

Book Reviews

David Collins: A Colonial Life. By John Currey (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000), pp. xiv + 390. \$65.95, hb.

David Collins is one of the most important commentators on historical events in early colonial Australia. He wrote the first substantial history of the colony of New South Wales, which chronicles some of the early development, disasters and dangers of life in what Collins prejudged as “the residence of savages”. While his significance as a historian remains unquestioned, the life of David Collins is in itself of importance for what it reflects on the wider story of European settlement in Australia. Collins was born in London in 1756 and joined the navy at the age of fourteen, in which capacity he fought against the Americans at the battle of Bunker Hill in 1775. It was in 1787 that he was appointed as the deputy judge-advocate of the impending settlement of Botany Bay and he embarked for the great unknown the following year with the First Fleet. It was on this voyage to Botany Bay that Collins commenced the personal journal that was later published as *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*. Initially he settled in to his role as magistrate and carried out his duties with unflinching loyalty and attention. Yet, the colony was no paradise — shortages of food, monotony of life, and isolation from family and friends were all contributing factors to Collins’s decision to return to Britain in September 1796. He had no intentions to return to Australia, but in 1802 he was offered the post of lieutenant-governor of the impending settlement in Bass Strait. He founded Hobart town in 1804 and resided there until his death in 1810. Virtually the entire population of Hobart turned out for his funeral but, as the author of this book points out, he “faded steadily from public memory” to the point where “he was almost forgotten in the city he had founded” (p.1). This neglect has been continued by historians. Whilst historians have frequently returned to and quoted from Collins’s account of early New South Wales as one of the most reliable narratives of the period, it is amazing that no thorough biography of this man has been produced until now. The Mitchell Library purchased a major collection of Collins family papers in the 1960s, yet that failed to inspire anyone to complete a biographical study of David Collins. At last someone has picked up the scent and followed it through. This book is the first comprehensive biography of Collins and is based on extensive archival research. It will stand as the authoritative biography of this man for some time to come. There is, however, room for further work on Collins. As a straight biography this book does not explore those thematic issues that will unravel the social and political events of Collins’s time nor does it analyse his career as a colonial administrator. The author has no misgivings about the fact that the book is purely an attempt at biography (p.xi) and in this light *David Collins: A Colonial Life* should provide a stimulus to scholars in the field. It is an enjoyable read, a substantial biography, and one every scholar of Australian history should have on their bookshelf.

MICHAEL T. DAVIS

History, University of Queensland

Brisbane: Squatters, Selectors and Surveyors. (Brisbane History Group Papers No 16) Edited by Rod Fisher and Jennifer Harrison (Brisbane: Brisbane History Group, 2000), pp.159, RRP \$30.00, pb.

The Brisbane History Group is a collective of academic, professional, and amateur historians interested in the history of Brisbane — the capital of Queensland, its environs, and, occasionally, its extensive hinterland. The BHG, as well as conducting “historical” tours, publishes source materials and conference papers grouped loosely around a central, and sometimes forced, organizing theme. This current collection of twelve papers mostly originates from conference papers marking Brisbane’s sesquicentenary (1992) as a free settlement after two decades as a colonial penal outpost. Thus it focuses mainly on the people who helped to shape the urban settlement in the 1840s — the entrepreneurial *squatters* whose overriding commercial needs pressured government to open Moreton Bay to free settlement, the *settlers* whose small business enterprises ensured the vibrancy of the settlement, and, last but not least, the often-neglected *surveyors* whose technical expertise legitimised land ownership and town planning.

Regrettably, perhaps inevitably, the collection is of varied quality and interest. A few papers contain original insights, a few rework existing material imaginatively, and a few simply rehearse known material, albeit competently. Helen Gregory’s archetypal study of the merchant advertiser, John Williams, depicts the “rugged individualists” necessary for early social formation, while John Mackenzie-Smith — focussing on Andrew Petrie, the “father/midwife” of Brisbane — elucidates the bitter power struggles between key entrepreneurs to “boost” the three competing centres of Brisbane, South Brisbane, and Kangaroo Point. Jennifer Harrison usefully places the settlers in context of the Sydney-headquarters Brisbane-branch office nexus. No portrait of Brisbane in the 1840s is possible without the fortuitous reminiscences of “Old Tom” — Thomas Dowse — whom Mark Gosling characterizes as Brisbane’s “Samuel Pepys”. Rod Fisher imaginatively uses Dowse’s memoirs to create a virtual web-cam tour of the Brisbane scene in 1842. Colin Sheehan’s brief chronology of the slow collapse of the government’s fifty-mile exclusion zone for free settlers is a useful clarification. Papers on pioneering squatters — Arthur Hodgson and the Archer brothers — while competently rehearsing the problems of the pastoral frontier, do not sufficiently focus on their impact on Brisbane. The two papers on surveyors, similarly, are competent but mainly factual studies. A novel contribution is Robyn Buchanan’s description of the tension between Brisbane and rival Ipswich, seen through the eyes of their respective newspapers, as “Athenians v Thebans”.

Overall, a commendable cameo presentation of early Brisbane, well-supported by apt illustrations, thoroughly referenced, and with a good index. The last is much valued, as there is considerable repetition of information throughout the collection — one of the pitfalls of conference publications.

MAURICE FRENCH

History, University of Southern Queensland

Beyond the Ladies Lounge: Australia's Female Publicans. By Clare Wright (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003), 256 pp, 33 black and white illustrations, rrp \$34.95, pb.

I've always admired Melbourne's bars: comfy spaces that feel like loungerooms. I was reminded of them reading Clare Wright's stylish cultural history of female publicans, *Beyond the Ladies Lounge*. Despite her title, Wright mainly focuses on Victoria, and I suspect the influence of her female publicans may be found in those Melbourne bars and pubs — "public houses" that feel more like private homes.

Initially, I bristled slightly at Wright's stated aim: to challenge the feminist assumption of the Australian pub as an exclusively masculine preserve. The image of the pub as the epicentre of homosocial culture is well entrenched. Feminists and feminist historians have had an uneasy relationship to alcohol and pubs, from earlier temperance activists to seventies feminists who chained themselves to bars.

But, Wright suggests, those tales belong to an older generation, and she seeks to replace the victims of feminist history, relegated to drinking shandies in the ladies lounge, with her sensible, powerful female publicans behind the bar. In this, she mostly succeeds. Wright shows that female publicans were not discriminated against because of their gender, and that selling alcohol provided a rare avenue towards financial independence for women throughout Australia's history. She suggests that pubs were actually feminised space in the nineteenth century and the idea of the hotel as a male domain only arose in the post-war period, partly as a result of temperance campaigns for six o'clock closing. In the most fascinating sections of the book, Wright explores women's navigation and control of the public space of the pub. Female publicans were living and working in a "public house", a mix of public and private space, their power emanating from their ability to command respect amid the financial transactions and relationships all located within their home, the pub.

However, the mostly celebratory tone is occasionally problematic. Yes, the female publican had power and control in her pub, but this power came from a conventionally maternal service role, and couldn't it mean that these women rarely got any time — or space — to themselves? Wright argues that the experiences of women publicans challenge our notions of the pub as a male preserve, but a female publican doesn't necessarily make a pub a welcoming place for female customers. This is hinted at in an interview Wright conducted with a woman whose mother owned a pub. The woman remembered: "even though we were hotel people, the women wouldn't go in [to other hotels] [...] another hotel would be just another hostile place, unless you actually knew the publican there." This suggests that the pub could still be an alienating place for most women.

One of the strengths of Wright's book is its impressive research. Wright has combed through archival sources and sat at the bar with female publicans, gleaming fascinating insights into the gender politics of the pub on the most micro level. Under her careful eye, licencing records, popular literature and oral history have yielded rich, substantial evidence of women's role as publicans.

Wright's handsomely produced book is a model of clear and exciting historical writing, especially for PhD students searching for light at the end of the thesis tunnel. Her challenge to nationalist and feminist orthodoxies is full of surprises and insights.

MICHELLE ARROW

Modern History, Macquarie University

Legacies of White Australia: Race, Culture, Nation. Edited by Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker and Jan Gothard (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2003), 280 pp., \$38.95, pb.

As the editors of this volume note, much of the fanfare over the centenary of federation passed without acknowledging the anniversary of the *Immigration Restriction Act* in 1901. This fine collection of essays confronts the neglect, examining the continuing legacies of the White Australia Policy (WAP). Writing in the shadow of the *Tampa* episode and the 2001 election, the contributors note disturbing parallels between the two eras, not least the revival of exclusionary nationalism in the form of “border protection” legislation. Others find persistent traces of White Australia in recent retreats from civic nationalist ideals to so-called “core”, “mainstream” or “traditional” values. These continuities and parallels recur through the chapters: the ongoing fear of Asian engagement, foreign policy attachments to nations culturally “like us”, the reaction against multiculturalism, and of course, persistent anxiety over our northern borders.

Yet, despite these ghostly remains of the WAP, Australia has changed irrevocably over the century — and the contributors also point to newer dynamics. There are, as Robert Manne notes in his chapter, two contemporary visions of Australia which contested each other over the *Tampa* issue. One saw multicultural Australia as having a proud record of tolerating migrants from “ethnic” backgrounds and admitting them into the mainstream social imaginary. Another saw Australia as a former British settler society still struggling to refashion itself on multicultural lines. Ann Curthoys makes a similar point that liberalism was and is Janus-faced, capable of both incorporation and exclusion.

Highlights of this collection include Curthoys’ “prehistory” of the White Australia Policy, which examines exclusionary aspects of colonial liberalism, and recalls the refusal to allow the (portentously named) *Afghan* to land Chinese immigrants in 1888. The early chapters contend that exclusionism was integral to creating a sense of “us” or “people-hood” on someone else’s land. David Walker’s contribution is stimulating as always, examining the shifting legitimations of the WAP in interwar years, and the international influence of Pearson’s *National Life and Character* (though Henry Reynolds’ recent *North of Capricorn* adds usefully to Walker’s list of the few contemporary critics of the policy). Here we are reminded that none other than Kaiser Wilhelm coined the term “yellow peril” while engrossed in Pearson’s international bestseller. Alistair Davidson mounts a cogent normative attack on narrow communitarian visions of citizenship in a global age, while constitutional lawyer Kim Rubenstein offers an important addition to Australian citizenship studies through an exploration of the concept’s omission from the founding document in 1901. For Rubenstein, this ill-definition of citizenship reflected the fear of British subjects from Hong Kong claiming rights, and facilitated government manipulation and control of immigration policy. Sean Brawley presents a readable account of how the logic of international relations cornered, and eventually dismembered, core aspects of the WAP.

