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Book Reviews

Michael Keating, *Nations against the State: the new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland*, London and New York: Macmillan Press, 1996. 260 pp. £47.50.

This is a path-breaking book which focuses on the re-emergence of nationalism in three stateless nations, Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland. *Nations against the State* analyses the capacity of sub-state nationalism to challenge the legitimacy of the state in a context in which minority cultures and languages are experiencing a revival among many social groups, allowing a reaffirmation of identity in the face of mass consumer society and the decline of the nation-state as the focus of loyalty. It points at the specific character of regional nationalism as a social movement based upon the regeneration and strengthening of regional–national identity and the demand for political autonomy.

Michael Keating's book explores the reasons for the renewed strength of the nationalist movements and the social structures of Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland. He concentrates on the study of the relationship between each of these stateless nations and the state within which they are included, as well as the components of their specific national identities as exposed by their respective nationalist movements.

In Keating's view, the nationalist movements now emerging in these three nations should be interpreted as a response both to the changes in the capacity and legitimacy of the states containing them and to the reconfiguration of territorial politics after the two world wars. These nationalisms, which are historically rooted and have developed within states, offer a pragmatic solution to cultural or territorial questions. Keating argues that Catalan, Scottish and Quebec nationalisms contain ethnic as well as civic elements in their own doctrines, the political strategies they try to advance and the support base they receive; although, in his view, their civic dimension has been strengthened over the years. For Keating, it is essential to distinguish between ethnic particularism and minorities' nationalism. In the three societies studied, he considers national identity as an organising principle for the society as a whole, even if not all its members are committed nationalists. He argues that, in the past, Catalonia, Quebec and Scotland were politically and economically dependent on the states containing them, a situation which now has been reversed. At present, this dependence has lessened as the states have lost their capacity for territorial management and the minority nations have become more self-assertive.

According to Keating, these three nations emphasise social solidarity as a main value of the political culture. A shared culture and minority language – in the case of Quebec and Catalonia – which are territorially circumscribed provide a means of social integration in the face of the disintegrating effects of the market. In so doing they may help instill common values and encourage collective action and the production of public goods, two factors which prove wrong those who consider regional nationalism a backward phenomenon. In contrast, Keating points to the relevance of regional culture and language as an asset contributing to an increase in a sense of solidarity among the members of the nation while encouraging common social action and civic dynamism. Keating emphasises the strong commitment of the nations studied to their continental regimes, NAFTA in one case and the EU in the other two, in both cases stateless nations hope to achieve a quasi-independent status within them. But, it is not clear whether these supranational institutions will be able to fulfil the expectations of Quebec, Catalan and Scottish nationalists. It should be taken into account that, so far, only nation-states can joint NAFTA and the EU. Keating stresses the need for a constitutional breach and a process of transition if sovereignty within these institutions is to be achieved and warns against perceiving the EU and NAFTA as a half-way house to independence.

A further and crucial aspect considered by Keating concerns the relationship between Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland with the states containing them. He stresses the constructualist tradition existing in these three cases as a factor which has defined membership of the state as a bargain, historically discussed and subject to renegotiation over time. In spite of this, negotiations with the state have never run smoothly. At the moment, the ideas of asymmetrical federalism and sovereignty-association defended by some nationalists in stateless nations are proving contentious, and generate hostility on behalf of the state which presents them as implying an erosion of equal citizenship.

Michael Keating has written a book which offers an empirical and comparative analysis of nationalism in stateless nations, in so doing he points to the fact that some contemporary forms of nationalism differ substantially from the classical nationalism which contributed to the constitution and consolidation of the nation-state in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. *Nations against the State*, by focusing on Quebec, Catalan and Scottish nationalism concentrates on a type of nationalism grounded upon the defence of democracy and collective rights. But, it is true that not all stateless nationalisms are democratic and for this reason we should be attentive to the urgent need to distinguish between those nationalisms which are based upon democratic principles and those which defend an ethnocentric world view based upon the implementation of exclusion mechanisms which often involve the use of force.

In *Nations against the State*, Keating offers a well-argued and stimulating analysis of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland. This book will

be essential reading for scholars of nationalism and students in the fields of sociology and politics.

MONTSERRAT GUIBERNAU
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Roel Meijer (ed.), *Cosmopolitanism, Identity and Authenticity in the Middle East*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press 1999, 196 pp. £30.00, £14.99 (pbk.).

At a time when much contemporary discussion in political theory is concerned with normative aspects of globalisation, be these global citizenship, multiculturalism or forms of cosmopolitanism, it is valuable to consider antecedents of these ideas. As the editor Roel Meijer writes, in the introduction to this book on cosmopolitanism and identity sponsored by the European Cultural Foundation in Amsterdam, the Middle East was, in the past, 'an open undefined territory in which groups of different religious and ethnic backgrounds intermingled and exchanged ideas and lifestyles'. The value of such a recuperation is three-fold: to identify, where they may have existed, historical forms of cosmopolitanism; to trace how forms of broader identification may have fared with regard to other, more communal, and particularist, values; to relate these historic elements of cosmopolitanism to the contemporary world.

The main message of this, motley, collection of studies is that in the past the Middle East did embody certain forms of cosmopolitanism, but that modern forces – the modern state, anti-imperialism, the mass politics of secular and religious forces alike – have overwhelmed these forms. Globalisation now substitutes a different kind of superficial and consumerist, universalism.

This decline in broader forms of identity is the more striking, since the potential for various forms of cosmopolitan culture, and politics, can be found within strands of Middle Eastern culture: all religions, and not least Islam, contain universalist themes, just as did the secular ideologies that arose after 1918. There is nowhere more cosmopolitan than Mecca, a site where people of all nations and colours meet without distinction in a common pursuit. Islamic mysticism, as in the Sufi poetry of Rumi, embodies what one would today regard as cosmopolitan themes. In Turkey Islamists invoke the multiculturalism of the Ottoman past, claiming this to be the first realisation of multiculturalism. For its part, no tradition has contributed more to universalism than the Jewish. But modern society and politics have led to a very different outcome, in which affiliation has taken a particularist, often culturally nationalist, form: the Turkish Islamists have no time for the claims of a separate Kurdish identity. Where once tradition was something to be rejected, or at least questioned, the opposite is now true: 'roots', 'identity', 'authenticity', 'heritage' and tradition itself are now almost universally valued.

