

the Third World. Ekedahl and Goodman explain the end of the Cold War in terms not unlike Shevardnadze's: The Soviet system had rotted and was weak, and as a counterpoint the West was strong and resolute. Their work asserts the essential role of Soviet leaders who saw the need for reform and implemented policies designed to accomplish nonviolent, fundamental transformation.

This work is a readable and useful study for the specialist and the general reader alike. It is a needed addition to any college library.

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Kalyvas, Stathis N.

**The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe**

Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press  
300 pp., \$45.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper  
ISBN 0-8014-3241-3 cloth  
ISBN 0-8014-8320-4 paper  
Publication Date: September 1996

The central argument of Stathis N. Kalyvas's book is that European confessional parties, created in the conflict between the Catholic church and liberals in the late nineteenth century, were the result not of intentional planning by the church or conservatives but of the strategic choices of participants. The parties emerged "unplanned, unwanted, and ultimately detrimental" to both the church and conservatives. Nevertheless, their formation followed a similar pattern from country to country. First, mass organizations orchestrated by the church encouraged a nascent Catholic identity that produced lay and lower clergy activists. Then, the new identity was employed to transform Catholic associations into political organizations while pro-church coalitions with conservatives were formed. Conservatives were able to aid in the struggle against the anticlerical reforms of the Liberals; the church in turn could provide mass organization for the conservative elites. Finally, as the coalitions were electorally successful, lay and lower clergy leaders turned their organizations into confessional parties in spite of the intentions and even opposition of the church hierarchy and the conservative politicians. Each step, Kalyvas argues, was required if parties were to be created.

Kalyvas carefully investigates the development of Christian Democratic parties in five countries of Europe (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands) and the absence of this development in a sixth (France). The regimes of the first five countries were firmly established, and the church clearly perceived their anticlericalism as a significant threat. In France, on the

other hand, the church decided not to rely on mass organizations but to bet on a restoration of the monarchy. By 1891, when monarchy was no longer possible, it was too late to counter the work of the anticlericalists. Hence, no confessional party was established in France.

As the leaders of the new parties began to see that their power was based not on the church but the electorate, they became devoted to parliamentarianism. By the end of the process of formation, the new parties claimed the vivifying spirit of religion but did not attempt to speak for the church or to use its power for political action. Paradoxically, then, the politicization of religion contributed to the secularization of politics. The secularization of confessional parties in Europe is not a postwar phenomenon.

Kalyvas is an assistant professor of political science at New York University. Much of his work on the book was done at Wilder House at the University of Chicago. Scholars and students will find this a book well worth reading.

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Cash, John D.

**Identity Ideology and Conflict:  
The Structuration of Politics  
in Northern Ireland**

New York: Cambridge University Press  
230 pp., \$49.95, ISBN 0-521-55052-1  
Publication Date: September 1996

John D. Cash's fascinating book places the concept of ideology at center stage in the study of political activity and crisis. Ideology is significant to the understanding of civic discourse because it is, according to Cash, a "system" of analysis that helps groups of people structure social reality. In particular Cash examines the temperament of Unionist political activity in Northern Ireland by relying on political psychology and social theory to ascertain how Unionists understand themselves, their relationship to the Northern Irish Catholic community, and their "conception of authority and the proper exercise of power" (63).

Cash describes the Unionist political movement as being in a state of confusion over the nature of its relationship with the Northern Irish Catholics. There is, on the one hand, an inclusivist strand of Unionist thought that can trace its origins back to Terence O'Neill of the Ulster Unionist Party in the 1960s. This strand perceives its Catholic counterparts within, for example, the Social Democratic and Labor Parties as partners "committed" to reconciliation and "the achievement of economic growth and prosperity for all in the new Ulster" (137). Exclusivist Unionists, as epitomized by Ian

Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), bitterly mistrust progressive Unionists negotiating any sort of deal with the Catholic political community. For the DUP's faithful, "loyalty" to crown and country is absolute, with no room at all for compromise.

In his book, Cash documents well the predominance of exclusivist Unionist thought. It is predominant because, according to Cash, many of its core assumptions and beliefs remain deeply embedded in the unionist psyche. Those disturbing values, as Cash further observes, vigorously reassert themselves when others attempt to structure a novel polity in which reconciliation, rather than a strict adherence to national and religious identity, becomes the essence of Unionist politics. A problem for the more progressive wing of the Unionist movement, as Cash perceives it, is that its members have failed to make any ideological advancement in the development of "new political identities . . . which [are] not so firmly attached to the sectarian verities" (128). Peace cannot be achieved by merely churning out economic remedies. The "end of ideology," as Cash argues well, is far from an accurate treatment in dealing with Northern Irish woes.

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Lih, Lars T., Oleg V. Naumov,  
and Oleg V. Khlevniuk, eds;  
trans. Catherine A. Fitzpatrick

**Stalin's Letters to Molotov**

New Haven, CT: Yale University Press  
276 pp., \$16.00 paper  
ISBN 0-300-06861-1 paper  
Publication Date: November 1996

Molotov was Stalin's loyal and obedient "friend" for many years, only to find himself at the last on the dictator's dreaded and endless liquidation list. Death, however, stayed Stalin's hand. Molotov lived to write his memoirs and turn over his collection of letters from his chief to the Communist Party's archives. After the Soviet collapse, the Yeltsin government made the once top-secret documents available to scholars. Although the letters cover a limited period and were most likely pruned by Molotov to put his master and himself in the best light, they nonetheless provide a valuable glimpse into the workings of the great dictator's political mind. The bulk of the letters were written between 1925 and 1930, and the small remainder from 1931 to 1936. No letters appear from the two key years of 1928 and 1934. We have Stalin's letters, but very little of Molotov's answers. Stalin, in any case, did the thinking and Molotov the implementing of the leader's will, even daring at times to caution and correct him on