This valuable collection also includes a well-compiled chronology of milestones in the rise, fall, and aftermath of White Australia. It serves up a timely reminder that exclusionist nationalism can be popular at elections but deeply embarrassing to your grandchildren, and liable to leave nasty, enduring stains on your memory.

MICHAEL LEACH
Deakin University

This War Never Ends: The Pain of Separation and Return. By Michael McKernan (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001), \$35.00, pb.

This War Never Ends details the effect becoming a prisoner of war (POW) of the Japanese had on Australian servicemen and women during the Second World War and their families and partners in Australia. Rather than focus on the period of incarceration (except for familial and partners' responses to the capture of loved ones), the book examines the return of POWs to Australia and the varying means by which the men and women, and their families, dealt with that return. As McKernan himself puts it: "It tells the stories and examines the silences" (xii). At the heart of the story is an attempt to understand why the Australian POW experience, at least that of Japanese captivity, is "not a core element of our understanding of ourselves and our past" (xii).

This book has a number of strengths. McKernan claims that much of Australian writing about the nation's participation in war "concentrates on the fighting soldier and the immediate moment of battle" (xiv). This is certainly true. It has only been in recent years that historians have begun to examine the post-war legacy of servicemen and women's involvement in Australia's conflicts and the effect on them and their families. McKernan's book is thus a contribution to this historiography. The book is also a contribution to a growing literature on Australian POWs. A number of books appeared from the mid-1980s onward, but as a subject POWs generally have been given little attention by historians. McKernan's book is the first to examine in detail the post-war lives of ex-POWs. The various ambiguities ex-POWs of the Japanese presented to government and repatriation authorities, and indeed the public, all of whom were accustomed to welcoming home the serving soldier, are presented with verve. The peculiar physical and psychological difficulties faced by the ex-prisoners, made poignant by the inclusion of individual examples, are also included and placed in a larger context of the return of the 2nd A.I.F. to Australia in 1945 and beyond.

There are, however, some weaknesses in McKernan's treatment of the subject. McKernan too often portrays ex-POWs in exceedingly sympathetic tones. Given the nature of the sources, this is an easy thing to do, but at times McKernan's tones influence, or at least obscure, the portrayal of significant trends concerning returning POWs and their response to the effects of incarceration in the post-war years. Also, as McKernan wishes to see ex-prisoners of the Japanese given more attention in the commemoration of Australia's military past, he tends to emphasise the "heroic" characteristics of the prisoners' experiences at the expense of a more critical analysis. In characterising ex-POWs in this way McKernan is at a loss to explain their relative absence from an understanding of "ourselves and our past" and yet it is the very ambiguities he examines in his narrative that provide crucial clues, all of which are absent in the final analysis. The time period covered by the book is also too short. The narrative ends in the early 1950s, only five or so years after the men returned from captivity. Important trends and developments past this period are referred to in passing rather than in any detail and consequently some of the implications of McKernan's own inquiries are left unexplored. Nonetheless, this book is a useful contribution to the historiography of war and its human cost.

CRAIG BARRETT
History, University of Queensland

Keeper of the Faith: A Biography of Jim Cairns. By Paul Strangio (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2002), \$49.95 hb.

Paul Strangio's study of the former deputy leader of the Australian Labor Party, Dr Jim Cairns, is the third biographical account of one of the most complex figures in Australian political life. Earlier biographers, Irene Dowsing and Paul Ormonde, portrayed Cairns either as Plekhanov's "great man" or as one who held so much promise but failed. The Strangio book, redolent with primary and secondary sources, presents almost the entire life of Cairns, from humble Wesleyan origins to the aged isolated seller of self-published books at various Melbourne markets. A weakness of *Keeper of the Faith* is that too much of the life is recorded after Cairns left federal parliament. Whatever else Strangio may reveal about Cairns the Reichian socialist and the corrosive nature of alternative communities, Cairns as a political being was in decline. In his psychological portrait of "Jimmy Jesus", the author becomes too immersed in the life of his subject.

Nevertheless, the formative influences on Cairns' political outlook are deftly sketched. The material adversity of the Great Depression, the deep and lasting wound of a father's absence and a mother's emotional distance, the family belief in young Jim's brilliance, the sporting prowess, and the deprived education would finally determine Cairns' quality of character and political maturity. From an early age, Cairns became a loner, independent, respected, a leader, but never known, troubled and almost friendless. Strangio's brief explorations of Cairns the copper, the reluctant soldier at the end of the Pacific War and the limitations and disappointments of the academic life experienced at Melbourne and Oxford partly explained how the "socialist without doctrines" became, surprisingly, a maverick member of Labor. Cairns as a federal Labor parliamentarian coincided with the tentative beginnings of the Great Split in the Party. In Victoria, where the Split was as deep as it was acrimonious, Cairns rose quickly as a lion of the Left. Cairns found few kindred spirits, apart from Uren and, for a time, Hayden, in a party led by Evatt and later by Calwell in parliamentary opposition. His criticisms of Cold War power politics and his growing concern for national liberation in Asia, as Strangio illustrates, endeared the loner to no one. Menzies' parting gift of sending Australian troops to Vietnam to support the American war of intervention, buttressed by selective military conscription, brought further division to Labor's ranks and thrust Cairns into political prominence. As the popular war in Vietnam turned sour, Cairns took a leading role in galvanising peaceful opposition to it. He found his politics of engagement, moral certainty, radical commitment and community on the streets in the mobilisations against the Vietnam War. It was this realisation which separated Cairns almost entirely from his parliamentary colleagues and the institutional power of parliament.

According to Strangio, Cairns, through his experience of the Vietnam War moratoria, had found a way to connect. This form of rudimentary participatory democracy was seen by Cairns as the way to establish a socialist Australia. That moment had lit his life.

When Labor came to power in late 1972, ending the "ice age" of Menzies, Cairns learnt the tribulations of high office. He became a prisoner of executive power. He could do little toward his socialist dream and was constrained or denied whatever he did as a Minister. Cairns was a fish on a bicycle.

Events like the mysterious bashing of Cairns at his home, and the sudden appearance and influence of Junie Morosi upon Cairns when he was a senior Labor minister, are not sufficiently interrogated by Strangio. Conspiratorial conclusions about

both of these episodes in Cairns' life are cast aside by the author. It is unlikely, however, that the files of security agencies, domestic or foreign, when finally opened, would offer any evidence of operations against Cairns. Such is the world of intelligence. Was Cairns a danger or a dreamer? Or, mistakenly, a dangerous dreamer? His life after parliament suggests he was a seeker on a fruitless quest. Cairns's role in the Vietnam anti-war movement kept it, largely, within the safe bounds of parliamentary politics. After the Tet Offensive, Cairns commanded vast mass support to end the war. Jim hoped he could construct a society based on social equality, and to end all forms of oppression. Yet he realised the limits of Labor's reformism and its fundamental adherence to capitalism. When in government, he could and would do nothing which would end Labor's commitment to the system of private ownership and profit, with or without Junie Morosi. Unknowingly, Strangio has offered us a cautionary tale in this biography of a now barely remembered Labor saint.

DREW COTTLE

University of Western Sydney.

Platypus and Parliament: The Australian Senate in Theory and Practice. By Stanley Bach (Canberra: Department of the Senate, 2003), pp. xiv + 389. \$29.95 pb.

If the study of political institutions ever revives in Australian political science, this admirable work will deserve much of the credit. It can also sit alongside Louise Overacker's pioneering (1952) account of Australian political parties as proof of how much a visitor to these shores can do in a short time. It might encourage comparable studies of the three (for the present) State upper houses with experience of proportional representation. And it shows, if proof were needed which it is not, how much talent resides in the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress and, by analogy, how useful our smaller scale equivalents have become.

It is not an encyclopaedia of our Senate, and for most matters of fact and record we will still need to turn to Odgers and Co. There would be no point in duplicating those massive volumes. Having begun with an intention to introduce US readers to "an intriguing array of similarities and differences" between the Australian Senate and its *alma mater*, Bach added Australian readers in need of an overall survey to his responsibilities. Though both have been well served and close to 400 pages is indisputably a solid job, there are inevitably topics one would have liked to hear him on at length. The strength of his account of the 1975 crisis in particular whets that appetite.

Such as the greatest glory of the Senate for some time, the Estimates Committees. Such as how Treasury has been represented in the Senate and whether splitting off Finance has made any difference. Such as the President and the Clerk, and the Leaders of the Government and Opposition as roles in the larger political realm. Such as the intersection of the Senate and its roles with the Cabinet career ladder.

But there are also unanticipated rewards. Like his plausible speculation about the consequences if the Greens were to replace the Democrats as the third party. Like his squeezing meaning out of parliamentary voting patterns which Australian political scientists ignore. Like his ability to write a most valuable chapter about the Mandate without mentioning Downs; there has been a lot of pop Downsianism about — Beazley may have been a victim in 2001.

As for errors, only one has been spotted (p.45). After seats in the House of Representatives have been allocated to States (and now Territories) by population, population trots off the field and enrolment trots on for the next play of drawing

boundaries. Unlike the US, which is why Australian redistributions can take place at any time and US have been tied to the decennial census by the Supreme Court, *pace* recent sharp practice in Texas. On the same page, explaining preferential voting to Americans, who are starting to take an interest but using their own label of “instant run-off”, it would have been clearer to say that, after the first exclusion, the “now least popular” goes out rather than the “second least” lest the unwary think the original, first count rankings are followed. But that has little to do with upper houses where Bach is beyond reproach.

COLIN A. HUGHES

Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland

Unfolding History, Evolving Identity: The Chinese in New Zealand. Edited by Manying Ip (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), NZ\$ 44.00.

