



2009

Putting Ideas to Work: A Practical Introduction to Political Thought (Book Review)

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Recommended Citation

Michels, S. (2009). [Review of the book *Putting ideas to work: A practical introduction to political thought*, by M. Mattern]. *Political Studies Review*, 7(1), 102-103.

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Book Reviews

Political Theory

Polemics by **Alain Badiou**. London: Verso, 2006. 339pp., £17.99, ISBN 1 84467 089 9

Polemics makes available to the English-speaking reader a collection of texts by Alain Badiou which had been published in French in the period of 2003–5 as *Circonstances 1*, *Circonstances 2* and *Circonstances 3*. It also includes Badiou's two additional texts on the Paris Commune and on Mao's Cultural Revolution, and an essay written by his colleague, Cécile Winter, 'The Master-Signifier of the New Aryans'. *Polemics* is prefaced (and translated) by Steve Corcoran, who provides an insightful introduction to the main conceptual categories of Badiou's philosophy.

Polemics is divided into three thematic parts. Part I, 'Philosophy and Circumstances', includes eight essays, some of which offer a critique of war (more specifically, the American 'war on terror' and the interventions in Iraq and Kosovo), and others which contain Badiou's reflections on contemporary events in European and French politics, such as the prohibition of wearing headscarves and religious symbols in public spaces in France or the scandal of the French presidential elections in 2002 due to the electoral support given to a far-right politician, Jean-Marie Le Pen. Part II, 'Uses of the Word "Jew"', includes essays on Semitic archetypes, Jewish messianism, (post-)Holocaust memory and the question of justice, as well as contemporary Israeli politics. This part also includes excerpts from Badiou's two previous books: *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil*, and *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism*. Finally, in Part III, titled 'Historicity of Politics: Lessons of Two Revolutions', Badiou reflects on the idea of politics, fraternity and community as practised by the Paris Commune and discusses the Cultural Revolution in China as the 'last revolution'.

Polemics combines philosophical depth and originality of thought with Badiou's radical critical engagement with some of the most poignant issues of the contemporary world. This book follows and relates closely to Badiou's two earlier books, *Ethics* (2002) and *Metapolitics* (2006). Thus on the one hand it is recommended that the reader approach *Polemics* in the context of Badiou's previous theorising of evil, his critique of human rights and his argument for the radicalisation of politics. On the other hand, however, *Polemics* might be a good place to start one's intellectual acquaintance with this author, because its engaged and perspicuous style and its topical approach to contemporary politics make it an accessible and fascinating read, and can even serve as an elucidation of Badiou's more philosophically abstract and complex texts.

Magdalena Zolkos
(University of Alberta)

A Realist Theory of Science by **Roy Bhaskar**. London: Verso, 2007. 284pp., £6.99, ISBN 978 1 84467 204 2

The primary aim of Bhaskar's study is to develop a systematic realist account of science, whereas his secondary aim is to display why a return to positivism, which since the time of Hume has tainted our image of science, is not tenable or possible in today's environment. In so doing, he synthesises the social character of science with the stratification of science, and shows why the realism presupposed by the social character of science should be extended to the objects of scientific thought postulated by the stratification of science. Bhaskar thus demonstrates that the basic principle of a realist philosophy of science is that perception gives one access to real structures that exist independently of one's observation of them.

Bhaskar offers what he calls a 'transcendental realism', which is in opposition to the empirical realism that has predominated science and philosophy since Hume and Kant. In fact, Bhaskar posits that the notion of the empirical world is a categorical mistake. He argues that because knowledge is a social product, so too is the derivation of scientific laws, which means that it is very likely that singular instances are potential data points for the construction of scientific laws. It is the overall contention of this study that science is an ongoing social activity, and that knowledge itself is a produced means of production. Overall, Bhaskar avers that in order for science to be possible, the world must consist of enduring and transfactually active mechanisms, as well as people who have the ability to be causal agents in their own right, acting self-consciously upon the world. Bhaskar's greatest contribution herein is his noting that statements of 'laws' within science are actually statements of tendencies. Moreover, it is argued that science is concerned with both taxonomic and explanatory knowledge.

This new edition of the book, arriving some 30 years after the original, while not being reworked, nevertheless contains a postscript and an index which the first edition did not. As a result, two major lacunae are filled within this second edition that were readily apparent in the first. I recommend this title for anyone interested in the philosophy of science, and for those who are pursuing graduate-level studies.

Bradford McCall
(Regent University)

Gender by **Harriet Bradley**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007. 224pp., £45.00, £14.99, ISBN 9780745623764, ISBN 9780745623771

There have been many times when I have read an academic text and wished that the author had thought to provide an empirical explanation of the highly abstract idea or theory they were discussing. Not so in this book, which is structured so that the chapters dealing with gender theory are interspersed with shorter personal vignettes. Indeed, Bradley begins by providing us with a short 'personal history of gender' in which she describes her own upbringing and education and how it was that she came to be an academic feminist sociologist. I found these sections a clever and useful tool throughout the book in the way that they rooted down the theoretical ideas under consideration.

Bradley begins her text by tracing a brief history of feminist thought before developing a response to the questions and problems raised by recent postmodernist and post-structuralist approaches to gender. Her response to these issues is obviously influenced by her own Marxist perspective, but throughout she deals with the issues with an even and steady hand. Following this she moves on to examine contemporary gender relations and the processes of gendering within the (Marxist) framework of three social spheres: production, reproduction and consumption.

This book is an introductory text and fulfils this purpose admirably. Bradley's writing is clear, cogent and engaging, and aside from the longer vignettes it is peppered throughout with examples drawn from popular culture, e.g. *Big Brother* and *Wife Swap*. This helps, I believe, to demonstrate to students new to the topic how and why the concept of gender and feminist debates are still relevant to contemporary society and why we should not, as yet, proclaim the death of feminism. Such examples also add to the overall accessibility of the text.

Bradley succeeds not just in making this a successful introductory text suitable only for students, however, for she also manages to introduce a substantial element of original thought. While this is evident in all areas of the book she is particularly engaging in suggesting ways for feminist thinkers to move beyond some of the impasses created by postmodern and post-structural thought (though she does also acknowledge their successes) and to continue to work in a way that is relevant to our current situation.

Katharine Butterworth
(University of Kent)

Clausewitz and Contemporary War by **Antulio J. Echevarria II**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 210pp., £40.00, ISBN 978 0 19 923191 1

There is no field of study that is as tightly associated with a single author as is warfare with Clausewitz. Not only that the famous Prussian theorist has become a synonym for the modern analysis of war, and as such his work has been thoroughly scrutinised in numerous books and articles, but it also comes as given that one's credibility in this field hinges on in-depth knowledge of Clausewitz's masterpiece *On War*. While such an abundance of literature is highly beneficial to the wider readership it can also prove an insurmountable obstacle to any further

research as it may suggest that the topic itself has been covered and absorbed to the point of exhaustion.

Antulio Echevarria's book shows otherwise: despite this proliferation of studies Clausewitz is still generally misunderstood and misinterpreted. The value of *On War* is not to be found in its contemporary relevance since this is time bound and transient but instead in its unique universalist, contingent, transhistoric and battle-centric theory of war. In this sense *On War* is for Echevarria comparable to Copernicus' *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*, as both books were revolutionary in their respective fields. In particular, Echevarria's focus is on the purpose, methodology and general theory of war developed in Clausewitz's magnum opus. In his view the originality of Clausewitz's system lies primarily in 'an examination of a cause-and-effect relationship fundamental to the conduct of war' (p. 6). In other words Clausewitz is the true founder of the science of war, a logical positivist and rationalist before the birth of positivism. In this context Echevarria explores the epistemological foundations of *On War* by showing how Clausewitz was deeply influenced by Kieseewetter's and hence Kantian system of logic. He also carefully dissects Clausewitz's universe of war – his key concepts (such as friction and genius), relationships between war, politics and policy and the principles of strategy.

Echevarria provides a detailed microscopic analysis of Clausewitz's work. The book is very well researched and largely accessible to a non-specialist audience. Although there are instances where Echevarria's veneration of Clausewitz verges on hagiography the book is generally well balanced and clearly argued. The only significant omission is the title, which promises an engagement with contemporary war which is largely absent, except for sporadic examples in the conclusions to several chapters. Although the book is written for academics in the field of military and war studies it is likely to prove useful to a wider audience interested in Clausewitz and warfare.

Sinisa Malesevic
(National University of Ireland, Galway)

The Heart of Justice: Care Ethics and Political Theory by **Daniel Engster**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 274pp., £40.00, ISBN 978 0 19 921435 8

Does justice have a 'heart'? Daniel Engster argues that it does indeed, namely a caring one, and in this book he

aims to outline – in terms of Rawls – a theory of justice based on the practice of caring.

In order to achieve this goal, Engster takes four steps. First, he develops a new definition of caring, which encompasses 'everything we do directly to help others to meet their vital biological needs, develop or maintain their innate capabilities, and alleviate unnecessary pain and suffering in an attentive, responsive, and respectful manner' (p. 31).

As a second step, Engster immediately addresses the sceptical question, 'why should we care for others in need ...?', and develops a 'rational theory of obligation for caring' (pp. 36–54): assuming that everyone depends on the care of others, everyone (at least implicitly) admits the necessity of caring, and 'make[s] claims on others for care' (p. 46). Therefore, in Engster's view, everybody should recognise claims for care as morally valid and everyone has the duty to care. However, he sets boundaries for this duty: on the one hand, individuals are primarily required to care for themselves and for individuals in their direct social environment; but caring for distant others is only an ultimate responsibility (pp. 56–57). Put another way, 'Care theory does not place the duty to care for others above all other visions of the good life' (p. 62).

The third step of Engster's approach deals with the practical implications of the duty to care. After demonstrating the need for 'institutionalised collective care' (supplementary to personal and private schemes), and providing general principles of a caring government and economy, Engster proposes concrete basic institutions and policies such as subsidised parental/caretaker/sick leaves, medical care, public education, etc.

Finally, Engster also places care theory in dialogue, and discusses such important issues as human rights based on care theory, the principles of caring for distant others (i.e. humanitarian aid and interventions), cultural relativism and ways to encourage the development of caring emotions (e.g. compassion).

Engster's goal is ambitious and hence it is unavoidable that some important issues are only briefly discussed (e.g. caring institutions in non-democratic societies). Therefore, while his well-written book can be recommended to academics and policy makers alike, further research might be necessary and his proposals will probably meet with criticism from many scholars. However, such criticism will have a very positive aspect, since a

lively debate about 'the heart of justice' is highly desirable.

Eszter Kiss-Deák
(University of St Gallen)

Pareto and Political Theory by **Joseph V. Femia**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. 165pp., £65.00, ISBN 0 415 28813 4

In this short monograph Femia offers an exposition and critique of Pareto's contribution to political theory, and highlights the Machiavellian roots of Pareto's intellectual project. The reader is invited on a stimulating journey into the richly textured terrain of Femia's reconstruction of Pareto's narrative, and is rewarded by the rigour, firmness and scholarship of the analysis. The strengths and weaknesses of Pareto's theory are identified, while the views of different critics (M. Millikan, C. B. Macpherson, B. Croce, L. Amoroso and P. Winch) are thoroughly assessed. The comparisons with Marx are particularly illuminating. Femia shows how the two thinkers differ in the presuppositions of their analyses, though they both unreservedly criticise the pretensions of liberal democracy. Pareto attempted to build a science of politics and society wherein 'ought to' injunctions have no place; his aim was to discover the laws or uniformities that the facts represent. He rejected both positivism and Idealism. According to Pareto, Comte and Spencer confused metaphysics with science; on the other hand, Kantians and Hegelians worshipped metaphysical entities which were no different from 'God'. Femia observes that Pareto 'allows' two antithetical traditions to fight for supremacy in his work: the rationalist and the psychological tradition, respectively.

Pareto's attack on normative political philosophy is sweeping: Kant's categorical imperative, theories of natural law, natural rights, social contract theory and classical utilitarianism are treated with disdain. Yet, as Femia notes, Pareto himself was trapped in a paradox with regard to metaphysics. His contempt for metaphysical assumptions was itself a metaphysical dogma; in addition, despite the fact that morality is based on doctrines that do not seem to be sound from the standpoint of the logico-experimental method, he cannot dispense with it altogether because morality is needed for a society to function. Femia's study reveals that Pareto, the champion of anti-metaphysical 'scientific' thinking in socio-political theorising, harbours metaphysical ele-

ments in his narrative. Not only did he have a metaphysical commitment to *laissez-faire* capitalism, but he castigated state intervention and the activity of trade unions in an emotive and visceral rather than a 'scientific' manner.

Pareto, together with Mosca and Michels, is one of the leading exponents of classical elitism. His attack on existing parliamentary democracies was substantiated through his analysis of the ruling class (critique of demagogic plutocracy), the patron-client relationship that the rule of demagogic plutocracy entails in order to maintain power, the theory of the circulation of elites and the illusionary character of such conceptual tools of democratic politics as 'justice', 'solidarity', 'morality' and 'public good'. Femia categorises Pareto as a sceptical liberal and enemy of the Idealist school of political philosophy. He is best described as an anti-deontological liberal who is intellectually associated with the anti-metaphysical tradition of Machiavelli. Pareto regarded experience as the basis of knowledge, and saw morality as a social necessity, the content of which varies according to context. He attacked the Enlightenment for its 'theology' of progress and its worship of reason. He understood politics as being preoccupied with the practical concern of balancing values and claims, not as a realm of human self-realisation dedicated to the pursuit of ultimate truth. Finally, his theorisation exhibits a moderate relativism that is less radical than the postmodernist outlook.

Femia succeeds in portraying Pareto as a complex and engaging, yet controversial, theorist whose logico-experimental method, psychological theory of residues and derivations underpinning the science of politics and uncompromising critique of liberal democracies deserve to be revisited and discussed anew. Pareto, as Femia argues, had 'different guises' and 'somehow managed to be subversive and conservative at one and the same time' (p. 138). Reading Pareto's work, we are confronted with the dilemmas, perplexities and paradoxes of his theory: 'The philosophical relativist, debunking our sacred concepts, sits uneasily alongside the political scientist, searching for the sources of social stability' (p. 138). If you are enthralled by the challenge of Pareto's views, you must read this book and indulge in Femia's compelling narrative.

Stamatoula Panagakou
(University of York)

Rights by **Duncan Ivison**. Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008. 288pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 1 84465 081 1

In this book Ivison presents us with three ways of conceiving of rights: as statuses, as instruments and as conduits. The first half of the book concentrates on *status*. These chapters delve into the history of political thought revealing how thinkers such as Hobbes, Grotius, Locke, Kant, Rawls, Habermas and Hegel have understood rights. While such understandings are importantly different, Ivison's essential claim is that they all consider rights to represent the moral worth of individuals. According to Ivison, rights can also be conceived of as *instruments*. Under this conception, rights serve to promote some other good, such as welfare. Ivison explains how such a consequentialist understanding of rights can conflict with a status-based understanding, using recent debates about national security and terrorism to illuminate the discussion. Ivison himself puts forward the view that such a conflict is by no means impossible to resolve. Finally, Ivison presents us with a conception of rights as *conduits* and, in particular, as conduits of *power*. Here, the analyses and criticisms that Marx and Foucault make of rights are explained, differentiated and evaluated.

Ivison's aim, however, is not to put forward these three conceptions of rights as mutually exclusive. Instead, he believes they each offer something valuable. This, in essence, forms the basis of Ivison's own 'naturalistic account' of rights: rights are not simply a set of abstract claims, but are *relational*, *dynamic* and *political*. This account comes across most clearly in the final chapter on human rights. According to Ivison, human rights are not timeless goods rooted in human nature, but the framework within which we evaluate the 'various practices of political societies in relation to their members' (pp. 200–1). Given that these practices and the impact they have change with time and circumstance, so will our evaluations of them. As such, the naturalistic approach regards human rights themselves as necessarily mutable.

The main strength of the book is its comprehensive analysis of the place of rights in the history of political thought. The breadth of ground covered and the clarity with which the theories are expounded are extremely impressive. As for Ivison's naturalistic account of rights, I still remain unconvinced. Clearly, such a complex and multifaceted account has great benefit in terms of helping us describe how and why rights claims are made

in societies. However, its lack of determinacy raises the question of how it enables theorists to evaluate those claims. But in spite of my reservations on this aspect of it, the book is clearly an important and original contribution to the philosophy of rights.

Alasdair Cochrane
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

State Power by **Bob Jessop**. Oxford: Polity Press, 2007. 301pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 3321 3

This book focuses on the 'strategic-relational approach' (SRA) to the study of state power – an approach that the author has developed and refined over the course of some 30 years of research. The first part of *State Power* begins with a review of the evolution of the SRA. Jessop then outlines some recent developments in state theory, showing how arguments and ideas analogous to those that inform the SRA have emerged in other theoretical approaches. In Part II Jessop presents 'strategic-relational readings' of some 'classic' texts/ bodies of work on state power – Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Gramsci on the geography and spatiality of state power, Poulantzas' *State, Power, Socialism* and Foucault on state formation and statecraft. In Part III the author shows how the SRA can fruitfully be applied to three areas in which it has not previously been brought to bear. Here the 'gender selectivities' of the state, the impact of globalisation on the nation state and 'multi-scalar metagovernance' in the EU are analysed from a strategic-relational perspective. The concluding chapter discusses ontological and epistemological complexity, methodological 'complexity reduction' and semiosis and draws out some implications for further refinement of the SRA.

The book's introduction and first chapter provide an excellent introduction to the SRA. Those new to Jessop's approach – and those who may have struggled to wade through his earlier work – will find that these first 50 or so pages of the book form a comprehensive and relatively accessible primer. The strategic-relational 're-readings' of 'classic' texts/ bodies of work are particularly interesting. Jessop's analysis of Marx's account of the relationship between class, political representation, state power and the discursive constitution of social identities and interests is especially fascinating. The chapter on Poulantzas, too, is impressive, although those familiar with Jessop's previous work on that theorist will not

discover anything new here. Jessop's work is often very densely written and his writing style is frequently rather convoluted. Unfortunately *State Power* is no exception in this respect. The final part of the book is especially hard going and I found much of the last chapter in particular almost impenetrable. Although not an easy read, *State Power* will, nevertheless, reward close study. This is a work of cutting-edge state theory by the leading figure in the field and as such it should be required reading for all scholars interested in the dynamics of contemporary state power.

Edward Rooksby
(University of York)

Aristotelian Philosophy: Ethics and Politics from Aristotle to MacIntyre by Kelvin Knight. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007. 256pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0745619774

Aristotelianism is a problematic resource for those committed to progressive politics. While the ideas of potentiality, *eudaimonia* and self-activity help expose the unjust pathologies of existing socio-political institutions, Aristotle's celebration of *praxis* over *poiesis* and consequent denigration of labourers and women nonetheless legitimates a politics that is thoroughly elitist and exclusionary. In this ambitious study, Kelvin Knight seeks to show that this contradictory state of affairs need not be the case; that there exists a tradition of Aristotelian thought, distinct from conservative versions, which is genuinely 'revolutionary'. He therefore sets himself the twofold goal of tracing the historical trajectory of these two Aristotelianisms and of defending the revolutionary tradition, which he finds best expressed by Alasdair MacIntyre.

Aimed at an advanced audience, the book begins with Aristotle's theoretical and practical philosophy, showing how it justified oppression but also that this justification rested on the erroneous assumptions that *poiesis* is not authentically human and that virtue is the preserve of the few. It then moves to consider the early Christian and Medieval periods, drawing on the writings of St Paul, John of Salisbury and Aquinas to stress the complexity of Aristotle's reception within Western Christendom. This is followed by an account of the employment of Aristotle within Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment German thought. Knight here

draws an important contrast between the Aristotelianism of Heidegger and Gadamer, which is politically conservative, and that of Hegel and Marx, which harnesses Aristotelian themes in the cause of universal emancipation.

The latter half of the book is devoted to MacIntyre's appropriation of Aristotle. Writing with passion and on the basis of deep knowledge of the evolution of MacIntyre's thought, Knight argues convincingly that he effects an anti-elitist reformation of Aristotelian philosophy which provides a standpoint from which to critique state managerialism and capitalist-induced alienation. Key here is MacIntyre's insistence, with Aristotle, on the distinction between 'internal' and 'external' goods and the notion of a 'common good' or *telos* by which to order our activities, and yet his rejection of both Aristotle's separation of rulers and ruled and, relatedly, his division of 'actions and production and condemnation of the latter to an unethical servility' (p. 215). This book is important not only for correcting the many liberal mis-characterisations of MacIntyre as a reactionary traditionalist, but also for illuminating the true intent of MacIntyre's work from its Marxist beginnings to its Thomist-Aristotelian present: the development of a philosophically informed politics of active resistance.

Keith Breen
(Queen's University Belfast)

Body-Self Dualism in Contemporary Ethics and Politics by Patrick Lee and Robert P. George. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 222pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 0 521 88248 4

In *Body-Self Dualism in Contemporary Ethics and Politics*, Patrick Lee and Robert P. George articulate a compelling and insightful account of the numerous errors found in contemporary moral thinking. They also make a convincing case that an alternative moral theory – one grounded in the works of Aristotle and Aquinas and developed at length in the collected works of John Finnis and Germain Grisez – provides a more reasonable and coherent evaluation of contested contemporary moral questions. According to the authors, the great error of contemporary moral theory is the severing of the integral link between the body and the identity of the person. The authors claim that it is this radical

'body-self' dualism which shapes much of contemporary moral thinking and accounts for many of its errors, particularly in the realm of sexuality, reproduction and medicine.

It is imperative, however, to note that their claim is not that all contemporary theorists explicitly argue for a dualist position; instead, they claim that most arguments made in defence of abortion, 'hedonistic drug-taking', homosexuality and euthanasia implicitly presume such a position. Witness their comment: 'although human beings are bodily entities, rational *animals*, many of the contemporary, heated ethical controversies arise because some people implicitly (and wrongly) view the self as pure consciousness (not necessarily substantial), and the body as a mere extrinsic tool' (p. 95). According to the authors, this incorrect view of man's essence (as pure consciousness) finds its roots in Descartes, whereas the correct view is the one presented by Aristotle and Aquinas. Lee and George argue that any sound ethical theory must take as its starting point that man is a corporeal being, an animal, albeit of a particular kind: an animal with a rational nature. The overall purpose of their book, then, is to establish (a) that man is essentially a rational animal organism, and (b) that such a view is incompatible with one's acceptance of abortion, euthanasia, etc.

The chief merit of this work is that the authors have left no stone unturned, no objection unanswered. The authors' knowledge of pertinent literature across a wide spectrum of intellectual disciplines is beyond extraordinary. Furthermore, it is clear that their aim is to demonstrate that 'conservative' moral positions are compatible with the larger project of political liberalism. Therefore, inasmuch as their arguments do not hinge on one's acceptance of any particular religious doctrine and in so far as the arguments expressed represent a strong challenge to the predominant acceptance, defence and governmental toleration of certain practices, a convincing claim can be made that the authors have provided 'public reasons' for a more conservative public policy towards end-of-life care, abortion and marriage. To that end, this work should have wide appeal among conservatives and liberals and should be a 'must read' for any contemporary defender of moral progressivism.