In his essay Sami Zubaida distinguishes cosmopolitanism, a milieu, ideology or place where people freed of their communal bonds can relate as individuals, from both an earlier world of fixed communal cultures, and the colonial but myopic world of Durrell's Levantine Alexandria (the same could be said of the Tangiers of Bowles, the Aden of Rimbaud and the Istanbul of Loti). What was crucial for the emergence of these milieus was the deracination associated with the modern world, a process that created literary circles, cafès, films and lifestyles of a distinctive kind. Its inhabitants were artists, intellectuals, dilettantes. Such was the cosmopolitan world of the first half of the twentieth century, one threatened and destroyed, or dispersed to London and Paris, by the modern state. Zubaida draws attention to one, pervasive, aspect of this shift, the declining competence of the new elites in European languages: relying on indirect access, this 'culture of translation' is an important component of the new particularism.

Several authors discuss the growth of contrary forces – identity, community, nationalism – within a modern context. The term 'authenticity', in Arabic *asala*, literally 'firmness', or 'purity of origin', has come to denote the ambivalence of such a process. Logically, and historically, it may indeed be argued that authenticity, like nationalism itself, is a precondition for cosmopolitanism, but in the modern cultural politics of the Middle East authenticity has become more the obstacle to, rather than the precondition for, an open or flexible cultural attitude. As Ahmed Abdalla and Mohammed Sayyid Sais show for Egypt, nationalism came to be opposed to cosmopolitanism, its critique of imperialism and foreign influence being assimilated to an often dogmatic cultural nationalism.

Islamic fundamentalism, for all its denunciations of the nation-state, has taken a national, state-specific, as well as cultural nationalist, form. It has also become associated with a closed, dogmatic, interpretation of sacred texts: Nasr Abu Zeid's account of the modernist interpretation of the Koran and its suppression in the Arab world is eloquent in this regard. What this critique of authenticity, national or religious, points to is not just the prevalence of sterile interpretations of tradition, but the fallacy of any attempt, liberal or conservative, to denote a cultural essence, to identify what a 'true' or genuine authenticity may be.

Where in the past distinctive, if tenuous, transnational links existed, these are now sundered by the forced confrontations of state and nation. A common Persian–Arabic space, like a common Jewish–Muslim one, has been all but destroyed by the politics of the twentieth century. So too have the urban milieus, multicultural in a traditional, communal sense, but allowing, as Zubaida suggests, for cosmopolitan elites, which existed in many now homogenised cities: Baghdad, Tehran, Aden, Cairo, Algiers and Beirut. Here, as elsewhere, nationalism would appear to have a lot to answer for.

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Charles King and Neil J. Melvin (eds.), *Nations Abroad: Diaspora Politics and International Relations in the Former Soviet Union*. Boulder/Oxford: Westview Press, 1998. 240 pp. £42.50.

The 25 million Russians scattered across the former Soviet Union (FSU) have become a fashionable research topic in post-Soviet area studies. Under the evocative title *Nations Abroad*, this book represents the first attempt at a comparative study of trans-border ethnic groups in the FSU. With the break-up of the Soviet Union internal administrative borders turned into state boundaries, which left sizable national minorities in most of the successor states. How these new minorities will be accommodated is one of the great questions in post-Soviet state- and nation-building and in the relations between the newly independent states. The editors of this volume offer a conceptual and comparative framework for loosely connected case studies on the Russians, Jews, Armenians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Volga Tatars and Poles. Some of the case studies follow a rather schematic pattern, providing fact-sheets scanning the post-communist states, while the more interesting ones try to integrate theory and empirical research using a thematic approach.

In his introductory chapter Charles King reviews some of the literature on ethnic diasporas, a topic that encaptures the increasingly blurry distinction between national and international politics. Democratisation and marketisation, in particular, have opened up a range of new channels for ethnic solidarity to cut across state borders. The book revolves around the notion of 'internationalised ethnicity' and the relationship between kin-states, host-states and diasporas or other trans-border communities. Thus, it takes Brubaker's ideas on the triadic nexus behind 'nationalising policies' as a starting-point for further empirical research on 'diaspora politics'. The definitions of what constitutes a diaspora vary considerably, from broad definitions, highlighting the lack of a territorial base of any ethnic community, to a range of detailed criteria derived from the examples of the Jewish or Armenian diaspora. This book focuses on four essential traits: 'the migratory memory, strong inter-generational solidarity buttressed by communal institutions, permanent residence outside the historic or mythic homeland, and a sense of divided loyalty between the state or residence and the homeland (whether an independent state or part of a larger political entity)' (pp. 7–8). On the basis of these characteristics the editors make a case for studying archetypical diasporas within the same analytical framework as new trans-border ethnic communities. The framework of this book emphasises the state's role in constructing and using diasporas as political tools through institutional outlets. This cultivation of trans-border ethnic ties, rather oddly termed 'diasporisation' (p. 12), can be both a source of insecurity or rivalry and 'a way of defusing outstanding territorial issues between states' (p. 11).

