BOOK ANNOTATIONS

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America's Secret Power: The CIA in a Democratic Society. By Loch K. Johnson. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. xxiv, 344. $24.95.

As its title suggests, Loch K. Johnson's *America's Secret Power* examines how the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) exists in an open, democratic setting. Democracy—the ideal that all people should be able to participate in decisions that determine their fate—rests on the assumption that government should be conducted openly. In contrast, intelligence operations demand secrecy. Johnson argues that despite their apparent contradictory natures, democracy and intelligence can successfully coexist within a single society, but only with the most careful precautions.

America's Secret Power is divided into four parts. Part I, "The Intelligence Mission," provides the reader with a brief introduction to the democracy-intelligence dilemma, the purposes of American intelligence, and a description of the CIA's internal organization. Part II, "Problems of Strategic Intelligence," addresses in detail several important controversies in U.S. intelligence policy: (1) distortions in the reporting and the receiving of information; (2) the indiscriminate collection of information; (3) the indiscriminate use of covert action; (4) inadequate cover abroad; (5) improper use of intelligence within the U.S.; and (6) inadequate accountability. Part III, "The CIA and the Rights of Americans," explores the greatest danger posed by secret intelligence agencies: the use of agency operations against the citizens they were designed to protect. The author discusses the Iran-Contra affair and the Huston Plan to illustrate the ease with which American secret service can be misused. Finally, Part IV, "Intelligence in a Democratic Framework," provides a thorough review of legislative efforts to supervise and curb abuses by the CIA.

Whereas most of the book describes and analyzes the past and present operation of the CIA, the last chapter takes a more forward-looking approach by recommending how to improve the balance between the need for secret intelligence on the one hand and open democracy on the other. Johnson is quite optimistic; he believes that the policy controversies he introduced in Part II of the book could be ameliorated by improving the quality and attitudes of officials in the execu-

tive and legislative branches as well as the organizational structure in which these officials work.

Johnson's book brings to light a detailed and up-to-date picture of the CIA. The book is well-written and well-documented; supported with information from both the vast archival record and hundreds of interviews. In addition, Johnson is able to contribute a more personal perspective to his book through his first-hand knowledge of the workings of the CIA as a legislative overseer. For the reader with limited or even no knowledge of intelligence matters, *America's Secret Power* provides a comprehensive description and analytical examination of the CIA.

Apartheid: A History. By Brian Lapping. New York, New York: George Braziller & Company, 1987. Pp. xxi, 197. $19.95.

Brian Lapping's *Apartheid: A History* steers away from the politically-oriented style of writing about apartheid. Rather, Lapping attempts to provide the reader with a historical background of how this inequitable system of government arose. This goal is an important one; in addition to describing why apartheid is not morally right, one should be armed with the facts necessary to show why apartheid does not work. This book accomplishes that task by being easily read and well-organized. Included are informative data tables and photographs.

Lapping takes the reader through a chronological history of apartheid. Beginning with the White Man's arrival in South Africa in the mid-17th century, the author moves on to a report of the Boer war of the early 20th century, and a discussion of the resulting Nationalist movements in both the Afrikaaner and African community. The earlier part of this South African history shows how the roots of apartheid were developed and why they were able to remain intact.

Economic and political situations began to change as a result of Apartheid. Lapping discusses this change in chapters on the creation of the Bantustans, and the establishment of a police state as a response to the inevitable revolt of the black citizenry of South Africa. He concludes his historical survey with a chapter on the long-awaited, yet incompleted political reformations that signal an end to oppressive

apartheid rule. Hopefully, the author's conclusion that "the time of apartheid, and therefore white rule, is near its end" will be borne out in the near future.

British Foreign Policy Under Thatcher. Edited by Peter Byrd. New York, New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1988. Pp. vii, 211. N.p.

British Foreign Policy Under Thatcher successfully analyzes how Margaret Thatcher has confronted the major foreign policy issues facing Great Britain and the world from 1979 to 1988. The book focuses on the relevant policies and parties, but does not shy away from the personalities involved.

Each of the book's nine chapters has been written by a different British scholar, which adds to the book's breadth and interest. In discussing different aspects of the world powers and their main players, the authors weave together biography, history, and 'pop' culture. World economics are also covered extensively, but without the usual mire of graphs and statistics that tend to daunt the layperson. Overall, *British Foreign Policy Under Thatcher* maintains a degree of levity in its "behind the scenes" approach to world politics, but this approach does not detract from its seriousness.

For example, Michael Smith, who writes on "Britain and the United States," discusses Mrs. Thatcher and President Reagan, warning: "It is important to retain a sense of perspective about such caricatures, but it is nonetheless important to note the assumed intimacy underlying the stereotypes." These personal and sometimes cynical comments make the book an enjoyable read.

Each chapter sufficiently covers the basics of complex topics such as East-West diplomacy and the Middle East. Other chapters focus on Western Europe, South Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Anglo-Argentine relations, and defense policy. The reader need not have an extensive background in world politics to understand the points each author makes. *British Foreign Policy* is an effective research tool for the reader with limited knowledge of its subject matter. The chapters are organized by concise sub-chapters, and Byrd includes an easy-to-follow index. In addition, the authors provide a comprehensive bibliography at the end of each chapter.

The last chapter, "Rational Politicians and Conservative

Statecraft in the Open Polity," by Jim Bulpitt, is particularly interesting in its analysis of British party leaders. Bulpitt presents (almost sarcastically) six basic assumptions of British politics and discusses how they play themselves out in Britain's foreign policy. For example, the "ruling party elite will prefer to pursue their own interests[,] and . . . we postulate a degree of relative autonomy for party leaders in office." Perhaps Bulpitt's piece should have been the first rather than the last chapter of *British Foreign Policy*, since it successfully sets the stage for the political "home environment" in which Margaret Thatcher lives.

As an editor, Peter Byrd has performed his job well, pulling together a cohesive work despite the many authors. The reader is not jarred by gaping discrepancies or incongruous points; rather, a pleasant continuity is maintained from section to section. The focus of the book clearly rests on Margaret Thatcher, her ideology regarding the world polity, and how her individual style and politics have influenced England's foreign policy.

> Mrs. Thatcher has been a firm exponent of the old Kennedy notion of Western Europe and the United States being the twin pillars of the Atlantic Alliance . . . . As the West Europeans begin collectively to define their own identity and the pursue their own joint interests they will inevitably come into conflict with the United States, and when such conflicts break out it is the British government that feels most exposed.

British Foreign Policy Under Thatcher is short, entertaining, and very informative, especially for the person lacking expert knowledge about British foreign policy. Fans of Margaret Thatcher, however, might think twice before opening this text, since her policies and party are viewed critically and cynically. A second installation of *British Foreign Policy*, presenting Mrs. Thatcher's responses to developments in South Africa, Germany, and the Soviet Union up to the end of her reign, would be welcome.

Conflict and Rhetoric in French Policy Making. By Frank R. Baumgartner. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989. Pp. xiv, 287. N.p.

This book is not solely about conflict and rhetoric in French politics. More accurately, it concerns how those two factors effect the forums in which issues are debated in Western democracies, and thus how these factors affect the ultimate outcome of those debates. Professor Baumgartner, an associate professor of political science at Texas A & M, argues that the final result of a given policy debate is a function of the forum in which the debate takes place. The resulting forum is, in turn, a function of the rhetorical strategies of public officials.

