

view, associated with Roger Griffin, that fascism is a form of nationalism centrally concerned with rebirth. This, Mann claims, is an approach which does not clearly distinguish fascism from other forms of nationalism and ignores the fascist appetite for violence.

While combative on definition, Mann is particularly concerned to explore who were the fascists. Too often, he suggests, social factors have been taken to be concerned with class. But while there are class components of fascist movements, we should give particular attention to other social characteristics, for instance, gender, generation and region. Fascists disproportionately were male, young and came from particular areas, and this neatly links back to Mann's preferred definition. The nation-statism he highlights is crucial in securing support not only from ex-soldiers or inhabitants of embattled border-areas but those occupied in particular sectors of the economy, in which ownership by or identification with the nation-state was a central characteristic. Although focused on areas of inter-war Europe, this study is concerned with questions of fascism's more enduring appeal, and while dismissing the suggestion that anti-immigration populists in France or elsewhere should be seen as fascists, it is anxious whether the rise of violent xenophobia in Eastern Europe or India might indicate possibilities for fascist revival. But while taking us into the present, Mann's book is predominantly about six European countries and a quarter-century of their history, and it is here where its contribution must most be judged.

This is a fascinating study that anyone concerned with fascism would benefit from reading. The evidence it brings to bear is testimony to the wide range of work that the author has consulted, and the argument he makes and the distinctions he draws between it and other approaches mark it as a significant new contribution to the unfortunately entitled fascist studies. But this is not to say that Mann has been wholly successful. In part, this is a result of the countries he has chosen and the questions he asks of them. Several of the chapters are not about fascists per se, but a national 'Family of Authoritarians', and in the Spanish case disturbingly little is said about the Fascist Falange given Mann's concern both to describe the country's political scene as a whole and to examine the different sub-types of the country's right. But if there are problems of doing too much about particular political systems, and too little about particular fascisms, there is a greater problem.

At first sight, Mann's emphasis on nation-statism and transcendence bears a marked resemblance to what Roger Griffin has described as the new consensus view of fascism. As we have noted, he is determined to rebut such a claim, and in including paramilitarism in his definition, he is certainly seeing fascism differently from Griffin and other writers who can envisage an electoral or intellectual fascism and do not take blackjacks or castor oil to be integral to fascism. But to argue against an increasingly influential definition of fascism needs a far greater amount of space than Mann has chosen to give to it in this book. It also needs to be done with care, and certainly Mann's suggestion that in not including violence in his definition, Griffin is guilty of sanitizing fascism, is not one that is calculated to take scholarly debate forward.

Martin Durham
Politics

University of Wolverhampton

Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi, **POPULAR MUSIC AND NATIONAL CULTURE IN ISRAEL**, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004, x+298 pp., \$24.95 (pb).

Yael Tamir, a former Israeli cabinet minister, stated in 1999 that she had developed an index of Israeliness based on the emotional reactions of individuals to a Hebrew song, *Shir Ha-Re'ut* (Song of Camarederie), known to most Israeli Jews as an icon of patriotism and associated with the annual Remembrance Day for Israel's fallen soldiers. This anecdote is one

of many brought forth in *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (pp. 50–51) to illustrate that popular music has been central to the invention of Israeliness and to the ever-changing definitions of its boundaries. Indeed this interdisciplinary book, written by Motti Regev (a sociologist) and Edwin Seroussi (an ethnomusicologist), is much more than a study of Israeli society from another 'interesting angle' – it is an analysis of a major component of Israeli national identity and of fundamental struggles over recognition, dominance, and legitimacy in Israel.

In general, the authors identify three prominent elements which comprise contemporary Israeli popular music: *Shirei Eretz Israel* (Songs of the Land of Israel), the stylistically eclectic Israeli 'folk' music, a corner-stone in *Ashkenazi* Zionist attempts to create a modern 'native' secular Hebrew culture; Israeli rock, which represents a global variant of Israeliness; and *Musiqa Mizrahit* – 'Oriental music', which is stylistically eclectic as well and is associated with *Mizrahiut*, the cultural variant of Israeliness created by *Mizrahim*, Jews whose origins are in Arab and Muslim countries. Obviously, these categories are heterogeneous and their boundaries are fuzzy and fluid. The book demonstrates this fluidity by closely following the practices of adaptation, appropriation, and borrowing of cultural materials and themes between the different variants.

The authors provide detailed mapping and analysis of Israeli institutions of popular music since the 1920's until the current day, including the pre-state cultural bodies of the Histadrut (The General Federation of Israeli Workers), which played a crucial role in the creation of the canon of *Shirei Eretz Israel*, the media and the recording industry in their various forms, the IDF ensembles, and song festivals for adults and children. Their analysis demonstrates that popular music in Israel has been a multi-dimensional field of social struggles and tensions.