The case studies begin with a chapter by Neil Melvin on the Russians in

the former Soviet Union, the undoubtedly most pressing trans-border ethnic issue which contrary to pessimistic predictions and much rhetoric, has not flared up into large-scale conflict. Zvi Gitelman's chapter classifies the (post-)Soviet Jews as a sub-group of the archetypical Jewish diaspora, 'a diaspora within a diaspora' (p. 59), i.e. Russian-speaking Jews in Israel and in the West. The break-up of the USSR increased the contact between Soviet and world Jewry and between Soviet Jews and Israel, but intra-diaspora relations have been far more important than the role of Soviet successor states. The chapter on the Armenian diaspora–homeland relations by Razmik Panossian takes 1988 as a cut-off year to gauge changing patterns of identity politics over time. His historical account, which focuses on the 'external' Western Armenian diaspora and its uneasy rapprochement with (post-)Soviet Armenia, convincingly underscores the different and sometimes conflicting perceptions of the 'homeland' inherent in a broader sense of belonging to the 'nation' held by the diaspora and the kin-state.

Andrew Wilson's chapter on the 'eastern' Ukrainian diaspora briefly scans the postcommunist countries and concludes that as yet the identification with the homeland is weak, which is accentuated by the fact that the Ukrainian state lacks the resources and will to promote active diaspora politics. The organisational weakness of the 'eastern' diaspora forms a stark contrast to the significant 'western' Ukrainian diaspora. The Kazakh case illustrates an instrumental approach to the newly discovered diaspora. As Sally Cummings argues, Kazakhstan's active repatriation policy fits the overall pattern of Kazakh nation-building in the late Soviet and post-Soviet period, aiming to rectify the disadvantageous demographic situation. This repatriation policy is, in particular, targeting the new post-Soviet Kazakh diaspora which emigrated to Western Europe, Turkey and North America as recently as the 1990s.

The Volga Tatars are the second largest ethnic group in the Russian Federation after the Russians. Katherine Graney argues that ethnonationalism was limited in Tatarstan itself, but the presence of a large Tatar community outside of Tatarstan proved a political tool for the Tatarstan leadership while at the same time binding Tatarstan's future to the Russian Federation. Thus the Tatar diaspora illustrates the different nuances of the simplistic ethnic–civic dichotomy. Tim Snyder's eloquent chapter on the Poles puts the diaspora question in the perspective of Poland's European aspirations. His stimulating historical-political discussion reaches a convincing conclusion about Poland as a 'post-diasporic state'. 'The promise of a west European future outshines the gilded but fading memories of Poland's eastern mission, and neither the definition of the Polish nation nor that of the Polish state requires a diaspora' (p. 199).

As some of the chapters, most notably the ones on the Armenians, Ukrainians and Poles, demonstrate, not all sizable minorities have emerged as culturally distinct, politically mobilised and networked groups sharing a homeland myth. Moreover, some of the case studies escape the general

framework, as the authors focus on the politically and culturally more relevant external diaspora communities, most notably the Jews and Armenians. As for the editors' aim to locate the topic in comparative politics and international relations, the conclusion illustrates the diversity in the triangular relationships among kin-states, host-states and diasporas. Despite raising important questions about the dynamics behind trans-national ethnic ties and providing interesting facts on some of the cases, the overall framework of analysis remains sketchy, and the use of the term 'diaspora' still seems debatable in view of the apparent lack of organisation and resources among many trans-border communities.

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John T. Ishiyama and Marijke Breuning, *Ethnopolitics in the New Europe*. Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998, 201 pp. £35.95.

In recent decades there has been a multiplication of European political parties which represent minority ethnic groups, that is ethnopolitical parties. This multiplication was given renewed momentum in the New Europe with the democratisation of Eastern and Central Europe following the collapse of communism. Broadly speaking, ethnopolitical parties share the aim of representing ethnic minorities within a political community, and defending and extending the recognition and rights of their constituents. Obviously, however, they come in different shapes and guises. Moreover, the extent to which they seek to influence the government and politics of the state within which they are contained varies. Each can be placed on a spectrum which ranges from those who merely seek to expand their electorates' share of government outputs to those who challenge the fundamental legitimacy of the multination states which contain them. Within this framework, Ishiyama and Breuning set out to explain why individual ethnopolitical parties are more or less radical in the goals they pursue.

Six hypotheses drawn from the existing literature as to why some ethnopolitical parties are more radical than others are subjected 'to the litmus test of empiricism' (p. 3) in this volume. They include pent-up frustrations experienced under previous regimes, economic underachievement, the degree of regional integration, the nature of political representation, the degree of nationalism expressed by existing state authorities and the ethnic composition of the ethnopolitical party.

The authors opt for a somewhat over-complex case study approach of ethnic groups (not parties) contained in six multination European states: Bulgaria, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Belgium and Great Britain. Structured as five chapters, eight main ethnopolitical movements are included in three sets of paired comparisons. The case studies have been selected on the basis

that there are at least two large geographically concentrated ethnic groups in competition with one another within a parliamentary (as opposed to a presidential) system and that there are 'ethnic kin states across their borders' (p. 16). The research is primarily drawn from a wide range of articles and newspaper interviews with elite political entrepreneurs between 1990 and 1997. Thirty-seven tables provide a wealth of electoral and economic data.

The first paired comparison outlines the different approaches and experiences of the Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF), which consists principally of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria and the main Hungarian parties in Slovakia. The MRF, the authors contend, has not been very radical in its demands because it faces virtually no challenges to its role as the representative of ethnic Turks, nor from extreme Bulgarian nationalists. Moreover, it represents a fairly homogeneous constituency. None of these three criteria hold so clearly for the Hungarian Slovaks and thus, the authors conclude, may explain why the Hungarians in Slovakia are more radical in their demands than the Turks in Bulgaria.

The second paired comparison examines the response of ethnic Russians to their new-found status as minorities in Latvia and Estonia. Not surprisingly perhaps, both lack a fully developed identity as a community, which in any case is largely premised on attachment to symbols of the Soviet era. To date, largely because of the early evolution of a competitive party system, Russophones in Estonia have been much more radical in their political demands than their kin in Latvia. In the future, however, this is likely to be reversed because, as events in 1998–9 suggest, Russophones in Latvia remain largely excluded from the political process.