The unique accomplishment of this new collection of essays edited by the historian Manying Ip should be in the first instance considered in terms of the slender historiography that exists on the Chinese in New Zealand. The maturity of New Zealand scholarship has, until recently, been defined by publications such as Ip’s own *Home away from Home*, *Dragons on the Long White Cloud* and James Ng’s four-volume popular history of the Chinese in Otago, *Windows on a Chinese Past*. Further, while these contributions have been important within the local canon, they are less compelling for researchers beyond New Zealand. *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity* then provides a broad, summative and theoretically sophisticated centrepiece for the future of studies on the Chinese in that country.

Ip lays out the intent of the publication in the preface. It is meant to be “a comprehensive overview of Chinese New Zealanders: their history, the development of their community from the early colonial period up to recent times, and how their identity as a visible minority has been formed in a largely monocultural, or at best bicultural, nation”. In the sophistication of its theoretical position, in the breadth of the academic disciplines employed to further this vision, and in the sweeping yet lavish detail provided through individual papers this book engages and succeeds.

Unfolding History, Evolving Identity is composed of four general sections that in concert describe the experiences of Chinese New Zealanders through a panorama of generational change. Part I deals with early encounters between Chinese and Pakeha (white) New Zealanders; Part II with the experiences of the original Chinese settler community; Part III accounts for recent Taiwanese and Hong Kong business migrants; and Part IV deals with the strategies of empowerment that the community has employed to assert social and political agency. There is thus both a broad chronology that narrates the cultural distance between generations, yet simultaneously the book provides sufficient space for contributors to scrutinize discrete areas of interest. In the section exploring the experiences of the older Chinese settler community we have essays ranging from Wellington’s infamous Haining Street; the historical marginalization of Maori-Chinese identities by both Pakeha and Maori communities; and an intimate account of the Chuns’ family history.

The most compelling feature of this book, however, is the theoretical sophistication that underpins the academic research. The dialogue between Overseas Chinese studies and the traditional academic interests of disciplines researching diasporic Chinese communities is, in both Australia and the US, only just starting to be properly clarified. *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity* to this extent moves beyond Australian historiography by engaging with both New Zealand’s history of race relations and the

phenomenon of transnationalism, by negotiating between the local and the transnational and displaying the many frictions that exist between belonging and displacement, agency and hegemony, community and cultural isolation.

The papers written by Bevan Yee and Jenny Bol Jun Lee in particular display a keen awareness of the shifting grounds of cultural identity. They raise concepts such as “symbolic mourning”; concepts that find precedent only at the cusp of current Asian American scholarship [See for example Anne Anlin Cheng’s *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation and Hidden Grief* (2001) and David L. Eng, *Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian America* (2001)]. Even traditional research areas such as immigration policy and the history of the Chinese in colonial New Zealand receive heightened theoretical sensitivity. In focusing upon their identity as sojourners James Ng’s article on Cantonese gold miners explores their precarious presence in New Zealand beyond the traditional constructions of the Chinese as “unassimilable aliens”. Nigel Murphy’s article on the Joe Lum case similarly locates restrictive legislation within the ongoing struggle of Chinese New Zealanders to assert their political rights.

The Australian historical landscape, in contrast, lacks the two most significant aspects that *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity* provides: this being a definitive compendium of the Chinese Australian experience and historical scholarship that adequately takes on the myriad of current discourses, from postcolonialism to transnationalism, from cultural studies to Overseas Chinese studies. *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity* thus provides a useful blueprint for any such revitalised Australian effort. The story of the Chinese in Australia must be interdisciplinary and theoretically sophisticated, yet personal and daring in its intimacy and depth.

JEN TSEN KWOK

History, University of Queensland

New Guinea: Crossing Boundaries and History. By Clive Moore (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003). ISBN 0 8248 2485 73: xiv + 204 pp + notes, bibliography, photos and maps. US\$50.00 hb.

This handsome volume confirms Clive Moore’s reputation among historians of the Pacific Islands as a tireless researcher who presents reliable information in admirably straight-forward prose. It is almost needless to say that the University of Hawaii Press has edited and presented this ambitious study with elegance and meticulous care.

Moore’s claim to originality lies in the shape of the study. He surveys historical and other studies of the whole of insular New Guinea and its closest island neighbours, beginning 40,000 years ago and giving the last hundred years only the last of his eight chapters. He makes reference to creative thinkers including Greg Dening, Nicholas Thomas, John Waiko and Klaus Neumann; but these are post-modern decorations on a resolutely empiricist text. Given the breadth and depth of his canvas, it is impossible for him to do more than select and introduce particular topics. He is assiduous in finding the most recent scholarly consensus on the issues that he treats, and does not attempt novel interpretations. Ambitious scale therefore entails modest analysis. It is revealing that two hundred pages of dense narrative conclude with an evocative but elusive quotation from the poet Kumalau Tawali: “Let my arrows fly another 50,000 years”. This is not a book for the analytically minded.

The author begins by defending himself from a colleague who treated his project as a waste of time. The defence has two elements. He regrets that most scholars accept contemporary boundaries, concentrating either on Papua New Guinea or on the

Indonesian province (Papua or Irian Jaya), as if this arbitrary border had neolithic significance. Honourable exceptions are Gavin Souter, *New Guinea: the Last Unknown* (Sydney, 1963), Matthew Spriggs, *The Island Melanesians* (Oxford, 1997), and Whittaker, Gash, Hookey and Lacey, *Documents and Readings in New Guinea History* (Brisbane, 1975). This dominant, anachronistic and fragmenting approach to New Guinea's past is compounded, he argues, by boundaries that separate the disciplines brought to bear on the task. His objection to the political boundary is well made, but it is not so clear that disciplinary loyalties have been insuperable. The population of New Guinea anthropologists, linguists and archaeologists is small enough for most of them to know each other, at least by name, to meet each other in the field or at conferences, and to collaborate more closely than (for example) their counterparts in Africa or Europe. Unlike Europe or Asia, we cannot avoid each other by dividing the field into (for example) feudal, medieval or modern eras. At the contemporary end of the spectrum, it is often difficult to tell whether a scholar is a geographer, an ethnographer or a political scientist. In every case, scholars pay at least lip service to historical issues.

Having raised the question, Moore implies that his approach transcends these limitations. And he does bring between two covers a range of information about events on either side of the boundary. In most chapters though, this material is presented in parallel rather than integrated. That approach sits well with the author's scepticism about general theories and his reluctance to speculate on the ways that New Guinea individuals and societies understood their external contacts, but it does throw doubt on his implicit claim to offer a new vision. His real success is to deploy his rare talents as an inquisitive reader, a tireless researcher, and a reliable source of empirical information. People who mainly read on one side of the border have a great opportunity to expand their horizons east or west — and on this secure basis to frame their own theories and formulate their own general statements.

DONALD DENOON

Australian National University

Erasmus in the Twentieth Century: Interpretations c.1920-2000. By Bruce Mansfield (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp.xiv + 324. £45.00 hb.

This is the third and final volume of Bruce Mansfield's trilogy — following on *Phoenix of His Age* and *Man On His Own* — analyzing the interpretations of the significance of Erasmus of Rotterdam from the sixteenth century to our own times. The aim of these works is to consider scholarly opinion of his intellectual and historical importance which the author acknowledges is “both diverse and ambivalent”. The diversity of assessments highlights the ongoing influence of Erasmus. Mansfield looks to put Erasmus' theological, rhetorical, personal and political influence into the context of the twentieth century.

This volume examining the content of essays, articles, monographs and books, in a number of European languages, written in the given time slot, marks the impressive erudition of the author. The three time slots chosen by Mansfield are bound by events celebrating Erasmus' life — the Quatercentenary of his death (1936), the Quincentenary of his birth (1967-70) and the Sesquiatercentenary, the 450th year of his birth (1986 and after). In 1936 Europe was facing Hitler, in 1967-70 the Cold War and social unrest, and in 1986 the contemporary literature and cultural theory approach to texts, all impacting on the scholars who produced work on Erasmus and the themes they pursued. As Mansfield says, it is important to remember that in diverse areas of

Europe Erasmus was read differently, with commentators taking from his writings that which they wish to see and pursue. However he argues that this century sees more exact scholarship in the studies produced and more especially after the Second World War.

In the first section Erasmus' political thought was the driving force and the discussion of the Just War Theory is, one might say, of particular interest for our own times. The emphasis in the second section is on Erasmus the religious scholar and the foundations of his thinking — the classical roots, the Early Fathers, the New Testament and the *devotio moderna*. The big debate here is whether his religious position in a sense was a break with Rome, citing its rejection of him when his works were put on the Index; or whether despite his emphasis on inward faith centred on Christ the exemplar, and his opposition to many outward forms of worship, he did not seek to reject the traditional Church. Much of the discussion here sees him in terms of the Enlightenment and Vatican II, but it is clear he cannot be fitted into neat categories. The last of three periods on the rhetorical aspect reflects the late twentieth century emphasis on language and discourse in its various forms. The influences that shaped the life of Erasmus, from the circumstances of birth, his education in the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life, the time in the monastery and his humanist role and friendships, are woven into all these three major themes.

This is a book for the specialist to read and appreciate. There is a need to have at least a good working knowledge of Erasmus' major works. The scholarship of this work is formidable, testing the reader's concentration to take hold of and follow the plethora of arguments offered within the periods and the themes. Mansfield's bibliography could be said to be an almost complete source book of twentieth century works on the subject. Chapter notes are informative and the index useful and substantial. Leaving the last word to the author, the many aspects of the man and the arguments he engenders "make him a figure of never-dying interest and still a man for our anxious and fragmented times" (p. 230).

NOELINE HALL
Brisbane

Eighteenth-Century British Erotica. Edited by Chris Mounsey and Rictor Norton (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2002), 5 volumes. £450.

