

# GLOBAL NEWSSTAND

[ ESSAYS, ARGUMENTS, AND OPINIONS FROM AROUND THE WORLD ]

## Access Bollywood

By S. Mitra Kalita

■ Another Generation,  
Fall 2004, London

Finally, there is a word for where I live: Bollystan. For years, those of us with roots in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and other subcontinental lands pondered what to call ourselves. The age of ethnic hyphenation produced “Indian-American.” Then came the all-inclusive “South Asian”—inclusive, that is, of all but our adopted homelands. Today, we have *desi*, a Hindi and Urdu term meaning “people of my country.”

On the latest cover of *Another Generation*, a glossy British magazine for young, upwardly mobile South Asians, the hazel eyes of Miss World 1994 Aishwarya Rai gaze out from above the definition of Bollystan: “A state without borders defined

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by a shared culture and common values.” Inside, contributors such as writer Pico Iyer and musician Nitin Sawhney discuss what it means to create in spaces that are neither here nor there. They dissect this process



Rhyme traveler: DJ Panjabi MC blends Indian folk music with hip-hop.

at a time when all things Bollystan are in vogue, from henna tattoos to Bollywood-inspired dancers gyrating on the big screen to rappers rhyming to *bhangra*, traditional Punjabi folk music that is often mixed with hip-hop.

“The beauty of Bollystan is that it’s everywhere, as everywhere

as the World Wide Web or our human concerns or the air we breathe,” writes Iyer. “It’s a state of mind, as all places are, but it’s a state of mind that manages to keep a conversation going, often in several languages all at once, wherever one happens to land.”

*Another Generation*, launched in London three years ago under the name *Indobrit*, was created as an “intelligent, sexy, and stylish publication for the United Kingdom’s ‘other’ population,” according to publisher Farah Damji. The title was changed to *Another Generation* after Damji, who has a colorful past as a New York art dealer and London gossip-column fixture, lost a battle over the *Indobrit* name. The fall issue marks the magazine’s U.S. debut, tapping into burgeoning

Bollystans from the suburbs of New Jersey to Silicon Valley. Given that Indian immigrants constitute the wealthiest immigrant group in the United States, the publication’s journey across the Atlantic is timely.

Thanks to the sudden ubiquity and trendiness of Indian film and music, the Bollystan concept might



**Nonstate actors:** Bollywood finds a new home in the Broadway show *Bombay Dreams*.

survive. Rai, long a household name in India, tested her luck with Western audiences in October with her starring role in British director Gurinder Chadha's *Bride and Prejudice*. In Chadha's adaptation of the Jane Austen novel, Lizzy Bennet becomes a character named Lalita Bakshi who doesn't want an arranged marriage. Another example is the hit song "Mundian to Bach Ke" by Panjabi MC, one of many proponents of *bhangra*. The song became a hit in Germany in 2002, but when New York rapper Jay-Z added his lyrics and name to the track a year later, the song blared on car stereos and in dance clubs across the world.

Ironically, some of the issue's strongest essays focus on the need to further unveil South Asian culture.

In one, Sawhney and singer/songwriter Raghav vent their frustrations about Asian music's enduring "underground" classification. In another, the editor of a collection of essays about sex and erotica titled *Desilicious* muses on how such a book came about: "We wanted to give our compatriots (and those interested in all things *desi*) a generous dose of some much needed *desi* lovin'—with all its passion, naiveté, delights, and yes, even messed-up-ness," Zenia Wadhani writes, adding the crucial *desi* lament, "But what would our parents think?"

Some of the writing feels inconsistent and inaccessible, such as a rambling essay on the branding of Bollystan by London School of Eco-

nomics lecturer Rana Sarkar. The cover story and review of Chadha's upcoming movie also fails to probe Bollywood's crossover power. But these minor shortfalls are more than compensated for by pieces such as the introductory essay by American scholar and guest editor Parag Khanna, who combines the necessary foreign-policy and pop culture references to provide a broad view of Bollystan's global relevance.

"Bollystan's import-export marketplace of literary genius, spiritual essence, cinematographic border-crossing and, increasingly, political savvy, have done for South Asia what nuclear weapons have not," Khanna writes. "They have made it a great power." **FP**

# Democracy in Arabic

By Steven A. Cook

■ *Al-Dimuqratiya*, Vol. 4, No. 15, July 2004, Cairo

Western thinkers frequently accuse the Middle East of lacking political and intellectual dynamism. How many times since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks have they cited the fact that the Arab world produces fewer books each year than Greece? Dissemination of knowledge and political development undoubtedly remain limited in the contemporary Arab world, but the region's new emphasis on reform—epitomized by increasing numbers of activists and region-wide summits on democracy—has increased the potential for democratic change.