Craig J. Iffland
(University of Virginia)

Ernest Gellner and Contemporary Social Thought by **Sinisa Malesevic and Mark Haugaard (eds)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 274pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 521 70941 5

There is no greater academic accolade than to have your work stimulate serious debate. The wide-ranging thought of Ernest Gellner, who died prematurely in 1995, has engaged many; he has inspired an annual London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) memorial lecture and – at last – an intellectual biography by John Hall.

The present book of critical essays – originating at a conference in Galway in 2005 – reflects some of Gellner's wide-ranging interests. It is divided into three parts: civil society, coercion and liberty; ideology, nationalism and modernity; and Islam, postmodernism and Gellner's metaphysic. Contributors include distinguished figures from anthropology, sociology and politics. This volume is no *Festschrift*. Gellner was a stylish and polished polemicist and while no essay in these pages has his verve, his theoretical legacy has no easy ride. Contributors – whose tone is respectful but never reverential – range from (mostly) offering far-reaching correctives to Gellner's work to (occasionally) almost dismissing it. The overall standard is high, the focus and style rather varied.

In Part I, Alan Macfarlane underlines the importance of intermediary organisations in Japan in sustaining a collectivity and maintaining freedom, a perspective ignored by Gellner. Michael Mann emphasises how European state formation – and liberal democracy – have depended on a predatory imperialism, reformulating Gellner's balance between production and coercion. Mark Haugaard questions Gellner's coercive theory of power in modernity, underlining instead the importance of social power. Peter Skalnik analyses the whys and wherefores of Gellner's fascination with Soviet anthropology as a system of thought, with particular reference to ethnicity. In Part II, Nicos Mouzelis stresses the role of the state in shaping nationalism, as against emphasising industrialisation. Sinisa Malesevic, meanwhile, argues that Gellner mistakenly privileged the role of production over coercion and ideology in modernity. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, for his part, focuses on Gellner's failure to theorise culture and identity and appreciate the significance of transnationalism. Finally, in Part III, Michael Lessnoff takes lengthy issue with Gellner's view that 'high-culture' Islam is analogous to Protestantism,

whereas Kevin Ryan sees Gellner as too dismissive of the 'problem-driven' postmodern paradigm best represented by Foucault. Last of all, John Hall explores Gellner's metaphysics of openness.

In a useful introduction, the editors write that – differences notwithstanding – Gellner's thought is still 'at the cutting edge of social theory' (p. 26). On the evidence, that is so. This is a book for the serious scholar interested in Gellner's legacy.

Philip Schlesinger
(University of Glasgow)

Post-Foundational Political Thought: Political Difference in Nancy, Lefort, Badiou and Laclau by **Oliver Marchart**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 198pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 7486 2498 0

This book has three intertwined foci: first, to present the emergence of a post-foundational concept of politics based on an ontologically inspired political difference; second, to present the complex positions of four theorists who use the difference between the political and politics in their own projects; and thirdly, to root the above approach in a left Heideggerian narrative. Marchart does so using two distinct methods.

In the first two and final chapters he directly addresses each of these foci by means of a critical philosophical inquiry with due attention to both historical and genealogical aspects. As a complement, in chapters 3 to 7, he develops these aspects – both in their similarities and differences – by introducing and engaging with the work of Nancy (and Lacoue-Labarthe), Lefort (and Gauchet), Badiou and Laclau (and Mouffé). Although only discernible in the final pages of this book, Marchart's fundamental argument seems to be for a political ontology based on the difference between politics and the political which would recognise that 'the ground/abyss of everything is *the political*' (p. 169).

While I wish I could simply applaud and praise Marchart, who has responded to a lack in both political theory and Continental thought by bringing them into dialogue, this praise must be problematised. Each of Marchart's foci, individually, is significant and worthy of an extensive exploration, and yet their combination results in a book that is often supersaturated by philosophical terminology and conceptual distinctions. This leaves his readers, even those well versed in both fields, somewhat exhausted. In addition, it leaves several perti-

nent topics underdeveloped, such as the specific relation of each of these theorists to both Heidegger and to the 'left'. Furthermore, there is a lack of dialogue between these four theorists, although this would certainly strengthen Marchart's claim.

That being said, this book does succeed in presenting, in a succinct manner, the thought of four often inaccessible (especially to an English-speaking audience) political theorists as well as connecting their thought to the Continental tradition. Furthermore, Marchart is to be praised for rescuing the notion of post-foundationalism from the accusations of nihilism and anti-foundationalism as well as political difference and the political itself. I see this book as ideally suited for close readings (perhaps by groups in philosophy or political theory) or as a secondary reading for courses that consider post-foundational political thought.

Anya Topolski
(KU Leuven)

Putting Ideas to Work: A Practical Introduction to Political Thought by **Mark Mattern**. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. 458pp., £25.98, ISBN 0 7425 4890 2

Mark Mattern has authored an issue-oriented introduction to political theory, a textbook of sorts. He works within a broad and grand understanding of political philosophy which, unlike political science, Mattern reminds us, does not shy away from important normative controversies. But that is not to say that political philosophy sacrifices its usefulness in the process; political philosophy, rightfully understood, takes seriously the empirical validity of its claims. It is also attentive to its clarity, coherence and honesty and recognises itself as part of an ongoing dialogue on the fundamental concerns of political life.

Each of the five parts of the book is divided into two chapters; the first chapter introduces an issue or controversy that the second seeks to resolve. In the first part, for example, Mattern addresses the perennial question of the individual and the community. He begins with a series of public policy issues surrounding the tragedy of the commons (resource depletion, transportation, trash, etc.) before describing how it appears in Luther, Locke and Smith, among others. The second chapter continues with that theme, by looking at the Greeks, the federalists

and communitarian thinkers as a possible resolution is posited. Similar treatments are offered on freedom and equality, justice and political order, democracy and capitalism and power and citizenship. And each chapter concludes with a rather fine set of 'Questions, Problems and Activities' designed to engage students and guide instructors.

Although Mattern's goal is to diminish the rift between theory and practice, the result is often uneven and disjointed. More troubling is the author's uncritical treatment of many of the theorists he covers. Significant challenges are made about Hobbes and Rawls, for instance, yet students are given no glimpse into the theorists' possible shortcomings. The author is more prone to using theorists to treat the issues critically than the other way around. And since Mattern does not intend his text to be the final word on the authors he covers, he could be more helpful in directing students to essential primary sources.

Mattern does his readers a favour by revealing his progressive biases at the outset, but his selection of theorists also seems to reveal something about his politics. One wonders if students are well served by allotting more pages to C. B. Macpherson than Tocqueville; reading about Cicero, Nietzsche and Weber only in passing; and having no mention of Burke.

Steven Michels
(Sacred Heart University, Connecticut)

Martin Heidegger: International Library of Essays in the History of Social and Political Thought by **Stephen Mulhall**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 488pp., £110.00, ISBN 0 7546 2533 8

This is a collection of previously published articles – essays from other collections and excerpts from single-authored books. The list of mainly North American contributors is impressive, ranging from well-known Heidegger scholars including Hubert Dreyfus and John Sallis to North American philosophers who have written on Heidegger among many other interests, such as Richard Rorty and Stanley Cavell, and two of Heidegger's most important successors in Europe, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Jacques Derrida.

Somewhat strangely, this book is in a series covering the 'History of Social and Political Thought'. Publicity claims suggest that while Heidegger was not often

explicitly political in his philosophy, there is 'a political aspect to his thinking about every philosophical matter to which he turns his attention'. The book is then intended to look at his work as a whole from that perspective. While I would fully support the importance of the political to his thought, this collection fails to address this adequately since few of the essays make this linkage explicit. Indeed, it seems improbable that it ever could have lived up to this aim because, with their diverse origins, the essays cannot be focused on illuminating a single problematic. In addition, the essays rarely follow the focus on these issues in the last couple of decades. Much new material – both primary and secondary – has to be taken into account for that. This is not a fault of the essays but is a criticism which can be justly levelled at the collection.

It makes more sense to approach the book as a collection of some of the most interesting commentators on Heidegger's work as a whole. In this the book is undoubtedly more successful. It is divided into four parts – on 'Being and Time: Fundamental Themes', 'The Turn: Logic, Metaphysics and Art', 'Philosophy, Poetry and Thinking' and 'Inheriting Heidegger'. This is therefore quite a comprehensive survey of his thought as a whole, with notable absences including the early pre-*Being and Time* lecture courses, his work on technology and, with the partial exceptions of Kierkegaard and Hegel, much on his relation to and reading of the tradition. Much of the scholarship on display here is excellent, and those new to Heidegger will find a great deal of inspiration, while those more familiar will be reminded of ongoing controversies in interpretation.

The availability of many of these essays in separate collections and the prohibitive price of the volume mean that libraries will undoubtedly constitute the main market for this work.

Stuart Elden
(University of Durham)

Islamic Democratic Discourse: Theory, Debates, and Philosophical Perspectives by **M. A. Muqtedar Khan (ed.)**. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. 271pp., £19.99, ISBN 0 7391 0645 7

This volume distinguishes itself from the recent deluge of books on Islam in the public sphere by assuming that Islam and democracy are compatible. The twelve contributors, mostly scholars of philosophy, political science

and Islamic studies, can proceed from this premise to focus on what Abdulaziz Sachedina calls the 'overlapping consensus' of national and religious loyalties (p. 188) and the question of how the ethical enterprise of Islam can both accommodate and abet democratisation.

The authors develop two kinds of answer to this question in a way that will be accessible to a general audience. On the one hand, democratic principles can be detected in the Qur'an and Sunna as well as classical Islamic writings. In the first of the book's three sections, Tariq Ramadan explains how the classical understanding of *ijtihad*, or the use of reason to extrapolate on debatable issues, 'allows a dynamism to be set in motion at the heart of Islamic law and jurisprudence' (p. 9). Asma Afaruddin refutes the authoritarian modern interpretation of the Qur'anic verse that calls for obedience to authority, arguing that a caliph's right to 'unquestioning obedience from his subjects is quite antithetical to indigenous Islamic notions of legitimate leadership' (p. 56).

In the second and third sections of the book, which deal with Malaysian, Turkish, Sudanese and Iranian debates and global discourse, respectively, a second set of answers emerges with the proposition that Islamic political theory must break some new ground. M. A. Muqtedar Khan contends that because of the intellectual domination of the legal tradition 'an Islamic democratic theory has yet to emerge' and that 'the Muslim world would do well to democratise first, and then use the open society to debate how to accommodate Islam' (pp. 155–6). In the final and finest chapter, Abdelwahab El-Affendi demonstrates that while other proposed systems elevate a human arbiter to divine status, liberal representative democracy, broadly defined, best respects Islam's understanding of individual moral responsibility.

Islamic Democratic Discourse makes a convincing case for both answers. The founding texts and early thinkers of Islam provide a congruent democratic foundation, but Muslims must also confront the innovations of modern theory and submit their views to the global public sphere. The implication of the book is provocative. Democracy provides a mechanism for establishing and regulating government, but does not determine the course of the society. Democracy based on secularism goes in one direction, and Islamic democracy goes in another.

Victor J. Sensenig
(Satya Wacana Christian University)

On Capitalism by **Victor Nee and Richard Swedberg**. Palo Alto CA: Stanford University Press, 2007. 350pp., £19.95, ISBN 0 8047 5665 1

The Paradox of Democratic Capitalism: Politics and Economics in American Thought by **David F. Prindle**. Baltimore MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2006. 368pp., £33.50, ISBN 0 8018 8411 X

Capitalism is a hegemonic force in the world today and is a key force in the process of globalisation. What makes it such a uniquely dynamic social and economic force, however, is open to debate. The essays in Nee and Swedberg's edited volume, *On Capitalism*, offer highly developed theories for explaining the nature of capitalist economic development.

In this work, leading economists, sociologists and political scientists put forward different theoretical models for illuminating the nature and workings of capitalism amid the far-reaching changes of the contemporary era of global capitalism. Unlike previous studies which emphasise the nature of capitalism in specific countries, this book examines the specific mechanisms behind capitalism's dynamism. Adopting Weber's analysis of rational capitalism, the authors in the book assert that capitalism both possesses a universal quality which makes it suitable for all countries in the world, as well as an international spirit. Although countries may differ in their culture and institutions, the authors argue that modern global capitalism is a universal rational enterprise characterised by predictable rational capital accounting and the methodical pursuit of profit. The book is divided into four parts: 'The Dynamics and Contradictions of Capitalism'; 'Politics, Legal-Rational Institutions and Corruption'; 'Religion'; and 'Methodological and Conceptual Issues'. Of particular note are the chapters on institutions and capitalism. These chapters are both inspiring for their insight and their common vision of institutions and institutional change. They rightly point out how transformative institutional change is at the heart of capitalist development in nations such as China and India. The chapters represent the growing body of work exploring the cognitive and affective underpinnings of economic institutions.

The high-quality contributions in *On Capitalism* address concerns that are central to classical works in political economy and economic sociology by Tocqueville, Marx, Weber, Polanyi and Schumpeter, which

are still important today, and which will find more attention through this volume. This book will be of interest to postgraduate students and academics working in the field of political economy.

The Paradox of Democratic Capitalism by David Prindle examines the history of the mutual development of political, economic and legal ideas in American society. The early chapters examine the origins of liberalism in America prior to the Revolution of 1775–6 and set out the historical context within which the ideas of Enlightenment philosophers such as John Locke, David Hume and Charles de Montesquieu came to have a substantial influence over the future of political thought in America, especially during the founding of the Constitution. The legacy of these early ideas, Prindle states, ‘can be summarized in two words: democracy and capitalism’ (p. 5). Prindle praises Louis Hartz’s analysis of this period of ‘Lockean liberalism’, although as Prindle points out, Hartz never defined what he meant by this term. Prindle moves on to an extensive discussion of the founding of the American Constitution and development of the United States of America as a nation between 1776 and 1819. Here he turns his attention to economics, in particular the ‘unfolding’ influence of the classical economic liberalism associated with Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Jean Baptiste. It is from classical liberalism, Prindle argues, that the free market and capitalism came to be a central part of American society.

Prindle proceeds to examine the continuing influence of classical and neoclassical economics on American society. This development, he maintains, took place over two-and-a-quarter centuries from circa 1700 to 1930 and was dominated by natural law thinking. In particular, it was natural law’s protection of natural rights, the unalienable rights echoed in the Declaration of Independence, that became a central feature of American political society. One of the outstanding sections of the book is Prindle’s discussion of the ‘new paradigms’ (p. 178) in American thought that started to occur in the 1930s. This period of dissent, he asserts, was marked by the conflict between the governmental and anti-governmental agendas of the Progressive Liberal left and the Republican right. Both of these factions continued to pursue America’s commitment to the principles of democracy and capitalism, but from very different standpoints. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, Prindle states, ‘American social thought was fraying along a variety of

dimensions’ (p. 267), with the right redefining the very nature of capitalism, and the left that of democracy.

Prindle’s omission of Alexis de Tocqueville’s masterpiece *Democracy in America* may draw criticism from some quarters but he defends this in the preface by noting Tocqueville’s ‘hegemonic’ impact on political discourse and American history (p. xiv). Rather than taking anything away from this ambitious book, it gives it a fresh approach to the history of the interaction between economic, political and legal thought in American society. Overall this is an excellent book that offers authoritative and new insights into the history of American thought.

Rachel Turner
(Keele University)

Contract and Domination by **Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007. 224pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4004 4

Contract and Domination is an important book that brings together two influential contemporary critics of contract theory. It presents a very helpful synthesis of these two authors and stands as a comprehensive response to the array of criticism that their positions face. Moreover, and of particular merit, central chapters are devoted to the exercise of linking the sexual and the racial contract together.

Pateman’s and Mills’ views differ on crucial points, all of which contribute to make the book particularly interesting and thought provoking. While Mills believes that contract theory can be corrected and used to reconstruct a racially unbiased society, Pateman maintains that contract theory is intrinsically gender oppressive and that it must be abandoned. The origin of this difference seems to rest importantly on the understanding of property in the person which, according to Pateman, is only a fiction that helps to perpetuate and disguise socio-political domination (p. 17). She finds that this mechanism of perpetuation of unjust relations and institutions is clearly revealed when looking not at the ‘dulled and sanitized’ (p. 25) contract theories of Locke, Kant or Rawls, but at Hobbes and the logical structure of his radical individualism. Mills, instead, understands contract theory from a Kantian perspective that focuses primarily on personhood rather than on self-ownership. Greatly influenced by Rousseau’s *Discourse on Inequality*, Mills argues for a revisionist contract that takes place in a non-ideal position (by contrast to an original position)

and behind a thinner veil of social ignorance (by contrast to a Rawlsian veil). It is through these corrections that the aim of rectifying unjust institutions can take place.

The book also leaves some room for doubts. It is not clear that Pateman's Hobbes stands as an accurate interpretation of the *Leviathan's* author. But even if she is right, the strong link, almost a conflation, she makes between Hobbes' contractarianism and non-Hobbesian contractualism remains deeply contentious. Mills, by contrast, in saying that given the widespread actual influence of contract theory it is prudentially and strategically better to engage with contract theory (p. 23, p. 246), advocates a not wholly convincing reason to embrace the normative/prescriptive horn of his revisionist contract. This is an important weakness, especially if, as he says, there are other 'far more direct ways to go' (p. 23) towards a just society.

In any case, this is an extraordinarily helpful and enlightening work for both non-contract and contract theorists alike, and for everyone concerned with racial, gender and class inequality.

Alfonso Donoso
(University of York)

Woodrow Wilson: The Essential Political Writings by **Ronald J. Pestritto (ed.)**. Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2005. 279pp., £15.99, ISBN 0 7391 0951 0

Woodrow Wilson: The Essential Political Writings is a companion work to *Woodrow Wilson and the Roots of Modern Liberalism* by Woodrow Wilson scholar Ronald J. Pestritto,¹ and it offers a representative selection of Wilson's political writings spanning his academic and political career.

Following an orienting introduction, the text is divided into five parts. Part I, 'Progress and the Organic State', collects writings from Wilson's *The State* and two other essays. Part II, 'Political Liberty and the Scope and Ends of Government', includes chapters from *The New Freedom* and several of Wilson's political essays, including 'Socialism and Democracy' and 'The Authors and Signers of the Declaration of Independence'. Part III, 'Institutional Reform', contains selections from the essential *Congressional Government* and *Constitutional Government in the United States*. Part IV, 'Political and Administrative Leadership', offers the reader 'Leaders of Men' and 'The Study of Administration', while Part V,

'Foreign Policy', incorporates just two of Wilson's essays on international affairs.

Pestritto's book runs under 300 pages, and thus is of average length. However, the book might have included more from Wilson's *oeuvre*. For instance, more of his work as a political scientist – especially some of his addresses to the American Political Science Association – would have helped to make the point that Wilson was a rarity: an academic political scientist *and* practical politician. Moreover, some of his most impressive and important work – here I am thinking of *Congressional Government* – is not excerpted as thoroughly as it might have been. Still, the material included here is some of Wilson's most significant work.

Overall, Pestritto does a good job in assembling a cross-section of Wilson's political writings. Scholars interested in Wilson will think this a good starting place for their general research, but will find it not so helpful as their inquiry progresses, since full primary texts will be necessary at that stage. However, the text is ideal for undergraduate and perhaps graduate courses. The volume also includes a helpful chronology of Wilson's academic work as well as sundry events relevant to Wilson's political thought. A selected bibliography is also included in what must be considered a highly readable and welcome addition to the scholarship on one of the few political scientists who was also an influential political actor.

Note

- 1 Pestritto, J. (2005) *Woodrow Wilson and the Roots of Modern Liberalism*. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Jeffrey D. Hilmer
(University of British Columbia)

Sovereignties: Contemporary Theory and Practice by **Raia Prokhovnik**. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007. 264pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 1 4039 1323 4

Sovereignty has acquired such a variety of discrepant meanings that some now argue that understanding of the political world can be advanced only by altogether abandoning the concept. This is not Raia Prokhovnik's view. While acknowledging the confusions and obfuscations that have grown up around the concept, she seeks here to survey the range of usages of the term, to resolve some of the confusions and to argue the case for 'positive reconceptualisation' (p. 1). This book only partly delivers on these ambitious aims. The source of its

difficulty lies in the manner in which the first – undertaking a comprehensive survey of the various usages of the concept in contemporary theory – is promoted. By being so scrupulous in the range of her coverage, and being so concerned to recognise the singular insights of these various studies, there is a real danger of the reader getting lost in the thickets of description and reportage. Certainly this reader did: almost every page is filled with accounts of how ‘A highlights this point’, ‘B describes the view’, ‘C’s analysis has been taken by D to imply’ ... and so on. It is a remarkable overview of the literature, and it will be of considerable value to students of the subject. But one consequence of this breathless survey is that the analytical framework needed both to guide the reader through these studies and to realise the objective of re-conceptualisation does not emerge in a sufficiently detailed and robust form.

Prokhovnik claims to offer ‘a new conception of sovereignty’ as the ‘overarching framework under which the scope of politics is conditionally settled, political identity is given form, political stability is enabled and the “highest authority” of ruler sovereignty is specified’ (pp. 2–3, emphasis in original). As a general formulation, this does not seem new, though the author here may simply have fallen victim to a contagious disease circulating in the academic community. Further, a meaningful concept of sovereignty does seem to have become buried under the weight of various claims of political scientists and legal positivists, and retrieving this understanding is certainly a worthwhile endeavour. Prokhovnik undoubtedly points us in the right direction and takes us some way along the path. But a more precise conceptual framework – one that differentiates more precisely between sovereign and sovereignty, politics and the political, the state as ruling power and the state in its juristic sense, and between various meanings of ‘law’ – is required if further progress with the objective of re-conceptualisation is to be made.

Martin Loughlin
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Sovereignty: History and Theory by **Raia Prokhovnik**. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2008. 234pp., £17.95, ISBN 9781845 401146

In this her second book on sovereignty, Raia Prokhovnik concentrates on history and theory to develop the argument that sovereignty plays a critical role in specifying

the boundary between the political and the un-political, and so in stabilising the identity of the political community. This is an ambitious book with substantive chapters on Bodin and his predecessors; Hobbes and Spinoza; Locke and Rousseau; Kant and Hegel; and Schmitt and Foucault. The pairings are interesting, and often productive, and they all contribute to the fundamental thesis that sovereignty should not be understood as a fixed and static concept, but as richly textured, contextual and contingent. Once it is no longer indissolubly linked to the state, sovereignty can be re-conceptualised, and the interpretive field opens up for analysis. The different conceptions of sovereignty outlined here are not taken as developmental, or as leading to ever-increasing clarity (indeed, some of its most interesting criticisms are of Foucault). The aim is to identify some of the multiple and varied ways sovereignty has been conceptualised, unmasking the historical specificity of the modern conception which is so often taken to be timeless and universal.