To recommend the reading of erotica — or, as it may be referred to, pornography — may not be a habit I generally make; however *Eighteenth-Century British Erotica* is an exception to that rule. At first thought erotica may not be the essence of a serious scholastic exercise. Indeed, it may be facetiously argued that the subject embraces less work and more play. But erotica has progressively emerged as a genre of serious academic pursuit. Scholars have in recent times taken libertine literature and its milieu from the realms of the forbidden and dark corners of the academy to new and enlightened heights. Iain McCalman, for instance, in his study of the *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840* (1988), unravelled the clandestine world of radical politics to reveal its connection with the shadowy environs of the Grub Street pornographers. More recently, in *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England 1815-1914*, Lisa Sigel shows how the production and consumption of erotica offered people an avenue for understanding issues of politics, gender, race and class. *Eighteenth-Century British Erotica* brings together a collection of texts that were produced prior to the periods covered by the McCalman and Sigel studies, but revisits the Grub Street realm to

provide the reader with a far-reaching, thought-provoking and most intriguing body of literature. In so far as it is a collection of “erotic” writings the works presented by the editors could be described as bawdy; but they are not, as the editors point out, “quite erotic in the modern sense of stimulating the sexual arousal of the reader” (p. xvii). The writers were producing for their contemporaries works that were more a source of “jovial pleasure and merry conviviality” (p. xvii) than an actual sexual aid, so what we have is rather timid, at least by modern standards. While explicitness is just about absent from these works or at least covered by insinuation, there is no shortage of views on sex, sexuality and sexual relations. The texts can be viewed as a public counter-discourse of the sexual freethinking world, reacting to the new moral turn of the eighteenth century, which found expression in what the editors call the “hellfire rhetoric” (p. xix) of groups like the Society for the Reformation of Manners. Through these texts we gain a valuable insight into the social and cultural norms of British society during the eighteenth century and are able to gauge contemporary perceptions of gender, sex and the “sexual trade”. The collection brings together fifty texts covering broadly the period of the eighteenth century, though the majority of the works date from the early to mid eighteenth century. The editors offer informative headnotes and editorial notes to each work and have done a good job in dealing with sometimes difficult texts: “Printing errors in every other line suggest either dyslexic compositors or, more likely, the speed with which the compositors worked”. The facsimile reproductions are clear and clean, which has become a trademark of the publisher. My only quibble is that there appears to be no logical or stated reason for the order in which the texts have been placed; a strict chronological order may have been more useful. In all, however, this is a splendid collection and it has been added to by the recent publication of a second instalment of five volumes. Librarians should seriously consider a purchase order for both sets.

MICHAEL T. DAVIS

History, University of Queensland

London Corresponding Society, 1792-1799. Edited by Michael Davis. 6 volumes (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2002), ISBN 1 85196 734 6. £495.00.

Founded by a humble Scottish shoemaker, Thomas Hardy, the London Corresponding Society has long been acknowledged to have been the first organisation in which the British working classes organised on a large scale to achieve the franchise and political reform. In it were active many of the most important plebeian reformers of the French revolutionary era, notably John Thelwall. From it sprang some of the leading agitators of the post-Napoleonic era, most prominently its first historian and chronicler, Francis Place, whose papers in the British Library remain a crucial point of reference for historians of the organisation, and who helped to draft the People’s Charter. Yet the LCS has remained enmired in controversy since its birth. Public opinion, encouraged by Pitt and enflamed by John Reeves, suspected it of plotting revolution, assassination, and the expropriation of property. The LCS in turn asserted that its aims were solely constitutional, did not deviate from the True Whig principles of reformers like Major John Cartwright, and were in keeping with reform proposals tabled by Pitt himself in the early 1780s. But it certainly countenanced and tolerated, without officially patronising, the land nationalisation schemes of Thomas Spence. Patently it both consisted of and addressed a new political constituency, and this, at bottom, was its chief sin: once brought into politics, the lower orders would eventually become the ruling class. (Or so it seemed.)

Curiously, however, the LCS has never been the subject of a full-length historical study, despite extended discussions by E.P. Thompson and most other historians of the 1790s, and the publication in 1983 of May Thale's extensive and enormously valuable edition entitled *Selections from the Papers of the London Corresponding Society* (Cambridge University Press). The present edition takes a substantial step in the direction of producing such a history, while making available to a much larger readership a rich and diverse collection of pamphlets and periodicals hitherto mainly available only to patrons of the British Library. Most acquisitions librarians will want to know briefly whether they ought to acquire this collection if they already own the Thale *Selections*; the answer is, resolutely, yes: Thale's *Selections* consists principally of transcriptions from manuscript sources, such as the Treasury Solicitor's papers, of police spy reports, minutes of meetings, and the like; this edition is an exhaustive collation of virtually every printed document produced by the LCS, and a number of the most interesting and important texts concerning it. There is, therefore, virtually no overlap between these publications, but instead the Davis edition, virtually none of which has been hitherto accessible outside of the British Library, continues an admirable Pickering and Chatto tradition of compiling collections of disparate and rare pamphlets and reprinting them with scholarly annotation. Indeed, some material which might have been included here, such as John Thelwall's writings, has been omitted since it has been reprinted elsewhere. The political debates of the 1790s are now recognised as enormously important to the shaping of British political culture well into the nineteenth century. The present collection makes a close study of the most important organisation of the period possible outside of London for the first time.

Davis's collection is organised both thematically and chronologically. Volumes 1-2 consist chiefly of official addresses from the Society from 1792-7, commencing with an early address of July 1792 (but the first two addresses of the Society appear to be not yet relocated), along with some documentation, such as treasurer's accounts, as to the everyday running of the organization. Vols. 3-4 reprint the two periodicals published under the auspices of the LCS, *The Politician* (1794-5) and *The Moral and Political Magazine of the London Corresponding Society* (1796-7). Vol. 5 is devoted thematically to addresses and pamphlets directed at the LCS by radicals both in London and elsewhere. Vol. 6 concludes with a selection of reports from the Committees of Secrecy of both the House of Lords and Commons, and relevant debates pertaining thereto and to the passage of the notorious "Two Acts" of 1795, which effectively outlawed the LCS. The scholarly annotation is extremely helpful and substantive. Each text is introduced by a lengthy note explaining the context of its appearance. Citations and textual notes are grouped at the end of each volume, and offer a wealth of useful (and sometimes extremely difficult to locate) biographical information. (The biographical appendix in vol. 6 was also a useful idea.) The substantial scholarly introduction in vol. 1 sets the stage and offers an excellent overview of the literature without confronting in detail any of the trickier debates about the LCS's ideologies, its relation to physical force revolutionary groups, and so on. For this we will have to wait for Davis's history of the Society, which will hopefully follow this edition in due course.

I have only one criticism of this collection, and that is the physical appearance of some of the reprinted pamphlets. While an apology is offered at the outset for the poor condition of some original texts, browning, fading, speckling, broken type, the use of small fonts, erratic ink distribution, damaged pages, etc. make some texts difficult to

read (but even some of the editorial material in vol. 1 is faint). Resetting may be more expensive, but the readability thereby gained is a clear advantage.

GREGORY CLAEYS

Royal Holloway, University of London

Robert Emmet and the Rebellion of 1798. By Ruán O'Donnell (Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 2003), 276 pages; bibliography, index, 33 illustrations. £27.50 pb.

Robert Emmet and the Rising of 1803. By Ruán O'Donnell (Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 2003), 356 pages; bibliography, index, 25 illustrations. £27.50 pb.

Let no man write my Epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dare vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them, let them and me repose in obscurity and peace and my Tomb remain uninscribed, till other times and other men can do justice to my Character; when my Country takes her place amongst the nations of the Earth, then, and then only may my Epitaph be written.

These words ensured the global immortality of Irish rebel Robert Emmet. They form part of the rousing rhetoric used by Emmet in his impassioned address to the court after enduring twelve hours in the dock awaiting capital conviction for his part in the Rising of 1803. In the two hundred years since Emmet's execution on 20 September 1803 the inspiring legacy of his fiery exhortation has resounded and challenged those who sought to emulate his revolutionary career. In 1898, twelve thousand miles away from Dublin's Green Street courthouse, in a cemetery overlooking Botany Bay in distant New South Wales, a massive monument to United Irishmen was unveiled. The Waverley Cemetery memorial also paid tribute to Michael Dwyer, the Wicklow chief, and the several hundreds transported to the penal colony in the aftermath. Among the litany of those honoured, following the inscribed names of Theobald Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald and before those of Thomas Addis Emmet and Thomas Russell, in acknowledgement of Robert Emmet's urgent decree, a space was left to honour the hero of 1803. In early March 1804 thirty-five kilometres or so from Botany Bay where they were venerated by later generations, the last United Irishmen had failed in a final armed conflict at the antipodean Vinegar Hill near Parramatta, in New South Wales.

Emmet's life lasted only twenty-five years and his career as a radical republican was essentially unsuccessful yet he managed to inspire dozens of biographers, poets, politicians and lyricists. This two-volume biography by University of Limerick history lecturer Ruán O'Donnell reflects an historian totally immersed in analysing the archival minutiae involving United Irishmen. Tracing Emmet's career from December 1796 when he joined the rebels, O'Donnell particularly recreates the stormy years from this initiation, through the Great Rebellion of 1798 to the Rising of 1803. The span of years was punctuated by the Act of Union with Britain in 1800 which cemented the ambitions of survivors under Emmet's military leadership to re-employ their earlier experiences, geographic knowledge and connections in planning the strategies needed to sever the recent treaty. While the author most effectively demonstrates the continuity and necessary differences between the two events with personnel, planning and operations throughout Emmet's seven years of involvement, the division of the material into two volumes is counter-productive. Unfortunately not all readers will initially purchase both books.

Emmet's true legacy lay not in unsuccessful risings but in surviving revisionism through subsequent generations. O'Donnell recounts how in 1910 Padraig Pearse relocated his St Enda's school to the fifty-acre Hermitage estate in Rathfarnham where

Emmet had courted Sarah Curran. (This precinct is now a Pearse museum maintained by the Office of Public Works). Writing in the school magazine later that year, Pearse noted that “Emmet has been our greatest inspiration [...] in truth it was the spirit of Emmet that led me to these hillsides”. The incentive continues into modern times.

The author sees Emmet’s importance emanating from his role as “the chief military strategist of the post-Rebellion United Irishmen and the main intermediary between the remnants of its old leadership on the Continent and those who coalesced in their absence in Dublin”. The scheme he devised was “a wholly feasible and modern-style *coup d’état* [...] which had the potential to paralyse the capital if triggered during a French invasion”. Fortunately for ill-prepared city officials the rebels were thwarted by lack of money and arms, defective communications and bad timing. Even so the ramifications were well recognised by government officials in Dublin who reformed city policing, the militia and yeomanry. The failed rebellion also redefined the role of the new army commander-in-chief and provided telling criticism of the Act of Union in London as well as locally. On the other hand Catholic emancipation was delayed for a generation.