The Volsunie and Vlaams Blok in Belgium, and the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru in Great Britain, comprise the third focused comparison. While there is an obvious link between the Flemish parties and their ethnic kin in the neighbouring Netherlands, it is unclear to this reviewer which are the 'ethnic kin states across their borders' of the Scots and Welsh. Moreover, to label Scottish ethnopolitics as a 'straight-forward reaction to the region's economic dependency' (p. 153), seems at best out of kilter with the admission that many Scottish voters became increasingly disenchanted with British central government during the Thatcher era (p. 158).

In contrasting ethnopolitical parties in Western and Eastern Europe, the authors conclude that those in Western Europe are surprisingly more likely to be radical in their politics. Interestingly, the stability of the existing democratic political order appears to encourage ethnopolitical parties to be radical in their demands. Ethnopolitical parties in states in transition, however, are likely to be less radical because they 'are concerned that if the house catches fire, then the entire political system will burn down' (p. 175). Democratic ethnopolitical parties in transition regimes we can assume, although it is never spelt out, interestingly put democracy before political demands.

This book contributes to the literature on European ethnopolitical parties, and sets out to identify the factors which make them more or less radical, though not violent. It is useful in that it subjects a number of assumptions about this literature to the litmus test of empiricism. However, it is doubtful whether the contention that there are more commonalities between ethnopolitical parties in Eastern and Western Europe than previously thought, is sufficiently substantiated. Moreover, the criteria for the author's selection of case studies is somewhat lacking in uniformity. Ultimately, while the subject and case studies are both important and interesting, the central arguments could have been more carefully thought through and argued in the text.

ADAM BISCOE
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Karl Cordell (ed.), *Ethnicity and Democratisation in the New Europe*. London: Routledge 1999, 224 pp. £50.00, £16.99 (pbk.).

Editors of single volume books are faced with similar problems to those of leaders of democratic multiethnic states: maintaining a balance between diversity within a single construct. How leaders of states in the New Europe, many of whom have recently experienced regime collapse and renewal, tackle this task is the focus of Cordell's book. Broadly speaking, two outcomes are posited: either the creation of a system characterised by tolerance, or one where authoritarian responses are the norm. Which prevails, it is unsurprisingly argued, will depend on the political and cultural history of the particular state, the existing mechanisms for resolving ethnic conflict, the balance of forces within the society, and increasingly, the disposition of international actors. Often crucially underlying these factors, is economic stability.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I – 'scene setting' for the subsequent ten 'contemporary case studies' – contains six chapters. Following Cordell's brief introduction Richards provides a broad historical survey of the relationship between ethnicity and democracy, questioning whether they are complimentary or incompatible concepts. In 'Ethnicity in western Europe today', Payton contends that ethnic mobilisation is mainly related to state failure, in the sense that increasingly within states – and indeed within the wider international system – there exists a democratic deficit. Echoing British Prime Minister Blair with regard to Scottish devolution, Payton argues that ethnic mobilisation should be regarded as part of the process of democratic renewal. Gilligan, meanwhile, warns of the potential dangers for individual equality of the granting of group rights. The final two chapters of Part I importantly consider the increasing trend of the international community to involve itself in intra-state ethnic conflicts. Both Burgess and Chandler, albeit from different perspectives, highlight the

similarities of the current standard-setting by West European states for the management of ethnic conflict among East European states, with that which occurred in the 1920s and 1930s. This standard-setting, Burgess cogently argues, is creating a new division of Europe.

Part II examines how ethnic diversity has affected regime change in ten new European states. The case studies range from Spain, as perhaps an early benchmark for democratising multiethnic states (Guibernau), to Uzbekistan (Horsman). Within this wide geographical and temporal conception of the New Europe, immigration policy and ethnic minorities in Germany (Schmidt), the Slovene minority in Austria (Jesih) and the Germans in Upper Silesia (Kamusella and Sullivan) are discussed alongside insightful perceptions of recent ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia (Bozic), greater Albania including Kosovo (Miall), Hungary (Kovats) and the former Czechoslovakia (Schaeffer). Bozic importantly notes that it is rarely ethnic difference which causes conflict, but rather that the mass media and rhetoric of political entrepreneurs often has a critical part to play. Miall provides a timely overview of the problems confronting state and state-nation builders in Albania. As if foreseeing the many aspects of the 1999 war in Kosovo, he suggests that a new type of nationalism, which ignores borders and mobilises both the diaspora and the international community, may be the way ahead for Albanian (and other) nation-builders. This new type of nationalism, Kovats argues, has been a principal strategy of the Hungarian state. It has successfully reached out to the Magyar diaspora and gained the support of the international community for internal democratisation. However, the tangible results for the Roma in Hungary, he argues, are marginal, manoeuvring Roma politics into an ethnic ghetto. Ossipov contrasts the post-Soviet Russian regime's approach to internal ethnic groups and nationalities with its predecessor, concluding that while the current regime recognises more ethnic groups, and is generally more open to their influence, unequal treatment persists, which is worrying in the light of the huge range of ethnic groups within Russia today and current political instability.

In the brief 'Conclusion: Whither Europe?' Cordell notes that there are no obvious determinants as to how ethnicity will affect the process of transition. Invariably, it is argued, 'ethnic difference will only become a source of conflict when other specific factors come into play' (p. 213), and especially when a society becomes dysfunctional.

This edited collection principally complements two areas of contemporary political study. First, the study of how states manage ethnic conflict, in the vein of McGarry and O'Leary's 'The Management of Conflict'. Second, the study of European states in transition, as represented by R. Caplan and J. Feffer's 'New Nationalism: States and Minorities in Conflict'. Ultimately, it is the attempt to straddle both sets of literature which is at once the strength and weakness of the book. The inclusion of ten highly diverse case studies, alongside the five theoretical chapters, in

such a short volume provides a good introduction to the study of both the management of ethnic conflict by states and the international community, and the politics of many individual multiethnic states in transition. In this regard, Cordell is to be applauded for taking a hands-off approach to editing, by neither imposing a strict framework for analysis for the fifteen other contributors, nor trying to conjure up too many common themes in the conclusion. Ultimately, this lack of editorial fiat results (perhaps mirroring the Swiss model of state organisation) in what will remain a very useful introduction to a vast area of study.