The goals of the book are set out very clearly, and there is a strong focus throughout on the multiple dimensions of sovereignty, and on the contested and fraught relationship between politics and sovereignty. The book’s engagement with both the history of political thought and political theory generates some fascinating insights, especially into Locke’s negative conception of sovereignty and Hegel’s understanding of the ‘whole’ of political community as an ethical substance. For the most part, this book avoids the frozen dualities that pervade attempts to define sovereignty, defrosting them by working creatively and clear-sightedly with both history and theory to examine a refreshing range of conceptions of sovereignty in their various contexts. This is a careful evaluation of the history and theory of sovereignty, but it is not always as nuanced as its introduction would suggest. It would benefit from more history and more (particularly feminist and post-colonial) theory in its discussion of dispossession in Locke; of Rousseau’s complex relationship to the Enlightenment; and of the connections between sovereignty, rationality and belonging to the ethical world. It is, however, a book that escapes many of the blind alleys of theorising sovereignty by avoiding both essentialism and ahistoricity, and offers readers interested in history, theory and international relations some genuinely interesting methodological insights.

Laura Brace
(University of Leicester)

Plato: Founders of Modern Political and Social Thought by **Malcolm Schofield**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 384pp., £18.99, ISBN 0 19 924961 X

Writing a new book on Plato is, no doubt, a daunting task, but it is one that Malcolm Schofield rises to admirably in his contribution to Oxford University Press' 'Founders of Modern Political and Social Thought' series. As befits the title of that series, Schofield is keen not only to situate Plato in his Athenian context, among near contemporaries such as Thucydides, Aristophanes and Isocrates, but also to point out that he takes radical positions on what remain live questions in political philosophy, and to trace affinities between Plato's thought and modern writers like Rawls and Walzer, albeit without ever abandoning the focus on Plato. The overall argument of the book is, however, perhaps best read as a response to the influential twentieth-century interpretations of Plato offered by Karl Popper and Leo Strauss, though disagreements with other commentators are also noted. Schofield is at pains, for example, to point out that *Republic* not only sets out a putatively ideal society, but takes seriously the realities of human existence and remains faithful to a number of Socratic ideas.

The bulk of the book focuses on *Republic* and, to a lesser extent, the *Laws*, but there are also largely self-contained discussions of *Statesman*, *Gorgias* and a few of the so-called Socratic dialogues. As such, the book is suited to those interested either in Plato's thought as a whole or a 'great books' course focused only on *Republic*. Although it tries to be accessible to a range of readers (political theorists, philosophers, classicists and historians), it must be said that this is not an introductory textbook and parts will be hard to follow without some background. Sometimes allusions are made to other thinkers without fully explaining their relevance, or certain arguments are not fully explained. For instance, Schofield spends a lot of time arguing that Plato's later thought retains Socratic elements without making explicit, for example, why he regards *Republic's* paternalism as more Socratic than that of the *Laws* (pp. 315–6). Although these minor faults may limit the book's usefulness to less able undergraduates, that should not detract from what is an ambitious and original overview of Plato's political thought. This is a book that should be read by anyone wanting to know the

origins of political philosophy and the relevance Plato still has today.

Ben Saunders
(University of Oxford)

Nations and Nationalism: A Reader by **Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman (eds)**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005. 364pp., £18.99, ISBN 0 7486 1775 2

This reader asks students to contemplate nationalism in the company of recent theorists, whose writings date mainly from the late 1970s to the present. In groups of three and four, political scientists, historians and sociologists address the following questions: what are the origins of nationalism? How is it correlated to other political ideologies such as liberalism and feminism, and to similar concepts like race and ethnicity? What forms does nationalism take? What is nationalism's relationship to the modern nation state? And, finally, what will or should happen to nationalism in an increasingly globalised international environment, particularly with regard to migration?

The essays here include excerpts of classic texts (Balibar, Breuilly, Chatterjee, Eriksen, Smith) as well as newer contributions to the field (Billig's *Banal Nationalism*, Gilroy's *Against Race*). Some of these authors are so widely read and cited as to make it seem unnecessary to reproduce their work yet again. But the editors have wisely incorporated some excellent articles which might have become lost in the journal literature, in particular Joanne Nagel's adroit inquiry into masculinist discourses and practices animating nationalism and militarism, and Mark Beissinger's neat summary of the literature on, and reality of, East European nationalist mobilisation.

Overall, the collection is solid, but it would need considerable supplementation in the classroom. The editors' claims that earlier writings on nationalism were 'largely contextual and anticipatory' (p. 2) seem overstated. Johann Gottfried von Herder, Ernst Renan and Heinrich von Treitschke, among others, set the terms for discussion of nationalism; unsurprisingly, many of the volume's contributors spend much time referring to them and other earlier nationalist practitioners and scholars. Students would need a better introduction to these crucial texts. Another significant absence here is

the work of historical sociologist Rogers Brubaker, whose 2002 *Nationalism Reframed* indeed reframed the study of nationalism in Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

Andrea Orzoff
(New Mexico State University)

Representative Democracy: Principles and Genealogy by **Nadia Urbinati**. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006. 328pp., £28.00, ISBN 0 226 84278 9

In *Representative Democracy* Nadia Urbinati sets out to argue for a theory of democracy that does not view representation as a second-best but rather as an original form of government that is distinct from electoral democracy. In order to do this she draws both on more recent works by Bernard Manin and Hannah Pitkin, as well as on early modern democratic theorists.

The author argues that as opposed to representative government, where citizens only express their will by electing a decision-making political aristocracy, in representative democracy representation and participation are closely intertwined. Thus citizen participation is not confined to periodic elections, but is ongoing as evidenced by the informal deliberation that takes place among citizens.

In this form of democracy, both the people and the representatives are constructs. Representatives are created to mirror the constituency they represent, while at the same time legislating in the interest of the whole people. Unlike some democratic theorists, Urbinati argues that ideology plays a key role in representative democracy, connecting heterogeneous voters with each other and with their representatives.

A large territory creates the preconditions of representative democracy, which helps us to overcome the immediacy of direct democracy. Thus modern democracies can achieve what the ancients could not, due to their close proximity to each other.

While the first chapter sets out the main outlines of the theory, other chapters of the book look at ways in which democratic representation has been regarded by earlier theorists. Urbinati examines in detail how Rousseau, Kant, Sieyes, Paine and Condorcet related democracy and representation to each other. A careful analysis of these theorists shows a gradual move away from viewing the sovereign as an ontological collective

entity and from assuming that citizens are homogeneous. Urbinati sees Condorcet as the first modern theorist whose model of democracy aimed to reconcile representation with participation.

This book is primarily of interest to anyone working within the area of democratic theory and Enlightenment political thought. Urbinati provides an excellent and carefully researched overview of the historical origins of modern democratic thought. This is recommended reading for anyone interested in the origins and functions of democratic representation and makes the book worthwhile reading even apart from Urbinati's own contribution to contemporary democratic theory. At the same time this historical analysis grounds an analytically rigorous theory of modern representative democracy that is significant in its own right.

Zsuzsanna Chappell
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Atmospheric Justice: A Political Theory of Climate Change by **Steve Vanderheiden**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. 304pp., £26.99, ISBN 978 0 19 533460 9

This book has a twofold aim: on the one hand it intends to explore, from the perspective of applied ethics and political theory, justice and responsibility in climate change; on the other hand it seeks to draw attention to some theoretical problems that characterise existing theories of justice and responsibility in this context. Consequently, the argument develops on two levels: that of theory (ethical and political) and that of its application. After an introduction on climate science and policy, chapters 2, 3 and 4 form the theoretical part of Vanderheiden's contribution. Chapter 2 scrutinises within a liberal egalitarian account the notion of justice as a possible normative reference for tackling climate impacts. Chapter 3 extends the scope of justice internationally, as upheld by cosmopolitanism, in order to accommodate the particular supranational concerns caused by climate change. Chapter 4 justifies another extension of liberal theories of justice, namely to future generations, which are also highly likely to be hit by the climate impacts produced by their ancestors. The remaining chapters belong to the realm of applied theory, in so far as they examine the various facets of the notion of responsibility (ch. 5), and some conditions for

its proper attribution (ch. 6) in the context of climate change. Finally, chapter 7 examines alternative schemes for allocating climate burdens in light of the arguments of the book, namely modified versions of the *equal shares* and *equal burdens* approaches.

Atmospheric Justice is a valuable and authoritative addition to the growing literature on the ethics and politics of climate change. Its major strength is its thorough analysis of responsibility both in theoretical and empirical terms. It is, however, rather demanding reading, because Vanderheiden's arguments are sometimes grounded in necessarily abstract – though sound – philosophical foundations. Nonetheless, they maintain policy relevance, thanks to the author's ability to contextualise them in the domain of climate change. One drawback to the book is that it is mostly concentrated on distributive justice, despite its recurrent claims concerning the importance of procedural justice, which is addressed rather cursorily in the last few pages without genuine theoretical treatment.

The book could be of use mainly to academics in the fields of political theory, applied ethics and climate policy, who may find resources in it to organise and systematise their understanding of the challenges raised by justice and responsibility in international climate change.

Marco Grasso
(University of Milano – Bicocca)

Thinking Politically: Essays in Political Theory by **Michael Walzer (edited by David Miller)**. London: Yale University Press, 2008. 333pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 300 11816 2

Thinking Politically brings together eighteen pieces previously published by Michael Walzer in different journals and collective books. The volume draws a clear and attractive intellectual portrait of this influential thinker. All this is especially welcome considering that the unity of Walzer's political thought is somehow blurred when one looks at the large array of topics addressed throughout his intellectual career. David Miller as editor does a good job discriminating among Walzer's large list of articles and papers and offers a collection that states without ambiguities the coherence of his thought. Moreover, the collection shows clearly how Walzer is a political theorist of a special kind. Most of the pieces reflect

Walzer's effort to be engaged with the concrete world in which justice is to be achieved. His methodology thus differs from the more philosophically laden approach of his Harvard fellows during the 1960s and 1970s.

Unlike the conspicuous list of Walzer's teachers and fellows that includes Rawls, Nozick, Dworkin, Nagel, Thomson and Scanlon, Walzer constantly offers historical and well-informed examples in order to avoid the disconnection between academic philosophy and political struggle. If we do not do this, Walzer claims, and instead allow Rawls' idea that what is arbitrary from a moral point of view should have no effect in the social world and cannot be philosophically justified, then we put 'philosophy at odds with ordinary morality' (p. 304).

In contrast, Walzer's idea is that our natural endowments define us, and what defines us necessarily has consequences – some of them legitimate – in the social world in which we exist. Beyond the difficulties of this position, the articles of this collection develop this central thought and represent a consistent and enduring contribution to the understanding of our social reality, the progress of liberalism (perhaps a peculiar liberalism) and political thought in general.

The book ends with a very pertinent and provocative interview with Walzer on the philosophy of war and the importance of political engagement. All this, plus the inclusion of a comprehensive list of his publications, makes *Thinking Politically* a fundamental volume for everyone interested in the work of this insightful thinker.

Alfonso Donoso
(University of York)

Utilitarianism and the New Liberalism by **David Weinstein**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 221pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 521 87528 8

According to David Weinstein, modern political theory, especially in the United States, suffers from a lack of historical awareness. This leads to the unwarranted simplification of intellectual history. Most common is the portrayal of the past of political theory in terms of internal dichotomies, for example in theories of liberalism or communitarianism. English political theory always had a greater sense of the value of the past, but now also suffers from historical oversight.

In this book the author sets out to re-narrate the tradition of English liberalism. His aim is to show

that the alleged rivalry between nineteenth-century English utilitarianism and turn-of-the-century English New Liberalism is one of those false dichotomies. He argues that the New Liberals borrowed far more from the utilitarians than is commonly acknowledged. Subsequently he questions the received view about the incompatibility of liberalism and utilitarianism. The book aims at an advanced scholarly audience and centres on the analysis of the thought of Green, Hobhouse, Ritchie and Hobson. The focus is on the connections between utilitarianism and the ideas of these New Liberal authors, although there is also a chapter on the relevance of the thought of Green and Hobhouse for current moral theory.

The reader learns that Green was not a utilitarian consequentialist, but nevertheless his arguments were profoundly consequentialist and he offered the same practical, juridical strategies as Mill's 'improved' utilitarianism. This is also found in Hobhouse, who was more strongly influenced by Mill, as well as by Green. Ritchie was just as Millian utilitarian, although he emphasised the – in his view – deficient utilitarian focus on a hedonistic conception of good. He offered a more complex notion of good instead, which centred on the idea of promoting everyone's self-realisation. Hobson attempted to improve utilitarianism by moving away from its 'old' emphasis on the greatest good for the greatest number and instead arguing that goodness should include higher needs. In general, the element of shared consequentialist practical reasoning is a major reason for Weinstein to conclude that New Liberalism did not reject utilitarianism. He concludes that all four thinkers were liberal consequentialist, which in his view also sheds new light on modern attempts to combine liberalism and utilitarianism.

Weinstein argues persuasively in this well-written and original work, which will no doubt stimulate the debate on the origins of liberalism, both old and new.

Edwin van de Haar
(Ateneo de Manila University)

Nationalism in a Global Era: The Persistence of Nations by Mitchell Young, Eric Zuelow and Andreas Sturm (eds). Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. 247pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 415 41405 0

In this edited volume, Young, Zuelow and Sturm bring together US, UK and Turkey-based experts on

nationalism to examine and discuss the persistence of nations in the modern world. The contributions aim to explain 'the continued health of nations despite looming threats' (p. 3). Eleven chapters authored by both senior experts on nationalism and junior scholars are subdivided into three parts. Following a concise introduction of the main theme 'globalisation and nationalism', theoretical approaches and implications are presented by Anthony D. Smith reflecting on the erosion and persistence of modern national identities, William Safran comparing Armenian, Jewish and Sikh diaspora nationalism in relation to their homeland and Edward Tiryakian discussing why some nations are no more, as exemplified by the cases of the Roman Republic, the Republic of South Africa, and Yugoslavia.

The second part is devoted to memory and the persistence of nations. Five scholars present case studies on various aspects of this. Gabriella Elgenius analyses the appeal of nationhood represented through national celebrations and commemorations in France, Norway and the United Kingdom. She concludes that national days 'can be powerful tools that bind past, present and future generations together' (p. 88), and that the 'national day and other national ceremonies make people aware of who they are, in relation to "us" and to "others", through the celebration or commemoration of distinctiveness, and through symbols and micro-practices used on the day' (p. 89). Christopher S. Wilson analyses the Anatkabir mausoleum of the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He points out that the mausoleum is a 'collective monument that embodies the whole of the Turkish nation, not just a single man' (p. 93). Andreas Sturm explains the representation of the Thai nation reflected in public monuments. Geneviève Zubrzycki analyses the case of Poland, exemplified by the war of the crosses of 1998 at Auschwitz. Eric Zuelow reflects upon the role and impact of tourism on national identity building in Ireland.

The third part, entitled 'Threat, Response, Re-emergence', takes a closer look at topics such as the persistence of the Baltic nations under Soviet rule (Mark A. Jubulis), Croatian language policy since 1991 (Mitchell Young) and national identity formation in Jordan (Stefanie Nanes).

In short, this is a valuable collection of essays adding new case observations and theoretical reflections to the ongoing extensive research on nationalism. Unfortunately, the volume lacks a concluding chapter offering a

substantial interpretation of the issues and views offered within.

Jorgen Kuhl
(A. P. Moller School, Copenhagen)

We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit <http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/>.

International Relations

Making Aid Work by **Abhijit Vinayak Banerjee**. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2007. 170pp., £9.95, ISBN 978 0 262 02615 4

Abhijit Vinayak Banerjee's book provides an excellent forum to discuss the problems engulfing international development aid. Banerjee claims that the ineffectiveness of foreign development aid is primarily due to 'institutional laziness' (p. 7) and argues that international donor agencies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and multilateral institutions do not pay much attention to the impact or 'cost-effectiveness' (p. 16) of a programme and are often 'unclear about what they should be pushing for' (p. 21). Building on the drugs evaluation model, Banerjee argues that 'randomized trials ... are the simplest and best way of assessing the impact of a program' (p. 10). Although 'randomized trials are not perfect' (p. 11), they provide 'hard evidence' (p. 113) and 'spur innovation by making it easy to see what works' (p. 122).

The problems of foreign aid, as recognised by Banerjee, have been universally agreed upon by several economists and policy makers. However, his arguments on lazy thinking and randomised experiments have received sceptical responses. Many have rejected his accusations that the international donors are not pursuing impact evaluation or cost-benefit analysis. Banerjee's argument is very limited and ambiguous. His academic training in economics influences much of his thinking on macro-level quantitative experimentation, ignoring the dynamics of power relations at the grass-roots level. He also fails to explain the idea of randomised experiment in a clear manner. His emphasis on laziness (not filling up a form)

that is grounded on a particular example from Pakistan does not really apply to regular NGO functioning. As Mick Moore has rightly argued, development agencies are 'staffed and run by expressive intellectuals' who are 'skilled in performing the key functions of the contemporary aid business: producing position papers and strategy documents and managing inter-agency coordination meetings' (p. 43).

By placing the emphasis on institutions, Banerjee has failed to address the 'politics' of development and international aid, which often has created a 'culture of dependency' at the grass-roots level. Banerjee is also unable to understand that the problem of foreign aid is not primarily due to 'institutional laziness' but the result of a rationalised and active institutional effort to depoliticise development and to create what James Ferguson (1990) has called an 'anti-politics machine'. Nevertheless, Banerjee's arguments have generated numerous pertinent issues and discussions related to the aid regime. His concluding essay has brilliantly addressed the machine-like character of development policy making. The structure of the book is innovative, although the forum discussions are regrettably brief.

Sarbeswar Sahoo
(National University of Singapore)

Labour and the Challenges of Globalization: What Prospects for Transnational Solidarity? by **Andreas Bieler, Ingemar Lindberg and Devan Pillay (eds)**. London: Pluto Press, 2008. 330pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 7453 2756 3

The editors of this volume state that the purpose of the collection was to review the current problems of national labour movements but also 'to discuss the possibilities for a new global working-class strategy based on transnational solidarity' (p. 265). Samir Amin begins with an overview of global class structures and in particular the division in the 'popular classes' (p. xvii) between 'stabilized and precarious workers' which requires, he argues, social movements ridding themselves of 'ineffective corrective propositions' (p. xx). There then follow several chapters offering case studies of the situation of trade unions and labour movements in South Korea, China, South Africa, India, Argentina, Brazil, Japan, Canada, Germany and Sweden, with a further two chapters which look at the regions of Africa and Europe as a whole. Importantly for this volume, about half of the

authors are activists or otherwise involved in unions and social movements. Each author has been instructed to discuss at the end of their chapter the difficulties encountered by unions and social movements in the current context. While they are generally pessimistic (especially with regard to the possibility of organising so-called informal or precarious workers) they provide a substantial amount of useful information and insights concerning the various national situations.

Even under the best of conditions it would be almost impossible to answer the question in the book's subtitle: 'What prospects for Transnational Solidarity?' However, the best of conditions for such a task would be conceptual clarity, and such conceptual clarity is not apparent in this book. Like many authors who use the word 'globalisation' in their titles, the editors state in a footnote that though it does not have much meaning it will be used nevertheless; the same applies to 'transnationalism' and 'internationalism', without their being defined or distinguished. Likewise the global working class, which includes such disparate workers as those on stable and secure contracts in rich countries and part time workers. In the final chapter and in a more realist mode, the editors list the divisions in the world labour force, admitting that class identities are 'complicated by race ethnicity, gender, sexuality and nationality' (p. 270), and then propose possibilities for the development of a 'transnational solidarity' (p. 272). Although the proposals and ideas presented here certainly have merit, they are already current within mainstream discussions, have been tried before and perhaps do not help rid the pro-labour forces of 'ineffective corrective propositions'.

Jeffrey Harrod
(University of Amsterdam)

Theory of World Security by **Ken Booth**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 489pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 521 54317 0

Ken Booth has crafted the most definitive survey to date of the perspectives, scope, methods and objectives of the emancipatory critical security studies approach. More importantly, however, this volume puts to shame all those who construe academia as a world of ivory towers detached from the concerns of real people. This book is simultaneously a perceptive reconsideration of dominant paradigms, a compassionate appeal on behalf of the downtrodden, a forceful call for activism and a powerful

manifesto for radical change in the study and practice of world politics. Booth's endeavour successfully responds to the twin challenge for critical theory (i) to win ontological, epistemological and praxeological debates about world politics, and (ii) to uphold such intense intellectual commitment through global political practice (p. 141). To that end, Booth takes the concept of security, pores over its alleged ramifications, dissects its contents, recovers its potential and reintroduces it into the field equipped to tackle the challenges for emancipatory political practice at both the local and global level. As he puts it, the search for security through emancipatory politics is part of the project of 'inventing humanity' (p. 110) – i.e., 'sometimes audiences need to be awakened or even created, and not simply interpreted' (p. 168). The goal of Booth's theory of world security is to 'help the struggle for a more cosmopolitan security studies' (p. 278) by enabling people to be themselves but 'in association with a wider world' (p. 138). He admits that his radical reorientation of the idea of world politics premised on (i) the potentiality of human sociality, (ii) the promise of critical global theorising and (iii) the struggle of emancipatory realism might not be able to overcome the insecurity associated with a 'determined life'; but nevertheless it offers the relevant signposts to 'a more hopeful global being, knowing, and doing' (p. 470).

Booth's point of departure is the conviction that conceptions of security reflect certain assumptions about the structure and patterns of global politics. Thus although he accepts that security is a condition that defies definition, he nevertheless disagrees with the 'widespread myth' of its contested character. The contention is that 'security as a basic concept consists of core elements that are not essentially contested, but when it comes to world politics this core is then encased in layers of meaning that derive from different political theories, and that these are contested (possibly essentially so, possibly contingently so) according to the ebb and flow of political theories, and the rise and fall of international political systematic paradigms' (p. 100). Booth illuminates the critical security studies approach as 'a branch of political theory' that 'open[s] up fundamental questions about politics' and 'seeks to uncover and challenge the orthodox approach[es] ... in which nationalistic ideas have masqueraded as truths' (p. 158).

Such conceptualisation of world security is underwritten by 'hope' – the 'refusal to rule out the possibility of a better future [which however] does not assume it'

(p. 179). It also indicates Booth's conviction that the emergence of 'a very uncommon humanity' rests on a 'reflexive reason, animated by emancipatory politics and a cosmopolitan sensibility, building on the immanent potential of world community' (p. 428). This volume is, therefore, a must read not only for anyone passionate about security studies and international politics, but also for those concerned with the human condition in a life defined by global turbulence. As Booth advises, while 'you read this book, look forward in anger, but keep thinking' (p. 12).

Emilian Kavalski
(University of Alberta, Canada)

Global Governance Reform: Breaking the Stalemate by **Colin Bradford Jr and Johannes F. Linn (eds)**. Washington DC: Brookings, 2007. 142pp., £13.99, ISBN 0 8157 1363 0

Regulating Globalization: Critical Approaches to Global Governance by **Pierre de Senarclens and Ali Kazancigil (eds)**. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007. 296pp., £22.99, ISBN 978 92 808 1136 0

Global governance continues to stimulate a wide range of responses, and these books represent two distinct views of the problems that beset international organisations. For the contributors to the Bradford and Linn volume, key organisations of global governance have failed to fulfil their potential and thus require a programme of managerial reform and renewal, while in the de Senarclens and Kazancigil book the problems with global governance are centred on legitimacy and accountability. Focusing on reform from the top down, *Global Governance Reform* (building on a series of seminars and conferences held under the auspices of the Brookings Institution), works through a number of key international organisations – the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations (UN) – alongside sectoral analyses of global health and the environment.