O’Donnell has built an impressive and well-earned international reputation on republican events during the bridging decades between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Following his mid-1990s PhD thesis on the subject, where also the subsequent fate of many of those transported was traced, he wrote a weekly newspaper column for the *Irish Times* in 1998 later published as a book. Entitled *1798 Diary* it charted the chronology of the rebellion’s course, county by county. He followed with two volumes based on County Wicklow’s role, *The Rebellion in Wicklow 1798 and Aftermath: Post-Rebellion Insurgency in Wicklow, 1799-1803*, and recently has also produced *Remember Emmet: images of the life and legacy of Robert Emmet* in conjunction with the National Library of Ireland. Over the past twenty years many other historians have covered the revolutionary period from a multiplicity of aspects (most recently reflected in the publication of *1798, a Bicentenary perspective* edited by Thomas Bartlett, David Dickson, Dáire Keogh and Kevin Whelan), indicating the rich diversity, complexity and popular appeal of the movement and tumultuous era. O’Donnell’s comprehensive industry and interpretations ensures his scholarship ranks with his peers.

JENNIFER HARRISON

History, University of Queensland

Wilhelminism and its Legacies. German Modernities and the Meanings of Reform, 1890-1930. Essays for Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann. Edited by Geoff Eley and James Retallack (Berghahn Books: New York and Oxford, 2003), pp.x + 269. US\$75.00 (hardcover).

Since the 1960s, scholars working on the history of German imperialism and the origins of the First World War have had to engage with the important contributions of Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann to these fields. Pogge has also published significant contributions in the field of business and economic history, and his edition of the diaries of Walter Rathenau throws valuable light on the history of Imperial Germany. The bibliography of his work that is included in this *Festschrift* is by no means the least useful part of the book.

Some *Festschriften* are collections of widely disparate papers, on an almost random range of topics, and linked only by their authors having had some association with the dedicatee. In the case of this volume, in a gratifying contrast to such publications, the

editors can be congratulated on achieving their “goal of producing a coherent and cohesive volume of essays” (p. x).

All the contributions to this volume have some bearing on the question of the place of aspects of modernity in the history of Wilhelmine Germany (although, as Matthew Jefferies points out in his chapter, the term “Wilhelminism” “leaves much to be desired” as a scholarly term, p. 91). There is insufficient space here to discuss each chapter individually. They range from analyses of the economic success of East Elbian agriculture (by Oliver Grant) to discussions of citizenship (Geoff Eley) and constitutional issues (Mark Hewitson). Middle-class reform movements are discussed by Matthew Jefferies. Foreign policy and colonialism are dealt with in a number of chapters, reflecting the importance of Hartmut Pogge’s work in these areas. Erik Grimmer-Solem’s essay on Gustav Schmoller and imperialism stresses the voluntary nature of Schmoller’s pro-imperialist commitment as opposed to the manipulation of opinion “from above”. However, while no-one would deny that many “*Flottenprofessoren*” needed no encouragement in their ideological commitment to increasing German naval power, we know from Friedrich Lenger’s biography of Werner Sombart that university professors who failed to display sufficient voluntary enthusiasm for naval fleet-building could be hindered in the progress of their careers. Nils Ole Oermann’s chapter on the application of German law in German South-West Africa is a particularly innovative contribution, showing how German law was translated into grim reality in the colonial setting.

While the editors have succeeded in producing a well-focussed, thematically coherent volume, it is less clear that they have been successful in the more ambitious goal of advancing a new synthesis of Wilhelmine political history. Indeed, one of the editors, James Retallack, adds a chapter on stasis and “blockages” in Wilhelmine Germany, which provides some needed counterbalance to the emphasis of other chapters on the successful and “modern” aspects of the *Kaiserreich*. There is, however, a wealth of new research in this volume, which should be of value to anyone interested in Imperial Germany.

ANDREW G. BONNELL

History, University of Queensland

Divided Lives: The Untold Stories of Jewish-Christian Women in Nazi Germany. By Cynthia A. Crane. Second edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 341 pp (excl. notes). \$14.99 pb.

This book, which examines through a series of ten autobiographical pieces (each extensively introduced by Crane) the until recently under-examined trauma suffered by *Mischlinge* (those of mixed race or “half-breed”) in the Third Reich, has an important contribution to make to our understanding of those groups persecuted by the Nazi regime.

Primarily, it raises some key questions regarding the matter of identity — especially that of non-Jewish and Jewish Germans — which has become inextricably bound together, particularly when embodied in the form of the Nazi-proclaimed *Mischlinge*. The question of identity is of great significance for these women, some of whom had not even regarded themselves as Jewish — or, indeed, known anything about Jewish life — until the Nazi state avowed them to be so. “Identification? Identity? Ah, *Identität!* Identity. Who am I actually?” (p. 254). Sigrid Lorenzen, the daughter of one subject asks, encapsulating the explicit — or sometimes implicit — search for a unified

sense of self which each of the women seems to have been on since the time of their sufferings during the Third Reich.

So too, Crane herself is on “[her] own personal odyssey” (p. 14). The daughter of a *Mischlinge*, her sense of an inherited inner confusion and the ever-present “feeling of ‘Let’s not speak of it’” (p. 10) forces her, like Sigrid Lorenzen, to seek closure. Their stories alone thus add a further layer, contributing another dimension to our understanding of the often troubled role of the survivor’s child. Similarly, Crane begins her project as the Berlin Wall falls and the German reunification process begins, bringing with it a renewed questioning of what it is to be German and how then to deal with Germany’s tumultuous recent past. “When I arrived [in Germany], talk of the Third Reich was everywhere in the media, but not on many citizens’ lips. I heard moans of ‘not again’ from my landlady when the topic appeared on the news night after night” (p. 15).

Crane’s subjects, who, as young women, were trapped between the sanctified “Aryan” world and the doomed one of Germany’s Jews, continue to confront the questions raised by this dark chapter of Germany’s history. Their stories abound with myriad details of everyday life in the Third Reich — the inhabitants of Ingrid Wecker’s village plant “Hitler oaks” and place a flagpole with a golden swastika atop it in the town square — underlining the Nazis’ infiltration into the very fabric of German life (p. 79). So too, their recollections of anti-Semitism’s mounting threat — the protestations of a Jewish father that he is a war veteran (p. 140), the Gestapo’s “suggestion” that an “Aryan” wife leave a Jewish husband (p. 220), the terror of *Kristallnacht* (p. 143) — are drawn with a sharp immediacy.

Interestingly, however, their time in Nazi Germany has also left a variety of surprising indelible marks on these women, once again emphasising their crisis of identity. Some women are anti-Semitic, even reverting to Nazi-style categorisations: “You have the most beautiful, big, *Jewish* eyes” (Crane’s emphasis, p. 105); “Gerd, my uncle [...] looked like a Jew” (p. 213), while others fail to see the cruel irony of their words, “As far as the situation in Germany today, I think the government’s halt on the immigration of foreigners is good. I think we are getting too many foreigners in Germany” (p. 224), and thus, the extent to which they embody the title of this book.

EMILY TURNER-GRAHAM
University of Melbourne.

Conqueror’s Road: An Eyewitness Report of Germany 1945. By Osmar White (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), xvii + 222 pp. \$29.95, ISBN 0-521-53751-7

In late 1944, Australian journalist Osmar White was sent by Sir Keith Murdoch to Europe, where he was attached to General Patton’s Third Army as it invaded Germany and began the occupation of the Third Reich. After the success of his book on the New Guinea campaign, *Green Armour*, White recorded his impressions of the events he had witnessed leading up to and after the surrender of Germany, and his view on the process of occupation and reconstruction. This became *Conqueror’s Road*, which by the end of 1945 was delivered to the same houses in New York and London that had published *Green Armour*, and was immediately accepted. Several months later, however, both companies informed him with no explanation that *Conqueror’s Road* was unsuitable for publication, although Unwin Hyman in London did add that “it is a great pity that this fine book has missed the market.” After White put the manuscript

away, he came back to it in 1983, and the book was finally published in 1996, largely unrevised from the original version.

Conqueror's Road starts at the Belgian border, and follows the US army as it crosses over into Germany, battles and finally conquers the remnants of the *Wehrmacht*. White matter-of-factly describes the realities of the combat and the deaths which occur so close to the end of the war; everyone knows that war is a horrific business, but White illustrates exactly why, and comments that “smell was the insistent sense” (p. 36). He continues with the army deeper into the country, seeing first-hand the tragedy of the liberated concentration camps, the attitudes of the Germans towards the deposed *Führer* and the Allies, and the manner in which the locals were treated by the occupiers. In doing so, White records without pity not only the “distastefulness” of the Germans, but also the ugliness of the conquerors in subduing the local population.

It is clear that when he was writing it in 1945, *Conqueror's Road* was White's attempt to make the “reality” of post-war Germany known to the public — he evidently felt trapped by his editor's instructions, as he says in the book that he was “conscious of [his] own inability as a journalist to tell the truth as clearly and forcefully as it needed to be told” (p. 200). His statements on the Nuremberg Trials (which had “no more moral or judicial status than any trial by kangaroo court” [p. 179]), his scepticism towards the long-term effectiveness of occupation policies and denazification, plus his unwillingness to condemn both the German people and the Soviet occupiers out of hand, certainly suggest reasons why the manuscript might have been rejected in the sensitive post-war period. The danger involved with revising a book forty years after the primary events occurred is that the author will impose upon their writing the views that they have formulated in the interim; for the most part, this seems to have been avoided by White, and the resultant publication is a valuable addition to the body of work on the Second World War.

CATHERINE MCTAVISH
History, University of Queensland

Conflict and Compromise in East Germany, 1971-1989: A Precarious Stability.
By Jeannette Z. Madarász (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), \$50.00 hb.

The overwhelming majority of studies of the GDR focus on its origins in the aftermath of war or on its bloodless yet dramatic end in revolution in 1989. It is a welcome corrective to this trend that Jeannette Z. Madarász' study places so much of its emphasis on the period of apparent stability in the 1970s and early 1980s, even if lengthy periods of stability might not constitute the stuff of the historical bestseller.