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Kemal Kirisci and Gareth M. Winrow, *The Kurdish Question and Turkey, An Example of a Trans-state Ethnic Conflict*. London: Frank Cass, 1997. 256 pp. £17.50 (pbk).

In the summer of 1999 the Kurdish question in Turkey has again achieved international attention. PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan was sentenced to death by a Turkish state security court on 29 June. Immediately President Demirel and Prime Minister Ecevit stated that a judgment by the European Court of Human Rights to the contrary would be followed, although in the past the authority of this court was not fully acknowledged in Turkey. The notion of the indivisibility and stability of the Turkish Republic, on the other hand, gained prime significance when on the same day Greece, Armenia and Iran announced a Common Defence Commission. The NATO engagement in the Kosovo region further drew attention to another NATO member's own ethnic problem. Kirisci and Winrow's case study offers many insights and solutions to the problem.

In the opening chapters the authors discuss the concepts of nations, ethnic groups and minorities. They continue with a historic and legal overview of the notion of self-determination. Further on they survey the history of the Turkish republic and the Kurdish question as well as the traditional views and fears of the Turkish establishment.

Discussing the broad range of possible solutions – from secession, autonomy to minimal cultural and linguistic concessions – Kirisci and Winrow disagree with other views, which call for an 'ethnic solution to an ethnic problem'. They argue that the activities of both the PKK and the Turkish military accelerate the polarisation of Turkish society along ethnic lines, which they perceive to be unnecessary and counterproductive. They further argue that a first step towards a solution would be to grant cultural, educational and linguistic rights, perhaps even short of an official recognition of the Kurdish minority. The authors favour gradualism given the Kemalist background of the republic and the regional implications.

Their overview of Ottoman and Turkish history serves to make the reader aware of fears of the establishment and the failure of the Kurds to develop a unified nationalist platform, when Mustafa Kemal attempted to create a 'new' Turkish identity. It is crucial to understand that under Kemal nation- and state-building took place simultaneously against the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire. Turkish identity thus was rooted in the concept of the 'nation of Islam', which was previously open to all Moslem ethnicities. Accordingly, the Kurds were entitled to the same civic rights as their Turkish co-Moslems. Kirisci and Winrow argue that in the early years of the republic the concept of civic nationalism was broadly neglected and ethnic nationalism practised. They argue for a redefinition of Turkishness, a civic nationalism and the development of a multicultural society in Turkey. They discard secession as inviable given the territorial character of the problem and advise a form of federal devolution for all of Turkey. They also stress the positive impact on further democratisation this would have for all of Turkey. When ruling out radical solutions they also stress that the extreme points of view advocated by Kurdish and Turkish public figures as well as Western politicians and commentators serve neither cause and will produce adversary effects. This view seems to be vindicated by many events in the past when either the West or the Kurds have pressed the Turkish government for concessions and it has reacted by adopting an even tougher policy against all Kurds – moderate or extreme. The West should, according to Kirisci and Winrow, strengthen Turkish democracy and not isolate it in its struggle for a Western style society.

At first reading the authors may be accused of lack of vision or even of more sympathy for a unified Turkey than for Kurdish aspirations in general. However, their arguments are, against the background of viable solutions, not only realistic, but also radical given the traditional views and the silence imposed upon the discussion by the state authorities in Turkey. At times the reader is surprised at how optimistic the authors are in their view of the Kurdish question as an opportune test for Turkish democracy. That there remains hope and room for Turkish politicians to maneuvre in, is documented by liberal and far-sighted remarks by members of the Turkish political elite such as the late President Ozal or even Tansu Ciller. That an independent unified Kurdistan is not going to be on the political agenda for some time – is underlined by remarks by moderate and extremist Kurdish nationalists – such as Ocalan. Kirisci and Winrow's book is not only suitable as an academic case study, but also as a handbook for Western, Turkish and Kurdish politicians involved in this problem.

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Martin Stone, *The Agony of Algeria*. London: Hurst and Company, 1997. 274 pp. £14.95 (pbk).

Martin Stone's concise and informative account of modern Algeria is a welcome addition to the growing English-language literature on this Maghrebi country. For despite the considerable efforts of specialists like Hugh Roberts, William Quandt, Claire Spencer or John Ruedy to keep the third-largest African state on the Anglo-American intellectual map, it has taken the sordid news of Algeria's ten-year social and political implosion to attract the English-speaking public's attention to the country's tragic predicament. Much of this neglect can be explained with reference to the limited international repercussions of the Algerian conflict; a smaller part to the assumption that French scholarship holds academic *chasse gardée* over the Maghreb. Although Martin Stone's study reflects both the essentially 'domestic' nature of the present crisis (only two of the twelve chapters are dedicated explicitly to international relations) and the prevalent Francophone accounts of the country's history (evinced in the select bibliography at the end of the volume), it does none the less achieve at least one of its stated aims, namely: 'to introduce Algeria to English-speaking readers who may be unfamiliar with it ... maximiz[ing] accessibility to students, analysts, businesspeople and general readers' (p. v).

The author's central concern is to explain the socioeconomic and political crisis that hit Algeria in the late 1980s. Shying away from the journalistic temptation of focusing exclusively on the present manifestations of the crisis, Stone dedicates the first half of the study to its historical precedents both during and after French colonial rule. He offers an elementary, though never superficial, account of the rise of Algerian nationalism during the interwar period; its consolidation during the immediate postwar years; and the launch in November 1954 of a revolutionary war of liberation that led to Algerian independence eight years and a million deaths later. It is here that the ideological and cultural contradictions inherent in Algerian nationalism are first identified and which, for the author, hold the key to any understanding of postcolonial Algeria. Indeed, in successive chapters examining the development of socioeconomic and political institutions of independent Algeria, Stone emphasises the country's fragmentation into antagonistic ethnic, ideological and economic groups that sustain the competing factions of the ruling class, or what the Algerians somewhat enigmatically call 'le pouvour'. Thus, for Stone, the successive political conflicts over the role of religion in the state's constitution, the place of Arabic in the education system, or the country's economic liberalisation under the presidency of Chadli Benjedid (1979–89) all reflect the deeper malaise of a society unable to reconcile the myriad sources of its national identity: secular and religious, Arab and Berber, revolutionary and conservative, military and civilian.