Interestingly, while the reform of the IMF is discussed at length in two chapters by insiders, the World Bank is subject to a (very) short treatment from Nancy Birdsall; all three agree, however, that problems in both institutions are due to the failure to restructure in the face of the clear change in their role and the economic context

in which they operate. The United Nations fares a little better than the World Bank with two Brookings senior staff concluding that the UN still requires reform, but that this cannot be achieved on the cheap. So the question is therefore posed: how is meaningful reform of global governance to be achieved? The answer, spelt out by the editors at the beginning of the second half of the book, is a Leaders-20 summit – the twenty leading states – replacing the now outdated and less than inclusive G-8 summits. The next three chapters, tackling development, health and the environment, all call in one way or another for new high-level organisations to coordinate emerging activities. Allied to this more general argument is the call (repeated throughout the volume) for some reorganisation of 'shares and chairs' in existing organisations, which will underpin the reorganisation of global governance. Underlying much of the volume's analysis is a recognisably realist argument that governance will only succeed if its mechanisms and organisation reflect and work *with* the prevailing balance of power, not against or across such global configurations.

If *Global Governance Reform* sees the reform of global governance as essentially a technical affair of reorganisation, the approach to the subject in *Regulating Globalization* may be more comfortable for European researchers into global governance. Here, as de Senarclens and Kazancigil in their separate introductory chapters point out, the role of international organisations (in this case the UN) must be understood as encompassing a normative (re)productive role and their practices understood on that basis. While state sovereignty may remain central to international forms of governance, there is also a need to ensure that emerging and transformative forces (such as the World Social Forum) find a place in any reformed structure of governance.

This suggests to Virgille Perret that the centrality of finance-related forms of global governance has been detrimental to the democratic development of the system, due to the finance sector's systematic disregard and even antagonism towards democracy. And it is this question of a lack of democratic accountability that both Ngiare Woods (more generally) and Miguel Lengyel (as regards trade regulation) focus on to argue that reform must encompass not merely technical improvements in governing, but also the need to respond to demands for deliberative transparency and developmental justice. Moreover, unlike the Brookings volume, here global governance is not limited to

US-based institutions: both Louise Fawcett and Yves Berthelot argue that regional organisations and governance initiatives are not merely stepping stones to global forms of regulation, but rather offer an alternative site for political investment in governance. For Yohan Ariffin, the problem is not so much the level of governance or its reform, but rather the more difficult problem of reversing the economism of global governance itself; not least of all as the trends around global governance have a tendency to depict underdeveloped states and the environment as malfunctioning economic categories whereas a more nuanced and complex view might actually lead to better governance.

This leads Jean-Marc Coicaud to suggest that global governance can only succeed in legitimising the forces that have prompted globalisation if it enhances and furthers the empowerment of the global polity. Here global governance is full of promise but from the bottom up rather than from the top down. And this is the key distinction between these reform-focused books: for the Brookings' contributors, there is a certain *noblesse oblige* involved in the reform of global governance, while for the authors in the second volume, global governance is a site of political contestation *between* top and bottom, with successful reform being (almost by definition) bottom up. Therefore while *Global Governance Reform* offers some guidance to thinking at the top, *Regulating Globalization* suggests that perhaps institutional reformers should listen more closely to those below ministerial level.

Christopher May
(University of Lancaster)

International Political Economy: An Intellectual History by Benjamin J. Cohen. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008. 210pp., £15.95, ISBN 978 0 691 13569 4

Benjamin Cohen is ideally placed to act as a tour guide to the history of International Political Economy (IPE). He has earned more stripes through his highly valued substantive contributions to the field than the vast majority of his fellow travellers can ever hope to do. He is (or was) also personally acquainted with six of the seven people – Keohane, Gilpin, Strange, Kindleberger, Cox, Krasner and Katzenstein – whom he depicts as the most prominent intellectual entrepreneurs of the first generation of IPE scholars. His intellectual history of the field is written through an account of the unfolding

academic agendas of these seven, and therefore it might rest a little uneasily against the expectations of those whose instinct is to tackle the same issue from an explicit philosophy of social science perspective. But this should not be a criticism of what Cohen has produced. This book is testament to his standing as a leading light in the field and, for those who want to retell his story from an alternative starting point, he provides them with all the information they need to do so. It deserves to be read by anyone who is interested in how their own work fits into the history of IPE.

The history Cohen relates revolves around two main distinctions: one between an American and a British School of IPE, the other between the first three generations of IPE scholars. The intellectual entrepreneurs on either side of the Atlantic, he says, have created two generations of followers who have reinforced the initial methodological differences between the two transatlantic camps and have added extra gusto of their own to those divisions. The result is a creeping disharmony which prevents the individual practitioners in the field from talking to one another in a spirit of mutual cooperation. The third generation of the American School busies itself with increasingly sophisticated technical analysis of causal relationships concerned with the interaction between national economic interests and international economic institutions. The third generation of the British School concentrates instead on adding ever more elements of the human experience into a normative agenda focused on emancipating and empowering the currently dispossessed. While the American School excels in cumulative analysis based on empirical details but shies away from tackling what Cohen calls the 'Big Questions', the British School does exactly the opposite. His laudable aim in outlining these differences is to offer hope for their future transcendence.

Matthew Watson
(University of Warwick)

Great Empires, Small Nations: The Uncertain Future of the Sovereign State by Josep M. Colomer. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. 114pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 414 43775 2

The nation state and associated sovereign models of absolute power have dominated inter-state relations since the creation of the Westphalian state system. The notion of 'sovereignty' – the essential attribute of

modern states – has declined in the contemporary world due to the gradual and increasingly noticeable shift towards the governance framework, inter-state border conflicts, persistent violence and crime, ethnic civil wars, the influence of private interests and the emerging significance of large-scale public goods, etc. This book, with its focus on the assessment of small nations' self-government – particularly related to democracy and efficiency and the uncertain future of sovereign states in different parts of the world – gains significance in this context. Colomer elucidates on the role of great empires and small nations and also looks at the major trends and changes that are shaping current world politics.

The author mainly discusses three worldwide processes affecting states, namely: an increase in the number of independent and autonomous countries; an increase in the number of democracies; and an increase in the number of failed and isolated states around the world. In order to substantiate his arguments, Colomer explains the paradigm shift in international politics and addresses the concepts such as 'empires', 'states' and 'small nations' in detail. Alongside defining these fundamental concepts in simple terms, the book addresses the characteristics and contemporary significance of these concepts.

Colomer looks beyond traditional approaches and he prioritises contemporary international politics as characterised by economic and political viability worldwide. In his view, the developments in transport and communications technology, the institutional changes produced by human beings, changing economic structures and evolving political sources have all had an influence on small nations and large empires and patterns of governance. The book specifically looks at how small nations, official lands or autonomous and independent regions and other countries with disparate official statuses have coped with these changes in the international political arena.

Described by the author as a non-fiction essay, this book seeks to be a comfortable read, and this is indeed the case with the hypotheses, facts, opinions and statements presented here. However, Colomer's hypotheses on contemporary world politics, small nations and great empires, the decline or failure of sovereign states and the emergence of autonomous or independent nations may be falsifiable theoretically.

V. K. Vinayaraj
(Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz by Campbell Craig. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. 191pp., £16.00, ISBN 978 0 231 12349 5

This is not your typical piece of international relations theory scholarship. Campbell Craig's book is a rather interesting and thought-provoking investigation into how the issue of nuclear war provoked some inconsistencies in the thought of the American Realist theorists Niebuhr, Morgenthau and Waltz. Here intellectual history and IR theory intersect, as Craig attempts to understand some of the inconsistencies found in the thought of these theorists in relation to how the realities of total nuclear war affected many of their classical Realist assumptions about how states would act.

The book opens with the problem that emerges in realist IR theory and especially in the thought of Niebuhr, Morgenthau and Waltz (and why not pick other IR theorists such as Kennan?), and then sketches out how Realist theory emerges on the American stage as a reaction to the ideologised politics of the 1930s and the Nazi and later Soviet threats to the existing international order. Realist theory sought to locate policy options not in terms of beliefs and values (i.e. ideology) but in terms of permanent and fixed interests held by states. For Realist theory, war was merely one strategy to secure a state's interests. Craig argues that the changed nature of war brought about by total nuclear war undermines many of the rational underpinnings of Realist thought, and that in looking for ways to fix the problem Niebuhr, Morgenthau and Waltz were taken on paths rather different from those that a logical adherence to their own Realist theories would suggest.

For Niebuhr and Morgenthau, Craig gives us chapters on how their theories of Realism developed in a world before nuclear war, followed by chapters on their attempts to deal with how these weapons radically altered some of their thinking about their own Realist approaches. In chapter 6 Craig then moves to a discussion of Waltz and what Craig terms the 'Waltzian Turn', where Waltz criticises the Realists for not being philosophical or theoretical enough to find a solution to the problem posed by nuclear weapons for Realist theory. In the last two chapters Craig then sketches out how Waltz's critique led to a rethinking of Realism and the emergence of Neo-realism, which offered a greater

willingness than Realism to see supra-state mechanisms (considered unthinkable and undesirable by Realist theory) as a means to impose a restraining mechanism on states, while still preserving their autonomy.

Clifford Angell Bates Jr
(University of Warsaw)

The United States and the Security Council: Collective Security since the Cold War by **Brian Frederking**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. 197pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 415 77076

Contemporary international politics is characterised on the one hand by rules and laws which shape and construct expectations and security environments. On the other hand, however, we observe American hegemony and self-asserted exemption from many international norms. Frederking's analysis asks the question, is 'the path to global security ... a hierarchical system led by the militarily dominant United States or a less hierarchical system ... of the Security Council?' (p. 2). To do this Frederking focuses upon the 'security-hierarchy paradox' in which too little hierarchy is ineffectual whereas too much is perceived as illegitimate. Frederking argues that recent policies of the US have been overtly hierarchical, which has undermined its legitimacy. The result has been a reduction in security both domestically and internationally. The US should return to multilateral cooperation and recognise the interdependence of security concerns. For Frederking, 'The best place to achieve ... legitimacy is the Security Council' (p. 181).

The analysis draws on constructivist methodology which focuses on shared understandings and the construction of meaning. Yet the chapters are not theoretically driven; rather, they are thematically separated with chapters on peacekeeping, human rights and terrorism to name but three. These are predominately descriptive, informative and well written.

The book purports to be a focus on the 'United States and the Security Council'; however, there does not appear to be a consistent analysis of this dichotomy. In a number of chapters the relationship between the US and the Security Council is completely absent. There is nothing necessarily new in each of the chapters and while the first chapter on constructivism gives a good foundation, it is rather basic. It is easy to understand why the chapters have been divided into

separate themes, yet a number of cases cross over these simplistic delineations. For example, Iraq relates both to the use of force and terrorism; a separate chapter on Iraq would therefore have been more informative and concise.

The underlying argument of this book is of vital importance: do we believe that international relations should be founded on a rules-based system or one in which might is right? Frederking makes a valuable contribution to this debate with an interesting and informative analysis. It would be nice to think that US policy makers would read this short book.

Michael Clarke
(University of Bath)

War in Human Civilization by **Azar Gat**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 822pp., £25.00, ISBN 0 19 926213 6

The enduring presence of warfare throughout human history remains the focus of much of international relations scholarship. It conditions the core assumptions that underpin various theories of state and the motivations inherent in political action. Is the prevalence of violence a function of human nature, a predicament of social relations? Is it ultimately possible to excise warfare from human civilisation? Azar Gat's magisterial study of the relationship between warfare and human civilisation attempts to provide answers to these questions, but it does so without falling into the well-known debates (between classical realists and structural realists, for example) that international relations scholars have concerned themselves with before.

Gat's methodology is much more holistic: by bringing in literature from anthropology, archaeology and palaeontology, he weaves a narrative around an evolutionary rationality of resource competition that conditions human beings towards violent altercations. Sexual reproduction and resource acquisition (desire for food, in particular) take on prime importance in guiding such an evolutionary process. While the propensity for warfare to take place would appear to be grounded in human nature, Gat's more nuanced evolutionary approach stresses: 'In actuality, aggression, as a tactical skill ... is both innate and optional' (pp. 39–40). Nonetheless, it is a 'major option' that has conditioned

human behaviour throughout the history of human interactions. Thus Gat is much closer in essence to Hobbes' anthropology than Rousseau's, in so far as the idea of an originary moment of human beings devoid of conflict is precluded.

Gat's subsequent narrative demonstrates the intricate permeability of civilisational institutions to warfare, showing how the rise of agricultural societies enabled the greater marshalling of means of violence as opposed to tribal or pastoral forms of fighting. The rise of the modern state, which allowed for a deepening centralisation of power and authority, occurred through a 'deeply grounded causal mechanism' comprising 'hegemonic rule ... which was gradually transformed ... into a more unified, direct, and bureaucratic structure' (p. 235). And throughout this causal mechanism lies an awareness of the centrality of sexuality in conditioning the motivations for warfare, which still persists (albeit more covertly) within large-scale societies (pp. 415–19, pp. 603–4).

Although Gat's methodology rests on an evolutionary examination of the history of warfare to explain the rise of civilisation and the apparatuses that constitute the state, he consistently attempts to straddle the fine line between historical determinism and agency. This is nowhere more apparent than in the possibility of evolving institutional forms that mitigate the worst forms of violence – the state being the example *par excellence*. In fact, Gat perceives the democratic peace truism as essentially correct and that 'the violent option for fulfilling human desires has become much less promising than the peaceful option of competitive cooperation' (p. 672).

Alexander D. Barder
(Johns Hopkins University)

Limits of Atlanticism: Perceptions of State, Nation and Religion in Europe and the United States by Gret Haller. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007. 175pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 1 84545 318 3

Having served as the Ombudsperson for Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gret Haller witnessed first-hand the divergent approaches to such concepts as state, nation and law among Americans and Europeans working to reassemble a fractured nation, and she was subsequently compelled to investigate the historical and

philosophical underpinnings of both societies responsible for these differences. *Limits of Atlanticism*, the product of her inquiry, is arguably one of the most important books published recently on the subject of US–European relations.

Haller sees the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, which brought an end to the wars of religion on the European continent, as providing the moment when the two Atlantic societies began to diverge: 'Europe, for peace and political reasons, decided that religion had to subordinate itself to the state. By contrast, the emigrants to America ensured that the state did not impinge upon religion' (p. 19). Europeans thus conceive of the state as arising from the shared sovereignty of its people and its people as belonging to the state existentially, while Americans see the state as an association to which one voluntarily pledges affiliation. 'The consequence of such individually defined affiliation is the emergence of non-affiliated persons, and this necessarily leads to the fundamental moral categories of "good" and "evil" ', as perhaps best exemplified in the rhetoric of President George Bush (pp. 46–47). Haller subsequently demonstrates how these differences played out in her own experience of working with the international community in Bosnia, especially with regard to the way the Dayton Agreement 'essentially failed to provide people with the possibility to create multi-ethnic coexistence through civil effort, pointing them instead toward a struggle for civil rights' as based upon American thought patterns, which, lacking a concept of shared sovereignty, only served in retrospect to increase ethnic tensions (p. 79). Likewise does she warn that the increasing adoption of an American perspective on state and nation in Europe, especially in the former communist bloc, threatens to erode the European peace order.

Limits of Atlanticism provides a seamless blend of history, political theory, religious studies and personal memoir and is a crucial volume for those impacted directly by Europe and America's ideological drift from each other. Students of American history would also do well to draw upon Haller's outsider perspective, for she holds up a mirror to those fundamental ideas – such as our own definitions of freedom – that we all too often assume are universal.

Guy Lancaster
(Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture)

The Origins of the Cold War by **Caroline Kennedy-Pipe**. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007. 193pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 230 53551 0

Caroline Kennedy-Pipe's primary goals for *The Origins of the Cold War* are to explain to students and the general public why the Soviet Union and the United States traded wartime partnership for peacetime rivalry and to suggest how this knowledge might deepen our understanding of current international relations. Traces of that earlier conflict have merely 'submerged', not 'gone away' (p. 12). Moreover, current attempts to deter aggression and prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction draw explicitly from concepts created during the Cold War.

To facilitate this understanding, Kennedy-Pipe advocates a greater dialogue between scholars of international history and international relations. Although sympathetic to the historical approach, she recommends that historians rely less on archives and more on IR theory to avoid mistaking trees for the forest. She deems this shift necessary in order to comprehend the 'bigger questions' of the Cold War (p. 25). These questions include the role of ideas and ideology, as well as the operation of the international system after 1945. She argues that ideas and ideology play an important role in international politics.

Kennedy-Pipe begins her account of the Cold War with the Bolshevik Revolution, contending that it set the stage for later ideological confrontation. She ends with the Cuban Missile Crisis because afterwards the Cold War 'as a structural aspect of international politics was ... largely set' (p. 9). Some may question this latter point, however, noting that the question of Germany and its access to nuclear weapons remained unsettled for much of the 1960s. Absent an agreement to keep nuclear weapons out of West German hands, the Soviets would never have accepted the international status quo.

Focused squarely on the US-Soviet rivalry, Kennedy-Pipe assigns other nations a minor role in her account, contrary to much recent historical scholarship. A growing number of historians maintain that smaller countries not only had their own agendas, but also exerted a considerable influence over Moscow and Washington and thus the course of the Cold War.

Kennedy-Pipe's choice of sources may puzzle some readers. John Lewis Gaddis receives twelve bibliographic entries and figures prominently in the book, while other

influential scholars receive hardly a mention if at all. A greater acknowledgement of alternative points of view would have been welcome. Certain to spark debate, this book should find its way on to college reading lists. It is brief, timely, well organised and goes beyond simply the recounting of a very complex period.

Michael H. Creswell
(Florida State University)

Diplomacy with a Difference: The Commonwealth Office of High Commissioner, 1880-2006 by **Lorna Lloyd**. Leiden: Brill, 2007. 353pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 90 04 15497 1

High Commissioners represent one Commonwealth country in another and this monograph traces the history of a tentative venture in representation which eventually established itself as a permanent institution. Protocol and procedure loom large; but so does politics. The representative functions of High Commissioners in one another's capitals gradually evolved out of a role that originally was only *de facto* diplomatic. Many obstacles stood in the way of their recognition as heads of mission ranking equally with ambassadors. Each precedent was a victory won, reinforcing the logic of full diplomatic status.

Lorna Lloyd investigates this evolution, her meticulous research showing how it intersected with the transformation of empire into commonwealth. It reflected, and also subtly promoted, changes in intra-Commonwealth relations as late-imperial assumptions and dominion status gave way to sovereign equality in the modern Commonwealth. It was not a simple process: for a long time 'the British Empire's idiosyncratic diplomatic system ran alongside, but outside, the established system, and towards the mid-twentieth century did so rather jerkily, as the members of the group evinced varying enthusiasm for assimilation into the orthodox scheme' (p. 10). Canada was the first to have full representation in the other dominions and in London but Britain was slow to reciprocate: until 1928 'there was a marked lack of enthusiasm for the idea of a British high commissioner. The Cabinet thought the title too high-flown, there were fears of encouraging separatism, and the Treasury objected to the expense' (p. 49).

Today High Commissioners engage in the same bilateral diplomacy as ambassadors, their offices almost indistinguishable from embassies. But their representative

function encompasses an added dimension because collectively they embody the Commonwealth as a network of 'diplomacy with a difference' (Lloyd's subtitle). They are safe for the moment, because so is the Commonwealth (p. 289), but this could easily change: Lloyd regards the Commonwealth experience in the long run as 'a political phenomenon of halting but inexorable decline' (p. 11).

Lloyd's writing exhibits traditional virtues. Drawing on memoirs and interviews as well as minutes from government archives, she makes her story readable without sacrificing its intricacy of historical detail. As in her earlier book *Peace through Law*, she demonstrates how the skilfully interwoven strands of law, diplomacy and institutions can illuminate the study of international relations.

Nicholas A. Sims
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

A Decade of Human Security: Global Governance and New Multilateralisms by **Sandra J. MacLean, David R. Black and Timothy M. Shaw (eds)**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 264pp., £55.00, ISBN 0 7546 4773 0

The concept of human security, defined broadly as individuals' freedom from fear and freedom from want, has come to prominence during the past decade as an alternative to state-based national and international security. This book takes stock of the ambitious agenda to redefine security by exploring theoretical debates about and practical applications of this challenge to strict interpretations of the Westphalian system. Most of the authors are normative in their approach, seeking to promote human security while offering analysis from critical, feminist and mainstream perspectives. The short chapters are well organised into five sections that introduce human security, evaluate the role of human security in Canadian foreign policy, separately address freedom from fear and freedom from want and prescribe future work to promote the human security research and policy agendas. While most of the sections are nicely balanced, two out of three chapters in the section on freedom from want address HIV/AIDS. The problem is important but other intriguing issues are excluded, such as the ways in which human security thinking is changing the delivery of humanitarian aid, the impact of social services delivery by international non-governmental organisations on the

governance capacity of weak states and the nature of the nexus between the freedoms from want and fear.

The editors inadvertently point to a missed opportunity when they close the book discouraged by the debate that is 'problematic in terms of definition and application' (p. 203). They would have provided a great service if they had tackled the definitional challenge. Instead, each author offers his or her own definition; these are all similar but as a collection reveal theoretical and practical tensions generated by the bifurcation of the concept into 'narrow' freedom-from-fear and 'broad' freedom-from-want dimensions.

Nonetheless, the book has much to recommend it as a teaching text. It introduces human security as more than an abstract notion by situating the concept in the context of the policy debates that brought it to prominence. The focus on Canadian foreign policy is refreshing and appropriate, given Canada's role as a leading proponent of human security. Most of the chapters are well written and thought provoking. The extensive bibliography points readers to key academic analyses and policy documents. Last but not least, the editors successfully bridge the scholar-practitioner gap to add richness to the discussion and highlight the real-world importance of human security.

Taylor B. Seybolt
(University of Pittsburgh)

Global Human Rights Institutions by **Gerd Oberleitner**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007. 225pp., £55.00, £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 3438 8, ISBN 978 0 7456 3439 5

Making Human Rights Real by **Filip Spagnoli**. New York: Algora Press, 2007. 191pp., £10.99, ISBN 978 0 87586 569 0

Peaceful Resistance: Advancing Human Rights and Democratic Freedoms by **Robert M. Press**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 248pp., £55.00, ISBN 0 7546 4713 7

Oberleitner's *Global Human Rights Institutions* aims to give a comprehensive explanation of what global human rights institutions are, what they do and why. He also aims to engage critically with the types of institutional arrangements there are or could be, and to assess whether current institutions are fit for purpose. To this

end, Oberleitner draws on scholarship in both international relations and international law to give a thorough introduction to this interdisciplinary field.