One welcome product of this change is the Cairo-based, Arab-language quarterly *al-Dimuqratiya* (*Democracy*). The journal, which emerged in January 2001, is a boon for analysts interested in both political development and quality scholarly work by Arabs for an Arab audience. Loosely resembling the American *Journal of Democracy*, *al-Dimuqratiya* intends to provide a window on the thinking of Arab reformers. Until recently, they remained outside mainstream Arab political thinking, thanks to rampant deliberalization in the Arab world during the 1990s.

Some Egypt watchers may have a jaundiced view of the journal because of the close association between its publisher, the Al-Ahram

foundation, and the Egyptian government. But the affiliation has not yet dampened the journal's quality. *Al-Dimuqratiya* editor and Egyptian political scientist Hala Mustafa has a reputation for intellectual independence.

In the July 2004 issue, a special section titled "Building Iraq: Envisioning the Nation and Identity" covers issues ranging from the new Iraqi security institutions to postwar economic development. The most interesting of the section's 13 articles relates to some of the thorniest problems that the United States currently encoun-

produces the current violence in Iraq, but that recognizing how enduring hardship, wars, and oppression affect art and literature is necessary to understand the reciprocal relationship between culture and politics. In short, the "bloody background" of Iraqi history is finding expression in a variety of forms—be they literature or car bombs—that affect current generations.

Another article on the Sunni Triangle by Rashid al-Khuyun, an Iraqi expert on Islam, offers a window into a part of Iraq that remains deeply misunderstood by

**It's a shame that *al-Dimuqratiya* is not more accessible to Western analysts and officials, because it would likely shatter myths about Arab intellectual lassitude.**

ters in Iraq. One article by Yassin al-Naseer, an Iraqi exile in Holland, positions the persistent violence in Iraq within a cultural framework. Social explanations for car bombings, beheadings, and assassinations are often frowned upon within the halls of Western academe. But Naseer, though not suggesting an absolute link between culture and combat, does see a connection between history, cultural production, and violence.

"What is frequently said about Iraqi art [and violence] is not always accurate, but some of it is true," Naseer writes. "Iraqi creativity is born in prisons." His point is not that Arab or Iraqi culture

the U.S. troops fighting there. Al-Khuyun surveys the history of the Anbar province where the Sunni Triangle is located, and, most interestingly, discusses the triangle's incomplete assimilation into the Iraqi state. Indeed, former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was frequently compelled to ensure the quiescence of the region's tribes through force, despite the fact that he hailed from the area.

An appreciation of the Sunni Triangle's historical setting helps readers understand whom the United States is fighting in this part of Iraq. It's not just foreign jihadis, former Ba'athists, and remnants of

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Saddam's military but also Anbar tribesmen who, historically, chafed under the central authority of Baghdad, says al-Khuyun. The Kurdish commitment to an integral Iraq is a constant concern in policy circles, but history and current circum-

stances suggest that there should be equal—if not more—concern about the long-term commitment of the Anbar tribes.

It's a shame that *al-Dimuqratiya* is not more accessible to Western analysts and officials, particularly

American ones, because it would likely shatter some myths about Arab intellectual lassitude. It would also provide much-needed insight into a part of the world that, despite being the focus of U.S. foreign policy, is still misunderstood. **PP**

# Africa Keeps Its Peace

By Doug Brooks

■ Conflict Trends, No. 2, June 2004, KwaZulu-Natal

Peacekeeping in Africa is something of a moving target. Establishing even temporary peace and security in one country seems to impel conflict in others. Not surprisingly, the West has had little enthusiasm for complex African peace operations, reflected in their pitiful contribution of “blue helmets” to such missions. Instead of well-equipped and trained European or American troops, the job too frequently falls to ragtag African militaries to step in and keep the peace as best they can.

This reality is examined in a series of essays in the latest edition of *Conflict Trends*, a quarterly magazine published by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). Its authors wrestle with the sorry state of

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*Doug Brooks is president of the International Peace Operations Association, a coalition of private-sector service companies engaged in peacekeeping operations around the world.*



**Minding their own business:** Rwandan troops join an African Union peacekeeping force in Sudan in 2004.

African peacekeeping and ask what Africa's capacity is to resolve its own conflicts. They also analyze how the international community might help non-Western peace operations fare better in the field.

