

■ Atabaki, Touraj & Erik J. Zürcher, eds, 2004. *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization Under Atatürk and Reza Shah*. London & New York: I.B. Tauris. 286 pp. ISBN 1860644260.

In this edited volume, Atabaki & Zürcher present a comparative historical study of modernization in post-World War I Turkey and Iran. The leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey and Reza Shah in Iran, both authoritarian rulers who led elite-driven modernization projects, provides a natural basis of comparison. While there are clear similarities – two autocratic leaders imposing Westernizing reforms on Muslim societies in an effort to ‘save the state’ – the differences in their exercise of power is key to understanding the further development of Turkey and Iran. Reza Shah, by wielding absolute power over the political institutions of society, hinders their independence and, ultimately, their survival beyond his death. Atatürk, by allowing political institutions to develop an independent identity, is able to ensure their continuity. Thus, from a wider perspective, the book reflects on how the process of modernization determines the ends achieved. Atabaki & Zürcher note that modernization in European societies is associated with the gradual development and expansion of critical reason, accentuating individual autonomy and encouraging the emergence of civil society. By contrast, modernization in Iran and Turkey follows a reverse path in which state elites impose modernization on their respective societies. These reflections are particularly relevant at a time when the development of democracy in the Middle East figures high on the international agenda. The study provides nicely paired chapters that cover a range of themes from political institutions and civil–military relations to cultural politics. It is well written, innovative in its approach, and accessible for both academic and general audiences.

Pinar Tank

■ Aydinli, Ersel & James N. Rosenau, eds, 2005. *Globalization, Security, and the Nation-State: Paradigms in Transition*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. 282 pp. ISBN 0791464016.

This book deals with the question of how to understand contemporary security issues in world politics. The authors share a common interest in exploring how the dynamics of globalization affect world politics, particularly as it concerns security and the changing role of the nation-state. Part one contains three chapters on how to (re-)conceptualize security in a new international context. It provides three distinct views on the implications of globalization for our understanding of security. Part two discusses the state as an actor and how it is affected by, and responds to, globalization. Very different perspectives are provided, as one author argues that much remains the same, while two suggest that the state today faces qualitatively new security challenges. Part three focuses on regional perspectives, with interesting empirical analyses of Russia, the Middle East and Europe. Finally, the chapters in part four attempt to theorize about the implications of globalization, new security threats and changes in statehood for the dynamics of world politics more generally. This book is a useful resource for both scholars and students of world politics. Some chapters challenge conventional understandings and suggest alternative conceptualizations of statehood and security in the context of globalization. But the book suffers, to my mind, from too eclectic an approach to the subject matter. In his concluding chapter, for example, Aydinli identifies some general themes that emanate from the individual chapters – such as change, power and duality – but these appear too general to lend much specificity to the future study of how security issues are linked to globalization and statehood.

Ole Jacob Sending

political violence and instability. In this book, Kacowicz examines the role of international norms in accounting for Latin America's relatively benign international relations. Latin America, he argues, comprises a regional 'international society' derived from shared cultural origins and historical experiences. Post-colonial Latin American governments, hampered by internal instability and external weakness, were naturally inclined to embrace international norms of sovereignty, non-intervention, legal equality, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and to incorporate these norms into bilateral treaties and regional institutions. At a general level, Kacowicz sees international norms at work in Latin American states' frequent use of third-party arbitration to resolve disputes and in numerous peaceful cessions and exchanges of territory over the years. He also assesses the impact of norms in 11 specific case studies involving territorial and other 'security' conflicts between Latin American states from the 1880s to the present. Although the parties in these disputes typically invoked international norms selectively to favor their own position, the fact that most of these disputes were eventually resolved peacefully suggests that norms did, at a minimum, help establish a mutual presumption against the resort to violence. Like many IR scholars, Kacowicz rejects the dichotomization of normative factors and material interests, noting that norms and interests are more likely to be compatible than contradictory. Given the socially constructed nature of reality, he argues, we can assume that norms 'matter'. Of more importance is determining how and under what conditions they matter.

*Stephen A. Kocs*

■ Kamm, Oliver, 2005. *Anti-Totalitarianism: The Left-Wing Case for a Neoconservative Foreign Policy*. London: Social Affairs Unit. 127 pp. ISBN 190486306X.

