



## REVIEW

### Book Reviews

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**The Right to Trade: Rethinking the Aid for Trade Agenda**, by Joseph Stiglitz and Andrew Charlton, London, Commonwealth Secretariat, 2013, 50pp. Paperback. ISBN: 978-1849291057.

*The Right to Trade: Rethinking the Aid for Trade Agenda* is written by Joseph Stiglitz, a Nobel Prize winning economist and former Vice President of the World Bank who has considerable experience in the field, and Andrew Charlton, a former economist at the London School of Economics. These authors argue that despite the uncertain relationship between free trade and development, and tariff reductions and economic growth, developing countries were encouraged by the multilateral trading system to accept increased trade liberalization, based on economic projections about the growth that would supposedly ensue from opening up markets.

Much of the intellectual debate provided in this book is not new since it is discussed in principle and at length elsewhere, including notably *Trade for life: Making Trade Work for Poor People* by Mark Curtis (published in 2001).<sup>1</sup>

The more interesting aspect of this book is the central argument that the World Trade Organization's (WTO) 'aid for trade' initiative which has been developed since 2005, and which is a substitute rather than a complement for pro-development liberalization, has not generated the expected results for developing states. The book critically interrogates the lack of success with aid for trade and proposes alternative strategies 'to improve trade outcomes for developing countries'.<sup>2</sup> With the Uruguay Trade Round as the point of departure, the authors provide a concise background to the problem that advances our knowledge and understanding of the emergence of the issue.

Concepts such as trade and development, trade and growth, and developing countries are frequently used, however indicators of development and how they are measured are not explicitly discussed. According to the authors, the belief about positive gains from trade liberalization stems from the assumptions of the Samuelson-Stolpher theorem, which they argue fails to consider the unique situations of developing countries. This belief was continued with support for neoliberal policy prescriptions, which gained precedence in the 1980s from the International Financial Institutions (IFI). As a consequence, developing countries were given aid based on active participation in the WTO. Further, Stiglitz and Charlton also criticize neoclassical economic theory that supports trade liberalization on the basis of mythically perfect and abstract assumptions about economics that differ greatly to the real-world nature of the economies of developing states.

While the main argument of the book is that the entwining of aid with trade emerged in the context of the problems associated with aid in the past and the empty development promises made under the contemporary trading system, it has been overlooked that development aid has been filtered into trade facilitation because of the commercial agenda of the donor states.<sup>3</sup> Rather, the authors concluded that aid for trade programmes have not focused on the key issues that led to their creation. These include trade barrier programmes for developing states such as infrastructure and finance deficits, and advantageous policies used by developed states. Therefore, similar problems remain consistent even with the marriage of aid and trade development assistance. While the

authors argue that these factors have actually demonstrated some benefits for developing states, they failed to comprehensively cite studies and statistics that support this claim, as well as programmes that were reviewed for the purpose of this book.

Stiglitz and Charlton argue that while aid for trade has increased over the years it has been a substitute for what developing states normally received under standard development aid. Moreover, most donor states have not reached the infamous target of 0.7 per cent of Gross Domestic Product spending on aid. This, therefore, means that no obvious incremental benefit has been derived which diminishes the possibility of achieving the objectives of aid for trade. Determining effectiveness has also been problematic since data is maintained by donors and based on financial disbursements. In this case, projects could have actually been skewed in favour of the donor rather than development needs. To date, no clear model of measuring additionality has been formulated, only a 'weak framework to evaluate the impact of aid for trade projects on welfare, growth and inequality'.<sup>4</sup>

The above stated inefficiencies give context to the second objective of the book: a series of recommendations for a new strategy to make aid for trade work for the poor. The authors suggest that WTO members should 'adopt a general right to trade and development within the Dispute Settlement Body' (DSB); and the WTO should facilitate flexible regulations to support 'small, weak and vulnerable economies' as well as poor people who cannot defend themselves. Developing states should also have the right to suspend WTO commitments or sanction any trade-related policies of developed states that restrict their ability to attain trade benefits, with a softer version of this for emerging economies too.<sup>5</sup>

This is important since it promotes continuous reform rather than employing in a rigid fashion concrete rules that were formulated without the consideration of unique situations that could subsequently arise. It is also recommended that the United Nations Centre for Trade and Development (UNCTAD) facilitate a separate office to 'bring suit against any country seen as violating the right to trade'.<sup>6</sup> This, however, can be seen as overlapping with the purpose of the DSB of the WTO.

A Global Trade Facility (GTF) fund is also recommended where donors contribute resources to assist developing states to take advantage of market access gained in dispute settlement, compensate for losses such as aid reduction, adjustment costs and other negative impacts of liberalization. The authors argue that a

special body within UNCTAD should administer the funds in order to allocate them according to specified guidelines and performance criteria. This organization is not expected to manage the assistance programmes, but would rather allocate resources according to proposals from development organizations.