The text is intended first and foremost to be a textbook, and will serve as a useful text on advanced undergraduate/postgraduate human rights courses, and as a primer for researchers in the field looking to get a lot of information in one place. In terms of its descriptive content, Oberleitner's text is clear in its remit (global institutions and the historical contexts leading to their creation are explained, regional institutions are not) and it covers everything that would be expected (UN, Red Cross, ILO, ICJ and ICC), and perhaps one or two things that might not be expected (e.g. there is a lengthy treatment of non-governmental organisations [NGOs] as human rights institutions in themselves, also a briefer discussion of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [IMF]).

Oberleitner reasonably eschews any particular theoretical framework as offering an all-seeing lens through which to read international institutions, but as the work progresses it seems he is most sympathetic to constructivist readings. A more explicit engagement with the merits and insights of constructivist analysis might have added to the critical content, which lacks depth. Chapters and sections within chapters are relatively short, which means that the discussion moves along at a comfortable pace, but also that important questions are raised but not answered. Perhaps to answer such questions is beyond the remit of a textbook, but it is frustrating consistently to feel that the interesting bit is just beyond the page. Nevertheless, Oberleitner's text does its job in bringing together work from overlapping fields and in providing an introduction to what he rightly says is an understudied area, and it does its job in clear, balanced and engaging terms. He is infectiously optimistic about human rights institutions, and though not blind to their faults, enthusiastic about their potential to 'do good', and this, too, is a welcome quality in an introductory text.

Filip Spagnoli's aim in *Making Human Rights Real* is to offer an introduction to the theoretical aspects of human rights relevant to activism, because, 'if pressed [a tyrant] will offer some kind of justification for his actions' (p. 1), so it is useful for those supporting human rights to have counter-arguments to hand. Spagnoli therefore explores some of the standard objections that have been raised with respect to human rights, such as cultural relativism (ch. 1), state sovereignty (ch. 10) and doubts about the

validity of certain types of rights (e.g. social and economic rights, ch. 2). There is nothing new in terms of theoretical research here, nor does Spagnoli pretend there is; rather, he presents a text that tackles complex theoretical issues in an accessible way. However, Spagnoli does not always refer to the standard texts from which his arguments may be thought to derive (e.g. Shue on the justification of social and economic rights), which means that readers wishing to take their research further do not know where to look. Given the introductory nature of the book, a selection of suggested further reading might have been a useful addition to the slender bibliography. It is also curious that in a text that aims for accessibility there are occasional untranslated quotes from French and German texts.

Spagnoli aims to cover a great deal of ground; in addition to those mentioned above, there are chapters on religious liberty and human rights, the nature and function of the law and of judicial review, tolerance, democracy and a final chapter on freedom and equality. With such a broad sweep to cover, Spagnoli's treatment could not hope to be comprehensive. However, in places he does not so much explain complex theoretical issues as reject them. For example, with respect to cultural relativism he never takes seriously the claims of cultural relativists. Although he is doubtless justified in asserting that there is often hypocrisy or at least a defence of vested interests where cultural values are invoked, theorists should nevertheless be able to engage with the moral and philosophical claims implicit in cultural relativism, and this Spagnoli does not do. He also makes some startlingly dismissive comments, such as, 'Culture or identity is above all something that is in the mind. ... To the extent that culture is part of the mind, it enjoys complete protection by human rights' (p. 15).

Other aspects of Spagnoli's argument are more persuasive, for example his call for there to be a relatively narrow range of rights for the sake of clarity and effectiveness is both sensible and well argued. But such argument also reveals a blurring of the purpose in Spagnoli's text. At times Spagnoli reads more like an activist setting out his vision of human rights, impatient with theorists and their distracting questioning, rather than someone who sees the value of theory and wants to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

Robert M. Press's interests are firmly in human rights activism. In *Peaceful Resistance: Advancing Human Rights and Democratic Freedoms* he presents an extended case

study of the human rights and democracy movement in Kenya from the late 1980s through to the 2002 presidential elections. His principal focus is on the impact of activism, as an independent variable, on political transformation. He highlights a number of under-researched questions, such as how social movements start, the motivation of human rights activists when the risks of activism render rational choice models irrelevant and the relationship between individual activism and organised activism.

While Press is careful to disavow any claims to generalisable conclusions, he nevertheless suggests that the key factors he identifies as having had an impact on peaceful reform in Kenya would be likely to bring about political reform in similar contexts elsewhere. He develops a model for the creation of a 'resistance culture', which he claims has been responsible for the transition from a repressive authoritarian regime to multiparty democracy in Kenya, in which activism is at least as important – and at times more important – as a variable than other factors such as international pressure, economic factors or indeed any *structural* factors. The model begins with what Press calls 'early resisters', who engage in individual activism, mostly through legal challenges to illegal state repression, where activists have little or no organisational support. Having won some concessions from the government, many individual activists are instrumental in the second phase of 'organisational activism', where more structured resistance to the government is engaged in by growing numbers of activists, for example through fledgling opposition parties and NGOs. The third phase of 'a culture of resistance' emerges as public support for organisational activism increases to the level of mass support and a coalition for change emerges.

Press presents a convincing narrative based on extensive archival research and interviews with some 70 activists. His technique of interweaving accounts of the experiences of activists with discussion of the theorisation of social movements, political learning and processes of democratic transition is at times jarring, but Press makes a persuasive case for his claim that individual activism in particular plays a much greater role in political change than is often recognised in academic studies. In his conclusion he calls for further research into the ways that informal groups and networks of activists play a key role in political change and into the motivations on which such agents act.

This call reflects both a genuine assessment of the field and a passionate belief in the power of ideas such as human rights and in the resilience and resourcefulness of humans.

Kerri Woods
(University of York)

Between War and Politics: International Relations and the Thought of Hannah Arendt by **Patricia Owens**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 223pp., £25.00, ISBN 978 0 19 929936 2

Between War and Politics is neither an intellectual biography nor is it, strictly speaking, a study of the 'changing character of war', despite having been written under the auspices of the Oxford Leverhulme Programme of that name. It is instead a series of seven meditations on aspects of contemporary conflict, each of which employ Hannah Arendt as a guide. Owens' concerns are the relations of war to violence and power, story telling and myth, imperialism and totalitarianism, law, human rights, neo-conservatism and the global public sphere. The result is a rich but sometimes fragmented book, its disconnectedness accentuated by the inclusion of almost 40 pages of marginal notes that might have been better integrated into the text, rather than buried away at the back.

Arendt's writing about war and violence, Owens observes, has been unduly neglected. She is most often celebrated for her advocacy of a politics from which violence was wholly excluded, but she could not fail, given her own experience, to recognise its power to circumscribe or even to close down the public sphere. She was nonetheless no pacifist – violence had a justified role to play in resistance to oppression, in self-determination, even in punishment. Her point, however, was that violence represented a failure (above all a failure of politics) to be acknowledged with regret; it was emphatically not something to be exalted, as it was by twentieth-century militarists and revolutionaries, as some sort of creative force. 'The practice of violence, like all action, changes the world', Arendt argued, 'but the most probable change is to a more violent world'.¹

For Arendt, violence corrupts and absolute violence tends to corrupt absolutely. Extra-European imperialism breeds intra-European genocide and total war; humanitarian war – even when unmarked by hypocrisy – breeds moralistic neo-colonialism. For Owens, such thinking

offers powerful critical weapons with which to assail contemporary warriors for law, human rights and democracy – the interventionists of the 1990s and the neo-conservatives that follow. There is much truth to this, but this book arguably overstates the radicalism of Arendt's position. In Clausewitz we can find arguments against unlimited war for unlimited ends and the plea that violence be disciplined by political control, insulated from the excesses of populist moralism. This is a provocative and important book, but one with far more conservative lessons for international politics than it might, at first, seem to offer.

Note

- 1 Arendt, H. (1969) *On Violence*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., p. 80.

Ian Hall
(University of Adelaide)

Causes and Consequences of International Conflict: Data, Methods and Theory by **Glenn Palmer (ed.)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. 251pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 415 43390 7

This volume is a fine reflection of the diversity of research questions, methods and findings related to the influential scholarship of the late Stuart Bremer, a pioneer in comparative theory testing of dyadic militarised conflict. The volume sets out to accomplish two goals. First, the volume seeks to demonstrate the scientific breadth of Bremer's contribution to contemporary scholarship, and second, it aims to demonstrate the state of the art in terms of the theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of inter-state conflict. The book is subdivided into three parts. The first part is devoted to studying the causes of conflict and the second to explicating contemporary data and methods with a bearing on issues of inter-state conflict. Part III contains chapters which employ diverse methodologies to explore inter-state relations. The chapters in this volume are cast in a positivist vein, with nearly every chapter relying to some degree on statistical tests of empirical data to verify theoretically derived expectations, including the role of territory, the dynamics of multiparty conflicts, the democratic peace, measurement of inter-state conflict, assessments of the dyadic conceptualisations of inter-state relationships, realism, policy forecasting and domestic constraints.

This book achieves a strong measure of success with respect to each of the two aforementioned goals. While the chapters clearly reflect approaches familiar to the conflict processes tradition, an important strength is that they each bring a variety of methodologies – ranging from statistical analysis to simulation to game theory – to bear on causally complex questions. Some unevenness across the chapters is manifest in the respective chapter set-ups, due to the fact that some contributions were clearly written as tributes to Bremer's intellectual memory. Furthermore, it is likely impossible for a single edited volume to offer comprehensive coverage of the substantive breadth of the study of conflict processes, and as such the volume is not wholly comprehensive in its coverage of data, methods and theory in the study of international conflict. This said, Palmer's volume provides rich treatments of theory, data and models aimed at understanding international conflict. Edited volumes that bill themselves as reflections of the 'state of the art' are useful, but even more so if they serve as effective points of departure for subsequent research. This latter purpose is perhaps the most important element of Palmer's book and the crux of its tribute to the memory of Stuart Bremer.

Andrew J. Enterline
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We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit <http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/>.

Comparative Politics

Analyzing International Environmental Regimes: From Case Study to Database by **Helmut Breitmeier, Oran R. Young and Michael Zürn**. London: MIT Press, 2006. 321pp., £17.95, ISBN 0 262 52461 9

Breitmeier, Young and Zürn have put together a volume that seeks to provide an international database on environmental regimes which will ultimately help researchers adopt a quantitative approach to the more qualitative subject matter of regime formation and effectiveness. The authors argue that such a database will further research by allowing for comparative study across

regimes. Regime theory is the predominant approach to studying global environmental politics since global governance and global environmental institutions are seen as the way forward for resolving trans-boundary environmental problems. However, each environmental problem or institution has unique characteristics and thus regimes are generally studied as stand-alone institutions. In this volume Breitmeier, Young and Zürn build on years of work establishing a coherent database of most known environmental regimes with a set of comparable data on all cases. The coding, rationale, criteria and other details are discussed and explained in the book.

While such an approach is not without its critics, the authors explain their rationale in the first chapter of the book and situate themselves in the global environmental politics discourse. They admit that the focus on regimes has its shortcomings but argue that the notion of 'governance without government' is so popular and hegemonic in the field of international relations that it is imperative to study it further and bring more detailed data sets to the field. From that point of view and for the researcher who is looking for generalisable and quantifiable data on environmental regimes, the international environmental regime database has a lot to offer. A huge amount of effort has gone into the data collection and coding and the database is unique in its breadth and depth of case collections. Thus it is a mine of information for those studying regime formation and patterns of governance. For those whose approaches do not seek generalisable patterns in global governance structures this book will not offer fundamental new insights into the study of regimes. The global environmental politics literature is increasingly split between regime theorists and alternative approaches and this book is a useful addition to the regime literature but does not speak to other research questions or discourses, and indeed does not aim to do so.

Gabriela Kütting
(Rutgers University)

Heads of the Local State by John Garrard (ed.). Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. 217pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 5262 5

This volume uses examples from Europe and North America to evaluate the office of mayor. The characteristics of the mayoralty are assessed in relation to issues such as their representational role in relation to local, regional and central governance, their executive and

ceremonial functions, their constitutional position and their public visibility.

Garrard considers the position of traditional mayors in England and identifies three distinctive roles: executive; charitable; and social and ceremonial. Maver supplies a companion chapter on the role of the Scottish provost and looks at the evolution to a largely ceremonial function. Knox evaluates the mayoralty in Northern Ireland and comments on the 'powerful political symbolism' (p. 62) and the 'wider constitutional ramifications' (p. 62) of the mayoralty in the province in the absence of competing political fora. MacCarthaigh and Callanan look at mayors in the Republic of Ireland and observe that the position remains 'comparatively powerless and largely ceremonial' (p. 78).

In discussing French mayors, Borraz and Negrier note that although mayors were 'enjoying more autonomy' (p. 93) the position had to evolve within 'a system of constraints now defined by the EU, a restructured state and regions' (p. 93). Newell looks at changes to the Italian mayoralty since 1945 and highlights the impact of the 1993 reforms, which made them 'heads of the local state' (p. 171). Wouters discusses the impact of the German occupation on the mayoralty in Belgium and the Netherlands. McElligott supplies a brief history of the German mayoralty during the twentieth century. Finally, Ross considers the subjugation of mayors to central control in contemporary Russia, while Lloyd *et al.* comment on trends in relation to the mayoralty in the USA.

This is a stimulating and useful book; in particular the chapters by Maver and Knox concern issues that have received little attention in the academic literature. However, the combination of contributions from historians and political scientists in one volume means that the book lacks a common approach and structure. Furthermore, despite its claim to cover the period since 1800, overall there is very little analysis of the nineteenth century. The omission of a discussion of directly elected mayors from the chapter on England is also difficult to justify in relation to the theme of 'heads of the local state'. Similarly, the absence of a conclusion could be regarded as distinctive. However, the volume contains some excellent scholarship and would interest academics and students from several disciplines. It would make a useful addition to any academic library.

Michael Cole
(University of Liverpool)

Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective by **Kenneth F. Greene**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 350pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 521 87719 0

This book is about regime transition from an authoritarian dominant party into a fully competitive democracy. It aims to understand the puzzle of why dominant parties persist and eventually lose. Using a theory of single-party dominance and Mexico as a case study, the author argues that dominant parties divert public resources through hyper-incumbency advantages with which they win elections before election day. However, these parties lose when public resources are blocked either by introducing strong oversight institutions or a market economy. The book is original and rigorous. Written in readable language, it analytically works from the puzzle to theory and evidence. The author achieves his objective in an innovative way by developing a theory of party dominance.

The book is useful to scholars of politics and pro-democracy actors, but it has a number of shortcomings. First, the author employs several concepts without adequate clarification: for example, single-party dominance (p. 1), fully competitive democracy (p. 3), dominant-party authoritarian regimes (p. 11), constitutional one-party regimes (p. 13), fully closed authoritarian regimes (p. 13), hegemonic party systems (p. 14), etc.

Second, the author uses 'dominant parties' and 'dominant-party systems' interchangeably (pp. 1–12). The two concepts are not synonymous, and nor does he ever define 'dominant parties', which form the key subject of the book. Also, attributing the weakness and failure of opposition parties wholly to a dominant party is far from political reality (pp. 59–64), and it suggests that in the absence of a dominant party, opposition parties are 'ideal' organisations.

A further weakness is that in Africa the existence of a market economy did not significantly impact dominant parties. In Tanzania, for example, the ruling party continues to win landslide victories. In 1995 and 2000, where the reports of international and domestic observers characterised the elections as meaningful and unfair, the ruling party won 60 per cent and 70 per cent of the popular vote, respectively. In 2005 where such reports certified the elections as free and fair, it won 80 per cent. Tanzania adopted a market economy in the 1980s and it has no strong oversight institutions, yet the system is not

a fully competitive democracy. The developed theory is unable to explain this phenomenon (pp. 33–4). Finally, the proposed theory is one-directional. It does not consider the possibility of a dominant party being replaced by a party which may become dominant (democratic reversals).

Alexander B. Makulilo
(University of Dar es Salaam)

The Identity of Nations by **Montserrat Guibernau**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007. 235pp., £55.00, £17.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 2662 8, ISBN 978 0 7456 2663 5

While in her previous books Montserrat Guibernau engaged in a thorough examination of notions of national identity and the processes of its formation, this new volume examines the challenges posed by globalisation for Western forms of national identity. For Guibernau these challenges originate from above, below and within nations: from the impact and pressures of supranational institutions, from changing political structures of nation states and intensified migration and from changing attitudes and values among co-nationals.

The impact of devolution on national identities is discussed through a comparative analysis of Spain, the UK and Canada. The examination of political processes involved and of public opinion survey data lead the author to conclude that while the creation of devolved institutions may 'foster a sense of common regional' (p. 56) and proliferation of dual identities, it does not necessarily promote secessionist claims. Rather, Guibernau argues, it strengthens democracy. Just as with devolution, migration also challenges the established notions of national identities and forces dominant ethnicities to redefine their boundaries. Yet, as the cases of Austria and the US (and numerous other examples) show, these do not necessarily lead to the promotion of multicultural views. While Western Europe and North America are engaged in a debate on possibilities for the development of supranational identities – either European or generally cosmopolitan ones – the rise of the new radical right parties can be seen as a search for new definitions of apparently lost 'pure', organic definitions of nations. As a result of all these challenges, Guibernau concludes, 'national identity is simultaneously more solidly constructed by efficient strategies of nation-building and

much more open to alien influences impossible to control and exclude from the national space' (p. 189).

The main topic of the book probably asks for strong normative views that the author is not shy of expressing. While processes that challenge national identities in today's apparently global world are well detected and exemplified, Guibernau warns us that we are still far from understanding the internal dynamics of renegotiations of the meaning of these identities. Clear definitions, rich sources of data and a careful selection of relevant case studies all make this volume a good starting point for such investigation.

Gordana Uzelac
(London Metropolitan University)

Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents by **Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 404 pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 19 920284 3

Following the logic of the Elmira modern electoral behaviour research project, the Comparative National Elections Project launched in 1990 tackles aspects of political communication and social structure within elections based on compatible research designs and common survey questions. Using these data and selecting their cases on the most different system design, the authors analyse processes of political intermediation and their impact on electoral politics and the mechanisms of political support in old and new democracies from Europe, North and South America and Asia. The six different analyses included in the volume focus on the ways in which political attitudes, opinions and values are interrelated and connected with partisan politics; on the different channels through which parties and candidates send their messages to voters in order to mobilise their support; and on forms of political support based on the relationship between opinions and beliefs and satisfaction with a specific political system.

Targeted primarily at political scientists, this volume offers two relevant methodological and theoretical contributions. On the one hand, it provides the first systematic comparison of attitudes towards democracy in states with a variety of political contexts and experiences. On the other hand, the cross-national

analyses catch the impact of durable socio-political values – aspects which are rarely if ever emphasised within comparative politics.

Building on solid conceptual grounds and employing a variety of methods ranging from associations to logistic regression models, separate research chapters provide convincing inquiries into the linkages between voters, political institutions and elites. The book achieves its goals at both the empirical and methodological level. Empirically, there are three types of linkage: the intermediation of secondary institutions represented by trade unions, religious groups and civic groups (Bellucci, Maraffi and Segatti); direct face-to-face contacts within social networks (Richardson and Allan Beck); and contact through media (Schmitt-Beck and Voltmer). Methodologically, two contributions are significant for further studies regarding the impact of mediation on electoral behaviour and political participation. First, the conceptually driven effort of the editors to distinguish between features of attitudes towards democracy ends in a comparative research that emphasises the relationships between different types of attitude. Second, by testing multiple explanations within a common model, the last two chapters provide further evidence for the robustness of the explained intermediation mechanisms in influencing voter mobilisation.

This well-written book covers a gap in the existing literature by emphasising the role played by electoral intermediaries in shaping attitudes. The clear-cut analyses open new roads for research as they reach challenging conclusions for the democratic and democratising world.

Sergiu Gherghina
(Leiden University)

Nations, States, and Violence by **David D. Laitin**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 162pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 19 922823 2

In this small but very dense and rich new book, Stanford professor David D. Laitin presents a comprehensive revisionist interpretation of nations and nationalism in the context of states and violence. In a few concise chapters which draw on various studies and elaborate on the works of others, Laitin discusses whether nationalism is dangerous, presents four routes leading national and ethnic communities to violence, explores national identities within the context of both a primordialist and

instrumentalist interpretation and analyses the cultural foundations of nationalism and the historical relationship between the state and the nation in the twenty-first century. He concludes by outlining ways to manage multinational states and promotes the need to rethink nation building. He emphasises 'the historically new problems in nation-building, and the challenge of doing so while recognizing the incentive of individuals to coordinate and ultimately to give loyalty to distinct nationality groups within their multinational states' (p. 137).

Laitin offers, *inter alia*, a critical discussion of Horowitz's theory of ethnic secessions, concluding that, when applied to six post-Soviet cases, the theory fails in four of them (p. 16). The book also presents two models of interdependent national choice, i.e. Abram de Swaan's 'floral model' and Thomas Schelling's tipping game, and applies both to national identity formation. Thus Laitin offers a definition of a nation as a population with a coordinated set of beliefs about their cultural identities whose representatives claim ownership of a state for themselves by dint of that coordination (pp. 40–1). The theoretical reflections and general considerations are supported by empirical studies from fieldwork undertaken in Europe and Africa, namely in Estonia, Spain, Nigeria and Somalia.

Laitin is preoccupied with the relationship between nations, including both national minorities and states. However, this obscures an equally distinct approach as to the very nature of national minorities and it thus remains unclear what, exactly, constitutes minorities in opposition to, interrelated with or in symbiosis with the dominant majority communities. Why and how does ethnicity matter to minorities? A closer investigation of the intra-state and supra-state cooperation between minorities in pan-European organisations might also provide insight into the role of minorities. Laitin convincingly reveals 'the supposed affinity of national difference and violence to be a chimera' (p. 2), but this important point might have been elaborated further drawing upon case studies from other minority regions as well.

Overall this is a stimulating, thought-provoking work which is highly relevant to students of nationalism, ethnicity and identities.

Jorgen Kuhl
(A. P. Moller School, Copenhagen)

Transatlantic Divide: Comparing American and European Society by **Alberto Martinelli (ed.)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 351pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 920452 6

This interesting and important edited volume, the result of international scholarly cooperation in the Comparative Charting of Social Change Group (CCSC), partially fills a gap in comparative political science literature. The book compares the society and politics of the European Union (treated here as a single state) with the United States. The book specifically searches 'for convergences and divergences' between these two global powers, similar in size and economic weight 'but asymmetric in terms of political influence and military might' (p. 1).

The book has ten chapters. The introductory and concluding chapters, which hold the volume together as a cohesive whole, are authored by the editor. The first chapter briefly outlines the adopted comparative approach and methodological challenges faced in producing the volume. Martinelli then goes on to argue that the EU and the US offer two contrasting models of Western modernity. The final chapter makes several important conclusions: first, that a specifically European society is emerging; second, that globalisation and the process of constructing the EU has led to convergence, not divergence, between the EU and the US; and finally, Martinelli argues that the foreign policies of the EU and the US will continue to differ in the future, while remaining mutually complementary. Sandwiched in between are eight sectoral chapters. Of particular interest is the lengthy fifth chapter comparing the 'politics and institutional architecture' of the EU and the US (again authored by Martinelli), which argues that while both the EU and the US have strong democracies, the *quality* of the democratic experience in both has declined, and is under increasing threat. Other worthy chapters compare the economic sphere, inequality and welfare, as well as value change, religion and the family.