In his keynote article, U.N. Assistant Secretary-General Ramesh Thakur sharply criticizes the United States' role in global peacekeeping, which generally takes place in locations that “can neither be pronounced nor remembered by U.S. voters or members of Congress, and sometimes even by presidents.” Thakur does not mask his frustration. In decidedly undiplomatic language, the diplomat suggests that U.N. bashing by American politicians sometimes serves to “deflect criticisms from the failures of the administration,” adding that the

United States bears “significant responsibility” for U.N. peacekeeping failures such as in Somalia, where “U.S. troops went on a hunt for General [Mohammed Farah] Aidede like cowboys.” But, whether he likes it or not, Thakur knows the United States and the United Nations need each other. The United Nations cannot function without America's military, diplomatic, and financial support. The U.S. military cannot achieve long-term peace and stability in many troubled parts of the world without U.N. expertise and international legitimacy.

Although Thakur's criticisms are aimed at the United States, many of his arguments could apply to any Western state with a reasonably competent military, none of which are showing much peacekeeping

leadership in Africa. Regardless of how one feels about U.S. policies or performance, the reality is that the U.S. military is—and, for the foreseeable future, likely to remain—overstretched and unable to support U.N. peacekeeping operations alone.

That reality is bad news, in the view of ACCORD advisor Cedric de Coning and security studies scholar Eric Berman. Both argue that Africa cannot manage peace operations on its own, and that the continent needs the robust support of the United Nations and Western governments. Each author cites a familiar litany of handicaps for regional peacekeeping: scarce resources, lack of long-term logistics capabilities, and heavy reliance on outside expertise and funding. Peacekeeping missions need a sustained commitment if they are to have a

chance at success. Given their limited resources, how will African forces have the stamina to complete the job? Oddly, neither author mentions the role of the private sector, which is increasingly stepping in to provide the sort of logistics and training that African peacekeeping missions so desperately need.

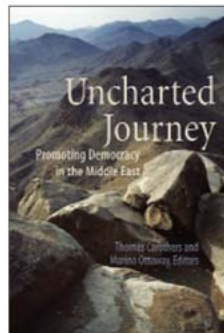
The African record does have its share of success stories. Festus Aboagye, a retired colonel in the Ghanaian army, has served on several peacekeeping missions. Now with the Institute for Security Studies in Pretoria, he takes a nuts-and-bolts look at the first African Union (AU) peacekeeping mission, which deployed in Burundi in 2003. The mission had many of the characteristics of African peacekeeping operations to date: inadequate funding, problematic logistics, language barriers, and a vague mandate for

which the proffered force was inadequate. Still, the AU did manage to stabilize 95 percent of the countryside—a surprising achievement that yielded huge humanitarian benefits, such as resettling refugees and allowing relief organizations to travel and work in relative safety. In other words, the AU's Burundi mission was arguably more effective, and certainly less expensive, than the typical U.N. mission.

Although these essays as a collection highlight the chronic problems of African peacekeeping, they are overly pessimistic. Time and again, African militaries have taken on tasks that most Western observers considered beyond their capabilities and fared better than anyone expected. Perhaps the West simply needs to recognize that there are shades of success which, while incomplete, are still infinitely better than doing nothing at all. **BP**



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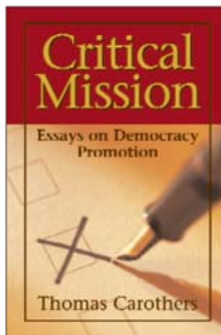
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# Sobering Economics

By Christian E. Weller

■ *Applied Economics*, Vol. 36, No. 14, August 2004, Abingdon

Occasionally, economists employ a shtick that makes the dismal science seem a little less dismal. When American economists use *The Wizard of Oz* to talk about money, for example, they employ familiar images to convey complex economic ideas, reminding us that economics, after all, deals with human behavior.

A particularly novel recent example is an article by Ryan Donnar and Keith Jakee in the journal *Applied Economics*. Economists at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Donnar and Jakee use competition in the Australian beer market to highlight their simple yet innovative methodology for measuring people's willingness to pay for perks. The methodology's value lies not only in the fact that it doesn't require fancy statistics and convoluted math but in its potential benefit to the study of industrial organization.

Since the 1980s, two breweries, Carlton and United Beverages (CUB) and Lion Nathan, have become the dominant suppliers of beer in Australia, with a combined market share of more than 90 percent. Even with such heavy industry concentration, competition is intense. Wine and premixed cocktail drinks, such as Bacardi Breezers, have become an easier sell as heavy drinking loses its social appeal.