The second half of the volume explores in greater detail the contem-

porary expressions of this breakdown in Algeria's social and political fabric. Stone deftly guides the reader through the complex sequence of events that led to the army's cancellation of the second round of legislative elections in January 1992 and the subsequent intensification of violence between the state's security forces and Islamist insurgents. He further discusses the successive attempts by the regime and the opposition forces to reinstate some degree of social and political normality through constitutional reform, fresh rounds of local, legislative and presidential elections and diverse initiatives aimed at reaching a negotiated peace in Algeria.

The benefit of hindsight, which the author exploits by extending his study right up to 1997 parliamentary elections, gives Stone sufficient grounds to be sceptical about any quick antidotes to Algeria's agony. In the concluding chapter, he emphasises how the considerable potential of this youthful, well-educated and resourceful state will only be realised if Algerians learn from their own past and resolve the triple challenge of legitimising their political institutions, reconciling the latter to the country's powerful Muslim heritage and recognising the Berberophone input into Algeria's identity.

Few – including many Algerians – would disagree with these specific elements of Stone's diagnosis. There are, however, two broad assumptions in the book that do require challenging in order to avoid an essentialist reading of Algerian politics. The first relates to Stone's overemphasis on factional politics as the determinant factor in explaining the Algerian crisis. There is no doubt that Algerian politics, and its ruling class in particular, is, as in many other countries, faction-ridden. But the interesting questions left unanswered here are: what are those factions defending, and who is their constituency? By accepting uncritically that factions emanating from the war of liberation or from the ideological disputes over economic reforms, are the mainstay of Algerian politics, Stone opens his argument up to the charge of circularity. An analysis based on say, the political economy of such factionalism since the advent of neo-liberal reforms in the 1980s might deliver an explanation of the crisis that links the establishment's infighting to concrete struggles over, for example, control over import-export licensing or the concentration of foreign investment in a particular region or sector. The socioeconomic sources to the present crisis are excessively muted in Stone's account. Second, the author makes far too much of the Arab–Berber faultline in Algerian politics. Notwithstanding the fact that Berberophones are equally represented both within the country's secular intellectual, political and economic elite, and the poorer, disenfranchised and often Islamist 'masses', the politics of Berberism is circumscribed to the militant and vociferous, but none the less limited constituency of the Kabyle mountains.

Specialists may quibble about the odd historical inaccuracy or the insufficient documentation backing some of the book's more controversial statements. But these are unfair criticisms of a study that never claims to be an exercise in original academic research. Once this is borne in mind, the

minor conceptual and historical shortcomings of the book are outweighed by its capacity to provide a succinct, accessible, comprehensive and historically sensitive introduction to contemporary Algeria.

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Asafa Jalata (ed.), *Oromo Nationalism and Ethiopian Discourse: The Search for Freedom and Democracy*. New Jersey: Red Sea Press, 1998. No price.

In the book under review, one contributor portrays the modernist view that 'a fervent commitment to nationalism seems like a quaint holdover from the past' (p. 223). Yet the proliferation of movements for national self-determination and dedication for national causes continues to puzzle many observers. The first is a reaction to bitter events that engendered two devastating wars fought under the banners of nations. In the face of these, some looked forward to a fast and vast information and communication age, the era of economic globalisation and, indeed, restrained migration with an uneasy embrace of a 'brave new world'.

The second dimension is the progressive change-oriented outcomes entailed by nationalism. Nationalism is still thought to be a powerful ideology of modern statehood. It once offered vitality to territorially defined states and 'imagined communities'. For people under colonial rule, it highlighted their cause and their solution; yet the conditions that mobilise nationalist feelings varied from place to place. In much of Africa, colonial rule gave way to ill-defined territorial states. Elsewhere in Africa, and in Ethiopia to be specific, a crude form of colonialism remained. Like all forms of colonial rule, it superimposed itself as the law of the land; it oppressed and repressed peoples, cultures and languages; it denied history to people and controlled their self-expression and identity. Little has been written about this unique form of what could be called 'black on black colonialism'. The book under review is about one of the national struggles to end this colonialism, driven by shared feelings of oppression, exploitation, denigration and subordination of the Oromos to the mainly Abyssinian Others since the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The book consists of ten essays uncovering the elements behind Oromo nationalism and the struggle for national self-determination. In chapters 1 and 2 Asefa Jalata argues that since the times of the conquest of the Oromo, resistance of different degrees had been in operation. Yet the emergence of Oromo nationalism is a recent phenomenon associated with the emergence of intellectuals, revolutionaries and professional groups in the 1960s. The process involved education and the migration of Oromos to urban areas that exposed many to the knowledge of the cultural, linguistic and political Others. Keenly aware of the past that had deprived and denigrated their folk, ethnonational self-help associations were formed.

Then through time the cultural phase of nationalism was transformed into political struggle. As part of the national resistance and struggle, Oromo nationalist scholars undermined the Ethiopianist discourse that reduces them to 'peoples without history and civilisation' (p. 1).

In chapter 4, Lemmu Baisa examines the features of nationalisms in the Ethiopian empire. The empire now faces several contending nationalisms from Amhara, Tigrai, Oromo, Somali, Sidamas and others. Now more than ever, the struggle is for control of resources and state power. He sees both Amhara and Tigrai nationalism as having similar objectives 'except tactical differences: Both oppose Oromo and other national groups wanting complete democratic rights and genuine power-sharing' (p. 82). He examines the theoretical bases and applicability of the Oromo quest for national self-determination in the context of Ethiopia. The conclusion is that short of complete and genuine democratisation, the 'Oromos cannot be satisfied with less than full independence and sovereignty . . .' (p. 104).