This is a well-written and extensively researched scholarly volume that breaks ground in treating the EU as a single state. However, the book was published in 2007, three years after the EU had been enlarged to 25 states, and the year in which it grew to 27. The authors fail adequately to deal with this 'geographic boundary' problem. For example, chapter 9 compares urban areas in the EU and US, yet the table on page 225 only lists the

50 largest cities in Western Europe. This neglect of the newer member states, and thus the currently existing enlarged EU, is repeated throughout the volume and brings into question the validity of the volume's wider conclusions about the EU.

Daunis Auers
(University of Latvia)

Social Democracy in Power: The Capacity to Reform by **Wolfgang Merkel, Alexander Petring, Christian Henkes and Christoph Egle**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. 309pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 43820 9

This book is an excellent survey of contemporary European social democratic parties during the much-noted period, around the late 1990s, when a large number were simultaneously in office across Europe. The book provides a timely scholarly review of social democratic possibilities within, and responses to, contemporary socio-economic and political conditions such as globalisation, neoliberalism, European integration, increased budget deficits and the post-Fordist decline in class politics. This examination is conducted largely through rich qualitative policy analysis (covering fiscal, employment and social policy in each case) of the social democratic parties in each of the six countries focused upon in the study (UK, France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands). To my knowledge, the book presents the most detailed, insightful and complete analysis of contemporary social democratic policy making available at present. It is invaluable as a single source for both teaching and researching contemporary European social democracy.

After presenting the six detailed country chapters, the book brings together the main findings in a comparative chapter. Here the main argument is developed: social democratic parties *have* each undergone reforms in the light of the theorised constraints (outlined above), but neither the extent nor the form of these reforms is uniform. In particular, three different types of response to contemporary conditions can be observed – traditional social democratic (in which change is marginal – this applies to the German SPD and, even more so, the French *Parti Socialiste*), modernised social democratic (in which there has been an attempt to renew social democratic policy instruments, but retain traditional objectives – the Swedish SAP and Danish SD) and

liberalised social democratic (in which consistent moves away from traditional social democratic concerns with de-commodification can be witnessed – the British Labour party and the Dutch PvdA). The authors identify the structure of party competition – particularly the presence of significant left, right or pro-welfare party competitors – as ‘the most important variable for explaining the shape and content of social democratic policies’ (p. 241).

My main objection to the argument of the book is the assumption (sometimes tacit) that it was *necessary* for social democratic parties to undergo reforms – in particular, fiscal consolidation and employment-incentivising policy reforms – and that therefore we are studying the constraints upon social democratic governments as they attempted to achieve these. To begin with, a considerable amount of work has been produced by authors such as Colin Hay, Duane Swank and Layna Mosley which challenges the claim that such reforms are at all necessary. Secondly, the question of *why* social democratic governments would wish to implement such reforms (provided they could circumvent the constraints they faced in seeking to do so) is never fully addressed.

David J. Bailey
(University of Birmingham)

Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change by **Hugh Miall**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 206pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 333 98767 4

Hugh Miall's study explores the conditions under which emergent conflicts – conflicts of group interests that result from social and environmental change – manifest themselves either in violence or in positive, peaceful change. Miall argues that existing theories fail to explain how conflicts of interest emerge in the context of social change. He dedicates the first half of his book to outlining a theory of emergent conflict, first considering how the changing social environment leads to conflicts of interest between social groups and then addressing the issue of group goal formation. Miall then considers how conflicts can be accommodated and transformed, and explores a number of preventers of conflict, including democratisation, economic development and regional integration. In the second half of the book, he applies this theoretical framework to two case studies, namely conflicts resulting from land reform and climate change.

Miall's two case studies are well executed and make for interesting reading. In the case of land reform he argues that a number of factors ensure that such reforms are peaceful, including sufficient landowner compensation, backing from a legitimate government and public acceptance of the reforms as inevitable. On climate change, he is more forward looking and makes a strong case for the need to speed up the transition from fossil to alternative fuels. He argues that such a shift will encourage technical innovation and thereby reduce the carbon intensity of economic output, transforming the potential for conflict into positive social change.

At times, Miall's analysis underplays the role of elites in driving conflicts. For instance, when discussing the mixed role played by regional organisations in preventing conflict, he attributes the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s to 'The intrusion of Western democratic models and market conditionality into eastern Europe' (p. 109), saying nothing about the role played by local nationalist leaders. Furthermore, Miall's formal approach to modelling conflicts makes for difficult reading at times and might not be to everyone's epistemological taste. Nevertheless, he has succeeded in significantly advancing theoretical understandings of emergent conflict. The case studies on land reform and climate change make for useful contributions in their own right, and one can imagine that Miall's theoretical framework could usefully be applied to other cases of social change, such as those resulting from globalisation or migration. His book would therefore make useful reading not only for established academics but also for postgraduates or advanced undergraduates planning dissertations focusing on emergent conflict.

Laurence Cooley
(University of Birmingham)

Strategies for Democratic Change: Assessing the Global Response by **Ted Piccone and Richard Youngs (eds)**. Washington DC: Democracy Coalition Project, 2006. 204pp., \$18.00, ISBN 0 9727299 9 2 [Available from: info@demcoalition.org]

The timing of this book is significant, for it attempts effectively to summarise the challenges faced by the international community in its endeavour to promote open democratic societies in different niches of the world. What becomes clear through reading this book is that democratic governments adopt different strategies in their campaign to promote democracy, mainly

because they have different agendas in the democratisation process stemming from the diversity of their own interests. The authors wistfully argue that it is this variety of interests that harms the efforts of the community of democracies to sustain sincere and coordinated messages towards states in democratic transition.

In order to achieve its aim the book examines seven countries (Burma, Togo, Turkey, Ukraine, Venezuela, Yemen and Zimbabwe) from various troubled regions (the Middle East, Africa, Eastern Europe, South America and South Asia). This serves two purposes. Firstly, it enables a comparative assessment of the approach democratic governments use to promote democracy, which in turn helps the reader highlight the various interests and policies that follow. Secondly, it demonstrates how the policies adopted affect the results acquired, either directly or indirectly.

The editors rightly posit that it is time for the international community to harmonise its efforts, to be less egoistical about its democracy promotion strategies and to take more seriously the challenges faced by transitional democracies. Against the backdrop of current international events and rising violence, transitional democracies become more dangerous than totalitarian states, since the volatility and backlash lie largely in the process of transition.

The authors have accomplished what they set out to do in terms of capturing the nuances of the various challenges which still confront the international community in order to advance democracy globally. Moreover, the book manages to expose the hidden interests which lie behind the policies chosen to deal with transitional democracies. The book's strength lies in its clear argument and well-organised structure, which enable the reader to follow smoothly the editors' logic towards their conclusion.

That being said, a better introduction might have been required to the book's research design and case study selection. Nevertheless, this is a solid work that policy makers would be wrong to dismiss as a solely academic venture that does not hold weight in the real world. On the contrary, this blueprint could serve as a realistic source of information on how to tackle pressing issues and deal with the mounting quandaries facing the international community's democratisation policy.

Rouba Al-Fattal
(University of Leuven)

The State of Resistance by François Polet (ed.). London: Zed Books, 2007. 208pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 1 84277 868 5

The aim of this book is to 'provide a panorama of the social movements in the South that are fighting against social injustice and arbitrary politics' (p. 1). It is divided into four geographical sections: Latin America, the Near East and the Maghreb, Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. Each is addressed in between seven and nine short chapters addressing the politics of specific countries or sub-regions.

This approach is illuminating in so far as it does not seek to subsume the complexities of national and regional struggles into an overarching narrative. Therefore, the various contributions clearly bring out the different intersections between politics, identity and capitalism in different cases. In a sense, however, this is also the book's weakness. François Polet's introduction addresses the problem of what he calls 'convergences' between movements, which, he says, 'do not come about naturally' (p. 8). On the contrary, it is necessary for people to 'stand back from their own situation ... and realise what they have in common with other groups ... through the symbolic construction of a "framework" of a common identity or adversary' (p. 8). This seems problematic inasmuch as it calls to mind a consciousness-raising vanguard movement. More seriously, and more prosaically, however, from the contributions here it is often difficult to see how a common ground could be constructed, no matter how far back one stands.

For example, it is never clear what is being resisted at any particular moment or in any particular region. Sarah Ben Néfissa writes that 'The reactivation of Arab civil societies has been financed and supported morally by international and regional organizations such as the World Bank, the United Nations, the European Union and various other foreign public organizations, particularly US ones' (p. 69). Elsewhere, it is precisely the influence of these institutions, which may be termed 'neoliberal', which is being decried (p. 43). I would argue that the insidious effects of 'neoliberalism' must be explained, rather than being assumed in every case. The introduction contends that 'It is striking how the socio-economic conditions are similar in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America' (p. 4), but, as the contributions themselves make clear, the impact of institutions

and policies associated with 'neoliberalism' is highly variable.

This is a readable volume which productively gives expression to the multiplicity of political activism influential (to a greater or lesser degree) in 'the non-West'. However, taking too seriously the idea of the 'resistance of the Global South' does violence to this multiplicity. Governments such as that of Evo Morales, which may, certain caveats notwithstanding, be seen as a 'government of social movements' (p. 31) would possibly be better understood not as *resistances*, but as positive political organisations in their own right.

Laura Guillaume
(Aberystwyth University)

Cities in Transition: Growth, Change and Governance in Six Metropolitan Areas by Nirmala Rao. London: Routledge, 2007, 193pp., £65.00, ISBN 0 415 32901 9.

Cities in Transition is an analysis of the governance of six major cities – London, Tokyo, Toronto, Berlin, Hyderabad and Atlanta – and their responses to the contemporary demands of urban governance. The emphasis of the text lies in the common dilemmas raised by major planning problems and the search for more suitable approaches to governance and citizen involvement.

The first chapter evaluates the problems of rapid metropolitan growth and assesses the extent to which 'responses of metropolitan governments have varied' (p. 1). It asserts the 'importance of understanding the social and political context within which systems of metropolitan governance emerge' (p. 1) and justifies the selection of the six cities in relation to their histories, governance, social and economic problems and aspirations to become a global player.

The book incorporates chapters on each of the six chosen cities. The chapter on London considers the frequent changes to its governance arrangements, characterises the city as 'the world's leading test bed for approaches to metropolitan governance' (p. 42) and praises the achievements of the Assembly and mayoral model established in 2000. The theme of regular experimentation in relation to governance issues also emerges strongly in relation to Toronto, which has been engaged

in a 'persistent search for more effective forms of metropolitan governance' (p. 91).

The analysis of Berlin's governance implies that although the merger of the city's two Länder removed 'impediments to a development process' (p. 116), these changes were an inadequate response to the problems of such an important city. Similarly, the chapter on Tokyo concludes that the city has 'fallen far short in solving the problems of metropolitan governance' (p. 63). The study of Hyderabad focuses on the planning and infrastructure problems in handling rapid development in a city benefiting from the emergence of an 'IT hub' (p. 140), while the evaluation of Atlanta focuses on the 'consequences of unregulated urban growth' (p. 12).

This text is an important addition to the comparative and interdisciplinary literature on the governance of major cities and shows an impressive command of the key issues. It should be of interest to students and scholars of globalisation, governance and urban studies. It would make a useful addition to any university library and the bookshelves of academics with an interest in any of its key themes.

Michael Cole
(University of Liverpool)

We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit <http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/>.

General Politics

Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present by **Duncan Bell (ed.)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. 275pp., £50.00, ISBN 0 230 00656 6

Memory, Trauma and World Politics is a fascinating and long overdue study of memory as a multidisciplinary phenomenon. The present volume widens the focus beyond the conventional study of 'collective memory' by situating it at the heart of the political project of modernity. As the authors argue, 'memory and trauma

have always been intertwined with global politics' (p. 4). By insisting on the connection between trauma, memory and politics, the general aim throughout the chapters is to illuminate the essential need for international scholars and practitioners to embrace the study of such disciplines as history, anthropology, ethics and psychoanalysis, to enrich both the discipline of political science and our understanding of politics. By (re-) problematising the concept of memory, many of the authors delve deeper into the normative and political dimensions of the recent 'obsession' with memory that they believe is characteristic of postmodern society. Their goal is to 'salvage' memory from oversimplification and ambiguity by illustrating the infinite ways through which the study of memory can aid in disclosing multiple cultural and institutional practices, as well as revealing larger meta-theoretical and philosophical discourses.

The structure of the book reflects this broad intent by incorporating essays which range widely in theoretical scope and focus. At one end of the continuum is the study of trauma as 'the central feature of modernity' (p. 75) used as a theoretical and methodological tool to reveal the indispensability of the study of memory *qua* ethics. This group of essays is preoccupied with untangling the intimate link between the concepts of modern politics, sovereignty and trauma that defines the manner in which politics is thought of and remembered, particularly in the context of such twentieth-century tragedies as the Holocaust and the two world wars. At the other end of the spectrum is the empirical analysis of the ways in which 'trauma' translates into politics through both semantic and symbolic articulations of remembrance as forgiveness and retribution. At the same time, these essays clearly illustrate that forgetting is as fundamental to bracketing political possibilities as is remembrance.

Memory, Trauma and World Politics is a theoretically rich and imaginative volume that thoughtfully and convincingly navigates the reader through the multiple ways in which memory is proven to be indispensable for the understanding of modern politics. While the title of the book reveals the vastness of the subject matter, the present volume is a remarkable first step in the right direction.

Alla Mirzoyan
(Independent Scholar)

Thinking about Law: In Silence with Heidegger by **Oren Ben-Dor**. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2007. 414pp., £30.00, ISBN 1 841 13354 X

Law as a Means to an End: Threat to the Rule of Law by **Brian Z. Tamanaha**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 254pp., £43.00, ISBN 0 521 68967 8

Moving between disciplines and back again is especially important in our post-disciplinary age, a time when either multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary work seems to command the greatest attention, from our institutions and from funding councils. Leaving aside the plausibility of establishing real interdisciplinarity, political scientists of all persuasions find themselves looking out from their disciplinary home, to seek useful insights from other fields. In this review I examine two texts that might (and I stress *might*) help someone think about the question of law and its role in (global) politics.

In *Thinking about Law* Oren Ben-Dor utilises Heidegger to examine the pervasiveness of the legal both as a mode of thought and a method of establishing a silence about certain elements of the political. The author starts by exploring how Heidegger's work on being may reveal the difficulty of thinking about the law's being, its ontology: the very act of thinking about law is captured by its being and hence the ability to think ontologically about law is compromised by the law's ability to define what it is to be law. The difficulty for Ben-Dor is that the essence of law must be more than, or different from, merely the legal, but this very essence is that about which he believes legal scholars have remained silent. To rectify this silence, he develops a close reading firstly of Heidegger through a dense series of numbered paragraphs, and then deploys a discussion of Levinas to establish the ethical other from which a discussion of the essence of law, that does not include the legal as its central aspect, can be constructed. Finally, returning to Heidegger, the author concludes in the coda that the problem of ethics, law and the legal can only be resolved by an appeal to the Divine as law's antecedent other.

Taking a very different approach, Brian Tamanaha's *Law as a Means to an End* continues his project looking at the rule of law as one of the key political ideals of modern society; here he is concerned with the clash of two competing ways of understanding legal processes. Tamanaha argues throughout the book that

the instrumental view of law, that law serves social purposes defined outside its own realm, is opposed to a more natural law-like approach that sees the law as containing principles which should be adhered to whatever the outcome in any specific circumstance. This leads him to set out a history of the instrumental view of law, essentially a nineteenth-century notion which resonates in contemporary thinking about the law. This contemporary instrumentalism is laid out in some detail in the second part which explores instrumentalism in a number of legal realms, from academia to the legal profession, from its impact on litigation to its role in legislating. This leads Tamanaha to conclude that a means-end logic leads to the overreaching of law, perhaps best typified by the 'torture memos', where legality disrupts previous legal mores. Although he is clear to point out that he is not a legal utopian hoping to return law to a previous moral age, nevertheless instrumentalism has itself the potential to undermine the widespread acquiescence in the rule of law. Concluding with a reading of E. P. Thompson's famous final section of *Whigs and Hunters*, Tamanaha does not lapse into political pessimism, but clearly wishes to sound an alarm.

The question is, how useful are these books for developing an engagement between politics and law in analytical, rather than empirical, terms? Ben-Dor's book, like many close readings by post-structuralists, is a difficult read for the non-adept, and given the frequent difficulty of establishing the common ground between disciplines on which the articulation of interdisciplinarity can prosper, this book is unlikely to appeal to those political scientists seeking a way into law. Whatever its other qualities, this is not a book that facilitates or encourages, to my mind, a discussion between law and politics, despite this implicitly being its subject. While seemingly intending to address this interface, in the end Ben-Dor's mode of argumentation denies the non-specialist reader the possibility of an approach that could be used to develop interdisciplinary insights. Tamanaha's book on the other hand, while an excellent and accessible discussion of the contemporary crisis of the rule of law, by (unsurprisingly) being so focused on the US legal system (and therefore a specific form of constitutionalism), delivers insights to non-US political science only in a form that requires further mediation. This is not necessarily a problem for those working at either a relatively general level of abstraction as regards the relationship between politics and law, or whose work is focused on

the USA. However, for those seeking insights into the relationship between politics and law in the UK, or for that matter on the continent of Europe, sadly this book will be of little direct use, however interesting and readable it may be. Therefore, for budding interdisciplinarians working on politics and law neither of these books is a crucial read or purchase.

Christopher May
(University of Lancaster)

Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances by **Seyla Benhabib, Ian Shapiro and Danilo Petranovic (eds)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 424pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 521 68693 8

Under the heading of *Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances* the Yale-based political scientists Seyla Benhabib, Ian Shapiro and Danilo Petranovic bring together sixteen scholars from American, European and Turkish universities to explore political identities in both theoretical and empirical contributions. The volume is concerned with 'the political dimensions of human attachment, with why people identify and affiliate themselves with the political projects that they do, how and why these allegiances change, and how and why they should change – to the extent that they can be consciously influenced if not directed' (p. 1). Following a substantial introduction by the editors, the volume covers four main issues: the emergence and limits of national political identities analysed by four theory-based contributions; multiple identities in practice with cases from Europe regarding institution building, soft borders and transnational nationalism; the process of decoupling citizenship from identity; and identity and historical injustice.

The chapters cover a wide range of topics and offer evidence, arguments and interpretations. They also stimulate further reflections. Some chapters are preoccupied with normative theories while others present and draw conclusions from empirical studies within the social sciences. Thus the book is relevant to readers interested in sociology, law, political science, international affairs and the humanities.

Although the contributions touch upon issues related to national minorities in several ways, they lack a general analysis of the multifarious and complex nature of identification processes immanent to well-integrated minority communities. Hence the question 'Why do some people disassociate themselves from dominant groups

and turn their loyalties in part or totally toward minority communities?' is not addressed at all, although this aspect might have added deeper insight into the complexity and often surprising processes of imagination and construction of identities beyond and within the state. For instance, the concept of 'fluid identities' introduced by Julie Mostov in her fine chapter on soft borders and transnational citizens, drawing on evidence from South-Eastern Europe, could be applied to traditional minorities in Western Europe as well, adding further aspects to the dynamic, interactive and context-related character of identification. Finally, the core message of the volume, listing identities, affiliations and allegiances as key concepts in the analysis and quest for understanding political and other identities, might be extended to include affinities as well. Thus some individual preferences for communities are based on affinities with a low intensity of identification but intertwined with multiple and mixed identities rather than affiliations or allegiances.

Jorgen Kuhl
(A. P. Moller School, Copenhagen)

Political Interventions: Social Science and Political Action by **Pierre Bourdieu**. London: Verso, 2008. 398pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 84467 190 8

In addition to being one of the twentieth century's most prominent sociologists, Pierre Bourdieu was one of its great academic controversialists and political *provocateurs*. Both aspects of the man, and the connections between them, are displayed in this extensive collection of his more explicitly 'political' interventions. The book spans the period from the war in Algeria in the early 1960s to the turn of the millennium, covering topics as varied as colonialism, education, global neoliberalism, journalism and television. Content ranges in form to include academic articles, newspaper editorials and public lectures, and the collection highlights the scope of Bourdieu's engagements, his understanding of the relationship between social science and political action and his vision of the role and responsibility of the social analyst today.

For Bourdieu, theoretical and empirical social inquiry could not be justified as an end in itself. It is only worth the effort if it has positive social and political impact. He is critical both of the facile relativism that he associates with some forms of postmodernism and of the technocratic policy-driven ethos of much social science. In their place, he proposed early in his career that ethno-

sociologists become 'a kind of organic intellectual of humanity' (p. 24), who, by laying bare the multiple structures of power operating through society and individual subjects, might provide social actors with tools for overcoming domination and increasing democracy. Intellectuals, he argues, must pursue this mission while at the same time giving up traditional vanguardism, social manipulation or adopting the 'rather exasperating' role of 'pure intellectuals [who] find themselves relegated to the grand moral prophesy that is characteristic of the media age' (p. 71). Part of the often pessimistic (or perhaps just socially realistic) tone that exists side by side with the activism and commitment in these pages arises from his doubts about the ability of social science and scientists to play this role effectively in a world where he feels it is ever more necessary.

No doubt few will find themselves agreeing with everything in this book, either analytically or politically. There is also some repetition in the selection and themes that will be of interest only to some. But at his best, Bourdieu in these pages remains combative, incisive and challenging – a critical sociologist who continues to provide analytic insight and political provocation.

Michael C. Williams
(Aberystwyth University)

Political Language and Metaphor: Interpreting and Changing the World by **Terrell Carver and Jernej Pikalo (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. 293pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 41735 8

While there have been several books and numerous journal articles devoted to the use of metaphor in political language, any edited book of essays on the matter is assured to provide a useful resource. In the introduction to this volume, Carver and Pikalo claim a particular focus. To state this briefly, they insist that *Political Language and Metaphor* should not be seen as a series of case studies in how metaphor has come to be used in political discourse, but rather as a prolonged exploration of the usefulness and limitedness of metaphor in understanding political expression. So instead of snatching at a moment in the development of metaphorical language in politics, the book tries to set methodological standards for better organised and more informed studies in the future.

Certainly, the authors of a number of the chapters dedicate themselves to this task. Cienki outlines an approach based on a refined definition of metaphor, a

corpus-based approach to establishing context and a willingness to explore language-user comprehension. Drulák examines the study of metaphor in international relations, proposing that work should first appraise the dominant terms in the target domain and use a qualitative rather than numbers-driven analysis of data. Thirdly, Mottier writes an enticing account of how the study of metaphor can make use of the Foucauldian notion of the political subject and its dynamic place within networks of power. These three are far from being the only chapters to make sophisticated points on methodology. In a chapter that sets cognition in rhetorical contrast with action, Yanow takes the book's subtitle at its word by demanding a greater focus on the purposes for which metaphors are employed: 'changing' rather than merely 'interpreting' the world.