The GTF is supposed to be genuinely additional and have capital of over USD \$40 billion made up from 0.05 per cent of advanced countries' GDP, 'a percentage of their export price to least developed countries', 5 per cent of agricultural subsidies, and '15% of all arms sale to developing countries'.<sup>7</sup> While the GTF certainly appears to be an excellent strategy for trade facilitation and compensation, the authors fail to discuss how situations might be dealt with where developed states fail to honour contributions, and, more importantly, why they believe that these states will actually agree to additional financial commitments when they have not been able to deliver on the prior aid for trade commitments.

This book provides incentives for researchers to do further primary investigation as to which developing states have been mostly affected by the negative fallout of aid for trade. Furthermore, the recommendations regarding new strategies for developing states in the international trading system highlight a range of issues to be taken into consideration by both researchers and policymakers in developing states in the creation of trade policy. It also raises awareness for developing states as to some of the issues they should lobby for in the international trade system.

While aid for trade has been a rapid response to the problems facing the trade and aid system, it has not generated the expected trade and development gains. In this regard, the authors make a unique contribution to the trade and development literature by recommending that the WTO prioritize the interests of the poor via new mechanisms for dealing with trade disputes within UNCTAD, and the establishment of new funding sources to help mitigate the losses experienced by poorer countries as they liberalize.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Mark Curtis, *Trade for life: Making trade work for poor people* (London: Christian Aid, 2001).
- <sup>2</sup> Stiglitz and Charlton, p.ix.
- <sup>3</sup> See Gabriel Siles-Brügge, 'EU Trade and Development Policy and the Emerging Economies: Subordinating Developmental to Commercial Imperatives in the Reform of GSP', *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2014, pp.49-62.
- <sup>4</sup> Stiglitz and Charlton, p.18.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.24-6.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p.25
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

**The Clash of Globalizations: Essays on the Political Economy of Trade and Development Policy**, by Kevin P. Gallagher, London, Anthem Press, 2013, 184pp. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780801891960.

Kevin P. Gallagher's latest book pulls from his wealth of knowledge dealing with the issues of industrialization, diversification, financial stability, and sustainable development, along with their relationship with questions of policy space. A respected authority in International Political Economy (IPE), Gallagher's newest book falls within a myriad of previous works in the broader overlapping area of heterodox economics. This kind of thinking promotes pluralism, and rejects the kind of one-size-fits-all policy that is often universally applied across economies.

The book does not focus on the developmental state model; its main emphasis is on the loss of policy tools that are generally seen to be necessary to follow that model. The book examines the extent to which the World Trade Organization (WTO) and bilateral trade agreements are eliminating the policy space - or confiscating the policy tools - that developing countries can use to industrialize. Throughout, the book engages in various juxtapositions by highlighting those agreements that are 'WTO-plus' in nature (such as US FTAs) and those that are 'WTO equivalent' (such as EU FTAs). The end result of these thought-provoking comparisons are not to identify the biggest culprits in the expropriation of policy space in developing countries, but the reader is inevitably led in that direction. The book therefore dismantles various trade agreements, and makes extensive use of tables (twenty-two in total) to demonstrate the extent to which the global trading regime is reducing the freedom that developing countries have to pursue financial stability, industrialization, and diversification, and to engage in sustainable development. Overall, it serves as a great tool

to highlight where policy space is being lost, where space is remaining, and how further loss can be prevented.

The book, with seven chapters and two sections, is secondary data driven; however the extensive bibliography and endnotes (appearing after each chapter) provide adequate sources of primary data. Chapters two, three, and four examine the policy tools of multilateral agreements in the WTO, Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) and Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs). In these chapters, Gallagher conducts comparative analysis of trade agreements between countries, as well as between countries and the WTO in order to paint a clear picture of where developing countries lose most of their policy space. He touches on tools such as the use of capital controls to regulate financial flows for financial stability in chapter two, while highlighting the effect of BITs and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) containing investment provisions on a country's ability to restructure debt and recover from financial crisis in chapter three. In the latter chapter Gallagher makes adequate illustrative use of Argentina, which previously defaulted, and has since been sued numerous times by firms in investor-state lawsuits due to moves made to restructure its debt and recover from the 2001 financial crisis.<sup>1</sup> It is not until chapter four that we are reminded that this is an academic piece of work, and not a technical paper, as it is here that Gallagher introduces a theoretical element to the book. In this chapter, he shows why previous traditional neo-classical theoretical economic models of David Ricardo, Heckscher-Ohlin, and Stolper-Samuelson are static, and do not cater for long-term growth and diversification into higher value-added sectors. He also shows why they are especially bad for countries with a concentration in a single commodity characterized by fluctuating and volatile prices.