Oliver Kamm is an unabashed universalist and enthusiastic supporter of robust action to promote democracy and human rights. For Kamm, Islamic fundamentalism and the despotism of Saddam Hussein are the recent incarnations of a totalitarianism that has always been the enemy of liberal democracy and the left. Kamm's villains are those of the traditional right, who have a tendency to support 'the national interest' instead of promoting democracy and human

rights; and much of the peace movement since the 1970s. It is on the anti-war activists that Kamm focuses most of the book's ire. For him, their opposition to war often made them, at best, apologists for totalitarianism and, at worst, its outright supporters (particularly those believing that liberal democracy is itself inherently imperialistic). Unfortunately, he seems to overly relish these personal exposures. Kamm reminds us that 'neo-conservative' was originally an abusive term used to describe US democrats who, in the late 1970s, supported aggressive tactics against the Soviet Union. His heroes are members of the post-WW2 UK Labour government – which comprised people with impeccable left-wing credentials who, nevertheless, viewed the Soviet Union not as a fellow traveller, but as an entity inimical to their democratic socialist principles. They were, therefore, instrumental in setting up NATO and supporting anti-communist movements. However, Kamm fails to provide a definition of the totalitarianism he opposes. Without it, it is difficult to judge where his anti-totalitarians should stop. Moreover, he also fails to provide any sense of how one should weigh the benefits of democratization against the inevitable costs of warfare. These two omissions leave us with a thought-provoking book that lacks the necessary tools to be useful.

*Nicholas Marsh*

■ Kapferer, Bruce, ed., 2004. *State, Sovereignty, War: Civil Violence in Emerging Global Realities*. New York: Berghahn. 170 pp. ISBN 1845450221.

This small pocket book authored by social anthropologists surprises by the conciseness of its individual chapters and by its unconventional analysis. Most of the varied contributions locate contemporary violence at the peripheries of a US-led global 'empire'. This outlook provides both thought-provoking (Feldman, Nordstrom, Rigi) and dull (Brown, Lithman, Löfving) reading. According to the authors, countries and territories such as Angola, Nigeria, Sudan, Mexico (Chiapas), India (Kerala), Rwanda, Chechnya, Palestine, Guatemala and Colombia have become 'spaces of legitimate human destruction' (p. 7). In these regions, warlords, drug cartels, multinational corporations and paramilitaries exert new types of sovereignty that challenge the Westphalian nation-state. Violence, the book claims, is increasingly

inherent in a post-1991 neo-liberal world order that is characterized by the coexistence of a human rights and democratization discourse at the global level and continuous political repression of marginalized groups at local levels. While states (and sometimes, also, political scientists) pay lip-service to democratic ideals and institutions, many governments and media have de facto become militarized. A case in point is the Chechen conflict, where 'war occurs between networks rather than nations' (p. 139). Despite some of the contributions' simplistic depiction of 'neo-liberalism' and an at times blatant anti-Americanism, this book features an interesting overview of critical approaches to conflict analysis. Kapferer's edited volume provides, in a sense, the missing link between Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire* (2001) and Mary Kaldor's *New and Old Wars* (2002). As such, it is a welcome contribution for peace and conflict researchers in search of alternative (qualitative) paradigms for today's violent political complexities.

*Tobias Hagmann*

■ Kissane, Bill, 2005. *The Politics of the Irish Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. xi + 264 pp. ISBN 0199273553.

Bill Kissane's second study on the creation of the Irish state, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* is a meticulously researched and highly significant contribution to both the political science literature on civil war and the historiographical debate over its causes in Ireland. Kissane's challenging and authoritative analysis places the civil war within a conceptual analysis of Ireland's democratization process. As such, his book is essential reading for students and scholars seeking to further their understanding of the formation of the Irish state and the debate over the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which led to conflict between those in favour of and those opposed to it. The book divides the civil war into three phases, 'the origins, the course and the aftermath', providing a political history of the conflict (p. 11). Kissane argues that the rupture was purely ideological in that there was 'no correlation' between the amount of fighting in 1922–23 and the 'overall impact' the civil war had on politics and society in Ireland (p. 11). Kissane identifies national and local causes of civil war, noting that the Irish case should be seen as an early example of a key feature of British conflict regulation – their tried and tested policy of nurturing moderate

nationalist movements. He convincingly explains why a relatively generous post-imperial settlement 'proved so divisive for Irish nationalists, leading to a conflict with few parallels in the post colonial world' (p. 10). Assessing the proximate causes of the civil war, he concludes that it should be viewed as a struggle between 'the rival claims of democracy and self-determination' and the opposition of one 'set of rights' to another in 1922 (p. 10).