Baumgartner theorizes, with substantial empirical support, that the losing entity in any given policy debate, whether it be a ministry, individual, political action group, or political party, will try to change the forum in which the issue is being debated so as to increase or decrease the number of participants, whichever is most likely to produce ultimate victory. Those who would like to increase the scope of participants employ a "strategy of expansion," while those who would reduce the number of participants pursue a "strategy of contraction."

For example, if a member of parliament supports a highly technical bureaucratic issue that is being defeated via an internal ministerial policy making process, that politician will attempt to bring the issue to the public's attention by way of rhetoric that frames the issue in universal, political terms. By contrast, a member of the government who wants to quell public outcry on a controversial issue may argue that the topic is really one for experts and that it will have no far-flung ramifications for society as a whole.

Baumgartner outlines six major characteristics of the process by which conflict and rhetoric (rather than the objective characteristics of any given issue) control policy determinations. First, he argues that while some small issues confined to the jurisdiction of a single ministry will be resolved internally, other similar issues end up dominating the public forum. Second, when assessing issues in terms of cost, size, and the number of people who will be directly affected, no relationship exists between objectively big issues and the

amount of public sentiment aroused. Third, he points out that the relationship between conflict and the number of participants in the issue debate is cyclical and symbiotic. Fourth, if the participants in any given policy dispute are homogeneous, the issue will remain localized, and *vice versa*. Fifth, the partisan portrayals of issues by individual policymakers strongly influence the public's view of those issues. Lastly, he notes that the inherent powers and procedures of the national legislature heavily affect the outcome of any given policy debate.

The debate over socialist legislation calling for increased public control of private schools, which raged in France in the early 1980s, is one of thirty examples cited in support of Baumgartner's thesis. He notes that even though only seventeen percent of France's children were enrolled in private schools, the issue of increased government control over the predominantly Catholic schools took on enormous dimensions for several reasons. First, because of the church and state implications, virtually every political group, religious organization, and government branch became involved. This participation and conflict subsequently attracted the individual office holders as well as their various strategies and rhetorical approaches. While the right-wing expansionists framed the debate in terms of "liberty," "equality," and "national independence," those who favored contraction of the issue were pleading for debate on a level below that of lofty idealism. Ultimately, the expansionists prevailed. Notwithstanding the employment of radical procedural mechanisms in the National Assembly, the Socialists ultimately withdrew the legislation in the face of overwhelming public opposition.

Coping with Drought in Kenya: National and Local Strategies. Edited by Thomas E. Downing, Kangethe Gitu, and Crispin Kaman. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1989. Pp. xix, 411. $35.00.

Coping with Drought in Kenya is part of the *Food in Africa Series* published by Lynne Rienner Publishers. It is a compilation of articles covering diverse aspects of the 1984-1985 drought that devastated much of Kenya. Taken as a whole, the book offers great insight into the effects of the drought

and the various means by which those effects were limited and overcome.

The book praises the Kenyan government highly for its quick, efficient, and imaginative approach to the food supply problems that arose from the tragic conditions. The various authors analyze the mostly successful strategies that government units, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the people of Kenya implemented in their efforts to lessen the effects of the drought. Their articles examine crop monitoring and forecasting systems, the vulnerability to, and the impact of, drought in selected geographic areas and on different subgroups of the Kenyan population, and the experiences of various government bodies and NGOs in implementing food relief programs. In addition to outlining the procedures used to cope with the 1984-1985 drought and suggesting ways to make these processes more efficient and effective, the authors also recommend long-term preventative measures. The authors also provide a wide variety of maps, charts, and statistical compilations to supplement the information in their articles.

The authors reinforce their analyses by drawing from a wide range of governmental and non-governmental sources and from their own experiences and expertise. Most of the contributors are physical and social scientists who worked with or for the government of Kenya during the drought, and the remainder are academicians and other professionals with much experience in drought related problems.

While the result of their efforts is a thorough picture of the Kenyan drought, the book also successfully accomplishes its goal of offering a model for coping with drought in Africa. As the book emphasizes the preventability and manageability of such potentially devastating natural disasters, it offers hope to other countries facing similar situations. The book recognizes the economic, social, and political difficulties facing many African countries in such situations. In that sense, it should prove useful to policy analysts, scholars, and government officials who are looking for effective means of drought management.

Democracy in Japan. Edited by Takeshi Ishida and Ellis S. Krauss. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989. Pp. x, 354. N.p.

Democracy in Japan is a comprehensive exploration of the phenomenon of Japanese democracy from a comparative perspective. Few books have been written specifically on issues of Japanese democracy, and few seem to be as inclusive, objective, critical, and perceptive as *Democracy in Japan*. The volume's fourteen articles were contributed by some of the most knowledgeable and insightful analysts of Japan, including the editors themselves.

What is today called a 'democracy' in Japan was forcibly implanted and nurtured by the United States during the American Occupation of Japan (1945-1952) after World War II. Thus, the central theme of the volume is whether the Occupation's plans for Japan were ever realized—how today's Japanese democracy differs from the Occupation's ideals, and how today's version of democracy has evolved and affected Japan since World War II.

The volume is divided into three major sections: Political Democracy, Social Democracy, and Economic Democracy. The Political Democracy section includes articles about the law, political parties, protest, opposition, bureaucracy, and local governments in Japan. The Social Democracy section focuses on equality and education, and the Economic Democracy section addresses the issues of corporate power, labor, union, and management in the industrial sector. Because the American Occupation intended to democratize all aspects of Japanese society, the editors felt the need to encompass all of the above dimensions in their attempt to fully analyze Japanese democracy.

Every article speaks to at least one of the major issues, such as the strengths, weaknesses, and origins of Japanese democracy, how Japanese democracy has changed over time, the congruence between formal principles and reality in Japanese democracy; and ultimately, how unique or similar Japanese democracy is compared to Western democracies. The editors conclude that, although Japanese democracy compares favorably with the industrialized democracies in the West, it has its unique weaknesses that can be explained only with an in-depth analysis of Japanese history and culture.

Democracy in Japan, aside from offering a thorough comparison between Japanese and Western democracies, serves a fundamental function of providing to the non-Japanese a complete picture of every aspect of Japanese society. *Democracy in Japan* erases misconceptions and stereotypes of Japan that have arisen due to its unmatched economic success, apparent political stability, and a high level of general welfare.

Educational Achievement in Japan: Lessons for the West. By Richard Lynn. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1988. Pp. xii, 157. $16.50.

Education in the West has received a lot of press lately—most of it negative. In the United States, low educational standards are blamed for contributing to economic decline. Government officials from the President on down have asserted that by improving the schools they will enable America to compete more successfully with other countries—particularly with Japan. In *Educational Achievement in Japan*, Richard Lynn offers some suggestions for improvement based upon the example of the Japanese educational system, which he declares—on the basis of a number of studies conducted over the past twenty-five years—to be the most successful in the world. A professor of psychology at the University of Ulster, Lynn places much emphasis on the incentives for achievement that Japanese schools offer both students and teachers. He identifies four factors that he believes contribute to those high standards and that he feels can be implemented in the West.