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*Christian E. Weller is a senior economist at the Center for American Progress in Washington, D.C.*

CUB and Lion Nathan attempted to expand their respective market shares in 2000 by striking deals with pubs that agreed to promote a brewer's products in exchange for cash and renovations. Agreements that limit a retailer's choice of suppliers, or "vertical restraints," are outlawed as anticompetitive in many countries—including Australia. However, by promising "extensive" rather than "exclusive" placement of a particular beer, both parties stayed within the bounds of the law.

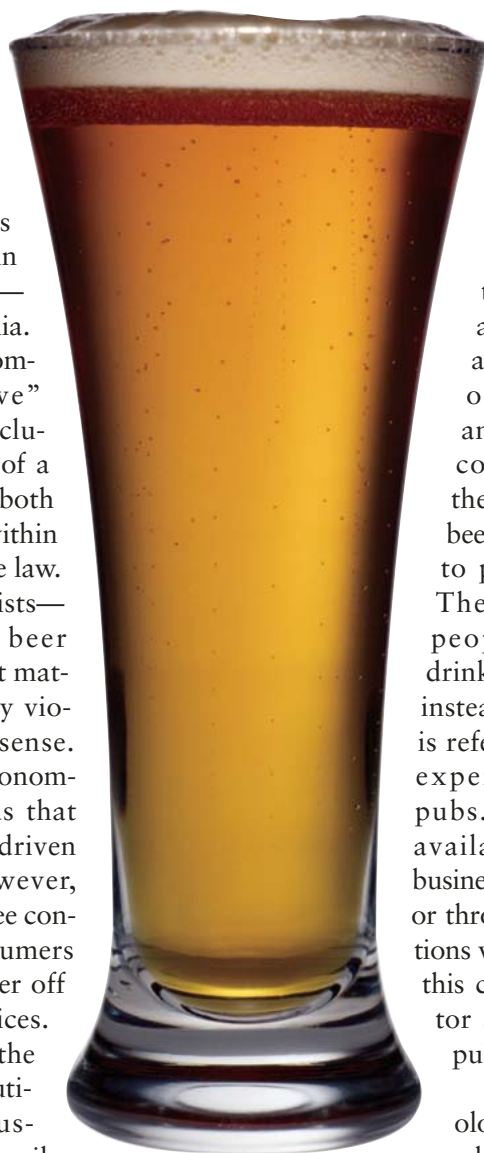
For economists—and many beer drinkers, for that matter—this strategy violates common sense. Conventional economic wisdom holds that consumers are driven by choice. However, Donnar and Jakee conclude that consumers are, in fact, better off with fewer choices. They calculate the value of the beautified pubs to customers at \$68.5 million, noting that patrons enjoyed this benefit without paying more for their beer. Hence, having fewer nut brown, cherry-flavored stouts with a raspberry twist was more than offset by new, buttery, leather chairs.

The global importance of Australian alcohol consumption notwithstanding, Donnar and Jakee's real contribution is their mechanism for estimating a demand curve that relies

on easily obtainable information, rather than complicated data sets and high-powered econometrics. They rely on three readily available variables: the price of beer, the amount of beer consumed, and the sensitivity of beer consumption to price changes. The money that people spend to drink beer in a pub instead of at home is referred to as the expenditure on pubs. All data are available in either business publications or through conversations with experts, in this case a contractor specializing in pub renovations.

The methodology's simplicity makes it easy to apply to other industries.

Take the U.S. airline industry. One could deduce whether consumers are willing to pay extra for that handy phone in the seat in front of them, or whether the airline should pick up the tab for movies on the



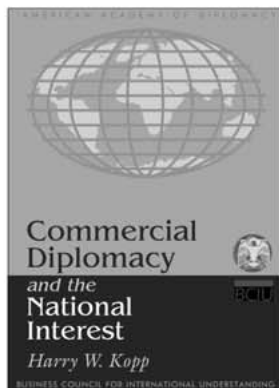
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The book's opening sentence—"Security and prosperity are the two great goals of American foreign policy, and they are closely linked"—accurately identifies the two key underpinnings of our policy. Our increasingly interconnected world presents both growing commercial competition and growing economic opportunity for the United States; we have to take every opportunity to strengthen our commercial diplomacy, drawing on examples of what has worked.

—Colin L. Powell  
*Secretary of State*

Even in this era of terrorism, America's ability to conduct effective commercial diplomacy is critical to our national security. This book has raised a number of the fundamental issues relating to America's interests in the global marketplace. Our political and business leaders should be analyzing and discussing them on an urgent basis.

