

women but also occasionally created spaces for women's empowerment. She develops "a framework for discussing and analyzing the different ways in which the discourse on gender and that on nation tend to intersect and to be constructed by each other."

Yuval-Davis makes the important distinction between nation and state, showing how the assumption of correspondence between the two is almost always a myth. From a deconstructionist perspective, she also rejects the idea that a nation is a unitary entity and that gender has essential qualities. Rather, she views both as multidimensional and historically situated.

The book analyzes nation in relation to gender in the context of nationalist ideologies and movements and the institutions of the state, situated in specific historical moments. It is within this context of intersection of gender and nation that Yuval-Davis examines discourses and debates in such areas as women's roles as biological reproducers of nations, women's contributions to the cultural constructions of nations, the gendered nature of citizenship, and the gendered nature of militaries and wars. Throughout, she is careful to point out how class, race, and sexuality interact with gender and affect, and are affected by, nationalist projects.

In the concluding chapter, Yuval-Davis explores the relationship between feminism and nationalism and introduces the concept of "transversal politics" as a model of feminist politics that takes account of national as well as other differences between women. Transversal politics—as differentiated from identity politics, which is based on assumptions of universalism (a homogeneous point of departure)—involves participation in a dialogue where each woman "brings with her the rooting in her own membership and identity, but at the same time tries to shift in order to put herself in a situation

of exchange with women who have different membership and identity." What is to unite women engaged in transversal politics? According to Yuval-Davis, compatible goals and values—rather than national (or any other form of) identity—should be the bases for political action among women.

Gender and Nation is a scholarly gem. Not only does it provide a comprehensive review and critique of writings on nationhood, nationalist movements, the state, citizenship, and gender, but also it presents an original analysis of the processes of interaction between gender and nationalist projects. It also raises and clarifies some of the major questions and debates of our time regarding nationalism, multiculturalism, the state, and the continuing oppression of women. It should be read by anyone interested in these topics.

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*AFRICA, ASIA, AND
LATIN AMERICA*

HUNT, MICHAEL H. 1996. *The Genesis of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy*. Pp. xiv, 343. New York: Columbia University Press. \$34.50.

Are China's relations with the world driven by Marxist ideology, hyperpatriotism, measured realpolitik, or perhaps some combination of the three? This is one of the most important questions facing American policymakers at the end of the twentieth century. Until the sources of China's foreign policy are better understood, America's posture and attitudes concerning a wide range of issues that confront U.S.-China relations—human rights, arms proliferation, economic practices, the fate of the Korean peninsula,

and, most important, the future of Taiwan—are bound to produce misunderstanding and tension. What method is best suited to investigating this question? Michael Hunt argues persuasively that we cannot understand China's recent behavior unless we examine the historical origins of Chinese Communist foreign policy.

Hunt's investigation of the origins of the foreign policy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) reaches well beyond the formative struggle with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government and imperial Japan during the 1930s and 1940s. Hunt travels as far back as the Han and Tang dynasties to identify what he calls an "embarrassment of traditions" conditioning China's engagement with the world. Perhaps most important were the lessons that early-twentieth-century Chinese reformers took from the long and painful decline of the imperial state during the Qing period. The humiliating experience of foreign intrusion, which continued even after the 1911 revolution, provoked a searching examination by China's increasingly radicalized intellectuals. These reformers—seeking ways to strengthen and unify China so that it could stand strong in international affairs—were impatient with the more cautious approaches that had failed during the Qing period. Many of these intellectuals found the cure for China's weakness in the tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

Hunt's narrative suggests that Chinese patriotism was the real fuel behind Communist Chinese foreign policy and that Marxism was a more or less effective tool for the state building that was necessary to propel China to international status. A model that includes Chinese patriotism provides a rationale for many CCP actions that could not be explained through the Marxist-Leninist perspective alone: Mao's desire to secure American aid during the 1940s, the willingness

of the CCP to distance itself from Moscow, and the CCP's imperialistic attitudes toward non-Chinese people in Tibet and Xinjiang. Ideology certainly mattered, but Hunt argues that, for leaders like Mao, ideology was only one part of an equation that ultimately included a patriotism with deep historical roots and balanced assessments of a rapidly changing international environment.

Perhaps the most important service Hunt provides in this fine study is in the form of the historiographical and methodological essay at the end of the book. Hunt gives us a detailed state of the field and argues strongly in favor of utilizing a historically grounded approach in any future examination of Chinese Communist foreign policy. This final chapter will be enormously helpful to scholars seeking promising avenues for future historical inquiry.

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THURSTON, ROBERT W. 1996. *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1934-1941*. Pp. xxi, 296. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996. No price.

At the beginning of chapter 5, Robert Thurston writes, "Stalin, or rather Stalin with a great deal of help, killed millions or facilitated their untimely deaths. He was one of history's leading murderers, and his crimes were truly grotesque." Although Thurston was capable of making this sound judgment, nevertheless he decided to write a book that would undercut, explain away, and rationalize that judgment.

He makes the following arguments: Stalin was a more complex character than the usual depiction of him in the literature. He did not plan everything but