The first of these is a uniform curriculum that all teachers are required to follow. Along with the traditional subjects of language and literature, math, science, foreign languages, history, geography, and social studies, the Japanese government prescribes musical and moral education. Classes tend to be large by American standards, the teachers generally teach the required subjects by lecture, and strict discipline is maintained. The second factor is time; Japanese children spend many more hours in school than do their western counterparts. Not only is the school year longer—240 days per year as compared to 180 in the West—but it is often supplemented with attendance at *juku*: privately-run auxiliary schools that operate on evenings and weekends. Some children begin attending *juku* in elementary school; by

twelve to fourteen years of age, about half of Japanese children in major cities are enrolled. In addition, Japanese children spend much more time doing homework than American children.

The third factor explains the need for all this extra education. This is the system of comprehensive examinations that determine entrance to high schools and universities. Unlike the American Scholastic Aptitude Tests, these examinations test specific subject matter rather than mere aptitude. Japanese students generally take the first series of these exams at the age of fourteen and the second at seventeen. The pressure to do well is high, since the best high school education is usually necessary to attend one of the best universities and to get a job at one of the best companies. It is important to note that, in Japan, most workers spend their entire working lives at one company, and consequently the job competition is more pronounced than in the West.

The final factor that Lynn cites is teacher incentives. Even though teaching in Japan requires fewer years of schooling and yields less pay than in the West, teachers in Japan seem to be very committed to their jobs. It is not unusual for a teacher to visit parents' homes and discuss their children's progress in school. Lynn attributes this high level of motivation to their adherence to the strict curriculum as well as to competition among schools. A school's success is measured by the number of students it is able to place in prestigious schools at the next rung of the educational ladder, and a teacher takes great pride in the success of his or her school. The recent emergence of successful private schools has contributed to the competitive climate in the public schools. Major media attention is devoted to the high schools that are able to place a significant number of students at the University of Tokyo and other prestigious universities. The success rates of schools are followed as avidly as baseball statistics.

The chief issues to consider in determining whether any of the four factors of Japanese education could be viable in the United States are the significant cultural and political differences between the two countries. Implementing a uniform curriculum seems unlikely, given the responsibility of individual states for regulating education and the American

emphasis on teacher input. Any lengthening of the school calendar also seems improbable, considering the importance Americans place on leisure time and summer vacations. In addition, the kind of rote learning that takes place in Japanese schools would be unacceptable to many American educators who value class participation, the interchange of ideas, and the encouragement of creative thinking.

While there is some merit to the suggestion that American students be taught and tested more rigorously, the high level of psychological stress imposed on Japanese children need not be emulated here. Also, Lynn pays too little attention to the fact that the Japanese educational system fosters sexist attitudes; nearly all the students enrolled in the elite universities are men. One could even call into question Lynn's standards for determining the superiority of the Japanese system; the studies he cites focus almost exclusively on math and science scores, surely not the full measure of educational success. Lynn's analysis of Japanese educational methods is thorough and thought-provoking, yet he turns a blind eye towards the negative effects of the Japanese educational system.

Escape From Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World. By Aristide R. Zolberg, Astri Suhrke, and Sergio Aguayo. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. x, 380. $49.95.

There are about fifteen million refugees in the world today, and another seventeen million uprooted persons who, although still within their home country, are unable to return to their homes. Every year, revolutions and civil wars displace more people, and their care and feeding puts an enormous drain on the resources of the nations in which they reside, as well as on international relief organizations. Moreover, refugees are not only victims of social upheaval, but they are also a potent source of continued conflict; the Palestinians are a well known, but by no means isolated, example. Since the early 1980s, the international relief community has attempted to broaden its focus from helping refugees to addressing the root causes of their plight. In this important book, the authors trace the development of the worldwide refugee crisis and provide a ground-breaking analytic framework for dealing with future crises. While *Escape from Violence*

will provide the uninformed reader with an excellent overview of the history of refugee flows, their causes, and the response of the international community, its more important function will be to lay the groundwork for future social policy analysis.

The authors begin by dealing with the classic problem in refugee study: definitions. The question of who is a refugee carries important ramifications, since international law grants refugees special privileges, including the right to asylum in another country. Of course, nations tremble at the thought of thousands of people appearing on their borders with a right to enter and settle. In order to avoid the massive resource drain of refugee inflows, and fearful of granting *carte blanche* to persons who might merely be seeking a better economic environment, nations have adhered to a narrow definition of refugees: a refugee is someone who is unable to return to his or her home country because of a "well-founded fear of persecution." Persecution somehow implies that the individual has been singled out. But the reality of refugee flows is that many have not been singled out; rather, they have been forced to flee conditions of general violence and social unrest. The authors argue that the real question in each instance is whether the victims' suffering can be relieved by their home country, or whether the only solution lies in giving them refuge abroad. The real test of refugee status is whether someone has a "well-founded fear of violence," be it general or specifically directed against the victim; the absence of violence in the home country implies that it can provide the solution.

The heart of the book is a region-by-region analysis of refugee flows throughout the world: Africa, South Asia, East Asia, and Latin America. (One significant gap is little reference to the Middle East: although the Palestinians might be considered the paradigm of refugee flows, the authors feel they have little competence to discuss that region.) The authors note that the refugee crisis seems to be a "southern" problem: the main problem areas are generally south of the equator. Refugees are also a third world phenomenon. They occur in the wake of social upheaval and revolution in developing countries. They usually end up in developing countries with few resources to help them: Mexico, Pakistan, and the Sudan, for example. The authors identify a new ox-

ymoronic breed of displaced person, the "warrior refugee," such as Afghans in Pakistan.

What makes *Escape from Violence* a significant work is the authors' willingness to go beyond internal factors in the home country in analyzing the root causes of the refugee phenomenon. This holistic approach results in some surprising conclusions. Most social scientists have shied away from this approach because of its enormous complexity. It is easier to view the world as a conglomeration of discrete political entities. In contrast, the authors argue that refugee flows must be understood as resulting from broad historical processes and persisting trends in the developing world. They conclude that the causes are many: ethnic strife in nations whose borders were determined by the now departed imperialist powers, egregious foreign intervention, and the immigration policies of outside countries play an enormous role, as do patterns of social change that cannot be limited to internal factors. It follows that, contrary to popular wisdom, poverty alone is not the major cause of refugee flows, and economic aid alone will not provide a preventative, "root cause" solution. Instead, the authors argue for a balanced approach. Economic aid plays a part, as does conflict reduction—for example, by weakening existing ethnic divisions with incentives for the formation of new groups that cut across ethnic lines. Regional peace systems such as the Contadora initiative could play an enormous role as well. However, the wealthy northern nations' short-sighted stress on law and order in the developing world has legitimized some repressive regimes; in some cases a more just social order can only be achieved after social upheaval and revolution. Thus, the authors argue, the international community's best approach is not to suppress refugee flows, but to deal with them as satisfactorily as possible.

Escape from Violence is a thought-provoking work that is the product of over ten years of research. Each of its authors brings a valuable perspective to the piece. The result, although sometimes dense reading, is an invaluable resource for those seeking creative approaches to the refugee crisis.

The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933. By Peter Buitenhuis. Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 1987. Pp. xviii, 218. $27.00.

In *The Great War of Words*, Peter Buitenhuis, a professor of English at Simon Fraser University, chronicles the efforts made by many established British, American, and Canadian writers to promote and publicize the cause of the Allied nations against the Central Powers in the First World War. The book tells the "untold story" of the wartime writers' involvement in state-sanctioned propaganda, and provides a lucid analysis of the ways in which their involvement ultimately affected their lives and their art.

