did not fit their Great Chain of Being theory, European colonists categorised Tutsi as 'Hamites', part of a lost tribe of Israel. Thus Tutsi were seen as quasi-Caucasian (explaining their 'civilisation') and naturally disposed to rule, whereas Hutu were naturally disposed for labour and Twa were little more than apes; therefore a colonial system of 'indirect rule' through Tutsi was established. This racist and racist theory unfortunately became internalised by many Rwandans, and the categories 'Tutsi', 'Hutu' and 'Twa' became hardened, racialised and much less malleable over time.

This theory possesses ongoing power today: Tutsi extremists use their version of it to claim intellectual superiority and Hutu extremists use their version to emphasise the supposed 'foreignness' of Tutsi. Although Taylor does not specifically mention this, very similar racist colonial ideologies operated in other parts of the globe as well. In Sri Lanka, colonists categorised Sinhalese as superior 'Aryans' and Tamils as 'Dravidians' (again conflating fluid categories into rigid 'races'), which has had a similar enduring, racist and violent impact on the local society. As with the Tutsi, in New Zealand British colonists described Maori as a lost tribe of Israel, again to account for disturbing evidence of civilisation such as advanced warfare techniques, complex administrative systems, navigational skills and so on.

One of the most significant contributions that Taylor's book makes is his potentially controversial contention, in chapter two, that destroying the ongoing power of the 'Hamitic hypothesis' has to enflame ethnic hatred and violence, we must challenge it not only at the level of discourse but also at the level of fact. He seems to challenge the utility and morality of hermeneutic approaches by arguing that when acts of massive violence have been committed and are likely to happen again, 'can we as anthropologists comfortably claim that the factuality – truth or falsehood – of our interlocutors' historical constructions is of little concern to us? Can we comfortably claim that our only concern is to determine what people take to be the "truth" and why?' (p. 57.) I find his assertion that we must investigate the factuality of racist ideologies as well as engage them as discourse intriguing and challenging, but I am unconvinced that doing so will achieve the end he desires. I agree that it is important to try and disabuse people of their racist views, but I do not place such faith on the power of 'facts' or 'truth' to achieve this. Evidence from other countries suggests that this is simply disputed and ridiculed by

extremists. More importantly perhaps, one could argue that in places such as Rwanda and Sri Lanka, the process of 'doing' history has become so impossibly entangled with nationalist/racist ethnic projects that the 'truth' is extremely hard, if not impossible, to discover. Nevertheless, his suggestions are extremely thought-provoking.

In the third chapter, in a fascinating (yet deeply disturbing) discussion, Taylor claims that some of the forms of violence used in Rwanda (e.g., impaling with stakes, emasculation of men, evisceration of pregnant women, breast oblation of women, forced incest, forced cannibalism of family members, the severing of the Achilles' tendon on people and cattle, and roadblock executions) follow a certain horrific logic when viewed in regard to Rwandan notions of bodily integrity and popular medicine, which are preoccupied with imagery of flow and blockage. He makes it clear that he is not suggesting that Rwandan culture or symbolism *caused* the genocide, merely that violence is culturally or symbolically *conditioned* and follows culturally-specific forms.

Finally, Taylor examines the issue of gender and the genocide. In an insight frequently missed by other scholars, he maintains that the 'the genocide was about power relations between men and women perhaps as much as it was about power relations between groups of men' (p. 151). He argues that Hutu extremists aimed to 'restore' an idealised image of the independence moment in Rwanda; included in this was the aim of reasserting male dominance. He explains this in light of changing Rwandan gender relations in the 1980s and 1990s, when more women began gaining prominent positions in public and economic life. The fact that the mass sexual violence was primarily directed at Tutsi rather than Hutu women relates both to their position as the 'permeable boundary between the two ethnic groups' (p. 155) and to the 'Hamitic hypothesis'. In pre-genocidal Rwanda it was much more common for Tutsi women to be married to Hutu men than for Hutu women to be married to Tutsi men, thus Tutsi women were seen as the prime carriers of racially 'impure' children. This and the sexual violence can largely be attributed to the claim of the 'Hamitic hypothesis' that Tutsi women are more beautiful and intelligent than Hutu women, and the persistence of this belief in Rwanda. Thus, the brutal sexual violence was in part an act whereby Hutu extremists tried to purge themselves of their ambivalence towards Tutsi women.