For example, the book analyses the tensions between the hegemonic socialist collectivist ethos that glorified the settlement project and working on the land (songs sung in the first person plural—'we'), and the Zionist bourgeoisie and middle-class city dwellers who were more individualistic oriented (first person singular—the 'I' songs). Another example is the instinctive objection of the Zionist establishment to the Anglo-American rock influence during the 1950s and 1960s as it was perceived by some officials as a threat to the purity of Israeliness. This tendency was reflected in the historic absurd decision taken in 1965 to prevent the visit of the Beatles to Israel. However, global rockist elements were not only incorporated later into Israeli mainstream music but they seem to be dominating it today.

Perhaps the most significant musical struggle is related to the place of 'Oriental music' in Israel. From the beginning of Jewish European immigration to Palestine, the immigrants displayed ambivalence towards the 'Orient', as a representation of both nativeness/authenticity and backwardness. This ambivalence is reflected in a very cautious adoption of Middle Eastern musical elements by hegemonic forces in Israeli popular culture, since beyond a certain threshold of 'Orientalism' the music was considered 'non-Israeli'. In the light of this marginalization and exclusion, *Musiqa Mizrahit* has become both a field of public struggle and a tool of empowerment used by the *Mizrahim* in Israel since the 1980s.

The fusion of *Musiqa Mizrahit* with rock and Israeli 'folk' music has gradually legitimized it as Israeli. This development by itself is a source of another conflict, this time among Israeli *Mizrahim*: Does this fusion represent a dilution of Mizrahi identity and a submission to the hegemonic culture, or does it represent a successful conquest of the Israeli cultural centre?

Readers who are not familiar with Israeli music might find the book sometimes overloaded with names and terms, but at the same time this abundance of detail makes the book a great introduction to the subject. Furthermore, most serious books about Israeli popular culture are not accessible for non-Hebrew speakers, and this alone makes Regev and Seroussi's project especially valuable. However, since popular music in Israel seems to be the 'most popular' among various forms of popular culture and given its central role in demarcating social boundaries in Israel, this book is certainly a major contribution not only for the study

of popular culture in Israel but also for understanding the production of Israeli national identity specifically and national identities more generally.

Tamir Sorek
Department of Sociology
Cornell University

James L. Gibson, **OVERCOMING APARTHEID, CAN TRUTH RECONCILE A DIVIDED NATION?**, New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 2004, xv+467 pp., \$47.50 (hb).

The reconciliation of a historically and racially deeply divided South African population in the post-apartheid era is an ongoing concern for a wide constituency of stakeholders. Gibson's book attempts to give a scientific account of the process and its relationship to the democratization of South African society in a way that he hopes policy-makers may find useful. Written from a political science perspective the author addresses the hypothesis that 'truth leads to reconciliation' (p. xii). Towards testing this hypothesis the author developed a massive instrument in the form of a 53-page questionnaire that was administered by the market research company Decision Surveys International (reproduced as appendix A). The sample of 3,727 respondents was stratified according to 'race' (African, White, Coloured and people of Asian origin), size of place of residence and age. The mass of data thus generated was tabulated and statistically manipulated in a way that a reader with intermediate competence in quantitative methods would appreciate.

In operationalizing his hypothesis, the author breaks down the relationship between truth and reconciliation as that of independent to dependent variables. 'Truth' is defined in terms of the collective memories South Africans gained as a result of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC] between 1995 and 2000. 'Truth' becomes measurable to the degree respondents accepted or rejected it. Interviewees responded to five truth statements that highlighted the atrocities and injustice of apartheid. Africans accepted an average of 3.2 of these truths against the 2.8 of Whites. Coloureds and people of Asian origin fell somewhere between these extremes. He concludes that the TRC moved 'blacks' (a confusing term possibly indicating an aggregate of the other three groups) and whites closer in their understanding of the past and believes that he had proved that collective memory 'can be measured in a rigorous fashion'.

The dependent variable, reconciliation is examined through four hypotheses involving interracial respect, support for a human rights culture, political tolerance and the legitimacy of the political institutions of the new South Africa (notably Parliament and the Constitutional Court). Gibson concludes that interracially Africans were 'not very' reconciled. The other three categories were 'somewhat' reconciled on new political institutions. The same held true for support for a human rights culture, but all groups were 'not very' reconciled with regard to political tolerance. In contrast all groups were 'somewhat' reconciled. Expressed in aggregate percentages Coloured people are most reconciled at 59.1 per cent, whites are at 55.5 per cent, people of Asian origin at 48.2 per cent and Africans at the lowest level, at 32.8 per cent. Overall the South African population is found to be 44 per cent reconciled on the 'somewhat' level. Gibson concludes that his research supports 'the view that truth caused reconciliation' (p. 335) and that accepting the TRC's truth did not lead to irreconciliation.

The book is exemplary in its statistical analysis and argument, but does it really contribute much new and insightful knowledge beyond statistical proof for commonsense observations? In some instances there are surprises in the details, and this is perhaps where the main value of the book lies. It is, however, surprising that the author fails to mention the problems involving the numerical measurement of values and meanings and the translation of subjective evidence into objective data. The research was done in a population very diverse in