Buitenhuis reveals the secret collaboration between distinguished British authors and the British government in the wartime propaganda effort. He tells the story of how C.F.G. Masterman, the chief of Britain's war propaganda bureau, recruited such distinguished writers as H.G. Wells, Arnold Bennet, Rudyard Kipling, Arthur Conan Doyle, and George Bernard Shaw to write on behalf of the Government in the Great War. The author describes how the writers seized upon stories of German atrocities to incite anti-German fervor, and how they utilized the pamphlet as a means of rapidly disseminating their views to appeal to the British conscience. Throughout this analysis, the author offers powerful insights into the often hysterical sense of righteousness and conviction that was reflected in many of the authors' works. In addition, he tells the story of how authors who were opposed to the war, such as Bertrand Russell, were subject to ridicule and exclusion.

Second, Buitenhuis examines the various ways in which the British propaganda effort influenced American writers. He describes the indefatigable writings of Theodore Roosevelt on the side of the Allies, and the passionate pro-Allies sentiment in the works of Henry James and Edith Wharton. Although the organized propaganda effort in the U.S. was not as extensive as the British effort, he describes how the voices of American writers subtly influenced U.S. attitudes towards the war and eventually lead to U.S. involvement.

Third, the author examines how writers in Europe drew

a "paper curtain" of illusion and glory around the grim reality of the Western Front. In a fascinating portion of the book, he analyzes the various reactions of former propagandists who had travelled to the front. Some of the authors, such as Arnold Bennett, experienced severe trauma upon discovering the disparities between the high-flown rhetoric of their own propaganda and the ugly realities of the front line. For others, such as Rudyard Kipling and Arthur Conan Doyle, their exposure to the front line hardened their notions about the war, causing them to write romantic myths about life in the trenches. The author observes that, on the whole, writers helped to engender a war neurosis, extolling the virtues of sacrifice at the front.

Fourth, Buitenhuis examines the various effects the progression of the war had on fiction writing. He notes how some authors incorporated propaganda into their fiction, either by creating romantic fantasies about the war or by preaching hatred and revenge. More interesting is his analysis of how fiction often acted as an escape from propaganda. The psychic toll that the war took on the former propagandists caused several to infuse their stories with irreverence and confused irony. Through his analysis he describes the dual efforts of propagandists to reach some understanding of the war, while at the same time seeking to accept stoicly the need for sacrifice in the face of defeat.

Finally, Buitenhuis offers an interesting perspective on the "literature of disillusion" that resulted from the war. He describes how post-war literary themes varied from vehement justifications of the war to bitter admissions of its futility and how the deep emotions that resulted from the war caused some writers to express a "frustration with the tenuous nature of man's grasp on reality." The author also shows how the pain guided some authors into mysticism and inspired some to write in impressionistic, non-linear styles.

Buitenhuis concludes by asking the reader to consider the larger implications on the propaganda effort: "Is the writer's first duty to his detachment, to isolation, to a devotion to art so strong that it puts him apart from all propaganda, . . . or are there occasions when that isolation has to be sacrificed in order to join a cause?" In asking the question he reveals the true import of the book. On one level, the book is invaluable for students of literature who are in-

terested in the devastating psychological effects of the First World War. In a larger sense, it is an insightful commentary on the often indistinguishable lines that exist between art and politics. In each of these contexts, Buitenhuis's story is one worth telling, and he tells it quite well.

Human Rights and Foreign Policy: Principles and Practice. Edited by Dilys M. Hill. New York, New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1989. Pp. vii, 208. $39.95.

There has always been an abysmal lack of consensus, even among western industrial countries, about the role and scope of human rights in foreign policy. Today, many nations are not signatories to the United Nations human rights conventions (the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), and enforcement of human rights is often a function of political compromise. The state of human rights is reflected in *Human Rights and Foreign Policy*, a compilation of papers presented at a 1986 conference (of the same name) organized by the Centre for International Policy Studies, University of Southampton. The papers examine a variety of human rights issues, such as the moral underpinnings of human rights; the setting of norms and standards; and the impact of refugees upon the foreign policies of European states. The breadth of issues covered in this publication offers an informative introduction to the human rights debate and serves as a possible impetus for further studies in the area of human rights.

The book consists of eleven papers and is divided into three parts. Part One contains introductory notes, a discussion of the theoretical foundation of human rights, and a discussion of human rights and contemporary state practices. Part Two tackles the issues of human rights as a moral claim, tensions between human rights and foreign policy, and the development and current significance of Article 1 of the human rights covenants. Part Three addresses the contemporary practice of human rights through a discussion of a number of issues: the Helsinki process and human rights in the Soviet Union; economic aid as an instrument for the promotion of international human rights; refugees and foreign policy; the root causes of displacement; the refugee policies

of western European governments; and the current challenges of human rights in Asia.

Although many of the papers cover a discussion of human rights and its relationship to the 'third world,' the specific areas of Africa and Latin America are noticeably missing. In addition, many of the papers overlap on the focus areas of human rights in relation to foreign policy and human rights from a western perspective. Overall, *Human Rights and Foreign Policy* provides a useful collection of primary information dealing with issues in human rights and should stimulate debate in a field that can benefit from it.

International Economic Pluralism: Economic Policy in East Asia and the Pacific. By Peter Drysdale. New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. Pp. 294. $40.00

Professor Peter Drysdale, Executive Director of the Australia-Japan Research Centre of the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University, wrote *International Economic Pluralism* to explain the emergence of, as well as the need for, cooperative economic arrangements among East Asian and Pacific countries. The book is well written and will appeal to lay-readers as well as researchers.

The author contends that all countries in the region must drop their protectionist trade barriers to experience significant market growth. Before such protectionism becomes entrenched, eliminating the possibility of specialization where there is comparative advantage, Professor Drysdale believes that the countries of the region must make agreements that strengthen complimentarities of trade. In the not-too-distant past there was no need for such agreements, given U.S. hegemonic enforcement of international trade rules. Because U.S. economic strength has dwindled relative to the rest of the world, many expect Japan to take its place. Drysdale rejects this notion. He points out that there are several loci of economic strength today: North America, East Asia-Pacific, and Europe. No single country will be able to do today what the United States did in the post-war era.

Professor Drysdale lists five dominant interests in East Asian and Pacific economic diplomacy: (1) the preservation of a framework for economic security; (2) expansive and

competitive trade relations; (3) fair dealings with foreign companies and investors; (4) favorable economic and strategic position vis-á-vis newly liberalized communist nations (especially China); and (5) broadening the framework of the bilateral economic relationship between the U.S. and Japan to include the interests of the rest of the countries in the region.

The author concludes that these interests are best served through a pluralistic structure of world economic power. Agreements should target the development of mutually consistent approaches to trade policy, foreign investment policy, foreign aid policy, and structural adjustment, to name a few. Drysdale predicts that the responsibilities for regional economic leadership will be shared, establishing an intimacy between nations in the region upon which policy strategies may be promulgated and executed confidently.

In both his historical scholarship and his prescriptions for future action, Drysdale's analysis is clear and comprehensive.

The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications. Edited by Efraim Karsh. New York, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 303. $49.95

The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications presents a comprehensive *post-bellum* analysis of the Iran-Iraq War, which ended in the summer of 1988 after almost eight years. This multifaceted collection of essays examines the regional and global impact of the war, both in terms of politics and economics. The essays, written by American, Israeli, and European specialists from the fields of Middle East history, international relations, strategy, and economics, give the reader an interdisciplinary view of the war.