Ultimately, Taylor's book is an extremely interesting and stimulating addition to the literature on the Rwandan genocide and will be appreciated by students/scholars of anthropology, African history, ethno-nationalism and conflict/war/genocide. His inclusion of a focus on gender is particularly welcome. However, I could not avoid the feeling that overall the book comes across as rather 'bitsy' – each chapter seems a little isolated from the others, and as noted earlier the introduction and first chapter are too heavy on description and light on analysis; correspondingly the conclusion is extremely short at under five pages, further entrenching the sense of a lack of a coherent whole. Although the other three substantive chapters are rich in analysis and innovative perspective, it struck me that each may have been better released as separate articles, rather than brought together as a book. However, as a political scientist, perhaps this is simply my misreading of the purpose of an anthropological ethnography.

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Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities

Mary Waters

Harvard University Press, 2001

Hbk: ISBN: 0674000676 £23.95 \$36.95

Pbk: ISBN: 0674007247 £12.50 \$18.95

pp. 432 (includes: index, bibliography, notes on methodology)

Mary Waters explores how the hopes, dreams and aspirations of West Indian immigrants to the USA crystallise into an American reality. The process of reaching an 'American' reality can be harsh: economically, psychologically and emotionally. I say 'American' and not American because it is not clear that even by achieving citizenship that these immigrants will fully become American. And that is because West Indians are black.

This book explores the relationship between race and ethnicity, including an account of how class intersects with these cleavages. Waters contends that 'West Indians are perhaps the quintessential postmodern peoples' (p. 329). This is due to the great capacity West Indians have to shift the focus of their social identity as well as the circumstances they find themselves in. To gain a representative picture of the West Indian journey through American society Waters and her team of assistants conducted interviews with a range of subjects from divergent backgrounds, including white Americans and the children of West Indian immigrants who may or may not identify with their parents' ethnic status. Thus the relationship between West Indians and whites is explored alongside their relations with black Americans.

West Indians are in a position to exploit their differential status from American born blacks as well as their sameness. They are distinct because they are immigrants to the USA and thus bring different perspectives, attitudes and desires from those of black Americans. But they have the choice to identify as black Americans, at least on initial appearance. Waters finds in her interviews with whites that they were unaware of the differences between black Americans and West Indians unless specifically pointed out to them, meaning that the West Indians were *prima facie* identified, by others, as black American. This is not always an identity they are happy to accept. In fact, Waters discovers that West Indians often go to great lengths to distinguish themselves from black Americans, sometimes cultivating a Caribbean accent where it was not present to begin with.

One can imagine that such attempts do not prove popular with American born blacks. Such distancing can be perceived as hurtful, as breaking solidarity with fellow victims of racism. But Waters explains that for the West Indians the meaning of 'black' can be fundamentally different. In the Caribbean, 'black' is not an oppositional identity the way it is in the USA. 'Black' is a fluid category that can shift depending on one's wealth and social status. There is also a range of shading with perhaps only the darkest skinned West Indians identifying as 'black'. So West Indians can genuinely be surprised to be classed as 'black' when they first come to the USA.

This means that if West Indians are to assimilate their only choice is to assimilate as black Americans. But one can see why they might want to resist this option. Black Americans continue to possess a low status in American society; money cannot 'whiten' as it does in the West Indies where one's economic wealth can buy status. In the USA, when a person is black they are marked by this identity no matter how wealthy or important they are. But the West Indian immigrants and their descents cannot escape the label 'black American' forever. Although the first generation may be able to maintain a distinct Caribbean identity, this becomes increasingly difficult for future generations that are American born.

Thus it seems this assimilation will bring West Indians to experience the same level of discrimination and develop the same feelings of resentment towards whites that many black Americans possess. Waters reports just how shocked the immigrants are to experience the high degree of racism in America. They expect to encounter some racism, but not on the scale of the USA, while the 'Caribbean is a society where there is racism' (p. 42) the USA is 'a fundamentally racist society' (p. 42).

Waters' final task in this thoughtful and challenging book is to consider the implications of the findings of her study for American race relations. Yet one is not sure that positive conclusions can be drawn here. If West Indian immigrants assimilate they can only do so by becoming 'black' Americans, a move which may damage their societal status. If they resist this assimilation, however, they are potentially damaging their relations with black Americans. So it seems as if the dichotomous black/white categorisation will continue for the foreseeable future. Waters notes that what needs to occur is for people not to see 'Others' as radically different from themselves, but while race relations continue to be characterised in such a stark manner the prospects for realising this hope seem dim.

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