In chapters five and six, Gallagher examines trade politics not only at the WTO, but also at the state level. It is in chapter five that the title of the book is justified, as it is here that he explains the clash between developing and developed countries that stalled the Doha Round of negotiations. He makes a commendable effort to explain the internal dynamics of Doha. Yet anyone who reads the output of inter-governmental organizations, such as the South Centre, and that of international organizations such as the Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS) would acknowledge that these organizations provide a more concise explanation of the real-world political battles illuminating this issue. The latter has produced an edited book I would highly recommend: *Reflections*

*From the Frontline: Developing Country Negotiations in the WTO.*<sup>2</sup> The topic of developing country resistance to the Doha Round of trade negotiations is highly complex, and this complexity does not quite come through fully in Gallagher's account, as insightful as it is. He treats the Doha issue dichotomously, presenting developing countries on one side of the battle line, with developed countries on the other. He does not acknowledge sufficiently the lack of coordination among developing countries given their highly diversified interests, levels of development and so forth. This diversity was a key factor in stalling the Doha Round.<sup>3</sup> In chapter six, he examines the cause of the proliferation of bilateral and regional trade agreements by highlighting that policy space constraints are not entirely external; many bilateral and regional trade agreements are signed because of special interests at the domestic level putting pressure on governments to sign.

Chapter seven, which serves as the book's conclusion, is in some respects its weakest, partly because of the speculative agenda laid out at the outset. This entails the elaboration of a series of recommendations suggesting how the world would look if development were made the main priority by the world trading system. In the first section, we are introduced to new topics such as *Food Security and the Climate Crisis*. The placement of these issues seems to some extent incongruous and they could have been better incorporated earlier. Other important issues were left out such as the Agreement on Agriculture when looking at food security; Gallagher does not discuss the Amber, Blue and the Green Boxes, which govern agricultural subsidies at the WTO. Neither does the book mention the G33 Proposal in its discussion of food security, despite it being about the clash between the proposals of developing countries versus the objectives of their developed counterparts. Additionally, the promised recommendations of what the world would look like mainly take the form of proposed reforms of the WTO. Also, far from telling us what that world would look like, Gallagher ended on a more pessimistic note, outlining how least developed countries are increasingly marginalized, and closed the book by asking: 'How will they carve out the policy space that they need to propel their development?'<sup>4</sup>

While Gallagher does not specify an intended audience for his book, the manuscript is clearly intended for an audience seeking to gain an introduction to international trade politics. Thus, the book is particularly good at introducing complex events such as the Doha and technical instruments such as bilateral investment treaties

(BITs). In sum, it provides a highly readable and straightforward account of these issues, and the use of numerous tables helps to convincingly illustrate the unequal distribution of trade gains and the lack of standardization across multilateral trade regulations.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Argentina has again defaulted on its international debt earlier this year when payments made to creditors who accepted its bond restructuring deals from the 2001 default was blocked by a United States judge until those who rejected the deal were paid.
- <sup>2</sup> Mehta, Pradeep S., Atul Kaushik, and Rashid S. Kaukab. *Reflections from the Frontline: Developing Country Negotiators in the WTO*. New Delhi: Academic Foundation, 2012.
- <sup>3</sup> See Valbona Muzaka and Matthew Louis Bishop (2014), 'Doha Stalemate: The End of Trade Multilateralism?', *Review of International Studies*, FirstView. Available on CJO 2014 doi:10.1017/S0260210514000266
- <sup>4</sup> Gallagher, p. 150.

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**Neither World Polity Nor Local or National Societies:  
Regionalization in the Global South - The Caribbean  
Community**, by Tavis Deryck Jules, Frankfurt, Berlin, Bern,  
Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2013, 322pp.  
ISBN: 978-3-631-60104-4.

In this comprehensive analysis of the past two decades' history of deepening regionalization in Caribbean policy processes, we learn particularly about the gradual inclusion of education strategies and their promise for economic and social development. The book's central thesis of 'trans-regional regimes' is delineated through close analysis of policy activities and statements of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and has, Jules argues, significant potential beyond it. A tripartite 'toolkit' of regional policy approaches is laid out against our contemporary backdrop, where governance has superseded government. The book's driving contention is that regional organization has been actively pursued as, simultaneously, the dominant bulwark against globalization and a way in which to capture its potential benefits.

In the opening sections, Jules provides us with an innovative synthesis of policy transfer and globalization literature, with neo-institutional education and international relations theories supporting a multi-tiered methodology of discourse analysis. The engaging and informative middle chapters are based on extensive interviews and document analyses. These track chronologically the inclusion of, and approaches to, education policy cooperation through three discrete phases: 'intensified functional cooperation', 'endogenous bouleversement' and 'policy trilingualism'. Particularly lucid, and potentially useful for other regions and sub-regions, is the discussion towards the end of part three on advanced substantive cooperation in the area of technical and vocational education. Its analysis considers the mechanisms for shared credentials and conditions that have facilitated intraregional movement of a pooled labour force.

Less effective is the coverage and operationalization of some of the theoretical material. Contradictions and gaps, perhaps inevitable given the ambitious scale of the research and complexity of the issues, nevertheless make it difficult to entirely accept the book's premise. On the one hand are assertions that the regional responses under investigation have been 'a conscious policy decision made by national governments and executed at the regional level',<sup>1</sup> 'willingly',<sup>2</sup> even deliberately as a collective choice. We are also told, in contrast, that 'the countries of CARICOM did not converge and show similarities in structures, processes and performances because they sought to, they did so because they had to', as a 'natural' response to external 'pressures'.<sup>3</sup>

The exact nature of these pressures (aid conditionalities and other discursive measures) is cursorily treated. However, the Caribbean report by the World Bank that is drawn on frequently throughout, itself stresses the necessity of regionalized cooperation, somewhat weakening the argument for 'endogenous bouleversement', and rather demonstrates the opposite idea of mitigating globalizing effects; this regionalization, and tendencies to isomorphism, may in fact represent another manifestation of globalization itself.