Efraim Karsh, an expert in strategic studies, organized these essays into five parts: The War and the Belligerents, Regional Implications, The War and the World, The Economics of War, and Strategic and Military Implications. This juxtaposition makes the essays in each section work well together, as well as provides a sense of variety and diversity of topics covered.

The essays themselves are well-written and thorough. They provide just enough information so that each seems

complete without boggling the casual reader with details. The aim of the collection—to provide a wide perspective of the war—is never lost. Perhaps the most interesting essays examine the effects of the war from inside Iran and the Gulf countries. David Menashri's "Iran: Doctrine and Reality" gives fine insight into the Islamic ideology that propelled the Iranian Revolution and the impact of the war upon implementation of the ideology. In "The Arms Race after the Iran-Iraq War," Geoffrey Kemp cautions that despite its conclusion, the Iran-Iraq War will stimulate future demand for new weapons and more sophisticated war-fighting strategies in the Middle East.

The book's message—that consequences of the Iran-Iraq War should stir as much interest and concern as the war itself—has been borne out by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and in itself provides a convincing reason for reading this book.

Judges. By David Pannick. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. Pp. vii, 255. $21.95.

David Pannick, in the preface to *Judges*, describes his book as "an advocate's reflections on the [British] judicial system." He intimates that the British system has been cloaked in a regrettable silence for all too long. Thus, the reader is led to believe that what follows is a radical critique of the entire British judicial system.

Judges, in fact, is a thoroughly entertaining look at the British judiciary. Pannick combines clever anecdotes with witty phrases in a successful attempt to expose the human qualities, both good and bad, from which judges are not immune. In this way, Pannick uncloaks the black-robed brotherhood, which England tends to view as a cross between the clergy and the royal family.

For the most part, *Judges* focuses on the responsibilities and personae of British judges, although there is some attempt to compare the British judiciary with that of other countries. The book serves as an excellent starting point for research on the training and appointment of judges and their expertise and bias, as well as the daily responsibilities and battles that lead to the mysticism, in England, surrounding this particular group.

Men of Zeal: A Candid Inside Story of the Iran-Contra Hearings. By William S. Cohen and George J. Mitchell. New York, New York: Penguin Books, 1989. Pp. xxxiii, 384. $9.95.

Men of Zeal affords its readers a behind-the-scenes view of the 1986 Iran-Contra hearings held jointly by U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Sales to Iran and its Senate counterpart, the Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition. The two Maine senators, William S. Cohen and George J. Mitchell, both members of the Senate Select Committee, offer their observations, experiences, and thoughts on "a difficult period in our history and a crucial episode in the constant struggle to keep our government a republic." They focus on the activites of four major players: Oliver North, Felix Poindexter, Richard Secord, and Albert Hakim.

Divided into four main sections, *Men of Zeal* begins with a "Who's Who" of both Committees' members and the complete cast of characters, from Elliott Abrams, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, to Willard Zucker, Albert Hakim's Swiss attorney and banker. This section, together with an index and a chronology detailing pertinent events between November 14, 1979, the date of the American embargo on arms to Iran, and March 16, 1988, when the four major players were indicted, comprise the most useful part of the book. It provides a concise, yet comprehensive, reference tool on the subject. The new afterword updates the chronology to include part of Oliver North's trial.

The remaining three sections of *Men of Zeal*, while roughly chronological, are harder to follow. Chapter titles such as "Here Comes the Judges," "Beauty and the Beasts," "Et Tu?," and "Beethoven's Fifth" make it difficult to ascertain where the authors are leading, and only occasionally are readers treated to straightforward identification of a topic: "The Report," "The Aftermath," and "Conclusions." Interspersed throughout the book are the separate post-hearings asides of each senator, sharing their views with the benefit of hindsight. Unless readers pay very close attention, they may not notice the initials that identify which senator is speaking. These passages further confuse the narrative thread of the book.

More interesting, in many ways, than the hearings themselves—especially in light of subsequent trials—is how the authors illuminate the political infighting among the Capitol Hill hierarchies. Readers learn, for example, of the jockeying involved in being named to one of the Committees and of the reasons why membership was so desirable (particularly for congressmen, for whom it was a chance to gain extensive media coverage and thus to escape the relative anonymity of the House). Cohen and Mitchell also discuss television's role in the proceedings, especially its impact on the public perception of "Ollie" North as some kind of American hero. The authors repeatedly mention Arthur Liman, a senior partner in New York's prestigious law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, who "fit the role of Senate Counsel perfectly." The senators thought they had scrutinized "every relevant factor" in Liman's personal and professional background; it is apparently of great significance, however, that no one ever stopped to consider how he might project on television, or how the American public would react to "an aggressive New York lawyer." From this, one may conclude that conviviality is more politically important than competence.

Men of Zeal is a good source of information on the "who" and "when" of the Iran-Contra scandal; moreover, it is likely to prove useful to future generations as a barometer of American sociopolitical concerns of the time. Finally, it provides quite an education on the mechanics, motivations, and priorities of the legislative branch of our Federal Government. Like most medicines, this book may very well leave a bad taste in its readers' mouths, but in the long run, they will be better off for having experienced it.

A New Kind of War: America's Global Strategy and the Truman Doctrine in Greece. By Howard Jones. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. 327. N.p.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure." With those words, spoken on March 12, 1947, President Harry S. Truman informed the world that the United States had finally accepted its role as leader of the Free World. On that March afternoon, in a speech that outlined a new foreign

policy that would come to bear his name, Truman was specifically asking Congress, and, more importantly, the American public, for the right to provide aid to Greece and Turkey in their fight against internal and external communist pressures.

In his book, Howard Jones, Professor of History at the University of Alabama, describes how Greece became the focal point of the developing U.S. international strategy to combat the spreading communist threat. Jones posits that the U.S. flexible strategy, which maintained a global perspective and was always tempered by reality, allowed the country to develop a viable counter to Soviet advancement. However, he believes that the strengths of the Truman Doctrine were misinterpreted in later years, allowing the United States to involve itself in conflicts such as Vietnam. Although Jones spends little time on the Vietnam issue, a comparison between these two periods of American involvement overseas, one a success and the other a failure, makes for interesting consideration.

Jones does a good job of explaining the types of warfare that dominate the post-World War II period—guerrilla warfare, assassinations, terrorist attacks, attempts at internal destabilization—in short, any means that might achieve victory, short of outright war.

While much debate still exists over the exact reasons why Greece did not succumb to these new war tactics (ranging from the split in the Communist world between Stalin and Tito to internal struggles within the ranks of the Greek guerrillas), the importance of the new American foreign policy cannot be underestimated. While American aid was not strictly military in nature, it did provide the Greek army with enough hardware and operational advice to pacify most of the countryside, so that the Greek government could focus on the more important task of rebuilding Greece economically, politically, and socially. At the same time, the United States never lost sight of the fact that Greece would have to stand on its own as a nation, and that it was only one area of the world that the Soviets would try to destabilize. These realizations allowed the United States to maintain the realistic goals that were ultimately achieved.

Nuclear Weapons and Scientific Responsibility. By C.G. Weeramantry. Wolfeboro, New Hampshire: Longwood Academic, 1987. Pp. vi, 188. N.p.