In staking the claim for the centrality of this period in gleaning the essence of the GDR, the author explicitly eschews totalitarian approaches which, she argues, are predisposed to read the state's history from the perspective of 1989 and thereby assume the inevitability of collapse. At the same time other theoretical approaches embodied in terms such as “*durchherrschte Gesellschaft*” (Alf Lüdtke), “*entdifferenzierte Gesellschaft*” (Sigrid Meuschel) and “*Fürsorgepolitik*” (Konrad Jarausch) seem to Madarász to fall short of the mark in explaining both its longevity and its ultimate failure. In place of such notions she argues for an understanding of the GDR which foregrounds a stability based on the state's capacity over decades to enter compromises with East German society. Such compromises came at the cost of totalitarian ambitions but they achieved a stability and genuine viability which came to an end only as the result of the impact of the onset of destabilizing developments, both international and domestic, from 1987.

To examine how the system of compromise functioned in practice Madarász has chosen four groups whom she characterizes as “outsiders”, namely young people, women, writers and Christians. The logic of the choice is not entirely obvious — the groups clearly overlap and, taken together, constitute an overwhelming demographic majority — though perhaps a case may be made that the state was dominated by the remaining minority, that is, semi-literate, atheistic, geriatric blokes. In any case, it becomes apparent in the analysis offered here that the dichotomy of society and state was ultimately a very stark one, even if the author is able to highlight some hitherto unacknowledged or under-acknowledged complexities in the relationship.

The range of research called upon to consider the respective places of the four chosen groups is extremely impressive. A huge number of both primary and secondary sources have been consulted; the argument is supported with overwhelming evidence. Alas, a weakness of the book is that the bulk of detail does tend to overwhelm, and at times at the cost of clarity of argument. Had the publisher employed a stronger editorial hand — if indeed there has been any editing at all — then this weakness, along with numerous stylistic shortcomings, might have been addressed. As for the central argument, the claim for the often overlooked viability of the GDR has merit and is well made, though the rapidity of collapse in the Gorbachev era highlighted the contingency of the external circumstances on which that viability was built.

PETER MONTEATH
Flinders University

The Tsarist Secret Police Abroad: Policing Europe in a Modernising World. By Fredric S. Zuckerman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. xix + 277. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. £50.00 hb.

On the positive side, *The Tsarist Secret Police Abroad* points to some valuable and hitherto un-tapped archival and published sources; on the negative, it is a poorly executed study which will try even the most assiduous reader’s patience. Zuckerman has two goals here. Firstly, to detail “the increasingly bitter struggle between the Russian revolutionary emigration and the tsarist police system during the reigns of Alexander III and Nicholas II”. Secondly — by comparing the development of Russia’s police apparatus to those of western Europe, highlighting its efforts (albeit futile) to create a transnational police network, and suggesting that these same efforts nevertheless “ultimately laid the groundwork for Interpol” (p. xv) and today’s multinational counter-terrorist operations — banally to argue that Russia acted as a European entity. This is an ambitious agenda for a narrative that lacks the coherence and direction necessary to pull it all together. Indeed, many of the book’s subsidiary arguments are ambiguous or just lost in minutiae.

During the nineteenth century, in response to what Zuckerman acknowledges was valid political and social discontent, Russia and other states developed police apparatuses whose primary functions were to surveil, coerce, and suppress. Yet the author seems to approve these functions. For example, one long chapter subtitled “Adventure, Intrigue” concerns P.I. Rachkovskii, a colourful and ambitious foreign agent who developed many of the espionage techniques later used during the Cold War. “Most important of all”, writes Zuckerman, “Rachkovskii made a valuable contribution to political police theory itself. By example he instituted a pattern of active police methods against political dissenters. He harassed the emigration[,] transforming their already difficult lives into a veritable nightmare of intrigue and suspicion” (p. 148). Rachkovskii is indeed a remarkable character, whose exploits

incidentally provide much needed comic relief; but celebrating his influence seems perverse given the KGB's and CIA's nefarious activities.

That Zuckerman does celebrate police espionage perhaps relates to the shattering impact he candidly admits 9/11 made on him. In a rambling epilogue he argues that the World Trade Center attack "placed my discussion more towards centre stage than I had originally intended" (p. 216). This conceit is worsened by a blithe conflating of nineteenth-century anarchists and nihilists with today's Al Qaeda operatives. The author never mentions factors differentiating these proponents of violence, or questions the political and ideological uses of the signifiers "terrorist" and "terrorism". This specious terrorist genealogy does relate to an argument that the tsarist state laid the groundwork for international policing efforts, but not in the positive sense Zuckerman intends. Similarly trite and uninformed is the exhortation that 9/11 must finally turn "even the best intentioned Eurocentric historians" (p. 212) to a consideration of the Other and peripheral cultures.

The book does contain interesting material on the tsarist foreign police's organization and operating procedures, its relationship to its own and other governments, and the ways by which a very small number of agents influenced Great Power relations. But in addition to the abovementioned drawbacks, verbosity and a love/hate relationship with the comma render this a punishing read. In sum, *The Tsarist Secret Police Abroad's* encyclopedic and original research complements other recent publications on Imperial Russia's terrorist/police nexus by Jonathan Daly, Richard Pipes, and Anna Geifman; but in contrast to these provocative monographs, Zuckerman's is best approached as a reference source and point of departure.

ANDREW GENTES

History, University of Queensland

"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide. By Samantha Power (New York: Basic Books, 2002), xxiv, 610 pp. \$30.00, ISBN 0-465-06150-8.

The literature on genocide in recent years, as grim a subject as it is, has grown considerably in the wake of events such as the Rwandan genocide, the Yugoslavian Civil War and Kosovo. By her own confession, the author of this well researched addition to this growing body of scholarship was "married", at least cerebrally, to Raphael Lemkin, self-appointed Polish interrogator of atrocities throughout history and founder of the word "genocide". The offspring of this cerebral marriage is a work that has a lot to merit it. It combines academic analysis with journalistic craftsmanship. There is a fine combination of research from an array of sources, with an important emphasis on eye-witness accounts that add flesh to a work that might have merely been a theoretical foray.

Power documents the elastic nature of US political attitudes to genocide. Washington shifts its stand at various junctures of history: appalled at the Final Solution while refusing to attempt any significant alleviation of it; disturbed at forfeiting sovereignty in ratifying the Genocide Convention; fearful in admitting a genocide in Rwanda for fear that it might oblige the US to intervene in African affairs. Genocide has, in the main, "not captivated senators, congressional caucuses, Washington lobbyists, elite opinion shapers, grassroots groups, or individual citizens" (pp. 508-9). There are compromises over the Armenian situation (Chap. 1), when the State Department is fully aware of the atrocities, but is unwilling to intervene. There is US vacillation over ratifying the Genocide Convention (pp. 65-70, 514), hypocrisy in dealing with Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, and Saddam Hussein's regime. All these events

point to the premise, argues Power, that “non-intervention in the face of genocide” is a system “that is working. No US president has ever made genocide a priority, and no US president has ever suffered politically for his indifference” (p. xxi).

There are some issues with the work: an omission about the rescue efforts of the Zionist Peter Bergson that spurred Congress into passing a resolution urging the creation of a rescue agency and the unsurprising anti-Gallic snipe over Rwanda — Power complains about non-intervention on the part of the US and the West, then argues who should or could not have intervened: France, for instance, because of its “cosy” disposition to the Hutu regime (p. 380). Nor does the work tease out the more controversial problems with humanitarian intervention, most notably after 9/11. Power rightly argues that the murderers of 9/11 be brought to justice, even finding parallels between their treatment of the victims in the Twin Towers and the indifference to life shown by the perpetrators of the Holocaust. But the assumption of her work that 9/11 will trigger a greater response globally to genocide needs qualification.

How, for instance, does the world’s only superpower square its imperial ambitions with humanitarianism? Michael Ignatieff, Power’s Harvard colleague, has provided one answer: that empire and human rights are indivisible. America is the modern disseminator of “lite” imperialism, with its invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq being such examples. We have Power herself subscribing, consciously or otherwise, to some imperial projection of human rights, with America as the altruistic fulcrum. Consider her comments soon after receiving the Pulitzer prize for this book in the *Los Angeles Times*: “Now we can actually put our money and power where our might has been so far.” She wished that the US “demonstrate what we have claimed all along, that this war was about them [the Iraqi people]”. US interests, linked extensively to long-held worries on oil and Israeli security, seem to have been overlooked, not to mention the entire deception on weapons of mass destruction. Lite imperialism is proving itself to be both inadequate and deceptive.

There are certainly some optimistic points in Power’s work, and paradoxically, while it comes out in a milieu of human rights awareness, the risk is that an overenthusiastic, uncritical embrace of such intervention might be just as dangerous as not intervening at all. The position of such authors as Alan J. Kuperman on Rwanda — that diplomacy can be more effective than intervention — is not satisfactorily contested in the work, but this should not detract from the formidable message. And it is a message that gives us room for optimism.

BINOY KAMPMARK

History, University of Queensland

A History of Modern India, 1480-1959. Edited by Claude Markovitz; translated by Nisha George and Maggy Hendry (London: Anthem Press, 2002), pp. viii, 593. npg.

The English translation of *Histoire de l’Inde Moderne*, originally published by Librairie Arthème Fayard in 1994, this volume spans the history of India from the Mauryan dynasty (324-185 BCE) to partition in 1947.

The book is divided into six parts. A brief introduction gives the history of India until the end of the fifteenth century and a general explanation of religions that proliferated in the subcontinent. Part One situates the geographic and economic importance of India against the larger framework of European discovery in the sixteenth century and explains the differences in the internal political systems of the sultanates and kingdoms, closing with an analysis of the integration of the Portuguese into existing trade and political networks. Part Two covers the Mogul Empire (1556-1739) from a variety of thematic angles: Akbar, cultural achievement and diversity,

trade, and causes leading to decline. Franco-British rivalry is discussed in Part Three, with a chapter devoted to the establishment of the British Empire between 1765 and 1818. Part Four deals with the cultural, economic and political impact of British hegemony in India until 1857. Part Five explores the tensions of the British presence juxtaposed between tradition and industrialisation, growing nationalist sentiments, social and religious reforms, independence, and partition. Part Six contains two appendices to earlier sections: French India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and a comparative chapter devoted to Sri Lanka. A concluding chapter, chronology, glossary, and index complete the book.