Such a perspective has been advanced especially in the field of global social policy, and it has long been recognized that the 'international knowledge banks' (IKBs) have promoted particular types of education based on their potential to boost human resource development. Also neglected is the centrality of governing elites in promulgating some globalized ideals. Indeed the book's

conclusion seems, puzzlingly, ambiguous in conceding that, ‘...as external monetary aid continues to penetrate the regional and national levels... The consequence will be a series of contradictions in education policy that suggests that national, rather than regional, responses to the changing global power may become the norm for the foreseeable future’.<sup>4</sup> Yet external aid has been a salient feature throughout the periods under discussion, and is raised if not in sufficient depth then at least a number of times throughout the book. We are at another point told that ‘as CARICOM member states came increasingly under pressure from international forces, they conformed to global policy standards and best practices, rather than taking the time to grow and establish them on their own’.<sup>5</sup>

For other UN agencies, importantly, the regional and sub-regional have become key levels of normative and practical influence, as have nationally and regionally active civil society groups and networks. Surely acknowledgement of the wider Latin American and Caribbean UN regional grouping is merited, even if to downplay its significance? Equally merited is an indication of where the UNESCO Kingston Cluster fits, given that some of the norms promoted by these agencies are heavily aligned with the ‘Ideal Caribbean person’. The book does not convince that powerful global actors do not continue to steer policy. However, their influence appears to be not in the neo-institutionalist, trickle-down sense that Jules also legitimately contests, but in deliberately consolidating economic globalization, as Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard have convincingly argued.<sup>6</sup> Regionalization and the policies pursued appear to represent the very mandate of the IKBs, which are rendered less problematic than Jules’ methodological approach should support. This makes it harder to stay with the argument. It would have been useful to learn more about such counter-arguments in order to see better how (or whether) regional organization was a choice, rather than one facet of globalization. Perhaps it is not entirely a case of ‘dummy transfer’, as Jules suggests, but of authentic adoption, albeit through coercion.

Jules cites critiques of world polity, or neo-institutional, theory that have demonstrated its neglect of such political considerations. However, the book proceeds to fall into the same trap in not pursuing, for example, analysis of the equalizing impulses of South-South cooperation, a theme insufficiently addressed. The non-aligned movement is skated over, and much of the core stuff of South-South approaches is neglected in light of the inevitability of CARICOM having embraced the market. Another gap is discussion

of the democratization inherent in government-governance shifts that have rightly been identified. Participation and equity are briefly invoked, and teachers' unions are mentioned as present at one meeting, while think tanks (of elite composition) get more space. The increasing salience of democratic engagement is thus treated cursorily, with civil society organizations fleetingly acknowledged, and in limited forms. Neither national nor regional civil society coalitions for education are acknowledged. The critical dimension – wherein these social practices are rendered problematic in light of uneven power dynamics – is unfortunately lacking; it should be inherent in an analysis of discourse and language, especially in investigation of institutions with direct political mandates.<sup>7</sup>

Jules writes energetically and is passionate about his topic but some typographical errors, misuse of words and mixed metaphors compound the considerable effort required to engage with this stylistic approach. Long, sometime convoluted, sentences tend to obscure what is already conceptually, and empirically, dense material. Myriad neologisms are advanced throughout; each is preceded by 'what I will call', which distracts from otherwise rich terrain.

In summary, while Jules makes a strong case that regional activities have become increasingly decisive in negotiating multi-level policies, this book gives us only a partial insight into how this occurs, especially in the poorer and smaller nations of our increasingly inter-dependent world. Even as it is limiting to conceptualize regionalization as a zero-sum game, as *Neither World Polity nor Local or National Society* in its title suggests, the book does grapple with important dynamics in education and development. It serves as a useful point of access for understanding policy experiences in the Caribbean.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Jules, *Neither World Polity*, p.256.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p.209.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.250.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.254.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.207.

<sup>6</sup> Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard, 'Globalisation and Education: Complexities and Contingencies', *Education Theory*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 2000, pp.419-26.

<sup>7</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003).

**Writing Secrecy in Caribbean Freemasonry**, by Jossianna Arroyo, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp245. Hardcover. ISBN: 978-1-137-30515-2.