Nuclear Weapons and Scientific Responsibility examines both the moral and legal responsibilities of scientists who find themselves working on nuclear weapons projects. The book begins with a historic examination of the arms race from the Manhattan Project through the Cold War. A discussion of international law as it relates to warfare follows, and the author draws conclusions about the illegality of both the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons under this regime. Responsibilities of individuals, especially scientists, under international law is then discussed, concluding with the final issue of legal culpability of scientists who assist in the production of nuclear weapons.

The text is accompanied by some interesting appendices, including several historic letters and statements from leading scientists on the issue of nuclear weapons and scientists' role in their production. Also in the appendices are a proposed U.N. declaration and other statements from various groups on this issue. The book also uses several graphs and diagrams, which sometimes suffer from poor quality and labeling.

The book is well-written and deals with an impressive potpourri of issues in its relatively small number of pages. While the author draws some interesting conclusions, some of his reasoning seems a bit hasty and result-oriented. Although it is difficult to fault the author for moral indignation at the risks presented by nuclear weapons, this indignation sometimes keeps the work from appearing level-headed.

In all, the book is a fairly powerful statement on an issue that, unfortunately, far too few in the scientific community seem to ponder seriously. One certainly hopes that the specific topic dealt with in this work may soon become relatively moot. However, the issue of scientists' responsibility for dangers posed by their work will be with us always, and this book provides a useful mode for future treatment of this issue.

Out of the Shadows of Night: The Struggle for International Human Rights. By Marvin E. Frankel with Ellen Saideman. New York, New York: Delacorte Press, 1989. Pp. 257. $16.95.

Formerly a judge for the Southern District of New York and now chairman of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Marvin Frankel admits coming to the field of international human rights relatively late in life. No matter. In *Out of the Shadows of Night*—written with Ellen Saideman, a staff attorney at New York Lawyers for the Public Interest with a substantial background in human rights work—Frankel provides an unabashedly passionate introduction to the subject that should awaken his readers to its fundamental importance.

Frankel begins by giving his audience a glimpse of the human faces behind the battle for human rights, describing groups like Argentina's Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, the Baha'i of Iran, and individuals like Andrei Sakharov, Nelson Mandela, Kim Dae Jung, and many others. Next, he traces the historical development of human rights principles from the Age of Enlightenment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, paying special attention to the events and aftermath of World War II and the founding of the United Nations. In doing so, he notes the ironic dual role of national governments as both the main protectors, and main violators, of international human rights.

The book then details the often-heroic efforts of individuals, national governments, and non-governmental groups, such as Amnesty International, in promoting, protecting, and expanding human rights in the modern world. To illustrate the movement's various successes—and failures—Frankel returns again and again to the situations in Argentina, South Africa, and the Soviet Union. He devotes two chapters to an examination of the admittedly imperfect U.S. record, both domestic and abroad, of respecting human rights. He explains how competing concerns of economics, diplomacy, and politics have affected American reactions to human rights violations in, for example, Afghanistan, the Philippines, and Israel, but does not excuse the different U.S. responses. Frankel reminds readers that, since compliance with international human rights law is still largely voluntary, violations often go unpunished unless sufficient pub-

lic pressure is brought to bear on offenders. He points out how world opinion can be effective in changing the status quo—citing, among others, the cases of Sakharov and Natan Sharansky—and stresses the key role of world opinion in achieving universal recognition, and eventually realization, of human rights principles.

Out of the Shadows of Night never purports to be anything other than an overview of a very complex matter. As such, it cannot dwell on any one topic or provide in-depth explanations of historical events, such as those leading to World War II. To persons who already have a background in the area, the author's abbreviated treatment of many topics related to international human rights, and his conversational tone, may seem inappropriate—even simplistic. But the personal style of Frankel's narrative, which incorporates many of his own experiences in the field, is well-suited to his intended audience. Appended to the book are relevant excerpts from the United Nations Charter, the full text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, an extensive bibliography, and lists of films, plays, and additional readings for those wishing to pursue the topic further. For readers with little or no previous knowledge of human rights, Frankel's book would be a valuable resource at any time. Given the prominence and success of human rights activists in bringing about the recent political changes in Eastern Europe and South Africa, *Out of the Shadows of Night* could hardly arrive at a more fortuitous moment in history.

Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq. By Samir al-Khalil. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1989. Pp. XVII, 310. $25.00.

Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq is a fascinating study of the violent and repressive ruling regime of Iraq, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, led by its vicious leader, Saddam Hussain. Published in 1989, *Republic of Fear* presages the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and helps the outsider understand Iraq's seemingly enigmatic behavior. The Ba'th party, which came to power in a 1968 *coup d'etat*, has continued to command all aspects of Iraqi government and society through complete repression of dissent, a rampant use of violence to create a pervading sense of fear among the people, and a deflecting of potentially negative public opinion away

from the party's ruthlessness and towards Iran through the Iran-Iraq War. The work is significant in that it is not a mere history of the Ba'th regime; rather, it is an examination of the sociology of the current regime and an inquiry into its meaning.

The book was written by Samir al-Khalil, an Iraqi expatriate who makes clear his hatred of the Iraqi government and its powerful leader. The author labors under the burden that all writers on post-1968 Iraq share: the inability to gain adequate information due to the government's policy of total silence on matters of "national security." This prohibition applies to all matters of state, including the violent acts of the secret police that are the subject of this work. Therefore, the author offers representative stories of events that have occurred to individual citizens of Iraq, and then places them as best he can in a larger context, albeit without official documentation. The point of this study is to examine the following question: Even if the Ba'thist regime fell today, how could such a regime have become the most powerful and stable regime in Iraqi history?

In search for answers to this question, al-Khalil concentrates on two related phenomenons: (1) President Saddam Hussain's grip on all facets of Iraqi life; and (2) the terrible violence that pervades Iraqi society. While the absolute leader syndrome is common in the Middle East, it has occurred to an unprecedented degree in Iraq. Pictures of Saddam Hussain abound all over the nation. There is a large painted cutout figure of Saddam Hussain towering over the entrance of every Iraqi village, including a thirty foot-high version in Baghdad. Multiple photographs of him are present in every shop, school, police station, army barracks, and public building. Further, no official will appear before a camera without a picture of the president in the background. The Orwellian purpose behind this is to constantly remind the public that the leader is all-powerful and all-seeing, creating a climate of fear that precludes any ridicule of authority.

Hussain's leadership is reinforced by the violence of the Ba'th regime. As the author states, tyrannies and dictatorships often resort to violence to combat a genuine opponent. The Ba'ths emerged after the Arab nations were defeated by Israel in 1967. The Ba'th's powerful secret police falsely al-

leged that a Zionist spy ring existed in Iraq, which resulted in the persecution of the innocent Iraqi Jewish community. This was followed by violence against the whole spectrum of Iraqi society, with many innocent people being labeled instruments of the CIA, Israel, and Iran. Finally, the author cites the Iran-Iraq War as an extension of the use of violence by Saddam Hussain to deflect public opinion away from the ruthless government. The author concludes that, through this inventing of enemies as targets for violence, the Ba'ths can maintain their stranglehold over Iraq.

South Africa: Human Rights and the Rule of Law. Edited by Geoffrey Bindman. London, England: The International Commission of Jurists, 1988. Pp. 159. N.p.

