eration. Before the SAARC, India and Pakistan did reach agreement on water sharing for the Indus river in 1960, but Marsden notes that views differ on the effectiveness of the treaty's provisions, and that co-operation is highly dependent on political relations.

If the political context does improve across the Third Pole region, Marsden has established that there are legal examples out there that might lend themselves to a transplant to the Himalayas. Alternatively, a more home grown Asian version might be an easier sell. However it is done, Marsden sees the need to firmly establish legal protection 'before development pressures (in combination with climate change impacts) overwhelm the region'.

Marsden's book is a valuable reference, though that does not make it an easier read for non-lawyers. For them, Marsden's extensive introductory chapter may well be enough of an overview. And dare I say it, Bhutan's Tshering Togbay is emotionally eloquent on the subject in a 2019 TED talk that can be accessed online. On the other hand, if you are a serious law student, then you will appreciate the handy list of acronyms, the list of domestic and international cases (which even includes the New Zealand versus France nuclear test case) and a seven-page table of legislation. That includes the pioneering US Yellowstone Park Protection Act of 1872. Readers may also be tempted by Marsden's earlier book that focuses on China in the Third Pole. But be aware, books like this do not come cheap.

GRAEME WATERS

FASCISTS AMONG US:
Online Hate and the Christchurch Massacre

Author: Jeff Sparrow
Published by: Scribe, Melbourne, 2020, 151pp, $19.99.

Outside rare exemptions, New Zealanders have been unable to read the *Great Replacement Manifesto* of the Christchurch mosque attacker due to its ban by the New Zealand Classification Office 'because it promotes and encourages acts of terrorism in a way that is likely to be persuasive to its intended audience'. But Melbournian writer Jeff Sparrow's latest book is fully informed by a close reading of the globally available *Great Replacement Manifesto*. Sparrow explores the wider ramifications and history of the attacker's self-identification as a 'fascist' within the manifesto. (The 'Great Replacement' refers to the work of Frenchman Renaud Camus, who claims that there is a global conspiracy to replace white populations with non-Europeans — a theory that has proved popular with the far and extreme right.)

Following the logic of the attacker himself, Sparrow is careful not to equate this fascism with the historical regimes of Hitler and Mussolini. Rather, Sparrow portrays post-1945 fascism as an evolving and mutable subjective ideology, characterised by a reactionary politics to community change and/or economic decline, which valorises Anglo male hierarchy and eschews diversity. These views result in forms of repressive politics opposed to equality, egalitarianism and popular democracy and favour nationalism, militarism and traditional gender roles. Inherent in Sparrow's understanding of this reactionary fascist politics are leanings towards racism and violence, exemplified in the 20th century by anti-Semitism and the Holocaust.

'Lit with insight and urgency. Read it, just read it.' Chloe Hooper
JEFF SPARROW
FASCISTS AMONG US
online hate and the Christchurch massacre
SCRIBE
'An indispensable guidebook to the intellectual and political sewers from which the Christchurch mass murderer emerged.' Robert Manne

Arguing that the spectre of the Holocaust effectively nullified any mass fascist politics throughout the late 20th century, Sparrow suggests that in the 21st century a post-9/11 world has substituted institutionalised Islamophobia into government practice and the popular imagination. He asserts that the 'War on Terror' valorised, normalised and institutionalised key tropes of pre-Second World War anti-Semitism into an anti-race, anti-immigration agenda (particularly typified by Islamophobia) without any historical link to fascism or nazism. He suggests that within liberal Western democratic states, this implicit fascist agenda has been typified and legitimated by preoccupations with Islamic radicalisation/terrorism and particularly today through forms of border enforcement focused on the perceived threat of immigration. At the state level, Sparrow argues that a logical evolution of this agenda led to the election of Donald Trump as the first fascist US president — a president fixated on making America great again through intensifying border restrictions and vilifying immigration. At the individual level, Sparrow returns to the Christchurch attacker to note that he intentionally targeted Muslims because that would garner the most support for his anti-immigrant agenda.

The key challenge that Sparrow notes for contemporary fascist politics is to transform a popular global online community of likeminded people connected through social media into a mass conventional popular reactionary politics. He suggests that for the Christchurch attacker, there was a frustration that fascist politics were, at best, nascent, and such direct action was required 'lighting a path forward for those that wish to follow'. Here Sparrow states specifically that the *Great Replacement Manifesto* was written not for the general public, but with perpetuating the meme culture of the online 'fascist right' in mind, in the hope that it would manifest in violence elsewhere.

Critically, Sparrow is a left-wing activist and commentator and even though I found his commentary and analysis mostly balanced his ideological viewpoint should be in the reader's mind. I find he leaps to link legitimate everyday right-wing politics to extreme right and fascist politics too easily and, at times, this sensationalises his claims. Another challenge is to reconcile Sparrow's claim that popular online fascist politics has failed to galvanise real world support with his claim that Donald Trump is a fascist president. It is not clear to this reader which claim is accurate or how they reconcile. One strength of the book is in Chapter Five, where the historical links between fascism, eugenics, romanticism and environmentalism are explored to reconcile certain logic that might inform why the attacker described himself as an 'environmental fascist'.