Yet these chapters and many others in the collection combine regard for the book's methodological legacy with discussion of political metaphors as they presently operate: which is just how it should be. The chief attraction of metaphor to the political classes is adaptability. The metaphors of family, community and stability highlighted by Honohan can be and have been appropriated by politicians across the spectrum; a point that applies in different ways across many of the chapters. A pervasiveness ranging from the misuse of 'freedom' in ecological debates to the deployment of astrological terminology in US foreign policy is best illustrated by bringing such a divergent selection of examples together. Methodology remains central, but we should be grateful that Carver and Pikalo's volume shows the breadth of our task.

Michael Higgins
(University of Strathclyde)

Health Policy and Politics by **Alison Hann (ed.)**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. 206pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7064 3

The blurb on the cover of this book says you should read it because it discusses a wider range of topics than most health-policy books, and it will indeed be a rare student of health policy who knows so much that he or she does not learn from this volume.

However, there is an even better reason to read this book: its contributors think hard about concepts in practice. Health politics, and government, are full of concepts like 'modernisation', 'devolution' and 'choice'. Much of the thinking is of such poor quality that we can

only speculate as to whether the ideas are the rhetorical instruments of policy makers with other motivations, or whether they are the true beliefs of policy makers with weak minds. This means that the writers about ideas tend to divide into two. Some take the concepts at the government's word and write, critically or uncritically, as if White Papers were real policy and serious philosophy. Others evaluate the policies hidden behind the words but do not question the words themselves or identify underlying changes.

The result is that major concepts which summarise and drive policy are little understood. What is decentralisation? What makes a modern government department? Why is everybody talking about consumerism? What is responsiveness? Whence the assumption that vaccines are always good?

This book's authors answer these questions and others. They work through the fate of modernisation in policy making, the actual meaning of decentralisation (with an important new interpretive framework), consumerism (with a document analysis), the theories of choice and voice in public services and the new public health in practice. In almost every case the chapters are short, informative and novel. Even where the ideas have been published elsewhere, these versions are shorter and more fun to read than the journal versions.

Health Policy and Politics is a good read, it brings the reader up to date on diverse topics, floats new ideas and would make an excellent teaching text. And it ought to be available in paperback at a much lower price.

Scott L. Greer
(University of Michigan)

Terrorism, Organised Crime and Corruption: Networks and Linkages by **Leslie Holmes (ed.)**. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2007. 302pp., £72.00, ISBN 978 1 84542 537 1

This edited volume brings together a collection of papers which contribute to studies on terrorism, organised crime and corruption by focusing on these three themes individually and in their connections to one another. In the opening chapter, Holmes provides an introduction to the nexus between the phenomena, in which he argues that it has not been sufficiently understood by practitioners and academics, but needs to be examined in its linkages also to corporate crime. Bovenkerk and Chakra argue that organised crime and

terrorism can be analysed in a comparative perspective, despite their academic separation by criminologists. Lentini provides a different argument in his case study on Muslims in both Europe and Australia. Focusing on the ways in which an 'inclusion-exclusion' logic – resulting in marginalisation and alienation – might be avoided and thus terrorism pre-empted, he argues for the concept of cultural citizenship. Davison focuses on the efficacy of soft-law regimes, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Union (EU) and the Council of Europe, which arguably have been relatively successful and encouraging in combating terrorism, corruption and organised crime. Holmes highlights the linkages between corruption and organised crime in Central and Eastern Europe; Tsyganov explores the re-emergence in Russia of pre-communist linkages between political, technocratic and economic power with crime and corruption; Czarnota examines corruption in Poland; Shearman analyses the role of Tony Blair in the 'war on terror'; and Alleyne scrutinises the effect of corporate power and its indirect contribution to terrorism.

This book is multidisciplinary, as it contains contributions from criminology, politics and international relations scholars. It includes a wide variety of fascinating papers with a dominant focus on the conceptual broadening of security. This is a noteworthy research agenda which, hopefully, will be followed by many more scholars. Yet one might have expected stronger connections between the chapters in this edited volume, as well as a more substantial conclusion drawing together all the themes explored in the various chapters. Nonetheless, it remains a very stimulating book which will attract the interest of a large audience in different disciplines. It deals with a variety of cases around the globe and contributes to a range of intellectual debates across several disciplines. Consequently, it should be read by many scholars.

Christian Kaunert
(University of Salford)

The Tools of Government in the Digital Age by **Christopher C. Hood and Helen Z. Margetts**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 218pp., £20.99, ISBN 978 0 230 00144 2

Christopher Hood and Helen Margetts have written a small book on a big issue. They present a basic

framework of the principal tools every government has at hand to influence society and collect information. They systematically distinguish between four classes of tools which together constitute the so-called 'NATO' frame. Within this scheme, 'Nodality' refers to government using its position as a nodal point in networks to detect information and affect society. 'Authority' is the capacity to use legal means for the same purposes. When buying or paying (e.g. welfare transfers) governments use what the authors call 'Treasure'. Finally, 'Organisation' refers to everything government does or how it organises itself by using its human resources (social workers, soldiers, etc.). Politicians face fundamental dilemmas when selecting policy instruments. By using well-targeted tools governments can reduce negative externalities and, thus, minimise the burden on citizens. These are, however, costly and more difficult to implement. Therefore it is crucial to make an informed choice. The first half of the book introduces, on a general level, the nature and characteristics of such instruments. Hood and Margetts provide examples collected from different countries, periods and policies. The second half turns to more applied questions and places the approach very briefly into the context of related research.

The introductory claim, 'whoever you are, this book is central to your concerns' (p. xiii), might seem somewhat grand, but in fact the authors have a point. The book is thought provoking and offers an inspiring framework for scholars of politics. It can also be used as a different kind of introduction to government. The language is accessible and examples throughout the book underpin the argument. Surprisingly, after two decades of new public management (NPM) and debates on governance, there are no major structural changes compared with the original version Hood presented in 1983. Also, the digital age, now featured in the title, only adds somewhat to complexity without affecting the nature of the approach. The authors see some opportunities in the quickly developing digital media, but conclude rather sceptically that 'governments will have to run even to stay still in the digital future' (p. 203). The book presents a challenge for scholars to conduct more detailed theoretical investigation on the level of individual instruments and, not least, to turn to empirical application.

Peter Hilger
(University of Helsinki)

When Political Parties Prosper. The Uses of Electoral Success by **Kay Lawson and Peter H. Merkl (eds)**. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007. 398pp., £46.95, ISBN 978 1 58826 5210 4

The functions and legitimacy of political parties are intensely debated in the literature, an agreement being reached with respect to their crucial role for democratic transition and consolidation. Starting from this consensus, Lawson and Merkl argue that parties are Janus-faced institutions that may serve as agencies of de-democratisation. The main question that guides their edited volume targeted at political scientists is whether parties prosper at the cost of democracy. In doing so, they use the method of comparative study for which fifteen contributions have been gathered – all but one of them single case studies – to which three introductory and concluding chapters authored by the editors are added. The book is structured in three parts (plus conclusions) on the basis of partisan identification: left parties, right parties and comparison between parties from both sides of the political spectrum.

The capacity of parties to endanger democracy is nuanced throughout the volume, and evidence from the regional and country chapters supports at three levels Lawson's argument that parties de-democrate. First, parties strengthen their leadership at the expense of membership and supporters. Second, by centring their programme parties increase their chances for electoral success, but severely decrease the potential for contestation and real political alternatives. Third, parties often abuse their government position and enact self-purposive legislation (used both to protect and to gain) that leads to corruption. These are valuable empirical explanations for the popular discontent about parties and their politics in many states. Besides this contribution, the book provides valuable theoretical and methodological insights. When dealing with 'prosperity', the editors carefully conceptualise and differentiate between electoral, government and coalition successes, emphasising their various mechanisms and effects. Furthermore, every chapter is methodologically grounded, and provides in-depth analysis of parties and rich descriptions that enhance further research.

The findings would be stronger were it not for two shortcomings. On the one hand, the case selection is not explained. Although it appears to be designed

around the most different systems, there is no reference to the criteria for including specific states within the research. On the other hand, as shown in the literature, left and right have different substantive meanings in the regions and countries observed and may limit the comparability of parties. In spite of these drawbacks, the clear and sharp style, good analytical tools and wealth of information make *When Political Parties Prosper* a valuable resource and framework for further analysis in party politics.

Sergiu Ghergina
(Leiden University)

Architect of Global Jihad: The Life of Al-Qaida Strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri by **Brynjar Lia**. London: C. Hurst & Co., 2007. 510pp., £27.50, ISBN 978 1 85065 856 6

Brynjar Lia's biography of al-Qa'eda strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri tells the story of this influential Salafist-Jihadist thinker and surveys the global movement of which he was an active member. Al-Suri, whose real name is Mustafa Setmariam Naser, was born in Syria in 1958. Lia traces his life from his early years in Syria, Jordan and Afghanistan to eventually gaining Spanish citizenship and finally his mysterious arrest in Pakistan in 2005.

This book is also a biography of the global Salafist-Jihadist movement, within which al-Qa'eda is only one player, albeit a significant one. For this reason, Lia's narrative draws the reader's attention to some key personalities who are often overlooked in the more sensational accounts of al-Qa'eda; men such as Abu Qatada, one of the most important spiritual leaders of the Salafist-Jihadist movement, and Abu Dahdah, al-Qa'eda's operational contact man in Europe until his arrest and imprisonment in Spain after 11 September 2001. Currently in custody, al-Suri's ideas and activities remain largely unknown beyond counter-terrorism and academic circles, but he plays a no less significant role than al-Qa'eda's better-known celebrities such as second-in-command Ayman al-Zawahiri.

Lia, a university professor and noted expert on radical Islamist movements, forgoes the kind of sensationalist reporting that characterised recent books by journalists, but still manages to tell a compelling story of a life lived without regret inside this violent, global movement. For this reason alone, Lia's book should be essential reading

for anyone who seeks to understand the global Salafist-Jihadist movement, including academic researchers and policy makers. For added value, the book contains Lia's own translation of key excerpts from al-Suri's most important work, the 1,600-page *Global Islamic Resistance Call*, the only known English translation available to the general public.

Marisa Urgo
(Independent Scholar)

The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing by **Debbie Lisle**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 299pp., £48.00, ISBN 0 521 86780 0

In her engaging treatise, Debbie Lisle shows why political scientists should not perceive popular travelogues such as the charming BBC series by Michael Palin as mere entertainment, but as a source for understanding global politics. By contrasting the writings of Bryson and Theroux she explains how the latter's *colonial vision* has been replaced by a *cosmopolitan vision* in travel writing, thereby referring to writers focusing on the harmonising effects of globalisation paired with a celebration of difference. Yet this seemingly superior approach is similarly apt at reproducing the logic of empire, hence Lisle's main argument 'that the cosmopolitan vision embedded in contemporary travel writing ... is not as emancipatory as it claims to be; rather, it is underscored by the remnants of Orientalism, colonialism and Empire' (p. 5).

After a discussion of travel writing's ambiguous literary status, Lisle demonstrates how travel writers engage in the production of difference, revealing a Foucauldian logic of identity/difference. Moreover, travelogues often fail to overcome the home/away distinction, which to this day is often matched by the dichotomies of civilised/uncivilised or safe/dangerous without questioning the notions of territory and border. In these instances, Lisle tries to show how dominant conceptions of power can be transcended by travel writers. Simultaneously, however, she argues that potential transgressors often end up reproducing these traditional dichotomies and thus the logic of empire. In this regard, it is particularly worthwhile to study her analysis of authors who, due to their gender, sexuality or descent, had previously been excluded from the guild of travel writers and thus now occupy the role of both the coloniser and the

colonised. Following Tété-Michael Kpomassie as *An African in Greenland*, Lisle retraces how even those writers bound to break the confines of the identity/difference framework do not escape it.

Appealing to researchers in both political science and literary studies, Lisle's book does not just succeed in unmasking the colonial heritage which guides the reasoning of cosmopolitan writers; she also shows how travelogues shape our perception of the state of affairs in a country, and may even co-determine the pursuant actions of decision makers. The famous example of former US President Clinton's reference to Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts* as a justification for his non-intervention policy is proof enough that political scientists definitely cannot disregard travelogues as a pastime read – and Lisle provides the ideal start for serious study of the genre.

Claudia Franziska Brühwiler
(University of St Gallen, Switzerland)

Basic Income: The Material Conditions of Freedom by **Daniel Raventós**. London: Pluto Press, 2007. 230pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7453 2629 0

The idea that all citizens have an unconditional right to a minimum income has gathered considerable momentum over the past 25 years. This book represents an accessible and thorough overview of the debates surrounding the basic-income proposal. Raventós examines the proposal in terms of its normative justifications and policy implications. In the first case, he considers the libertarian, real freedom and republican arguments for a guaranteed minimum income. While not rejecting the first two arguments, he places particular emphasis on the ability of a basic income to help ensure that individuals are not subject to the discretion of another. In the second case, Raventós considers the impact that a basic income will have on paid and unpaid work and the ability of a basic income to tackle poverty and, thereby, avert dependence and enhance self-respect. In addition, he devotes considerable attention to showing the advantages of an unconditional basic income over rival policy prescriptions such as means-tested subsidies, reduced working hours, a negative income tax or stakeholder grants.

One of the virtues of this book is that it does not shy away from responding to the charge that a basic income is not a viable proposition. Thus in one of the chapters we are presented with a careful analysis of the tax rates

required to finance a basic income and the resulting effect on income distribution. Raventós concludes by responding to a number of objections to a guaranteed basic income, including the charge that it encourages some to free-ride in a way that increases the costs borne by others and the concern that it will accelerate immigration from poor to rich countries. It seems almost churlish to pick holes in this otherwise excellent book, but it should be pointed out that Raventós does not explicitly respond to the claim, made by Amartya Sen and others, that resources represent an impoverished metric of human well-being. If that claim is correct, then it should lead us to question the merits of evaluating the basic-income proposal solely in terms of its impact on income poverty and income distribution. That quibble aside, this book offers a powerful defence of the basic-income proposal and it should be of considerable interest to policy makers, academics and students alike.

Simon Wigley
(Bilkent University)

Masters of Illusion: American Leadership in the Media Age by **Steven Rosefelde and D. Quinn Mills**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 540pp., £25.00, ISBN 0 521 85744 9

Media, War and Postmodernity by **Philip Hammond**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. 175pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 415 37494 1

Both of the books under review here refer to the formative effects of mass media on politics; however, they differ greatly in scope, approach and their general ambition. Rosefelde and Mills offer an easily accessible agenda, where media criticism only serves the bigger argument. In essence they present a manifesto, an urgent call for a strategic recalibration of US foreign policy in the run-up to the 2008 presidential elections. The main strength of their thought-provoking, but ultimately flawed, 'postneoconservative book' (p. xix) is their scathing criticism of central aspects of the Bush administration's foreign policies which they think have been guided by the naïve assertion of global democratic convergence and the simplicity of state building.

To restore leadership, they argue, a profound 'realist' turn is needed, i.e. a fundamental break with the alleged belief in the harmony of interests of nations. Instead, the United States needs a strong leader who is capable of

fighting a public culture based on such wishful thinking. For Europeans, it might seem odd to draw a line from the failure of Bush's policies to the lurking dangers of an eventual revival of multilateralism, but Rosefielde and Mills do just that. Their world view resembles the classical realist perspective on global politics guided by the age-old proverb *si vis pacem, para bellum*. Consequently, the concept of 'strategic independence' forms the core of their thinking, quite a surprise given the fact that the authors are economists and certainly know about the various interdependencies that make up global politics these days. A focus on homeland defence, the enhancement of conventional military power, the affirmation of the right to strike pre-emptively and a very weak version of 'multilateralism whenever possible': these are the pillars of their strategic blueprint. From the authors' viewpoint this only makes sense because even allies are in principle unreliable and pursue their own agendas. Thus, next to China and Russia (the usual suspects) even the European Union might grow up to become a military-diplomatic contender, but (fortunately for us) nuclear war with Europe seems unlikely.

One may or may not follow this line for various reasons. It is, however, highly doubtful whether the basic assertion (of a public culture that underestimates the coming military-diplomatic threats and thus selects the wrong people to be national leaders) and the very idea of leadership (the ability to 'see things as they are' and change people's minds) present a really satisfying account of the present contours of US politics. Both aspects are grounded in the authors' palaeo-realist world view which is simply (mis)taken as *the reality* and as such is nowhere questioned in the book. On the positive side, there are helpful key points sections at the end of each chapter. Thus the book makes for an extremely accessible and interesting read, but ultimately it fails to deliver a satisfying, viable and desirable alternative foreign policy. It still is and hopefully will remain a manifesto in search of a candidate.

In *Media, War and Postmodernity* Hammond presents his take on the complex relationship between Western military interventions abroad and their mediated realities. Starting with a discussion of the alleged vices and virtues of postmodernist thinking in the light of 9/11, he develops an argument concerning the postmodern conditions of current politics – national and international – while *not* deploying a postmodern perspective himself (p. 8). Thus, Hammond neither offers a media critique

nor an analysis of postmodern warfare. He attempts, rather, to show the usefulness of postmodern thought and the very idea of postmodernity for an understanding of significant aspects of international relations nowadays.

The main argument of Hammond's book is that the global military engagement of the West since the end of the Cold War has been motivated by a demise of 'political purpose' at home and, consequently, various attempts at restoring meaning through intervention abroad. This 'crisis of meaning' has also been paralleled by a changing mediatisation of wars: they have become increasingly 'staged' and humanitarian interventions have become events and spectacles. Arguably, such an 'ethical foreign policy' has failed as a substitute (as have the war on terror and the idea of a 'risk society', discussed below), and coverage by the media has only led to a further depoliticisation of people at home.

It is not easy to evaluate this book since it provides brilliant depictions of interventions as media events, their societal embeddedness and (non-)consequences. Hammond's treatment of Baudrillard, the intervention in Somalia as the epitome of the change in the meaning of interventions and the growing cynicism towards mass media accounts of such wars are all particularly worth reading. The persuasiveness of the whole argument, however, largely depends on whether one buys into the 'death of politics' idea right from the start. Hammond is quite clear on that: 'For a society that has grown sceptical of grand narratives, a society that has no vision of the future, politics is meaningless' (p. 104). One can, however, certainly disagree with this conclusion, since scepticism by no means necessarily translates into a total loss of meaning and purpose.

How do both books treat the media? As has been said, Rosefielde and Mills blame a public culture corrupted by wishful thinking for the unhealthy state of US affairs. The media contribute to the ongoing reproduction of this wishful thinking (that is, a naïve belief in the mutuality of interests and democratisation around the globe). Of all media criticism I know this is perhaps the most surprising ever: the media reproduce a too-harmonious account of international relations, and they do so for commercial reasons! 'Peace sells' – an insight which easily contradicts libraries full of studies on negativism and the profitability of bad news. To be sure, there might be a lamentable degree of 'flat-worldism' in American media as well as simplification, ignorance and the tendency not to question a war administration. But that the

media constantly reproduce a rather monolithic public culture defined by its overly harmonious world view is indeed a bit much. Surprising as it is, Hammond's argument exhibits some parallels to that. He also asserts that the mass media have contributed to the fabrication of certain world views, but not for the sake of profits. Instead, they have acted as yet another instance of a collective search for political purpose in Western societies. Of course, this does not preclude attempts at instrumentalising the media, but such efforts have become more obvious recently, leading to a distrust of the public and the media themselves.

This development, however, could also have been interpreted as a more positive sign of a growing 'media literacy', because cynicism and criticism mean that media products and their production contexts do not go unchecked by interested people. In sum, both books present interesting and partly provocative accounts of the workings of the mass media. Their main strength is that both undoubtedly will spur further debate rather than answer all the questions.

Alexander Brand
(University of Dresden)

Machiavelli in Love: Sex, Self, and Society in the Italian Renaissance by **Guido Ruggiero**. Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. 285pp., £30.00, ISBN 0 8018 8516 7

Ruggiero's stories of Renaissance culture and morality range from the hilarious to the tragic. Well-crafted accounts of transgressions, promiscuities and follies unpack complex discourses of body politics, sexual identity and social control. On the other hand, dramatic tales of love and heroism affirm the reign of *virtù* in all spheres of self-realisation. Ruggiero uses evidence from primary sources to show how Aretino, Boccaccio, Castiglione, Manetti and Machiavelli discussed issues of sex, self and power. In narrating the adventures of men who strive to cope with sexually insatiable females, manoeuvre to escape the 'torments' of married life or insist on their youthful ways against society's consensus reality of manliness, marriage and procreation, Ruggiero sheds new light on the concept of identity in the early modern period. He demonstrates that in the Italian Renaissance there was a clear sense of both individual and sexual identity, and argues that the proper type of self-presentation that society expected from its members was

mediated via consensus realities of families, friends, neighbours and peer groups.

Chapter 1 focuses on Aretino's comedy *Il marescalco*, a play that celebrates male-male sexual relations as an alternative to matrimony and family. Marescalco, a courtier in Mantua, hears that the duke has promised to marry him to a beautiful and rich young woman, a prospect that Marescalco utterly resists. His insistence upon the homoeroticism and sexual ambiguity of *gioventù* and subsequent rejection of conventional life challenge the Renaissance consensus reality of adult male sexual identity. The tale ends with a surprise: the duke has for Marescalco a 'boy bride', not a young wife. Ruggiero's reading of Marescalco's story highlights several issues: the contrast between the evolving male sexual identity and the less complex development of female sexuality; the interplay between conventional morality and the realities of life; and the social meaning of male-male sexual relations.

Chapter 5 is devoted to Machiavelli, the master strategist in love, war and politics. The Machiavelli-Vettori correspondence reveals how reflections on sex and lust are interwoven with more serious thoughts concerning Machiavelli's return to politics. The letters refer to the consensus realities that govern the moral 'geopolitics' of the public/private sphere, confirm the traditional identification of sexual potency and (political) power and warn of the dangers for one's reputation of illicit sex. Machiavelli's comedies *La mandragola* and *La Clizia* portray different aspects of lust: ageing foolish lovers meet with humiliation and ridicule; young love prevails; shame restores *virtù*. Machiavelli deploys self-parody to depict a kaleidoscope of alter egos. Tormented by his passion for Barbara Salutati, he presents aspects of himself in the personae of his fictional characters; his intention is to entertain and instruct. It is obvious that, in 'heaven and hell', Machiavelli uses wit, humour and irony to get to the point.

Chapter 6 deals with *virtù*: the moral excellence of a person in private and civic affairs. Family relations, personal morality, court behaviour, the art of government, the self – all were evaluated in terms of *virtù*. Ruggiero identifies different manifestations of *virtù* in the tales of the noble deaths of Clearcus (the king of Crete who died to save his country), of Giulia da Gazuolo (the peasant girl who drowned to save her honour) and of Ghismonda and Guiscardo (the young lovers whose deaths confirmed the power of love and *virtù* against

Tancredi's cruelty). Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* teaches that the role of the courtier is to lead the prince into the path of *virtù*, and refers to the virtues that both men and women in court should possess. Finally, the metamorphoses of the rude peasant Scopone (Prickly Pear) into the obedient Salcione (Willow), and of his young master into a good and respectable lord (Buonsignori) show that the *virtù* of good governance is to know one's place and its duties.