*Writing Secrecy in Caribbean Freemasonry* by Jossiana Arroyo is organized over five chapters, excluding the preparatory remarks, endnotes, and bibliographic details. Arroyo's grandfather and great-grandfather were prominent Puerto Rican Freemasons. The former, Guillermo Arroyo-Brugman, established a Lodge in Salinas, a Puerto Rican town. This hardcover edition depicts what seems to be a picture of the Puerto Rican flag flown vertically, rather than horizontally, with a prominent triangle penetrating five columns as it encapsulates a blazing sun or an 'All Seeing Eye'. The flag is therefore used as a trope to represent a Masonic apron. Therefore, from the start an encounter with this book esoterically and subliminally tells the reader their mind should shift and readjust to a new paradigm of light to nineteenth century Spanish-Caribbean historiography. Freemasons seek light and more light in their endless search for knowledge to develop a deeper consciousness of self and Deity. Alternatively, since the flag on the book's cover is not portrayed horizontally it also suggests that it is a fraternal sign of protest emanating from the Spanish-Caribbean struggle for independence from Spain or other imperial forces. The flag could also be interpreted as representing the author's own demand, refusal, and protest within Pan-Africanism and African Diaspora categories of analysis. Moreover, it could possibly betray the author's hidden ancestral nationalism and motives for writing this book. Arroyo identified the frontal image as 'Crepúsculo y Bandera, 2009' by Carlos Ramos-Scharrón, which translates to Twilight and Flag.<sup>1</sup>

The image of protest on the cover of the book is interpreted by this reviewer as Arroyo's secret theoretical framework in a work that is complex in its structure due to the author's language style, use of techno jargon, and use of detailed abstract analysis to support an erudite mind. The author is indeed a sophisticated writer who blends history, historical fiction, poetry, psychology,

and mysticism in a discursive format to analyse issues relevant to the Haitian Revolution; the Puerto Rican, Dominican Republic and Cuban independence experiences; the work of a distinguished group of exiles in the United States who authored analytical articles, short stories, and poems; and African American fraternal struggles to advance political, social and Masonic causes.<sup>2</sup> The issues raised had a central problem; the consequences of racial death and racial rebirth in communities that had a history of using enslaved African people. The Masonic Lodge was prominent in the whole experience of subaltern political struggle because, devoid of power in the nation, state context protagonists used their Lodges to rally for support, security, and, the dissemination of their political rhetoric. Arroyo aptly shows how the ritual in Lodge work provided not only a liminal space for transitions but also its contribution to developing community. Therefore the book's theoretical framework shows the importance of signs, tokens, and symbols in the craft of International Relations in the Spanish-American and Spanish-Caribbean context. Secrecy and writing were core competent dynamics used as *techné* and technology in getting messages across in publications. Those activists who translated text from Spanish to English and English to Spanish had to capture the essence of an intended point without losing the original context in which it was made. Arroyo spends a considerable amount of time demonstrating the importance of accurate translation.

The subject chosen by Arroyo, until about a decade ago, was taboo in West Indian historiography because the Masonic community was said to be closed to external academic scrutiny especially in former British communities. As a woman of Afro Puerto Rican descent, Arroyo has created a niche in shedding internal light on Masonic narratives within the Spanish Caribbean. She attempts to demystify the Masonic significance in the resistance writings of White and Black Spanish activists in the nineteenth century Spanish and French Caribbean independence struggles. These struggles attempted to lift the souls of Black people who were declared dead in plantation societies by Eurocentric cultural compulsives embedded in scientific racism. Powered by racism, these plantation societies rendered non-Whites invisible to White humanity, and as such, there was a struggle to rise. This ethos can be considered to be a rebirth through a liminal space out of which the people resurrected to

become part of the society, real or imagined. This was easier said than done by the oppressed labourers and free coloured groups.

Arroyo analyses the 'brotherly' relationship between that of White Cuban poet and activist, Great Worshipful Master Andrés Cassard (who established in 1855 the first Spanish-speaking Lodge in New York called *La Fraternidad No. 387*) and the Scottish Rite Sovereign Grand Commander, the American, Albert Pike (the most powerful Freemason in the United States) with respect to Pike's controversial idea of Americanism.<sup>3</sup> While Arroyo does not hide Albert Pike's military career and his racist views and associations, she neglects to disclose that Pike was the one who ironically provided the African American Prince Hall Freemasons with a copy of the rituals for the Scottish Rite degrees.<sup>4</sup> Arroyo generously discusses the understudied Puerto Rican medical doctor Ramón E. Betances, a racially mixed, Masonic intellectual of lodge 'Union Germana No. 8,'<sup>5</sup> head of the Antillean Confederation, and instigator of the *Grito de Lares* in Puerto Rico in 1868. Additionally, she eloquently and confidently presents an analysis of several personalities including the Cuban national hero, Freemason and writer José Martí and Afro-Cuban political leader, journalist, founder of The League or La Liga, Rafael Serra y Montalvo, and Afro-Puerto Rican Arturo A. Schomburg, a Prince Hall Mason, bibliophile and archivist in addition to many others real or imagined.<sup>6</sup>