Chapter Six less convincingly attempts to place the attacker within the Australian fascist tradition, and I was left wondering what Sparrow's book means for a New Zealand audience? We are almost completely absent in his analysis. He focuses on the attacker as an example of online global fascism inspiring others worldwide to follow his violent politics. It leaves us asking whether there was anything particularly specific about the choice to make an attack in Christchurch? For a domestic audience, I see two important questions arising:

- If Sparrow is indeed correct about the *Great Replacement Manifesto* being intended for a specific audience, we may wish to question the manifesto ban because its contents are freely available online and summarised in books such as this. Given that the manifesto is already available to its target audience, could we as New Zealand readers in politics be better informed about what has happened here if we could freely read, reference, interpret and refute the politics of the manifesto? Currently, when we engage with our international peers, they have an advantage, whereas we must interpret an absence. The ban only symbolically refutes and silences the attacker; however, it does not prevent him inspiring others who download his writing. Perhaps now that time has passed, the trial has finished and the Royal Commission's report, *Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Attacks on the Christchurch Mosques*, has been released, we could reconsider the ban.
- The *Great Replacement Manifesto* ban, the attacker's guilty plea and the Royal Commission's report have constructed a silence around understanding of the tragic events. The voices who can talk about Christchurch are coming from overseas. We are silent, perhaps still shocked and bewildered. Nevertheless, at some point, we need a localised empathetic, but rigorously informed data driven understanding of what occurred in Christchurch and why. Sparrow's book, like the attacker in his recent trial, offers no answers for a New Zealand audience.

Ultimately, Sparrow is clear that the internet gestated and then amplified the Christchurch attacker's actions and politics globally. Locally, this work highlights a lacuna of understanding about the ramifications of this horrific attack. Lastly, Sparrow importantly explores some of the broader implications of Christchurch for normalising the various forms of reactive anti-immigration politics that manifest themselves across the West. Today, we live in a world where borders have closed due to an epidemic that originated in China, there is a normalisation of anti-immigration concerns, there are emerging reactionary politics to economic hardship and there is militarised institution of state power at the border. Sparrow notes that these changes are all grounds for fuelling fascist politics. For us, the closure of our borders suggests a global sea change and we will need to think carefully about the ramifications of such policies as states and global politics evolve in reaction to Covid-19.

WIL HOVERD

ECONOMISTS AT WAR

How a Handful of Economists Helped Win and Lose the World Wars

Author: Alan Bollard
Published by: Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2020, 321pp, £20.

The outcome of a long war is usually determined by the economic strength of the combatants. But how to present this in a lively and interesting way — battles are so much more engaging?

Alan Bollard successfully solves the challenge by describing the involvement of seven economists in the Second World War. Bollard is, of course, well-known as a former secretary of the Treasury and governor of the Reserve Bank. But he has also published a couple of novels, a biography of economist Bill Phillips, a record of his time at the Reserve Bank and some more technical economics books. In addition to considerable literary competence, his geographic background is also wide. His doctorate was a study of the Cook Islands and after his local top-level stints he went on to five years as executive director of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Secretariat. So, while he is well-versed in Western economics, his war focus is not only on the Western Front.

Thus, his account of the Second World War begins with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Enter his first economist, Takahashi Korekiyo, who was the head of the Bank of Japan and Ministry of Finance. (Earlier he had been a prime minister.) At the time, Japanese politics was dominated by its military; their demands for financing their ventures were insatiable. (Bollard reports that in 1944 Japanese military spending was 76 per cent of GNP; New Zealand's was about 51 per cent, similar to the proportion of its allies.)

The military demands required a monetary expansion of a magnitude which would appal any governor of the New Zealand's Reserve Bank. Takahashi resisted. (Earlier he had, according to Ben Bernanke, 'brilliantly rescued Japan from the Great Depression'.) The military overruled him in the only way they knew; he was assassinated in his bed in 1936.

Takahashi was well aware of Japan's economic problem of requiring raw materials but he saw the solution via trade rather than conquest — rightly presaging the success of the post-war Japanese economy. (There is a parallel for Germany.)

The book shifts to Kung Hsiang-hsi, a Chinese minister of finance with many other roles. He was brother-in-law to President Sun Yat-sen and President Chiang Kai-shek (see Jung Chang's *Big Sister, Little Sister, Red Sister*). In the 1930s and 1940s there was a three-way war between the imperialist Japanese, the ideological Communists and the corrupt Nationalists. Kung presided over the latter's financing, while taking his margin, which made him, it was said, the world's richest man.

Thence to Germany's Hjalmar Schacht, who served in Adolf Hitler's government as president of the National Bank

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