*Michael Kerr*

■ Levitt, Steven D. & Stephen J. Dubner, 2005. *Freakonomics: A Rogue Economist Explores the Hidden Side of Everything*. New York: William Morrow. 242 pp. ISBN 006073132X.

Crime declined massively in US cities in the 1990s because of *Roe vs. Wade*, the US Supreme Court decision that opened the gates for legal abortion. Extensive use of abortion in high-risk families decimated the pool of candidates for future criminal careers, a totally unforeseen development. Mortality on Death Row in US prisons is lower than in the drug gangs where some of the inmates come from. Lynchings of blacks declined by 99% in 80 years and bear no relationship to membership in the Ku Klux Klan. Drug dealers are involved in a profitable business, but why do they still live with their moms? This bestselling book is full of fascinating questions and provocative answers. It is not a book about war and peace but frequently touches on questions of violence. Written by a renowned but unorthodox economist and a journalist, it takes pains to explain econometric findings to a general public, sometimes (at least to this reader) in annoying detail. The ability of an economist to provide interesting insights about 'everything' might be construed as academic arrogance but is perhaps more reliably interpreted as a result of the restraining influence of conventional wisdom and methodological backwardness in many of the other social sciences.

*Nils Petter Gleditsch*

■ Lukens-Bull, Ronald, 2005. *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. xviii + 158 pp. ISBN 1403966605.

Rejecting the notion that Islam and modernity are incompatible, this little treasure of a work argues

■ Tiryakian, Edward A., ed., 2004. *Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflicts, Peace Processes: Comparative Perspectives*. Whitby: de Sitter. 185 pp. ISBN 1897160089.

This anthology features contributions from a multidisciplinary and international team of scholars invited by the Fulbright Foundation to address the theme of sectarian, ethnic and cultural conflict within and across national borders. The editor's introduction is followed by two chapters that offer a platform for the subsequent case studies. John Rex, the doyen of ethnic and racial studies, reflects on the changing political context of ethnic relations since World War I, taking the analysis up to our own era of post-colonial society, international migration and the 'war against terror'. Steve Fenton elegantly dissects the concept of ethnic conflict, restating his argument that the focus needs to be redirected from ethnicity itself towards external conditions that may convert 'boundaries of difference into boundaries of war' (p. 41); state destabilization and the breakdown of imperial orders are singled out as critical junctures. The remaining five chapters analyse different themes: 'parity of esteem' (from a South African perspective), the impact of national identity on conflict behaviour (comparing Russian and Tatars in Crimea), language policies (comparing Canada and Lithuania) and independence struggles (Aceh). In one of the anthology's more theoretical chapters, Lynn Hempel subjects instrumentalist approaches to a critical scrutiny. Most chapters apply a comparative perspective, but the absence of a common focus, other than at a very general level, and varying analytical frameworks mean that they fail to add up to the larger

whole one expects from a comparative analysis. A concluding chapter, with an attempt to summarize the individual contributions and their wider ramifications, would have left at least this reader less disappointed.

*Ann-Sofi Jakobsson Hatay*

*Authors of Book Notes in this issue:*

*Vera Achvarina – PRIO*

*Martin Austvoll – PRIO*

*Marit Brochmann – Norwegian University of Science and Technology*

*Margit Bussmann – University of Konstanz*

*Jan Oskar Engene – University of Bergen*

*Nils Petter Gleditsch – PRIO*

*Tobias Hagmann – Swisspeace*

*Ann-Sofi Jakobsson Hatay – Uppsala University*

*Cecilie Hellestveit – University of Oslo*

*Cullen Hendrix – University of California, San Diego*

*Thomas Jackson – PRIO*

*Michael Kerr – London School of Economics*

*Stephen A. Kocs – College of the Holy Cross*

*Stephanie T. Lee – PRIO*

*Nicholas Marsh – PRIO*

*Gudrun Østby – PRIO*

*Ole Jacob Sending – Norwegian Institute of International Affairs*

*Anders Skonhøft – Norwegian University of Science and Technology*

*Michael Spagat – Royal Holloway, University of London*

*Sarah Staveteig – University of California, Berkeley*

*Pinar Tank – PRIO*