

colonial state's restructuring (and restriction) of space set the stage for the growth of nationalism as resistance. This allows him to link such diverse events as the Baster Rebellion, the German-Herero War and the crisis of land tenureship in Ovamboland.

To explain how the movement in Namibia became national, Emmett examines the post-World War II demands of the South African economy. Rapid industrialisation of both South Africa and its satellite, Namibia, led to the urbanisation of thousands of Namibians. This era nurtured the nascent intelligentsia and the trade unions, and revealed the inability of the regime to confine the bodies or minds of Namibians. The mixing of increasingly politicised workers from all areas of Namibia, Emmett argues convincingly, is what finally led to a truly national movement of resistance, marked by the launching of a guerilla war against the South African apartheid regime in 1966. Again, the notion of the structuring of space is very useful in understanding how such a diverse population, under immense pressures from the colonial state, produced a movement which stretched across ethnic and class boundaries.

One weakness of *Popular Resistance*, which Emmett himself points out in his introduction, is the absence of women's voices. Given the role of women in the independence struggle, this is a serious deficiency. For example, the hardships endured by the women left behind while the men went to work in the mines and factories laid the foundations of resistance in the rural areas. During the independence struggle women placed their lives in danger by feeding and sheltering SWAPO guerillas, as well as by joining the guerillas themselves. The role of the churches is similarly neglected, despite the fact that they used the power of the pulpit to unite Namibians, as well as to provide a moral voice against the apartheid state.

In the final analysis, however, *Popular Resistance* stands as an important resource for Namibia's pre-independence history. Students of nationalism will also be interested in Emmett's examination of its development in Namibia, as his framework might usefully be applied to analyse nationalist movements in other areas.

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Gaubatz K T, *Elections and War: The Electoral Incentive in the Democratic Politics of War and Peace*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999. 208pp. ISBN: 08047-3566-2. US\$45.00. <http://www.sup.org>

Gaubatz's book is a comparative study of the impact of war on elections and the impact of elections on war (including how these influence a country's decision whether to go to war or not). It assesses the relationship between

democratic domestic politics and international relations, and how they influence each other. The author maintains throughout the book that elections are a defining characteristic of democratic politics, and that war is a defining characteristic of international relations.

Gaubatz argues that democratic leaders avoid getting into wars during election periods, and that the international behaviour of individual states can be explained by considering their position in the distribution of power. War therefore, results from the competition for power and the inevitable conflicting interests. The author makes use of different theories to explain the conceptual origins of war and elections, to assess whether or not democracies are more likely to go to war than non-democratic states.

He makes the comparison between realist perspectives that put forward the argument that democracies have fought more wars than non-democracies, and the liberal view that the public will always be opposed to war. The author does not dismiss the realist view, but stresses that democracies do not go to war with each other; rather, they fight non-democracies. Yet there is 'no universal theory of war prevention'.

The book suggests that it is still uncertain if, or whether, democratic electoral incentives lead to wars or peace, as these depend largely on the public mood. Gaubatz suggests that leaders generally know that it is risky to go to war during election time, especially if war victory is uncertain. The author says that war is always risky, but that risks lessen if a country is in a strong position to defeat its enemy, if it is deemed to be in the national interest, and if there is widespread support for going to war.

In some instances politicians have used war as a gambit in an electoral campaign, and a few have won the wars in addition to the elections. The author argues that electoral incentives should have no effect on international outcomes. The Crimean War, the South Africa (Anglo-Boer) War and the American Spanish War are used as examples to illustrate public support of these wars in democracies.

In non-democratic states, power-hungry warmongers may use war to achieve their aims and further their personal interests. Throughout the book it is asserted, however, that despite the support of war by interested parties, there are still anti-war elites in most societies. These elites use anti-war sentiments to sway the vote against pro-war leaders and influence the final outcome of the elections.

Democracy is described as a method for social choice that 'institutionalises a balance between internal and external concerns'. Gaubatz asserts his belief that democracies avoid war by all means when elections approach, but pursue it when elections are over, regardless of who initiates the war. The point put

forward in the book is that elections influence decisions not to go to war, and that this applies more to democracies. The author also gives a stern warning that democracies are systems 'prone to corruption, stalemate, vacillation and errors of judgement', problems which are most apparent during electoral periods.

The book is easy to follow, as the author uses examples to highlight important points and to substantiate them, assisting the reader in making final judgements and conclusions. This book will be of interest to all students of international relations, politics, sociology and development studies, as it sheds light on what influences decisions to go to war and the reasons the public votes as it does. Also of interest will be the reasons why certain leaders change behaviour when elections approach, supporting actions and views that they would not otherwise promote.

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Hawken P, Lovins AB & LH Lovins. *Natural Capitalism: The Next Industrial Revolution*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd, 1999. 396pp. ISBN: 1-85383-461-0. £18.99. <http://www.earthscan.co.uk>

Incorporating environmental and social considerations into business, industry and commerce has often been considered unworkable, utopian and unnecessary. The arguments against doing so have ranged from assertions that it would lead to inefficiencies and decreases in production and ultimately living standards; to claims that the free market would respond in time to crises (and therefore the crises have not yet occurred). However strong or weak the above arguments are, they have validity only in the absence of a workable model on how to transform our industry into a more profitable and environmentally benign practice that does not depend upon over-regulation. *Natural Capitalism* gives us such a model.

The authors make a convincing case that the environmental question represents an increase in overall business opportunities, starting with the more efficient use of natural resources, together with the application of available technologies and thinking about input-output processes that mimic the closed-loop cycles in nature. Problems of waste, consumption of energy and the general impact of human activities on the environment can be addressed whilst making a profit and alleviating environmental pressure.

The authors' argument starts from the premise that at least a fourfold improvement of efficiency in energy productivity is possible with available technologies. This is necessary if the developed world does not want to compromise its present standard of living, and if the developing world wants to improve its standard of living without sacrificing the natural resource base