The purpose of the book is an analysis of historical interaction along predominantly political and economic lines, yet a distinct sub-theme of cultural and religious diversity in the face of externally imposed change emerges. At times this leads to some unexpected assertions, including that Aurangzeb, despite a reign marked by systematic persecution of non-Muslims, was not a fundamentalist, as “he appreciated Persian mystic literature, frequented numerous Sufis, and did not hesitate to discuss religion with Hindu sages”. Similarly, upon establishment of British sovereignty, the Mogul Empire “for a long time, had been nothing but a political cadaver”. The contribution of the 1857 Sepoy Revolt in inciting nationalist sentiment is dismissed in favour of the view that “from the 1870s we may speak of the emergence of Indian nationalism”. Nehru’s atheism was “not incompatible with Hinduism”. Finally, partition was not due to the British policy of “divide and rule”, but because “the Indian Muslim elite had never come to terms” with the loss of their political supremacy of the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, in conjunction with “certain geographic and demographic realities”. Stylistic homogeneity is maintained throughout, despite the large number of contributors listed on the rear flap of the book jacket; yet awkward phrases (“grave mayhem”) remind the reader that this is a translated work. Moreover, the publishers have retained the French system of transliteration (“Atjeh” as opposed to Aceh), although most English-speaking readers will be unfamiliar with this method.

A useful set text for an undergraduate course on modern India, this book will frustrate more advanced readers due to its paucity of references. It remains, however, possibly the most comprehensive history of post-1500 India to emerge in the last twenty years.

TRUDI JACOBSEN

History, University of Queensland

Power in Transition: The Peaceful Change of International Order. By Charles A. Kupchan, Emanuel Adler, Jean-Marc Coicaud and Yuen Foong Khong (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001), 182 pp., index. £10.86 Pbk. ISBN 92-808-1059-6.

This volume explores the impact of power transitions on international order. In other words, what impact does a shift in the global distribution of power have on international order? As the authors remind us throughout this volume, the answer is that usually power transitions are accompanied by major wars, the best examples being the two World Wars of the twentieth century. The challenge that this book takes on, then, is one of understanding what conditions and causal mechanisms enable power transitions to occur peacefully? (p. 2). To address this question, the authors approach the subject from a variety of perspectives including the traditionalism of Charles Kupchan, Jean-Marc Coicaud’s focus on legitimacy and socialization and Emanuel Adler’s interest in the role of security communities. Although the volume offers many interesting and important insights it is worth making two points at the outset. Firstly, it

is an oddly organized volume. It is neither genuinely co-authored (two of the four main authors actually disagree with each other) nor an edited collection testing a general theoretical framework. Secondly, it was evidently produced before September 11 and does not take into account the dramatic shift in US foreign policy since then. Talk of an imminent power transition, an important feature of Kupchan's contributions to this volume especially, now seems a little out of date in this new era of American assertiveness.

Besides the premature claim of an "impending transition to multipolarity" in international society (this reviewer shares Buzan and Wæver's view that "polarity" talk is an anachronistic way of conceptualizing regional security complexes), Charles Kupchan's opening chapter provides a clear and compelling framework for thinking about peaceful power transitions. He argues that peaceful transitions require/depend on the positive existence of three key variables. Firstly, the relevant states must have a benign image of one another. As later democratic peace theorists have taught us: it is not the existence of democracy per se that brings peace; it is the perception of shared democracy that counts. Secondly, the concerned states must reach agreement about the nature of the new international order. Finally, and crucially, the new order and the means of transition must be regarded as legitimate by the relevant actors. In cases where these three conditions are met, the peaceful transition of power is likely. Kupchan argues that the reverse is also true, so that in cases of violent power transition one or more of these elements are usually absent.

Most of the authors attempt to explore these issues in relation to three case studies. The first, and arguably the most straightforward and successful case of power transition, was the replacement of *Pax Britannica* with *Pax Americana* around the turn of the twentieth century. In this case, the argument goes, the UK recognized the emerging power of the US but chose not to resist it largely because the US and UK agreed on the question of what counted as a legitimate international order, saw each other as benign powers, and shared a cultural affinity with one another. The second two cases, the Concert of Europe and ASEAN, are described as "regulatory conventions for power management" (p. 15) and are examples of states trying to manage the redistribution of power. Chapters by Yuen Foong Khong and Jason Davidson and Mira Sucharov demonstrate that the Concert ultimately failed because the European revolutions of 1848 eroded agreement about the legitimacy of the prevailing order whilst ASEAN has been more successful in managing regional changes in power.

This is an important contribution for at least three reasons. Firstly, it contributes in significant ways to the emerging study of legitimacy in international society, showing that conceptions of legitimacy are crucial to maintaining particular international orders. Secondly, it highlights the ideational and material aspects of power and points towards further study of the relationship between these two forms of power. Finally, it opens a window for further research on the question of peaceful change. That said, however, there are a few points for further debate and discussion: labelling international orders according to how many "poles" they have is a little anachronistic; the selection of case studies is a little odd — it is not at all clear that ASEAN's function was to manage the transition of power in the region and the authors overlook the most significant case of (relatively) peaceful transition in the twentieth century, the end of the Cold War; finally, in a globalised world order questions ought to be raised about whether it is appropriate to think of power transition in such exclusively statist terms.

ALEX J. BELLAMY

Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland

Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law. By Anne Orford (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 256 pp, \$150.00 hb, ISBN: 0 521 804647.

This book is most timely because it focuses attention on the significance of international law and humanitarian intervention in trying to prevent human rights abuse. The author explores the fundamental assumptions that are held about international law and how it is used to justify or deny military action in preventing genocide and violations of human rights. It will be welcomed by students and academics trying to unravel the complexities of international relations and will also appeal to a more general readership concerned at increasing attempts to erode respect for international law within the framework of the United Nations and related institutions.

Anne Orford provides a very contemporary analysis throughout the book focussing on Kosova, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda and East Timor. She also challenges global patterns of imperialism and colonialism which continue to influence the response to conflict and reminds us how selective the international community is in determining priorities for military intervention. Chapter 1 provides an important introduction to the experience of humanitarian intervention in East Timor by the Australian Government after so many years of indifference to the needs of such close neighbours experiencing oppression. Chapter 2 highlights the ongoing debate between international lawyers about the tensions between state sovereignty and human rights' protection. The author argues for an alternative approach to international law which can better adapt to the fluidity of power and "the potential for politics outside traditional discourses of public authority". Chapter 3 explores some of the contradictions in our understanding of international political influence: "Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the presence and activity of international organisations and agencies in countries prior to the outbreak of violence, ethnic cleansing or genocide. Yet the activity of these organisations unsettles both sets of assumptions — that humanitarian crises are caused by the absence of the international community and that the international community prioritises human rights over other values". Chapter 4 documents the post-conflict experience of East Timor and Bosnia-Herzegovina in dealing with international systems while at the same asserting independence on the basis of self determination.

In the final chapter the author deals with a most disturbing view that the era of commitment to human rights may have been jeopardised by the September 11 attacks in the United States. Certainly there are those who subscribe to this view and indeed some governments have demonstrated their determination to risk fundamental civil liberties in the name of the "war on terrorism". She reaches the conclusion: "Our world order is currently built on a movement towards severe restrictions on asylum, strict controls over immigration, ruthless economic exploitation and an unjust international division of labour. It is these policies that should be put under challenge by an internationalism that is not founded upon fear of the other but rather on an attempt to imagine new forms of universalism."

Readers will find this book very well researched and thoughtful in trying to suggest alternative frameworks for international cooperation and in the current volatile global climate her work provides refreshing optimism.

MARGARET REYNOLDS

Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland

Stories of Gay and Lesbian Immigration: Together Forever? By John Hart (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002), pp. xx + 166. \$US 19.95 pb, \$US49.95 hb.

As I write, the Australian government is making political mileage out of blocking legal recognition of gay and lesbian marriage, which is likely to become an election issue in 2004. Yet gay and lesbian immigration into Australia to be with partners has been regularized since the late 1980s, with cautious bi-partisan government support for the concept. Family reunion has long been accepted as integral to Australia's immigration policy, but accepting gay and lesbians as partners was slow coming. Between 1983 and 1996 the Labor government in power slowly shaped the parameters of same-sex partner migration, goaded and encouraged by the Gay Immigration Task Force. By about the mid-1980s multiculturalism was accompanied by an acceptance of plurality in marriage forms. Then, quietly in 1985, Minister Chris Hurford accepted that gay migration was possible under compassionate grounds, and that relationships needed to have endured for four years before final permission was granted. In 1989 the system was formalized under Immigration Department regulations. The Liberal government that replaced Labor in 1996 tightened some criteria but has continued the same system.

The bulk of the book comes from a study of 100 gay and lesbian partners interviewed in 1988 with limited follow-up interviews in 2000. The bridging section recounts the author's more personal experiences of gay migration and life between the two periods. Although the technique works well enough as a longitudinal study, and delivers quite valid conclusions, what begins as a fairly exact survey disintegrates at the far end into a selective sample. The overall impression is not of a planned project, but of an interesting 1988 survey that has been cleverly linked through to the present. The often very personal experiences of the author, as an applicant in the partner-immigration process, are similar in nature to much of the interview material. John Hart is to be congratulated for inserting himself into the text to an unusual extent, making the book a combination of survey findings and personal account.

Extracts from the interviews are an important part of the book and make compelling reading, even browsed out of context. At its basic core the book is about the trials and tribulations of immigration, often for inter-racial couples. The most interesting cross-cultural material comes from Asian partners and their problems in adapting to Australia. Several conclusions clearly emerge. One is that the parameters that the government sets on proving the continuation and authenticity of relationships are often antithetical to the nature of gay and lesbian partnerships. To be accepted as same-sex partnerships they have to provide proof derived from standard heterosexual models of relationships. Another conclusion is that structural inequalities in these same-sex relationships do not necessarily weaken the chances of success, and that although some of the partnerships were "marriages of convenience" many of the relationships have lasted.