But there are some challenges: within the necessity of this work, Arroyo's literary life-force at times overwhelms the reader with the volume of analysis mixed with literary jargon and a meta-historical style that drives her to get at the heart of issues. This multi-layered approach often distracts from the essence of a narrative. Arroyo also uses many historical fictional novels, and while these works are wonderful literary devices, at times they have a tendency to limit the book's ability to convince a reader that it is a new direction in Latin American cultural scholarship. Moreover, while Arroyo uses relevant and valuable archives to prepare this book, the bibliography should have shown evidence that data was also obtained from lodge proceedings; the minutes of the order. This disclosure would have added even more integrity to the work given Arroyo's demonstration of scholarly talent. But there is one major observation where Arroyo is clearly wrong and that is on pages 155 to 156. In a description of Figure 5.3, which is a photograph of Arturo A. Schomburg and five Black Prince Hall Freemasons, Arroyo states that all of the men but the Great Worshipful Master had their

hands behind their backs. A closer inspection of the photograph shows that the brother standing on the extreme left of the picture has at least his right hand to his side and not at the back. Arroyo also states that the Great Worshipful Master has his left hand touching his apron and gives Masonic significance to this posture. The Great Worshipful Master is actually touching his apron with his right hand. The mirror effect caught Arroyo off guard. In another instance within these pages Arroyo also confuses the masculinity and femininity of the two Masonic pillars Boaz and Jachin. Some attempt at clarification was undertaken in endnote number 33 on page 203. The book also needs a clear conclusion after such a complex reading experience. The last segment of Chapter five entitled *Masonic Legacies under the US Empire* is not really an effective conclusion for a work that has had so much to say about classic nineteenth century Spanish-Caribbean struggle.

The book is still an excellent exposure to Spanish-Caribbean activism within the cleavages and communities of Freemasonry. However, there are prerequisites for reading. Readers in International Relations must have some knowledge of Freemasonry and a technical appreciation for the fact that civilisations in the Caribbean existed on more than one level, the esoteric and exoteric. This duality informs the praxis of learning about inter, intra, and extra regional relations across transnational and transcultural boundaries even in the course of changing times and circumstances. Therefore, *Writing Secrecy in Caribbean Freemasonry* is recommended for reading by those who are curious about the importance of Freemasonry in Spanish Caribbean narratives; readers who are prepared to look for Masonic substance in matters of policy; and also by readers who have the patience to work with the author's nuanced methodology for benefits that are known and unknown.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This view was established on the basis of a non-specific reading of W.Kirk MacNulty, *Freemasonry: A Journal through Ritual and Symbol* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1991) pp.4 - 65.

- <sup>2</sup> For a general treatment of Caribbean history see Frank Moya Pons, *History of the Caribbean* (New Jersey: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2007).
- <sup>3</sup> See also Albert Pike, *Morals and Dogma of the First Three Degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* (La Verne, Tn USA: Kessinger Publishing, 2011). This is a major work of Albert Pike.
- <sup>4</sup> Grand Commander Kleinknecht Presents 'Revised Standard Pike Ritual to the Northern and Southern Prince Hall Supreme Councils,' *The Scottish Rite Journal* CIX No.6 (June, 2001), p.34.
- <sup>5</sup> Jossianna Arroyo, *Writing Secrecy in Caribbean Freemasonry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) p.28.
- <sup>6</sup> For a vitriolic account of White American acceptance of African American Prince Hall Freemasonry see Henry Wilson Coil, Sr. and John MacDuffie Sherman, *A Documentary Account of Prince Hall and other Black Fraternal Orders* (U.S.A.: The Missouri Lodge of Research, 1982).

**Asian Diplomacy: The Foreign Ministries of China, India, Japan, Singapore, and Thailand**, by Kishan S. Rana, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press with Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009, 246pp, Paperback. ISBN: 780801891960.

This book, comprising nine chapters, is the outcome of continuous research by a former senior diplomat in the Indian Foreign Service. While the volume's general objective is to examine the structures and processes of foreign ministries and diplomatic services of five Asian countries (China, Japan, India, Singapore, and Thailand), it also seeks to shed light on the concurrent dimension of Asian diplomacy in a globalised world. Rana fundamentally agrees that the recurring theme was transformation and adaptation undertaken by these Asian ministries of foreign affairs since end of the Cold War when institutional reform became a driving force in the most effective foreign ministries around the world. More concretely, the book tells us how international relations and economic interdependence among countries have altered the conventional concept of diplomacy, and accordingly trendy information technology amid globalisation is creating a highly demanded skill-set for diplomats to work in today's complex world. In particular, it explores why Asian foreign ministries are in a dire need of pragmatism, inventiveness, flexibility, and preparedness to face a plethora of problems both regionally and globally when Asia's diplomatic systems have much to gain by learning better from one another. From such a viewpoint, this study gives a formidable treatment of Asian diplomacies, a region where this topic is still understudied. This is critical, since the world's attention is increasingly shifting towards a rising Asia. In short, this study

endeavours to draw our attention to the instrumental framework through which foreign policies of these five Asian states are implemented and they conduct their relations with external partners.

