

break with traditionalist republican ideology but, with prescience, noted that 'one thing is for sure, Irish republicans cannot tolerate any thought that their goal is receding or may never be reached' (p. 227).

The paperback edition affords Smith an opportunity to assess his original argument in light of developments since the cease-fire. He believes that they confirm his analysis. Pointing to continuing tensions among republicans over strategy, Smith notes that the cease-fire paradoxically has not weakened but strengthened the hold exerted over their communities by the paramilitaries. As this is accompanied by deepening communal divisions, the peace dividend is a coin of potentially base metal, even if violence were to cease permanently. He observes that there are two ways to interpret the 'peace process' – as a road to a permanent resolution of the conflict or as a temporary phase, to be explained to one's best advantage. Selecting one or other option is difficult because the notion of 'peace' is neither neutral nor simply an absence of conflict, but a highly contestable political end: the 'peace process' is also a 'war process'. Smith postulates that full-scale resumption of violence is unlikely in view of local and international opinion, but implies that limited applications as practised by the IRA during 1996, or by loyalists in late 1997 and the beginning of 1998, remain probable.

This account is illuminating and the paperback edition is to be warmly welcomed. Smith's study complements an important book by Richard Davis, *Mirror Hate: The Convergent Ideology of Northern Ireland Paramilitaries, 1966-92* (1994). These investigations and other recent accounts carry the analysis of violence in Northern Ireland far beyond the simplistic explanations given by journalists and partisans. Smith's treatment also transcends Irish affairs, and is germane to international relations and conflict studies: Ireland is proving a laboratory for understanding the dynamics of ethnic strife and of low-intensity warfare. Even if the 'peace process' establishes a durable settlement, the contours of the conflict in Northern Ireland will remain a fruitful area of investigation.

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PHILIPP GASSERT. *Amerika im Dritten Reich: Ideologie, Propaganda und Volksmeinung 1933-1945*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997. Pp. 415. DM 84.

THE PAST DECADES have brought a steady stream of works on Nazi Germany's assessments of the United States. Most discuss Adolf Hitler and Franklin D. Roosevelt specifically, most employ political or strategic approaches, and most adopt one of two arguments. One, associated with the late Andreas Hillgruber, presumes a defensive-minded Nazi ambivalence towards the United States, the industrial power of which Berlin respected. Hitler's declaration of war on 11 December 1941 was thus made with a certain resignation. The other, associated with Gerhard L. Weinberg, argues for the limitless ambitions of Nazi ideology and for Hitler's intention to confront the United States in an eventual struggle for

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