Edmond Keller claims (chapter 5) that the Ethiopian empire is experiencing yet another revolution whereby the new rulers want to 'construct society along new foundations' (p. 109). Focusing on the 'national question', he notes that Menelik's colonisation undermined the Oromo mode of governance inculcated in the gada system. Then Haile Selassie's regime destroyed 'the culture, language, and religions of non-Amhara ethnic groups, particularly those in the south and the east of the empire', while at the same time, Amhara culture was implicitly presented as a defining trait of 'Ethiopian' nationality (pp. 110–11). This perception continued with the derg military government. When the military derg was overthrown in 1991, the OLF invested faith in the transitional government. But the government dominated by the TPLF and EPRDF pursued statist policies. He also notes quite rightly that the EPRDF's 'conception of self-determination for constituent states is much closer to that of Stalin than to anything else [with the belief] that ethnic states have the right to self-determination but not the right to exercise that right' (p. 114).

Four reasons are given by Mohammed Hassen (chapter 8) as to why Oromo nationalism grew in the mid-twentieth century. The first is the specific nature of Ethiopian colonialism, which is based within the country compared to European colonialism that was based on distant metropoles. The rulers were backward and they dealt with developing nationalism in a crude manner. Second, while nationalism is a complex and slow process, the lack of intellectual class that informs the national consciousness contributed its part. Third, and related to the first two, is the attempt of Ethiopian ruling elite 'to prevent the development of Oromo nationalism by co-opting and liquidating Oromo leadership' (p. 187). Yet eventually the 'government's cruelty and brutality' has only 'produced the Oromo elite's rejection of Ethiopian identity itself' (p. 212). The fourth, and equally important to the opposition from the Ethiopia, is the intent of Somalian elites, Said Bare's regime to be specific, with its vision of 'Greater Somalia'.

That regime viewed Oromo nationalism as a threat to the realisation of its goal.

John Sorenson discusses, in chapter 9, the potency of ethnicity and nationalism in Ethiopia where the former is further complicated by the fact that an erstwhile dominant elite identifies itself with Amhara, speaking Amharic language and professing Orthodox Christianity. Currently the problems associated with Abyssinian fundamentalism that valorises Amhara identity and denigrates other groups continues to employ racist discourse as part of its power struggle. He is of the view that the problem with Western scholarship on Ethiopia has been that 'it accepted and embellished a particular version of the past and neglected others. Many western scholars uncritically adopted the discursive constructions of local hegemonic forces, reproducing ''Ö'' a narrative that valorises an ancient, centralised state that formed the basis of a greater Ethiopia, under the leadership of the elite of the northern highlands of Abyssinaia . . .' (p. 230).

Asafa Jalata (chapter 10) provides a conclusion to the book by describing how knowledge can be created, disseminated and distorted to suit a dominant elite. In this essay, he demonstrates the domination of knowledge creation by Ethiopian elites and outside scholars who distorted Oromo history. The struggle for national self-determination would include the sphere of knowledge and scholarship.

Oromo nationalism is one of the most potent in Africa, and this volume provides an introduction to a national project and a history of a people that have been used and abused. The book is an excellent addition to Oromo studies constituting essential reading for students of contemporary nationalism not only in Africa but also throughout the world. For Africanists in general, and Africans, in particular, it is recommended reading.

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Kay B. Warren, *Indigenous Movements and their Critics: Pan Maya Activism in Guatemala*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998. £12.95 (pbk).

In recent years, indigenous actors in Latin American nation-states have begun to challenge their political and historical invisibility. Several salient factors have contributed to this process. The wave of democratisation across the continent, though by no means uniform or consolidated, initiated the generation of political spaces, allowing actors wider scope to oppose civilian administrations that continued to violate human rights and showed reluctance to redress past abuses. The end of the Cold War impacted further upon these processes as the effective defeat of socialism disrupted traditional political alignments and platforms in the region. Furthermore, diverse sectors of citizens organised in response to widespread violent and repressive counter-insurgency policies carried out under military and civilian regimes.

In states with numerically extensive indigenous populations such political violence was often focused upon indigenous peoples, instigating the development of cross-community indigenous alliances and fostering the development of ethnic consciousness.

Whilst in Guatemala the emergence of indigenous politics has been linked to wider social developments, the phenomenon has been shaped by historical legacy and is rooted in the formations of Guatemalan society. In *Indigenous Movements and their Critics*, Kay Warren addresses this process, describing the evolution of the Pan-Maya Movement, one tendency of indigenous activism in Guatemala.

Warren undertakes the complex task of accounting for the historical development of Pan-Mayan activism, describing the activists and documenting their collective aims. A crucial element to this is her discussion of the role of public intellectuals in the Pan-Maya movement (p. 22). Taking into account the wider international context, the investigation plots the emergence of indigenous politics both in Guatemala and regionally, culminating in the cross-continental 'Five Hundred Years of Resistance Campaign' in 1992.

The book investigates the contributions and limitations of pan-Mayanism in the context of Guatemala's political transition (since 1985), whilst addressing the elaboration of indigenous cultural and political articulations between 1978 and 1998. Hence, in addition to assessing the impact of Pan-Mayanists upon the democratisation process, with particular reference to the content of the peace accords signed between the guerrillas and the government, Warren focuses on specific cultural responses to political violence, examining how such violence has shaped the Pan-Maya Movement.