Nevertheless, the book suffers from a few weak points and it has some gaps in coverage. To be more comprehensive, the volume introduces the global trends of diplomacy as a tool of both constructive international bargaining and domestic political success in addition to the role of foreign ministries. But it has not fully extended the theoretical canvas on diplomacy while revisiting the links among modern diplomacy, foreign policy and international relations. In fact, there is not an explicit analytical approach or theoretical hypothesis elaborated in the book, and despite an extensive bibliography, there are no publications in any of the Asian country languages including Chinese, Japanese and Thai. Moreover, despite the fact that this retired diplomat received several visiting fellowships at different think tanks in and beyond Asia during the period of data collection, he has no direct work experience in any of these five Asian countries except India.

In the introductory chapter, he clarifies the reasons for the selection of China, India, Japan, Singapore, and Thailand. The first three were obvious choices based on their size and political and economic capacity plus their actual and anticipated role in world affairs. Although his argument for the selection of Thailand is not so convincing, the author finds a tiny city-state like Singapore as an exemplary model of diplomatic capability. Also, he considers the diverse potentials of South Korea, views Malaysia as an astute practitioner of diplomacy and also sees Indonesia as the largest state of Southeast Asia that is a home to immense diversity of people and cultures. However, none of these countries has been included in this project. When the book's five case studies are from the three parts of Asia (East, Southeast, and South), it might have been interesting if a country (particularly Saudi Arabia as a key sub-regional player) had been chosen from West Asia (i.e., the Middle East) where the 'oil diplomacy' of the US has experienced a tragedy. Nothing has at the same time been explained about Central Asia that has increasing diplomatic involvement with the EU. Granted that all these five Asians are either big or middle powers, we have not come to know about any small power's diplomacy of the entire region. Lastly, any example of 'heroic diplomacy' in the contemporary world has not been shown.

More critically, when the author describes various types of diplomacy (political, economic, public, regional, multilateral, etc.) in each case study, he does not recommend any specific country that could be called an excellent 'role model' of Asian diplomacy. As the author has exemplified Japan as a great 'civilian power' due mainly to its 'Peace Constitution', he does not suggest how this country through its potential 'soft power' as a part of public diplomacy could communicate with the world more meaningfully and thus exert its influence on a global scale in the social media era. Since he has drawn the common points (context, structure, diplomacy, methods, and assessment) in every case study chapter, the book with such generalized discussions might be regarded as merely a 'guide'. The study asserts that Asia possesses shared value system while Asians tolerate diversity and intercultural communication comes rather easily to them, and therefore the world solely needs such qualities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Though he also foresees that the Asian uniqueness would shine in a de-Westernizing world, such analyses rarely relate to the 'diplomatic culture' of Asia. While the book on the contrary points to some 'good practice' lessons from the other countries mostly in the Western world that are at the forefront of effective diplomacy, the comparisons have been offered without sufficient arguments.

In concluding chapter, the author said: "The potential exists for more extensive, better work in this area by other scholars, especially by Asian interested in the intellectual dimension of an anticipated 'Asian century'.<sup>1</sup> But the following most important questions still remain unanswered: (1) How can Asian Diplomacy (as the book's main title) with utilization of the region's full-spectrum diplomatic tools achieve economic interests of its countries as Asia compared to Europe, Americas and Africa has no single or dominant regional cooperation structure or even shared vision on where the region is headed? (2) How can 'track II diplomacy' uplift the prospects for official peace building negotiations and conflict resolution efforts in Asia when Asian traditional, coercive and low-profile diplomatic initiatives oftentimes result in failed diplomacy? (3) Why is there a necessity for Asia to improve its multilateral diplomatic performance while this region commensurate with its new economic weight is yet under-represented in the leading global governance institutions?"

Given that all my criticisms are constructive, this book has many merits. First of all, the principal purpose of this book has successfully been realized. Indeed, there is a demand for such a

single-authored volume that investigates several Asian foreign ministries together. Realizing such an ambitious project is not an easy task. But Kishan Rana, an Ambassador from Asia who has a wealth of knowledge and practical experience in his both challenging and gloried professional career has written on this pressing and stimulating Asian issue and thus helped redress this gap. Even though it is a production from the ideas of a seasoned diplomat, this innovative and distinctive work definitely maintains a degree of academic rigor. So, it will be certainly be useful for scholars, analysts and the general reading public interested in the fields of foreign policy, international relations and Asian studies. But this piece is one of the indispensable resources for aspiring diplomats, practicing consular staff and anyone contemplating a career in the Foreign Service, who would endeavour to help consolidate Asia's place in the world. Lastly, the volume reminds us that all (from visa officers to ambassadors) must be able to smartly interact with the global actors for their multifaceted diplomatic missions rather than simply mingling with their colleagues inside the boundaries of embassy or chancery.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Rana, *Asian Diplomacy*, p.11

**The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism**, by Hamid Dabashi, New York: Zed Books, 2012, 272pp, Paperback. ISBN: 9780801891960.