South Africa: Human Rights and the Rule of Law presents the findings of a mission sent by the International Commission of Jurists to South Africa in 1987. The four members—Geoffrey Bindman, Jean-Marie Crettaz, Henry Downing, and Guenter Witzsch—travelled throughout South Africa for three weeks. Their mission was to compile detailed information on the legal structure and functioning of the apartheid system.

In the fifteen substantive chapters, arranged by discrete and sometimes overlapping subject matter, the authors present legislative and judicial history and practice. They particularly focus on the personal impact of this regime, interviewing numerous students, judges, political dissenters, and former prisoners/detainees. Each chapter recounts the effect of the relevant legislation on the persons interviewed.

The most interesting aspect of the report is not its detailed documentation of these human rights abuses. Rather, it is the mission's focus on the legal system itself that provides new insight into the functioning of South African society. Of particular note are the following themes distilled from the chapters: (1) the nearly unlimited power of the legislature; (2) the lack of meaningful judicial review; (3) the wide discretion granted the executive (including the police) in arrests and detentions; (4) the use of "emergency" provisions; and (5) the legal status and politics of the "Homelands."

The report is most effective in studying the evolution

and impact of legal structures in South Africa. It is not intended as a thorough introduction to South African politics and economics (there is no bibliography). Although many are already aware of the human rights violations in South Africa, the book's emphasis on the legal structure lends a new and useful perspective to current literature on the topic.

Soviet Historians and Perestroika: The First Phase. Edited by Donald J. Raleigh. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989. Pp. 291, xvi. N.p.

The success of Mikhail Gorbachev's calculated gamble, that he could simultaneously reform the Soviet economy and hold together the vast country, initially depended on the recognition by the Soviet citizens that the past did not constitute a model for success. It also rests upon teaching citizens how to think for themselves. The search for truth, as well as the truth itself, formed an essential element of *perestroika*.

The essays in *Soviet Historians and Perestroika: The First Phase* examine the question of how Soviet historians should treat history in general and in terms of specific periods. Drawing upon the analyses of some of the most radical proponents of a vigorous, independent history profession, Raleigh covers the historians' treatment of such sensitive themes as the October Revolution, the transition from Lenin to Stalin, wartime communism, and the downfall of Khruschev. The initial goal of the essay was to convince historians to search for the truth. Soon, however, historians began to debate the best method to find this truth and, finally, began searching for the truth themselves. That the idea of applying history to reality was even debatable is most surprising to the reader not familiar with the Soviet way of life.

Aside from chronicling the works of these Soviet pioneers (as well as those of some of their opponents), Raleigh puts their works into perspective. We learn that the historians were not encouraged directly by Gorbachev's plea to fill in historical "blank spots." Rather, they were compelled to reexamine history when "publicists"—who were directly encouraged by Gorbachev—began to write general treatises that inevitably touched on history. Embarrassed that their past compliance with the state was being compromised, historians embarked on transforming their profession. In times of "reform" in the Soviet Union, there is both a distrust by

citizens of the reformers, who, they fear, will revise history, and an actual danger of revisionism by both the reformers and the "old guard."

The book closes with a reprint of an open, wide-ranging discussion on the need to break various habits associated with past examinations of history, including that of rationalizing history in accordance with present policy. The discussion is presented by Raleigh as proof that the reformers have won. In fact, he states, those who were once the established historians are now the ones afraid to speak out. This result is not considered negative, because those "old guard" historians may still compete in the search for truth; they dare not claim that truth is an unworthy goal. While the reader is left with the impression that Gorbachev's policy sparked these developments, the book may better reflect a modern Soviet attempt at an equivalent of the Federalist papers—an attempt to create a foundation for a new society.

Soviet Naval Theory and Policy: Gorshkov's Inheritance. By Robert Waring Herrick. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1989. Pp. xiv, 318. $23.95.

Soviet Naval Theory and Policy is an extensive look at the development of Soviet naval strategy from the time of the Bolshevik Revolution until Admiral Gorshkov assumed control of the Soviet Navy in 1956. Designed as a continuation of Herrick's theories on the development of Soviet naval practice prior to 1917 expounded in his first book, *Soviet Naval Strategy*, the second installment conducts a careful analysis of primary Soviet documents from 1917 through 1956. Herrick's painstaking research is apparent, as the book's foremost quality is the thoroughness of its scholarship, presented in a chronological and critical fashion. The book's notes and bibliography are copious, with a glossary of Soviet naval strategic terms enhancing the reader's understanding in addition to serving as a valuable reference in its own right.

Herrick's thesis is that during the 1917-1956 period a "Soviet School" of naval thought arose, which combined the "Old School" belief in control of the seas through decisive naval engagements with the "Young School" belief in denial of the seas to opponents through the use of smaller, more mobile forces. In addition, he reveals that Gorshkov was less an original naval thinker than an adept politician who had

been imbued as a young officer with the ideas of the Soviet School.

The book begins with an account of the Old School theory, bequeathed by Tsarist Russia, that in order to command the sea one must gain control of maritime shipping lanes and lines of communications by first eliminating or neutralizing an adversary's navy. It then describes how, during the period of Stalinist purges from 1928-32, the Old School was largely eclipsed in the naval community by the Young School theories advocated by former students of the Old School professors. What becomes apparent is that Soviet naval policy, while ultimately dictated in this period by the wishes of Stalin, was formulated through infighting between instructors at the Soviet war college. Certain Old School professors, in the Stalinist mode, were forced to recant and engage in self-denigration.

The triumphant Young School advocated a 'small war' strategy. As the Soviet Union was a land power with a fairly small navy, the main mission of the Soviet navy was found in supporting its ground forces, not in engaging in large, decisive naval battles. A small surface fleet, with submarines and coupled with aircraft, made a command of the sea strategy unworkable as Soviet naval theory moved towards a more tactical conception of a reduced mission.

The synthesis of these two theories emerged with the upstart Soviet School in the immediate pre-World War II period. The Soviet School rehabilitated the command of the sea doctrine in limited form to the missions required of the Navy at each stage of war. The command of the sea was thus limited to coastal defense and Army support, but the means to achieve these goals were expanded to include aircraft carriers, large surface vessels, combat support, and submarines. This Soviet naval theory also gained from the experience of the USSR's allies in World War II—the U.S. and Great Britain—with this type of limited operational command of the sea strategy. The Soviet School remained entrenched until Gorshkov assumed command and the nuclear era forced a certain reevaluation of naval strategy.

Soviet Naval Theory and Policy is an outstanding piece of scholarship and a 'must-read' in any study of Soviet naval

history. While it does not read like a novel, it is detailed and informative.

Studies in Contemporary Jewry, Volume V: Israel - State and Society, 1948-1988. Edited by Peter Y. Medding. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Pp. 430. N.p.

Israel - State and Society, 1948-1988 is the fifth volume in the *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* series. The volumes within the series include symposia, articles, book reviews, and lists of recent dissertations by major scholars of contemporary Jewish history and society.

In the fifth volume, articles focus on the state of Israel forty years after its establishment. Topics include the Arab minority in Israel, the integration of Middle Eastern Jews in Israeli society, Israeli democracy in transition, and the changing legitimations of the state of Israel. Other articles examine trends outside Israel, such as the significance of mixed marriages in North America, and the unique character of American Zionism.

