

and routine, things which have remained constant.

*Shirts of Steel* is a well-written and thoroughly researched study, whose only drawback is the lack of an index. It should be read by all those who have an interest in Turkey not only because of the important position the military holds within the country, but also due to its wealth of information unavailable elsewhere.

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Choueiri, Youssef M. *State and Society in Syria and Lebanon*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. 158 pp.

Most students of Third World politics have long been interested in questions of "national" development in post-colonial societies, with particular concern for the apparent lack of fit between the European nation-state system and the diverse sets of ethno-national groups that often found themselves thrust together within the boundaries of newly independent "states." This edited volume offers a collection of ten essays probing various aspects of the development of two states and societies — Lebanon and Syria — which share deep historical linkages but which nonetheless developed very differently as separate modern states.

For Pan-Arab nationalists, the division of Lebanon from the broader territory known as Greater Syria is a Western imperial legacy. Given this enduring conviction for so many in the modern Middle East, the very different development paths taken by Lebanon and Syria are — in addition to being ironic — deeply instructive for anyone interested in the growth of societies, in the construction of states, and in the politics of attempting to join state and society together as a coherent unit.

Among the factors that both countries hold in common

are their Arab history, to a large extent a common Islamic political culture (notwithstanding the large Maronite and other Christian communities in Lebanon), and finally more than four hundred years of Ottoman imperial heritage. With the collapse of Ottoman rule in the region in 1918, the Hashemite Emir Faysal, son of Sharif Husayn Ibn Ali, the leader of the Arab Revolt, proclaimed Syria an independent Arab state. Faysal went on to lead that state during its brief existence from only 1918 to 1920, when French imperial authorities ousted his regime and extended their control over all of Syria. The first four chapters of this book examine aspects of this heritage — in particular the rapid transition from Ottoman rule, to independent Arab state, to French mandated territory. Later chapters extend the analysis through the twentieth century, up to the aftermath of the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Several common concerns link the essays together: the interaction of state-society relations, the concepts of nation and state, the arbitrary nature of Lebanese and Syrian political borders, and the comparative development of the two states as separate entities. Although some of the writing is a bit stilted, Choueiri has done an admirable job in bringing together contributors from the West and the Middle East, representing several disciplinary perspectives: history, economics, sociology, and political science. The result is an eclectic volume of essays offering solid and sometimes quite provocative interpretations of the political and economic development of modern Lebanon and Syria.

In general, the authors make ample use of a variety of archival and scholarly materials in documenting their arguments. The distinguished Syrian historian Abdul-Karim Rafeq, for example, makes copious use of Arabic, English, French and German sources in his detailed analysis of the brief period of Syrian independence under Emir Faysal. Rafeq's aim in the essay is to evaluate the strength and significance of Arabism, underscoring its connection to Islamism as a bonding force, and further arguing strongly that Faysal's Arab nationalist regime had strong sympathies for, and connections to, the

Turkish nationalists then consolidating power in Turkey under Mustafa Kemal (later Ataturk). Kasmieh continues the analysis of the critical 1918-20 period, with a very brief discussion of the development of the Faysal government.

Regarding the French mandatory period, Davie provides an interesting essay (in French) examining the development of two Christian villages, finding themselves on opposite sides of a then-new Lebanese-Syrian border. She emphasizes the sociological implications of the separation and especially the French role in exploiting existing local differences in order to further their imperial interests in maintaining the bifurcation. Kawtharani (also in French) provides specific documentation, including long quotes of French government memoranda from the Mandate period, to underscore the deliberate nature of French policy in countering any possibility of re-integration between the two mandatory entities, such as the "Project for Confederation of Syria."

In one of the more provocative essays in the book, Sofia Saadeh delves deeply into the nature of Lebanese society itself, and particularly its confessional system — in which political power and even specific political offices are associated with particular religious sects. This system dates back to a compromise struck mainly between Maronite Christian and Sunni Muslim elites in the form of the 1943 National Pact. The sectarian separatism that characterized Lebanese society thereafter has often been regarded as having a strong class component, yet for Saadeh the real issue is caste. She draws a sharp distinction between the two concepts, arguing that the sociology of Lebanese development has not been characterized by the individual distinctions of class so much as the even more collective separations of caste, with all the barriers to inter-communal interaction which that term implies. It is only from the caste perspective, she argues, that one can truly grasp the depth of division in Lebanese society, from the 1940s and to the present day.

Economic questions are addressed in the essays by Gates and Hawwa who examine, respectively, Syro-Lebanese

economic relations historically and the more current state of the Syrian economy. Gates examines the increasing differences between the Lebanese and Syrian economies as the dominant commercial and governmental elites diverged on basic developmental decisions. While Lebanon developed as a free-trade oriented "merchant republics," Syria has had a long history of extensive state-driven economic policy, protectionism, and other government intervention. These tendencies, she demonstrates, led to the complete failure of an attempted customs union between the two states in 1950. While Syria's ruling elite looked to local integration within "Greater Syria" as a key to its economic success, the merchant-elite of Lebanon believed its own survival to be tied to continued Lebanese independence, which in turn was to be predicated upon more extensive external linkages, particularly to Europe.

Hawwa, meanwhile, demonstrates the importance of Arab petro-dollar aid in stabilizing the Syrian economy and consequently providing a foundation for the consolidation of the Asad regime (from 1970 to the present) following decades of coups and counter-coups. The cost of this, she notes, includes the enormous national debt that the Syrian government has compiled, leading to a terminal problem of external indebtedness to the present day.

The two more contemporary-oriented essays by Nasrallah and Armanazi delve into the current status of Syro-Lebanese relations and of Syrian foreign policy in the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War. Finally, to conclude the volume (in lieu of a more collective conclusion by the editor), Shalaq provides an interesting discussion of the past and future of Lebanese society, especially the Sunni Muslim community, and the continuing debate over the meaning of nation and state today.

For specialists in Lebanon or Syria, this book is a valuable collection of often provocative essays. It is also, however, a useful set of interdisciplinary perspectives that will prove a rewarding read for any scholar concerned with Middle East or Third World politics. It provides rich empirical responses from

the Lebanese and Syrian experiences to an enduring set of questions about the theoretical and practical meanings of nation, state, and political community in the twentieth century and beyond.

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Fawaz, Leila Tarazi. *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994. 302 pp.

Leila Tarazi Fawaz has written a comprehensive study of the violence in Lebanon and Damascus in the middle decades of the nineteenth-century, 1840 to 1860. The author has spread her net wide and produces a long and engaging narrative, equally concerned with ordinary fighters and unfortunate victims, poor refugees and rioting rabble, their class origins and ethnic identities. Furthermore, the political authorities and diplomatic forces engaged in their own struggles for control in the area are given extensive treatment. In other words, the study is concerned with the view from above, and from the bottom up.

The bloody battles in Mount Lebanon were between Maronite Christian peasants and merchants and Druze landlords. In Damascus, they were between groups of Sunni Muslims and Greek Orthodox Christians. In the former, the conflict ended with the Druze victorious and the Maronites the victims. But as Fawaz shows, "the civil war began as a conflict between two equally determined opponents. It was only later that the idea was planted that it was a Druze offensive that victimized the Christians." (p. 60) The events in Mount Lebanon which constituted "the war" covered a range of towns and villages spreading from one to another as word of local events circulated.

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