The dramatic series of interrelated events that began with the Iranian Green Movement in 2009 and culminated with the transnational uprisings of 2011 have garnered much deserved international attention. Now that the voices of the revolutionaries have finally been heard, Hamid Dabashi's book attempts to ensure that they are not misheard. In *The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism* Dabashi provides a complex analysis of the Arab Spring that derails the common misconception that the insurgencies were a result of any single ideological crusade, and argues that the Movement was actually a mobilization 'against

ideologies – both dominant and outdated'.<sup>1</sup> This work reiterates the importance of a deeper understanding of the uprisings by paying heed to the actual demands and language of the revolutionaries, in hopes of putting an end to the reduction of events 'to cliché and imagined bifurcation'.<sup>2</sup> Utilizing a postmodern perspective, Dabashi destroys these false understandings of the Arab Spring; his central claim is that the Arab Spring is not only the end of postcolonialism, but an end to all ideologies of the past and present, most importantly dissolving the imagined East/West binary. From Morocco to Iran, and Syria to Yemen citizens are re-claiming the public space with open-ended revolutions, calling for a liberating framework that demands freedom, social justice, and human dignity not only from dictators that have extended colonial rule, but from Western imperialism that has suppressed and mischaracterized Arab nations for hundreds of years.

Dabashi explores the depths of the events the pre- and post-Arab Spring to provide readers with a vivid portrayal of what the Movement signifies and what is needed for its success. He begins the book with a short history of the uprisings and poignantly argues that although varying in intensity, no Arab country was spared by the revolution's impact. The success of the revolution has been paramount as leader after leader has stepped down and citizens have reclaimed their countries. However, when Egyptian and Syrian citizens demanded the 'Overthrow of the Regime' during the Arab Spring's 'Day of Rage', Dabashi argues that the mainstream media and scholars misinterpreted their intent. The vanguards demanded not only an end of the domination by their leaders, but also an end to the domineering ways Western knowledge production affects the Arab world and misconstrues realities. The Arab Spring showcases a new world previously suppressed through postcolonial ideologies and reveals an unfamiliar space void of Eurocentric assumptions.

Though historically rooted, the Arab Spring has differed in each country, creating, as Dabashi argues, an open-ended revolution; a platform stripped of 'the false assumptions of Islamism, nationalism, or socialism...' along with the 'old clichés of Orientalism'.<sup>3</sup> He poignantly posits that the Green Movement and subsequent Arab Spring are more than revolutions; they are civil rights movements. These radical, yet nonviolent, uprisings demanded civil liberties in sectors such as labour unions, women's rights organizations, and student assemblies. Diligent and vigilant revolutionaries are greatly needed to avoid falling back into

postcolonial paths, and the most important actors in the years to come will be those that have been most affected by postcolonialism, including women and the younger generation.

While Dabashi's mixture of theory, fact, philosophy, and history brings meaning to the Arab Spring, his attempt to theoretically re-define 'the Arab and the Muslim World' falls short. He offers the idea of a *cosmopolitan worldliness* as an alternative to the detrimental language that has alienated and oppressed Muslim citizens. This worldliness 'is neither ontic nor ontological, but existential (Heidegger's designation): historical, lived, experienced, remembered, acted'.<sup>4</sup> Dabashi's notion of cosmopolitan worldliness aims to bring clarity to the historical events that have shaped our world by providing information void of Western bias and autonormativity – paying particular heed to Arab nations. This concept is made material by showcasing to the world existing Muslim 'cosmopolitanism in film, fiction, art, and poetry'.<sup>5</sup> Re-defining the nations we have linguistically repressed is vital; however, the cosmopolitan ideal has become a political buzzword that has been overly used, particularly in policy discourse. In Leszek Koczanowicz's piece entitled 'Cosmopolitanism and its Predicaments' he critiques modern notions of cosmopolitanism by claiming it is nothing more than an 'ideologically motivated attempt to hide the real contradictions of the contemporary world'.<sup>6</sup> While Koczanowicz makes it clear that cosmopolitanism can be interpreted in several ways, such as in the universal ideals of the Enlightenment or a more localized focus of national culture, both of which being more abstract than explanatory, he is most troubled with the more recent politically motivated democratic shift cosmopolitanism has assumed. Trouble lies in these various perceptions through the championing of a single set of values each citizen is expected to follow, often catering to normative patterns of the elite – often the Western elite. Although, like Dabashi, Koczanowicz offers yet another kind of cosmopolitanism, entitled *diaological cosmopolitanism*, it is clear that perhaps the whole notion of cosmopolitanism has run its course and its use simply reinforces elitism. The Arab Spring truly has changed the world and to theorize such events with common banter does not do it justice.

*The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism* is a truly refreshing and insightful read. Dabashi provides clarity to a subject that has been saturated with critique from misinformed and misguided 'experts'. The Arab Spring has overcome the plight of post-

colonialism and there is hope that once and for all 'the West' versus the 'Rest' binary is dead. It is now time for the world to be 're-Orientated' and Dabashi rightfully expresses the need for new liberating theorizations; however, danger lies in conceptualizing elite passé ideologies that do everything but liberalize.

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## **NOTES**

<sup>1</sup> Dabashi, *The Arab Spring*, p.152.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p.137

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.63

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.114

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.118

<sup>6</sup> Leszek Koczanowicz, 'Cosmopolitanism and its predicaments. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*' 29 (2010): 141. doi: 10.1007/s11217-009-9162-2