A recurrent theme in this volume is that two distinct political generations have existed in Israel during the past forty years: the first from 1948 through 1967; the second from 1967 to the present. The first period is characterized by initial crucial problems that were overcome. It is marked by the establishment of the state, steady economic growth, strong and inspirational political leadership, and the consolidation of democracy.

The second period is characterized by uncertainty. It commenced with the dramatic military victory in 1967, which was followed by numerous difficulties—most notably those that stemmed from Israel's acquisition of new territories and their populations. Israel's economy slowed. Issues such as border disputes and the identity of the state, that were thought to have been resolved during the first period, resurfaced. New problems, such as ethnic and religious conflict, also emerged. The 1973 War further burdened Israel's economy, resulting in Israel's increased dependence on the United States. Israel's political and military leaders were also highly criticized by the public.

This volume emphasizes that, despite its achievements

over the forty years, Israel still attempts to resolve such basic problems as the location of its boundaries, the security of its population, and the legitimacy of its authority. How Israel deals with these problems will determine whether Israel will succeed in achieving the ideals of democracy, which it delineated in its Declaration of Independence four decades ago.

Because this volume was published during Israel's fortieth year (1988), all of its articles were completed in 1987. Accordingly, significant recent developments, such as the 1988 Israeli elections, the PLO's new course of action, greater international recognition, and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, are not addressed directly. Nonetheless, the articles provide great insight and shed light on the many complex issues still facing Israel.

Tiananmen Square. By Scott Simmie and Bob Nixon. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1989. Pp. x, 206. $14.95.

Tiananmen Square is an extraordinary eyewitness account chronicling the events in China leading up to the horror of the Tiananmen Massacre that shook the world on June 3, 1989. The book describes the student democracy movement from its inception as a disorganized, nonconfrontational march, to its apex with widespread public support, to its final days of suicidal commitment. In a courageous and defiant pursuit of democracy, the students were, in the end, brutally crushed by the backlash of a bloody and vicious history.

It is no wonder that the authors, Scott Simmie and Bob Nixon, so ably capture the behind-the-scenes flavor of the student movement. As journalists who had both worked with the Chinese government, they share with the reader a strong sense of how the machinery of the communist system and its media operates. Equally interesting were the paradoxes that the authors highlight. While the Communist Party chose to neglect education in favor of developing the economy, today the low level of education has become a major constraint in China's modernization. In an environment of technological backwardness, the government equips public security agents with sophisticated surveillance devices. Because the Party severely restricts the Chinese media, students eager to learn about events within China must resort to reading foreign news publications.

The book is sensibly organized as a fairly detailed chronology, embellished with the authors' view of the inner workings of the government, and interspersed with the life stories of intellectuals and artists—who suffered the most from the numerous waves of repression, campaigns, and purges during the country's four decades of communist rule. The book also includes helpful illustrative materials, such as maps of relevant areas, a chronology of major events, and numerous black and white pictures.

Although this book is not a comprehensive academic analysis of that incredible moment in history, it is a vital supplement to any collection on modern Chinese history and a worthwhile addition to any library. *Tiananmen Square* provides a gripping, and often touching, intensely personal account of the Democracy movement, which the media could not achieve.

The Two German States and European Security. Edited by F. Stephen Larrabee. New York, New York: Institute for East-West Security Studies, 1989. Pp. xviii, 330. $35.00.

For many years, scholars wrote about the German question without fearing that their books and articles would become outdated before they rolled off the printing press. *The Two German States and European Security*, a collection of essays edited by F. Stephen Larrabee, suffers from the fact that events can rush past scholarship, which seems to be a common affliction these days. Nevertheless, Mr. Larrabee's impressive group of authors have written valuable essays that will contribute to our understanding of how the two German states related to each other and affected East-West relations in the 1980s. Nobody should be deterred from studying this period simply because it has receded into history faster than anyone anticipated. Indeed, this book contains many helpful insights for those who seek to understand how, in the space of a few months, the post-World War II world was turned upside down.

The authors come from both sides of the Atlantic and from both sides of what used to be know as the Iron Curtain. Four American, four West German, two East German, one Polish, and two French authors address a wide range of important aspects of the relationship between the two German

states and their international status. The authors touch on crucial historical background, as well as on contemporary political, military, and economic concerns of the Germans, the French, the Americans, the Soviets, and the Poles. For instance, Ryszard Wojna, an accomplished Polish journalist, provides a lucid explanation of his country's fears of German reunification despite the Germans' repeated guarantees of Poland's territorial integrity. Gebhard Schweigler's essay, analyzing a wealth of public opinion data, provides great insight for anyone seeking an understanding of the Germans' complex attitudes toward the division and unification of their country. A. James McAdams, a leading U.S. analyst of the GDR, offers a historical explanation for the improvement in intra-German relations that is one of the keys to the sudden dawning of reunification. Mr. Larrabee contributes a valuable historical survey of Moscow's German policy. While predicting the future can be hazardous, Mr. Larrabee may have identified a crucial element facilitating German reunification when he writes that "Moscow seems likely to give increasing priority to relations with the Federal Republic . . . ." Economic considerations in particular point in this direction, since the Soviets desperately need Western economic and technological assistance, and the Federal Republic is Moscow's most important trading partner in Western Europe. In permitting reunification, Gorbachev certainly gave the Federal Republic priority over the GDR. In return, both West Germany and a united Germany will probably be valuable partners for Gorbachev's economic plans.

Ulster's Uncertain Defenders: Protestant, Political, Paramilitary and Community Groups and the Northern Ireland Conflict. By Sarah Nelson. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1984. Pp. 219. $32.00 (cloth); $12.95 (paper).

Ulster's Uncertain Defenders is a unique and creative attempt to present the views and reactions of Northern Irish loyalists who have lived through the area's conflicts since 1920 with the Catholic minority and with the British Government in Westminister. This book does not replace a basic historical text, nor does it purport to do so. Rather, it is a view of the conflict through the words of those who have participated in it, and assumes a strong knowledge of the region's history.

What Sarah Nelson has done through her years of research in Belfast, the center of Ulster politics, is to provide a sense of what it is like to live through such violent and changing times. The research consists of interviews with a broad cross-section of Protestant loyalists, including ordinary people as well as those in the many political, paramilitary, and community groups in Belfast. Therefore, the work is heavily concerned with the perceptions of those involved in the conflict. While the Catholics have borne the brunt of the physical suffering throughout the conflict, Nelson reveals that the loyalists' suffering has been emotional, with each political reform imposed by Westminister seeming "to remove another plank from the structure they were defending." For this reason, the work is invaluable towards an understanding of the conflict's impact on the loyalists.

Nelson begins with an introductory section on Ulster Protestant politics and its relationship to the Civil Rights Movement. She then focuses on the three key time periods of the conflict: first, the widespread outbreak of urban violence in August 1969; second, the suspension of the Northern Ireland Government of Stormont by the British in March 1972 and its aftermath; and third, the consequences of the Ulster Workers' Council strike, which brought down the power-sharing Executive in May 1974.

Part of the book's importance is that it exposes as fictitious the popular perception of the loyalists as a homogeneous group with similar ideas and goals. The group of Irish Protestants referred to as loyalists is really a complex and divided society, with many groups and sub-groups who are in conflict with each other as much as with the Catholics and the Westminister Government. The work's value lies in its ability to pierce the generalizations about this group, as well as in providing a vivid account of the conflict that the loyalists continue to undergo.