The only other similar book is Peter de Waal's *Lesbians and Gays Changed Australian Immigration: History and Herstory* (2002), also formed from interviews but far less rigorous and analytical. The strengths of John Hart's book, if the pun can be forgiven, is in wearing his heart on his sleeve, and the foresight to carry out the initial substantial number of interviews back in 1988. *Stories of Gay and Lesbian Immigration* deserves to be better known in Australia and will be useful for anyone interested in gay and lesbian issues, immigration and multiculturalism.

CLIVE MOORE

History, University of Queensland

The Dynamics of Political Crime. By Jeffrey Ian Ross (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003), pp 194, £25.00, pb.

This is a very timely book given that terrorism and corruption are on the agenda as never before in the intellectual discourses and political agendas of the world. It's a field where accusation and counter-accusation abound. What is then particularly appealing about this book is that it represents a voice of moderation and reason in an arena where the voices — and actions — of extremists seem to predominate.

The Dynamics of Political Crime is written in a very basic textbook format for undergraduates, with plenty of sub-headings, textboxes, and sample test questions. The readability, succinctness, explanations of terminology, and structuring of concepts all make it attractive for students. It is nonetheless an extremely useful resource for other audiences, including academic researchers, journalists, and politicians and policy makers; as well as the interested lay person, assorted terrorists and state criminals with a developing conscience, and social activists.

The book has twelve chapters. The first provides a neat summary of the field, including attention to definitions. Chapter 2 is focused on theoretical approaches, including an outline of Ross's preferred theory of integrated causes that includes personality dimensions — of terrorist leaders for example — but emphasises social inequality — within and between states — as the most important variable in most political crime equations. Chapters 3-5 deal with "oppositional political crimes", with a basic division between violent and non-violent types. Chapters 6-11 cover varieties of "state crime", including corruption, unjustified surveillance of citizens, violations of human rights, and a welcome study of the interactions between corporate criminals and the state. The final chapter is on prevention and control. This chapter is unfortunately overly theoretical and perfunctory. It would have been good to see more empirical analyses of what has worked to-date in reducing political crime.

There is one other disappointing aspect to this book. Ross is open about focusing on Britain and North America, given that these are centres of world power and his main readership, but a more developed global perspective is essential properly to realise the aims of the book. This is especially true since the terrorist attacks of September 11 2001 are the stepping off point for Ross's book and these attacks on the USA inevitably require a complex treatment of radical Islam and of Arab-Israeli conflict. Ross starts to do this with a "dynamic/interactive" analysis of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that puts a good deal of responsibility on the Israeli government. But what is then needed is a closer study of the connections between Israeli killings of Palestinian civilians and occupation of Palestinian lands, Jewish supremacist movements, American government support for Israel and for Arab dictatorships, and the Arab-Islamic-terrorist reactions. This would be consistent with the book's theoretical approach and it would greatly assist readers to understand the current international terrorism problem.

Overall though, this book provides a valuable contribution to understanding political crimes. And the whole style of the book is itself a partial antidote to extremism. There should be more academic books like this — well-researched, smart; but graphic, clear and friendly!

TIM PRENZLER

Criminology and Criminal Justice, Griffith University

The Battle for Hearts and Minds: Using Soft Power to Undermine Terrorist Networks. Edited by Alexander T. J. Lennon (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003), 392 pp, US\$25.00 pb. ISBN: 0-262-62179-7.

How should the war on terror be waged? This volume, a collection of articles from *The Washington Quarterly*, argues that whilst military operations against terrorist cells certainly play an important part, in the long-term only the use of non-military or “soft” power will secure victory. Therefore, the main focus of the book lies in four key elements of the war on terror that are not so easily addressed by military means: the problem of state failure, the importance of post-conflict reconstruction, the role of public diplomacy, and the need to transform foreign economic assistance. Most of the chapters are relatively short thought pieces oriented towards providing policy proposals for the US government. With that in mind, whilst it provides a useful overview of some of the wider aspects of the war on terror, the reader should approach this volume with a degree of caution for three principal reasons. Firstly, it is entirely focused on policy debates within the US. Secondly, it does not contain serious analysis of the efficacy of “soft power”. Finally, it leaves many core assumptions unquestioned.

The first part of the book deals with the enduring role of the military in the war on terror. This is the weakest part of the book and despite its title it tells us very little indeed about the challenges to the military posed by the war on terror, how they have responded to these challenges, or how effective they have been. It begins with a rather fractured chapter by Rob de Wijk which argues that Western military precepts predicated on “conventional” warfare, the moral principle of proportionality, and the strategy of coercive diplomacy are unsuitable for the “new war”. Leaving aside the fact that de Wijk plays mix and match with military doctrine, morality, and diplomatic strategy, it is not all clear that these *are* the major challenges confronting the West or that they are actually problems. Western militaries have moved a long way beyond Clausewitzian warfare in their operational thinking. De Wijk gives us no reason to think that proportionality is anachronistic, and the singling out of coercive diplomacy for critique is left unexplained. The following chapter by Paul Dibb is equally perplexing, charting as it does a shopping list of so-called “winners and losers” from the war on terror. The most interesting chapter in this section is by Barry Desker and Kumar Ramakrishna and investigates the importance of the terrorist threat in Southeast Asia. The authors call for the US to become more actively involved in the region. They provide a convincing case for greater engagement aimed at fostering good governance and security cooperation, but they surely overstate the case when they argue that the terrorists’ “centre of gravity” has shifted from the Middle East to Southeast Asia (p. 46).

The second section, which consists of five loosely connected chapters, explores the question of state building. It is predicated on the idea that so-called state failure provides terrorists with a vacuum that they can exploit for their own purposes. The prime example of this is, of course, Afghanistan. There are two problems with this assumption. Firstly, as Michael Chege points out in his chapter on Sierra Leone, most of the world’s failed states have nothing whatsoever to do with international terrorism (p. 151). Secondly, it was not the failure of the state in Afghanistan that permitted Al-Qaeda to set up home there but the nature of the regime. That said, these chapters offer interesting insights into the problems of state-failure and interesting policy proposals. Chapters by Rotberg and Von Hippell provide a useful overview of the problem, Takeyh and Gvosdev demonstrate the importance to large terrorist networks of holding territory to some extent, whilst Michael Chege offers an excellent account of the to

date successful current attempt to rebuild the state in Sierra Leone, though the case study is only tangentially linked to the war on terror. Many of these ideas are developed further in the following section, which specifically addresses the issue of post-conflict reconstruction and offers a number of policy recommendations to the US government.

The final two sections address the questions of the US's image in the world and the extent to which aid conditionality can contribute to the war. The most interesting chapter in the public diplomacy section puts forward an argument that is entirely ignored in the other three chapters. Lamis Andoni persuasively argues that no amount of good "PR" will succeed in making US policy more legitimate in the eyes of the Muslim world. What is needed, he argues, is substantive policy change particularly on issues like Palestine. This position is expressly rejected by Kaufman who insists that US foreign policy *is* legitimate and merely needs to be presented more persuasively in the Arab world. Similarly, chapters by Blinken and Ross focus on the delivery of the US "message" and downplay the importance of the message's content. The final section contains an excellent survey of the US administration's Millennium Challenge Account, which promises to direct aid to those states that are most determined and able to make good use of it, an uncritical avocation of democratization by Jennifer Windsor from *Freedom House*, and two idiosyncratic pieces written by conservative political actors.

Overall, this volume would appeal to those interested in current policy debates in Washington and the future direction of the non-military elements of the war on terror. However, it does not offer a sophisticated assessment of the war on terror, the utility of military power, or the pros and cons of wider political, economic, social and diplomatic strategies.

ALEX J. BELLAMY

Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland

The Media and Neo-Populism: A Contemporary Comparative Analysis. Edited by Gianpietro Mazzoleni, Julianne Stewart and Bruce Horsfield (Westport CT: Praeger, 2003), £45.00, pb.

In many respects now is a good time to read *The Media and Neo-Populism*. Interest in the erratic career of Pauline Hanson and her eponymous party has died away, leaving time and space for reflection, not only about One Nation but about populist movements more generally. Such movements carry within them the seeds of their own destruction, ultimately coming to grief and dying out until a fresh cycle of change and distress causes them to re-emerge. Populism's promise of a return to a Golden Age marked by a naturally harmonious community inevitably remains unfulfilled despite the faith that supporters have in their leaders' capacity to bring about change. There is none of Weber's vision of politics as a long and slow boring of hard boards for them. In One Nation's glory days, bringing Pauline to power would have been enough, the end of politics, and the start of a new age. In practice success would have brought about populism's routinisation and its destruction by the politics that populists despise. Among the many factors that brought Pauline Hanson's One Nation undone was the party's surprising success in getting eleven members elected to the Queensland parliament. Suddenly, they were politicians, with the perks of office, inside the system, mostly unable to cope, and subject to media scrutiny.

The nature of this scrutiny and populism's relationship with it is the subject of *The Media and Neo-Populism* which provides a comparative study of the media and

populism in eight regions: Austria, France, Italy, Australia, Canada, the United States, India and Latin America. The book tackles the relationship from both ends: the media's response to populism and populism's approach to the media. It also explores what it calls "media populism", the way in which most commercial media conform to popular rather than elitist tastes.

A consistent pattern revealed in all countries studied is the ebb and flow of reporting, and the moral dilemma confronted by some journalists. The debate about whether or not to deny Pauline Hanson the "oxygen" of free publicity that occurred in Australia happened elsewhere. Journalists in France, for example, found that media attacks drew attention to the *Front National* and allowed Jean-Marie Le Pen to play the victim, a pattern replicated in Australia. Le Pen, however, unlike Hanson, is adept at media management, and remains a political force.

There has been considerable academic scrutiny of the neo-populist parties that have emerged around the world in response to globalisation and the deepening socio-economic divisions it has produced. This book, however, by focusing on populism's relationship with the media, offers a different perspective. The editors provide a helpful framework for analysis of the stages of this relationship and a comparison between elite and tabloid approaches to populism. As is often the case with edited books the contributions are somewhat uneven in quality and some conclusions are open to dispute. Readers interested in populism or the media's role in contemporary democracies, however, will find much to interest them in this book.

RAE WEAR

Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland

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