Warren consistently refrains from categorically defining the movement. She argues that Pan-Mayanism cannot be conceptualised within the frames of ethnic revitalisation movements, invented traditions, ethnic nationalisms or new social movements. Warren does however insist on the distinction between the political mobilisations of the popular left and Pan-Mayanism, a social movement that has pursued scholarly and educational routes to social change and nation-building, in contrast to the mass mobilisations of the popular left (p. 4). Rather than defining the movement, Warren proposes that it is an institutionally diverse, polycentric and dynamic (p. 39) political articulation that focuses on the redefinition and reconstruction of the (hispanicised) ladino nation-state into a multicultural, multiethnic and plurilingual inclusive entity. The book details the movement's diversity and the changes that it has undergone over time and argues that the reinterpretation of history, the official recognition of indigenous languages and the construction of a pluricultural education system are key to the movement's aims.

By situating her own investigation and representation of Pan-Mayanism in parallel with a diverse selection of Mayanists' own publications and testimonies, Warren engages directly with issues of authenticity and

representation of self and other, themes that are critical to the unravelling of the, at times, controversial questions that inform the study and practice of identity politics. Warren addresses the issue of representation by detailing her own experiences as a North American engaging with Mayan activists, within both the academic and political spheres, where her constructionist conceptualisations of identity formation clashed with the strategic essentialisms of Mayan academics. This aspect of the book highlights a further element of change in Guatemala, namely the changing relationship between non-Mayan and Mayan academics. It is perhaps in the collaboration between North American and Mayan academics, a particular case of which is described in detail by Warren, that this change is most visible.

Based on substantial anthropological fieldwork within specific indigenous rural communities and on research with Pan-Maya activists, this collection of pieces, some of which have been published elsewhere, combines anthropological, sociological and political analysis with a presentation of the voices of Pan-Maya academics and activists. The book's most original contribution is perhaps its multifaceted and interdisciplinary engagement with indigenous issues in Guatemala, a state that persists in its reluctance to integrate its 60 per cent indigenous majority on their own terms of legal, political and cultural inclusion. The wide scope of analysis of the book at times, however, threatens its overall cohesiveness, perhaps diluting its impact in an area of research that is critical in its academic and political applications.

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Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Common Denominators: Ethnicity, Nation-Building and Compromise in Mauritius*. Oxford: Berg, 1998. 207 pp. £14.99 (pbk).

Eriksen's *Common Denominators* focuses on the communication of cultural differences and identities in multiethnic societies. It centres not so much on the distinction between identity and difference, but the communication between sameness and difference (p. 24). In what he calls a 'comparative spirit', Eriksen uses Mauritius, an African country in the Indian ocean, as a showcase for successful multiethnic relations in developing countries. He sees ethnicity, nation-building and compromise in Mauritius to be 'a counter-example to the depressingly numerous cases of violent ethnic conflict of recent years, and can provide fresh and sometimes unexpected premises for ongoing debates on multiculturalism and minority rights world wide' (p. ix).

The text works to demonstrate that every Mauritian is sure of where he or she belongs and how to place oneself within the 'compromised' varieties of behavioural patterns in the socioeconomic and political domains. There

is an immense amount of discussion of the issues of ethnic identity, stereotypes and the centrality of common denominators in Mauritian inter-ethnic relations. The bulk of this analysis is presented in chapters 3, 4 and 6.

Eriksen maintains that the Mauritian state actively encourages non-political assertions of cultural diversity, 'and has made ''the rainbow society'' an issue that cannot be neglected in political practice'. This fact contradicts the celebrated notion that Mauritius is 'one of the few stable democracies in the post-colonial world' – unless it is agreed that the term democracy in this case does not see beyond the ballot box. Mauritian democracy is narrowly defined to mean what Sammy Smooha and Theodor Hanf call 'ethnic democracy', in E. J. Brill, ed., *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Leiden 1992: 27–34).

Mauritian 'ethnic democracy' is derived from a society which institutionalises the dominance of one ethnic group and endorses the reproduction of social and cultural differences along ethnic lines. The author cites an intellectual who once said that in Mauritius ethnic peace is maintained through avoidance. The rule is to avoid controversial subjects outside one's inner circle. Probably a closer reflection on this statement could have been of great benefit to the critical analysis of peaceful multiethnic relations in Mauritius.

My concern with Eriksen's appraisal of the socioeconomic structure in Mauritius is that it is shaped along Darwinian lines and therefore sets the tone of stereotypical examples drawn in the study. Eriksen speaks from a voice that enhances racial hierarchies and its corresponding material structures in the name of multiethnic harmony. For that reason he foregrounds compromise as a tool for conflict resolution in the country. 'Compromise in political arenas and in the arena of married life, compromises between ethnic groups, between genders and between classes, between modernists and traditionalists, between Hindus and Christians, and between ethnic and non-ethnic . . .' (p. 5). The case studies used throughout the book discuss those positioned within the structures of power and those who have crossed those demarcation zones – the non-ethnic.

The book demonstrates that the power and status of an individual is dependent on ethnicity. One's occupational and educational prospects are greatly circumscribed by race. This is consistently proven in the book and summarised in Table 1 'ethnic stereotypes' (p. 54) and Table 2 'ethnically specific perceptions of resources in the labour market' (p. 64). Therefore any treatment of multiethnic relations in Mauritius as independent phenomena disregards fundamental truths as well as historical facts. Under French and English domination Creoles were forcibly assigned a position at the very bottom of society. The book requires a bisection of 'capitalism and parliamentarism' which the author claims to be 'the two institutional pillars of compromise, considered legitimate by the vast majority of Mauritians' (p. 185).

Class is a conceptual necessity for understanding the dynamics of society

and the unheard voices of those who are marginal to the dominant class. The fragility of inter-ethnic relations in Mauritius are contained in the words of an expatriate who said resignedly that 'in this island we walk on eggs all the time' (p. 48). Obviously, there are contradictions within the theory of 'compromise' which Eriksen's book needs to resolve.

All these caveats aside, Eriksen brings a better understanding of how religion, gender, language, race, national political system, state bureaucracy, ethnicity and division of labour determine the parameters of individuals in Mauritian society and other dimensions of Mauritian life.

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