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Book Notes

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BOOK NOTES

IRAQ AND IRAN: ROOTS OF CONFLICT

By Tareq Y. Ishmael

Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1982. Pp. xi, 226, appendices, bibliography. \$24.00 cloth, \$12.95 paper.

When Iraq invaded Iran in September, 1980, many Americans rejoiced because they wished for the Revolutionary Government's demise. However, with this wish unfulfilled and with the conflict nearing its third year, policy-makers in Washington must now worry that Iran will either succumb to Soviet influence or forcibly export its militant blend of politics and religion. *Iraq and Iran: Roots of Conflict*, written by Tareq Y. Ismel, a professor of political science at the University of Calgary, provides a context for understanding the foundation of these suspicions, and suggests that Iran and Iraq must somehow be prevented from destroying each other.

Iraq and Iran: Roots of Conflict introduces the social, political, and legal sources of the current war, while augmenting conclusions by appending articles of state and political speeches. The work traces present differences to "the emergence of the Shi'i-Sunni schism in the late seventh century" (p. 1), which began fragmenting the Islamic Empire into Ottoman and Persian dynasties. This event molded Persia into a culturally and theologically distinct entity within the Islamic world. The arrival of British and Russian imperialistic forces in the early eighteenth century exacerbated this situation, as the two Islamic nations became regional balance-of-power pawns. American penetration into Iran after the Second World War further destabilized the region, by ensuring a Shah's reign dedicated to military expansionism abroad and stifling political dissent at home.

The citizens of Iran and Iraq eventually reacted against Western economic domination, yet characteristically chose vastly different systems to advance their aspirations. The author observes that

[t]he inherent contradictions between the secular, nationalist ideology of Iraq's Arab Ba'ath socialism and religious, universalist ideology of Khomeini's Islamic revolution . . . in effect made the two nations incompatible neighbors (p. 22).

. . . From Iraq's perspective, Khomeini's Islamic revolution was merely Persian expansionism garbed in new symbols. Iran's efforts to export its revolution, particularly among the Shi'is of Iraq, were merely extensions of Persia's traditional efforts to expand eastward into Iraq under the guise of protecting their coreligionists (p. 22).

Iraq and Iran: Roots of Conflict shows that today's crisis has natu-

ral and logical origins in past developments. The nation's long-standing mutual hatred exposes a danger that one government may impose a final solution on the other. The author recounts that

on the first anniversary of the war, Khomeini declared: 'I have good tidings that if you kill the enemy you will be rewarded by going to paradise and if you are killed you will go to paradise.' In this situation, decisive victory or defeat can be the only outcome (p. 40).

This work demonstrates the potentially disastrous effects of a life-or-death struggle in the Persian Gulf region. The book does not hypothesize on post-war period scenarios nor does it make recommendations. However, the author brilliantly sketches the frustrations of this enduring conflict as well as the necessity and inherent dangers of outside governments mediating Iraq's and Iran's differences.

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ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION: THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION

By Laura M. Lake.

New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982. Pp. vii, 152, notes, tables, bibliography, index. \$20.95.

Heightened political activism since the late 1960's has initiated substantial regulatory and statutory changes in environmental policy. *Environmental Regulation: The Political Effects of Implementation* focuses upon federal environmental policy to support the author's thesis that the process of implementing federal laws profoundly changes political relations and institutions. The book examines the political ramifications of implementing federal environmental laws and asserts three types of resulting political changes: restructuring of federalism; impairment of governmental functioning due to conflicts from within and outside of the government; and change in the separation of powers because of the tendency of courts to apply substantive due process standards to adjudicate environmental lawsuits. While each subject covered by the book has previously received extensive separate treatment, the author attempts to relate the subjects to each other and to a common origin in federal policy implementation.

Environmental Regulation combines both traditional and original approaches to each of these subjects. Analysis of each subject is freely supplemented with detailed examples and studies. Unfortunately, this persistent concern for detail detracts from the readability of the book. Less comprehensiveness would not likely have affected the quality of the analyses, and much of the supplemental or illustrative material could have been handled more appropriately in the footnote sections.

Still, these structural problems should not be construed as criticism of the substantive aspects of the book. *Environmental Regulation* presents an objective analysis of a controversial and often misunderstood subject. Both environmentalists and bureaucrats should appreciate this broad perspective, as the author contends their perceptions of the subject are typically narrow and shortsighted. This is illustrated by interagency conflicts in environmental policy implementation. These "quasi-autonomous units" serve their own "subpublics" and maintain their own clientele. The resulting conflict of goals and loyalties ultimately cripples implementation of federal policy.

The book's most provocative chapter discusses the judiciary's application of substantive due process to environmental policies. The author argues that this ultimately results in a change in the separation of powers. However, the book is not particularly clear in its approach to this issue. In some instances, the book generally criticizes the substantive due process standard. In other instances it draws a distinction between substantive due process as applied to constitutional (civil rights)

issues and non-constitutional ("mere statutory") issues, and asserts that the former is a more "legitimate" area for judicial activism than the latter. The primary focus of the chapter is on the application of substantive due process to administrative decisions. This application of the substantive due process standard usurps the bureaucracy's discretionary authority and prompts Congress to restrict judicial review in certain areas. The result is an alteration in the relationship among the three branches of government.

Environmental Regulation interrelates a number of issues which have a common tie to federal policy implementation and whose consequences affect our political institutions. Environmentalists may be surprised to learn of the indirect effects of their cause. Bureaucrats will be made aware of the judiciary's encroachment upon their authority. Serious students, however, will probably desire a more thorough treatment. Additionally, proposed solutions would have augmented the book's usefulness.

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