—Jeffrey E. Garten  
*Dean, Yale School of Management, former Undersecretary of Commerce and International Trade*



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individual screens. Using an economic approach instead of customer surveys has the advantage of measuring how much people are actually willing to pay for extras, rather than how much they say they would be willing to pay. By looking at airlines' past experience with these types of improvements, one could even calculate the effects on revenues when carriers pay for meals or offer passengers the option of paying an upgrade charge for an extra two inches of leg room.

Numerous other industries come to mind. How much do customers value the local bank branch in their supermarket? Does a call center that opens at 4:00 a.m. compensate for having only two local banks from which to choose? Economists improve the lives of consumers by giving industries a tool to calculate answers to these kinds of questions. They also remind us that the market does occasionally work in, if not mysterious, at least surprising, ways. **FP**

## The Maghreb in Black and White

By Brian T. Edwards

■ *Jeune Afrique l'Intelligent*, Nos. 2266, 2270, 2273-76, June-August 2004, Paris

During its colonial rule, France enlisted West Africans to fight on its behalf in regiments called the *Traillleurs Sénégalais*. One of the battlefields was the Maghreb, the Arabic word for the region comprising Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. The French did not create racial enmity in the region—Moroccan dynasties brought sub-Saharan Africans north as soldiers and slaves centuries earlier—but they exploited and exacerbated it for their own ends. Today, as fresh waves of migrants make their

way to the region, old patterns of mistrust are reemerging.

Thousands of sub-Saharan Africans fleeing poverty and political strife have arrived in the Maghreb in recent years. This influx has garnered much attention in local media, but what receives less attention is Maghrebi hostility toward the new arrivals and the patterns of discrimination toward dark-skinned Maghrebis upon which it builds. Last summer, the Paris-based magazine *Jeune Afrique l'Intelligent* launched a five-part series titled "Are Maghrebis Racist?" to provoke debate about this taboo subject. The magazine itself is no stranger to controversy. It was founded in Tunisia in 1960 and associated with the nationalist and pan-African projects of that period. The magazine once critiqued Moroccan regimes, but it is now criticized by independent Maghrebi media for being too close to the state.

Maghrebi racism is highly controversial because it contradicts national ideologies of tolerance, as

*Brian T. Edwards is assistant professor of English and comparative literary studies at Northwestern University and the author of the forthcoming Morocco Bound: Disorienting America's Maghreb, from Casablanca to the Marrakech Express (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).*

well as constitutional and religious doctrines of equality. The testimonials that make up the bulk of the series focus on this hypocrisy. Staff writer Cherif Ouazani describes the contrast of Algeria's official attempts to reach out to its African brethren with the reality of a society that treats sub-Saharan migrants as second-class citizens. For example, Algeria offers more scholarships to foreign Africans than any other African nation, but sub-Saharan migrants in the Algerian cities of Algiers, Constantine, and Tamanrasset are accused by local residents of bringing the plagues of modernity with them. Other essays relay similar tales of government inclusion and social exclusion in Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya.

The final installment by staff writer Samy Ghorbal calls for immigrants and minorities to resist becoming silent or resigned, echoing

the magazine's aim of giving voice to the disenfranchised. Yet this aim, though noble, in practice produces little more than a series of anecdotes, rather than a probing and nuanced discussion of the role race plays in the region. Such a discussion would be particularly relevant in the Maghreb, with its shades of African, European, and Arab ethnicity altered by centuries of history.

Similarly, Ghorbal's hope that black Maghrebis might enjoy economic and social equality with "whites"—by which he evidently means the Arab majority—reflects the magazine's indebtedness to pan-Africanism, but he reduces the issue to a simple polarity between black and white. This misrepresentation is reflected in the magazine's passing references to the plight of the indigent Berber people, a target of discrimination across the Maghreb for decades. Had Ghorbal considered it,

the Berbers' experience would have exposed his argument as facile: The French allied with the Berbers on the basis of their "whiteness," yet Berbers still struggle for rights in the postcolonial era. Although Morocco has finally permitted the teaching of the Berber language in some schools, the country's parliament is debating a bill that would restrict the formation of ethnic political parties, ostensibly to prevent Berber representation.

*Jeune Afrique l'Intelligent's* treatment of Maghrebi racism is a missed opportunity. As globalization facilitates the flow of people across borders, from south to north and from rural areas to urban, many regions are forced to reconcile old concepts of race and identity with new realities. The Maghreb, however, is unique in its complexity—a reality the magazine fails to explore. **FP**

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