Other studies in this volume contain vivid descriptions of sexual adventures (and torments), and confirm the view that laughing did matter in the Renaissance. The stories abound in hermeneutic suggestions. The 'devil', for instance, has multiple significations. 'Putting the Devil back in hell' was a euphemism for narrating the sexual intercourse between the hermit Rustico and the pagan Alibech in Boccaccio's tale. Suor Mansueta metamorphosed from bride of Christ to mistress of the devil, and reached the ultimate negative limit of sexual play as a consequence. In Machiavelli's *Belfagor* the devil runs back to hell, desperate to escape his wife. Facing other devils, Captain Fear and Abbot Ruis suffer at the hands of sexually voracious and power-hungry women. These stories reflect 'stereotypical misogynistic visions' of aggressive, evil, lustful and manipulative women who test the limits of male sexual performance and identity (p. 219). The classic case of moral preaching and hypocrisy is depicted in the tale of Giuliano Brancacci, an avowed enemy of sodomites who turned out to be a man seeking sex 'with young boys in the illicit heart of Florence' (p. 219).

Ruggiero provides challenging accounts of public ethics and private morality by analysing a selection of literary and archival material. Armed with humour and determination, he deciphers the subtle codes of Renaissance narratives, and comments on the various ways in which identity and sexuality were constructed, understood and politicised. However, the overall project needed a firmer direction in terms of systematising the research findings into a theory of Renaissance social culture. I enjoyed the 'journey' into the rich landscape of early modern Italy and expected to see in a concluding chapter all the strands of information, interpretation and critique integrated into a more comprehensive conceptual framework which would contextualise Ruggiero's analysis, and enable the reader to see the connections between particular cases and broader theorising. That said, *Machiavelli in Love* deals successfully with some

rather 'hot stuff' in intellectual history, and commands scholarly attention.

Stamatoula Panagakou
(University of York)

Literature and International Relations: Stories in the Art of Diplomacy by Paul Sheeran. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. 238pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 4613 6

Republic of Readers? The Literary Turn in Political Thought and Analysis by Simon Stow. New York: SUNY Press, 2007. 185pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 0 7914 7089 3

A discussion between the authors of these two books would assuredly end in a dispute: Paul Sheeran closes *Literature and International Relations* with the strong claim that 'Literature in International Relations is as valid as fact – stories invariably shape the science' (p. 189). By contrast, Simon Stow's *Republic of Readers?* refutes Sheeran's underlying thesis, as the book elaborates on the problem of why 'Literature cannot ... serve as empirical evidence for claims about the *unwritten* world', meaning our empirical reality, 'because the standards of justification demanded by literary analysis are lower than those required for analysis of the *written* world' (p. 149), i.e. the world created by fiction. In other words, Sheeran's book is an example of what Stow calls the literary turn in political thought, designating the growing interest of political science in fiction and literary criticism as points of reference. Due to their diametrically opposed attitudes towards this literary turn, the books presented by the authors differ completely in structure, approach and target audience.

Sheeran develops his main claim by taking the reader on a journey through the vast landscape of topics either abandoned, disregarded or not yet sufficiently explored by scholars in international relations: casting a beam on issues as disparate as utopias and the practice of diplomats, Sheeran provides us with an overview of 'hot topics' in IR, and he simultaneously introduces us to literary works dealing with these particular issues. The literary corpus is equally vast and diverse, ranging from what have become the usual suspects in the field such as Shakespeare or H. G. Wells, to Chinese writers less known in Western countries. Sheeran on the one hand demonstrates how these different works of fiction

illustrate pressing problems with more vigour than any scientific treatise could, and how they let readers take different viewpoints. On the other hand, he highlights the prophetic nature of literature, in that some writers have forecast controversies now at the top of the political agenda.

Considering that Sheeran's arguments span less than 200 pages for this ambitious endeavour, one cannot be surprised by the fast pace and succinct style used. While readers for whom Sheeran's book represents their first encounter with the 'politics and literature' movement might have appreciated at least one detailed political analysis of an exemplary novel, Stow's criticism would probably touch Sheeran's methodological approach. Instead of arguing the usefulness of literature for political science, he scrutinises how the philosophers Martha Nussbaum and Richard Rorty as well as the literary critic Terry Eagleton and philosopher Judith Butler answer the same question in their works. Of these, the first two have put forward arguments which are particularly challenging for political scientists, since both Nussbaum and Rorty regard literature as conducive to liberal democracy. In their eyes, reading will invite citizens to adopt other viewpoints and, eventually, have more empathy and solidarity. Hence, they both ascribe to literature more than an illustrative character or the potential to bear political ideas, as has often been done in political science. Instead, they place great importance on literature as a means to establish an ideal polity.

Or so it appears after a first reading. Stow on the other hand meticulously analyses the main claims of the authors and thereby provides us with a valuable companion to their works. Dissecting Rorty's claims, Stow concludes that literature remains in the philosopher's vision only 'a tool of the theorist-intellectual rather than a direct source of moral insight for the citizenry' (p. 74). Although this result also contradicts Rorty's initial assumptions to a certain extent, Stow criticises tensions in Nussbaum's argumentation even more harshly. For instance, Stow accuses Nussbaum of applying a 'supply side' theory of the novel, meaning 'a theory that suggests that the impact a text has on a reader derives from the *text itself* and not the reader, and that furthermore texts have a definite and ultimately discernible meaning' (p. 51). In this context, Stow condemns the interpretations forwarded by Nussbaum as patronising and 'illiberal'.

Although at times unnecessarily aggressive in its tone, Stow's criticism of the four scholars is hard to refute and

allows one to hope for a response by those who are attacked. As suggested in the initial quote from Stow's book, one of the main problems he uncovers in the works associated with the literary turn in political thought constitutes the commingling of the written and the unwritten world. In particular, he stresses that literature is not to be taken as evidence in itself: it can 'lead us to consider alternative possibilities, but it is not ... itself evidence for the existence of these possibilities' (p. 150). Stow's caveat is to be kept in mind if one sets out to explore the literary turn in political thought as it is mandated by scholars like Sheeran – it should, however, not hinder us from embarking upon this intellectual journey at all, as it has already proved enriching to political science.

Claudia Franziska Brühwiler
(University of St Gallen, Switzerland)

We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit <http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/>.

Britain and Ireland

Instruction to Deliver: Tony Blair, Public Services and the Challenge of Achieving Targets by **Michael Barber**. London: Politico's, 2007. 418pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 84275 210 4

This is an extremely valuable addition to the literature on the Blair era, for it provides a detailed 'insider' account of the approach to public sector reform during New Labour's second (2001–5) term. Barber was uniquely qualified to write this book, for prior to being appointed as head of the Downing Street Delivery Unit, he had been a teacher, and thus served at the chalk-face himself. As such, although this book is partly a personal memoir of Barber's own career, he emphasises that his primary concern is not so much to examine the 'why' of public sector reform as to provide a first-hand account of 'how' such reform was pursued.

In so doing, Barber clearly conveys the unequivocal and unshakeable faith which New Labour had in its particular approach to public sector modernisation,

entailing a strong blend of administrative procedures, managerial techniques, organisational restructuring and innumerable strategic reviews. If and when the desired results were not attained, then the response was invariably to pursue these methods in a more 'robust' manner, engage in further institutional reorganisation or simply blame public sector professionals, rather than ever assume that the reforms themselves were in any way deficient or inappropriate. Certainly, one particularly interesting facet of this book is what Barber reveals – inadvertently, one suspects – about the 'corporate' discourse and mindset of New Labour, absorbed as it is with addressing 'challenges' and 'visions', devising 'strategies' and 'performance indicators' in response, and then undertaking regular 'monitoring', 'stock-taking' and 'strategic reviews' to gauge progress before embarking on the next stage. Barber even provides appendices variously outlining a 'rough guide to deliverology', examples of 'delivery chains', an 'assessment framework' and a guide to 'introducing choice and contestability'.

As an enthusiastic, well-written, 'insider' account of public sector reform at the start of the twenty-first century, *Instruction to Deliver* is essential reading and certainly offers more general insights into life inside the core executive in contemporary Britain. In what it reveals about New Labour 'thinking' over public sector reform, however, it is likely to induce dismay and despondency, particularly among academics on the receiving end of these reforms, for it clearly illustrates how Britain's public sector workers have been systematically de-professionalised by New Labour, and subject both to a bureaucratic managerialist regime and a perversion of language, which seem to borrow equally from Kafka, Orwell and Stalin.

Pete Dorey
(Cardiff University)

The End of Decline: Blair and Brown in Power by **Brian Brivati**. London: Politico's, 2007. 175pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 1 84275 171 8

In *The End of Decline* historian Brian Brivati makes the case for the idea that the successive Labour governments of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown have put paid to the debates on decline that characterised British political life from the early 1960s until recently. This argument can

usefully be broken down into two parts: firstly that the decline debate is over, and secondly that this can be credited to the Labour governments since 1997. The first part of the argument seems relatively uncontroversial. Discussions of economic decline or Britain's declining world status have all but stopped. However Brivati has a much harder time making the case for the second part of his conclusion: that it is New Labour that should take credit for ending the decline debate.

The argument seems to suffer from two significant weaknesses. Firstly, Brivati's rationale for attributing the 'end of decline' to New Labour as opposed to Thatcher or the Tories is that, although he acknowledges the importance of their radical reforms in ending economic decline, they neglected the decline of the public sector. Blair and Brown on the other hand have, the author argues, succeeded in revitalising this area, thus completing the task of rescuing Britain from decline. While it is true that failing public services were a component in the way the public experienced decline (particularly during events like the Winter of Discontent), I would argue that Brivati is overstating their importance to the decline debate, which was always more centred on the issues of the economy as a whole and Britain's international position. Secondly, he neglects the importance of increasing global economic integration. New Labour came to power during a period when the idea of a national economy, wholly distinct from the global one, came under challenge. The whole decline debate rested so much on the idea of a distinct British economy that the waning of this notion probably had more to do with the ending of the debates on decline than anything Blair or Brown did.

The book is clearly aimed at a wider audience than just academia and is generally well written and accessible. However, alongside the problems in its arguments it suffers from two other main flaws. Firstly, it lacks the depth and analytical rigour that would have placed it on a par with previous analyses of the debates on Britain's decline (such as those by Andrew Gamble or Jim Tomlinson). Secondly, for such a short book it is far too repetitious in its arguments. In sum, any contribution the book makes to the literature on decline comes from the controversial nature of its arguments rather than from the quality of its analysis.

David Ferguson
(Birkbeck College, University of London)

Women and British Party Politics: Descriptive, Substantive and Symbolic Representation by Sarah Childs. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. 203pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 415 36682 3

Redressing an under-researched area in the study of British politics, this book is a valuable resource for understanding the role of women in British political life. Although Sarah Childs' main focus is women's participation in political parties and institutions, she occasionally collaborates with other political gender scholars to provide contextual and normative depth to the work. Throughout the work Childs seamlessly integrates quantitative and qualitative analysis (with case studies), and the individual chapters can be read contiguously or, for those with area interests, as stand-alones. The first chapter, with Rosie Campbell, reviews changes in the approach to the study of women's political behaviour, from the earliest days of British political science, when women were not directly mentioned, to recent work which demonstrates that women have *different* political interests from men. Childs then provides a thorough historical account of women's activism and participation in each of the three main political parties, and evaluates the changing roles of women over time. This historical overview of party policies and attitudes (feminist, neutral or anti-feminist) frames the next chapter, which analyses the three parties' historical approach and current policies on women's legislative recruitment, then compares party rhetoric on gender equality to the realities of how parties have (or have not) integrated women into their legislative recruitment strategies.

Yet this book is not merely a historical overview combined with contemporary analysis of women in British political institutions. It is also a resource for those who would better understand the normative basis for advocating women's political participation. Childs devotes chapter 4 to the normative question of why women's representation matters in a clear and compelling manner. Another collaboration, this time with Mona Lena Krook, is found in the fifth chapter, which reviews theories used to understand women's descriptive and substantive representation. Not only do the authors give a full account of 'critical mass' theory and its critiques but, importantly, they build on the implications of the critiques to offer clear directions for future research into women as representatives. Finally, Childs examines the portrayal of women politicians in the

media. This book synthesises new and existing research into women's political participation and representation in a way which is relevant and insightful for those who are interested in political behaviour, political institutions or feminist theory, regardless of whether the reader is an undergraduate, graduate or seasoned academic.

Kristi Winters
(University of Essex)

Global Change, Civil Society and the Northern Ireland Peace Process: Implementing the Political Settlement by Christopher Farrington (ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. 241pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 1 230 01995 9

This book is one of four titles within the 'New Security Challenges' series, reflecting a shift away from traditional approaches to security towards newer understandings in terms of human, economic and environmental security, and it contributes to this series by examining how security issues in Northern Ireland were overcome after the Belfast Agreement. In its examination of how the complex political and institutional environment resolved these issues, it is particularly concerned with analysing how actors and events beyond the elite-level spectrum – most notably civil society and outside influences – have affected the political process, which has experienced continuous difficulties in implementation.

This examination is presented in eleven chapters (including an introduction) divided into three parts. Part I looks at global change and the international dimension, such as the connection between the international dimension and security issues, the impact of the US war on terrorism, the influence of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Northern Ireland's relationship with the European Union. Part II examines organised civil society, looking at models of operation, the role of women in peace building, and religion, particularly seen through the eyes of evangelical Protestantism. Part III rather pessimistically explores consociationalism and civil society.

This book has correctly sought to bring the Northern Ireland conflict into the international realm of conflict transformation, given the fact that, as Farrington rightly points out in a chapter title, 'we're not quite as interesting as we used to be' (ch. 1, p. 25). This is not an easy task to undertake in light of the current global climate, which

may see Northern Ireland's previous international significance shift to other more 'interesting' conflicts.

While the book's exclusive focus is Northern Ireland, it is disappointing that the discussions on civil society make no reference to the Republic's Border Counties, since an important part of contemporary analysis of the role of civil society in the transformation of this conflict requires an examination of civil society actors on both sides of the border, and their base has witnessed unprecedented expansion in recent years due primarily to the peace programmes. This is particularly important since a core feature of successful conflict transformation is a sustainable peace, within which civil society on both sides of the border plays a critical role. Nevertheless, the contribution to the academic literature on this dimension is particularly appreciated.

Ten years on from the Belfast Agreement, this book provides a timely, refreshing and much welcomed contribution to the non-elite discourse on contemporary Northern Ireland and is particularly useful for those seeking to understand the management of conflict transformation processes beyond political agreements.

Sandra Buchanan
(University of Ulster)

Choosing the Tory Leader: Conservative Party Leadership Elections from Heath to Cameron by **Timothy Heppell**. London: I. B. Tauris, 2008. 254pp., £52.50, ISBN 978 1845114862

David Cameron's election as Conservative leader in 2005 made him the Tories' sixth different leader in fifteen years. In a party where leaders are endowed with great authority on the understanding that they are expected to deliver electoral success, such a high turnover of leaders is indicative of the electoral catastrophes that afflicted the Conservatives in the New Labour era.

One of the principal arguments of Timothy Heppell's book is that ideology has been central to this instability and poor performance. Margaret Thatcher may have been the Conservatives' greatest election winner in the twentieth century, but her legacy to the party was two decades of factionalism. Prior to her accession, the Tories had long been a 'non-ideological' party, preferring pragmatism as a means to winning elections. Since 1975, however, the party has been divided on economic policy (wets vs. dries), Europe (Eurosceptics vs. Europhiles) and more recently social policy (social liberals vs. social

conservatives). These divisions have made life hard for successive party leaders and left them facing endless plots from ideological opponents.

One consequence of factional division has been the frequent elevation to the leadership of outsiders who came from the back of the field to win: Cameron, Duncan Smith, Hague, Major and even Thatcher to some extent. Favourites have fared badly: Davis, Portillo, Clarke and Whitelaw all lost out. Ideology was important to the extent that some of the most prominent figures were seen as too divisive (e.g. Portillo, Clarke, Heseltine), while outsiders could be seen as unifiers (e.g. Major, Hague). The Tories' obsession with Europe led them to overlook three times their biggest electoral asset, Kenneth Clarke, because of his pro-Europeanism.

This book is a work of political history, providing a description of the events leading up to each leadership election, an account of each election and analyses of the results. It is structured chronologically, with a separate chapter devoted to each leadership contest. The book is largely reliant on secondary sources and does not really uncover many new facts. Moreover, while Heppell fully explores ideology, he might also have spent more time assessing the impact of different selection systems: from 1965 to 1997 Tory leaders were elected by MPs, but after that a hybrid system of preliminary parliamentary ballots followed by mass-membership ballots was instituted. Overall, however, this book is a handy one-stop shop for those who are interested in Tory leadership elections.

Thomas Quinn
(University of Essex)

Politics and the Media in Britain by **Raymond Kuhn**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 312pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 333 92690 1

Raymond Kuhn gets straight to the point and in a clear and helpful introduction lays the scope and logic of the book out in the open, and wouldn't life would be so much easier if other authors were to follow suit? The book is in two analytically related parts: chapters 2–5, 'Media Policy'; chapters 6–9, 'Political Communication', the relationship between these parts being ultimately a matter of the role of the media in a democratic society (ch. 10). Both parts of the book systematically include all of the major topics that one must consider in order to understand the democratic efficacy or otherwise of the contemporary media in Britain. So in the first part of the

book we are taken through the issues of media policy making, ownership and regulation; and in the second, news, government and news management, parties and pressure groups and elections.

Kuhn covers all of these issues sensibly and in an even-handed way. He is certainly not convinced that the media corrupt the body politic (public sphere and all) and concludes that a 'media malaise perspective is a mistake' (p. 281); but neither does he believe that the media are so virtuous that they can afford to ignore some of their own structural trends and ideological tendencies which, as Kuhn rightly notes, if left unchecked would ultimately threaten their watchdog role. This, then, is a review of a complex field undertaken with a very light touch, much attention to detail and a great deal of good judgement – which should come as no surprise since Kuhn is also one of our most able scholars of political communication and contemporary French politics.

Other things that commend this book include the range of Kuhn's reading and accurate representations of other writers' work; his use of empirical and statistical data – thankfully integrated into the text and clearly and helpfully tabulated; fluent use of official documents and, above all, his realism (by which I mean a lack of naïveté and jaundice) when assessing what the media and politicians get up to when they embrace and begin their *danse baroque*. In sum, this is an exceptionally good book that should certainly be read by students and political communication scholars alike.

Jackie Harrison
(University of Sheffield)

Education by Numbers: The Tyranny of Testing by **Warwick Mansell**. London: Politico's, 2007. 270pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 84275 199 2

This is an extremely important and timely book, for the last year or so has heard increasing criticism of the testing regime now embedded in Britain's schools. Education experts, reputable journalists, teaching unions and a parliamentary select committee have all recently condemned the ministerial obsession with measuring school pupils' performance through a plethora of exams and tests, invariably justified by invoking the ritual mantras of raising standards and ensuring the accountability of teachers to parents and taxpayers.

Warwick Mansell's scholarly study provides a thorough and extremely well-illustrated analysis of how the

'tyranny of testing' is perpetrated in Britain's schools, and of the damaging consequences for both pupils and teachers. Having briefly surveyed the rise of the testing regime and the emergence of this 'hyper-accountability', Mansell offers an empirical analysis of the manner in which this educational regime manifests itself in the classroom, and the ways in which teachers are effectively compelled to adopt an 'end justifies the means' approach to pedagogy, whereby constantly preparing pupils for exams and coaching them on how to provide 'model answers' has superseded genuine teaching and learning in the classroom. With schools competing to maintain or improve their annual league table position, an inordinate amount of time and energy is devoted to ensuring that 'enough' students will obtain the 'right' results and grades. Moreover, Mansell argues that the pressure on teachers to produce higher grades means that they sometimes dare not 'mark down' a student who submits an inadequate or unsatisfactory piece of coursework, because this might then be construed as evidence of poor teaching. A form of 'institutional corruption' (p. 80) is thus perpetrated, whereby improved grades can be achieved by lowering standards, with teachers motivated by fear rather than academic firmness when marking pupils' work.

Those who retain the belief that education should be about more than just measuring 'learning outcomes' and compiling league tables will experience either anger, despair or incredulity when reading this book, for they will realise more fully what successive governments have done to Britain's school system since the 1980s, in the guise of raising standards. Mansell's book should be compulsory reading for every government minister so that they can realise the damage which has been wrought by their arrogance, bureaucratic mindset and philistinism, and how it is they, more than 'bad teachers', who have failed a generation of school pupils.

Pete Dorey
(Cardiff University)

The Irish Voter: The Nature of Electoral Competition in the Republic of Ireland by **Michael Marsh, Richard Sinnott, John Garry and Fiachra Kennedy**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008. 309pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7190 7732 6

This book reports on the first full election survey in Ireland, providing an analysis of the how and why of

Irish voting behaviour. In successive chapters it explores the social and then ideological bases of party competition, and finds none. This is followed by a sophisticated account of the nature and extent of party attachment which, if considerably weakened in recent decades, still remains at the root of major party support. All this, supported by an analysis of the impact of immediate issues, leader effects and local campaign efforts, if familiar to those who follow Irish politics, enables students of electoral behaviour to situate Irish practice in comparative perspective.

Where the book makes an important new theoretical contribution is in its careful dissection of the relative impact of candidate and party in influencing voters' decisions. This is possible because the country's single transferable vote (STV) electoral system invites voters to make these distinctions, and they do. The authors give us a valuable chapter on the extent and patterns of the voters' use of their preferential ballot and then another on the importance of individual candidates in driving voting decisions. These analyses advance our appreciation of voter decision making and will surely raise important questions for those who study voting behaviour in other settings.

If this was not enough, there is a sophisticated analysis of non-voting which the authors suggest is either circumstantial or voluntary and their analysis points to both facilitation and mobilisation forces working at the institutional and individual levels. The arguments they advance are important, with significant implications for those concerned with declining turnout rates. This is another genuine contribution to the comparative literature which, like the interpretation of candidate vs. party effects, ought to command the attention of anyone interested in voter behaviour. Seventy-five tables and fifteen figures report the data (the survey questionnaire is conveniently reproduced in an appendix) but one of the book's distinctive features is surely its clear and accessible writing.

For students of Irish politics this book is bound to become a benchmark study that confirms what many suspected but also points to patterns that are subtly changing the dynamics of the Republic's electoral politics. But this is not a book for Irish specialists alone. With its important theoretical insights and sophisticated empirical analyses of general phenomena, it will quickly become a major starting point for

comparativists and students of other democratic electoral politics.

R. K. Carty
(University of British Columbia)

Labours Old and New: The Parliamentary Right of the British Labour Party 1970–79 and the Roots of New Labour by **Stephen Meredith**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008. 206pp., £42.95, ISBN 978 0 7190 7322 9

Stephen Meredith has provided a detailed, if rather dry and repetitive, account of an important and neglected aspect in the evolution of social democratic thought. He discusses the intellectual and policy disputes of the 1970s when the Labour right was on the defensive against a resurgent Labour left. The resurgence of the left, of course, proved to be ultimately disastrous with Labour's crushing defeat in the 1983 general election. The right, according to Meredith, was unable to resist this left-wing influence largely because it was split within itself.

Three policy issues in particular divided the Labour right. The first was Europe, with a distinctive Jenkinsite faction supporting membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) while others on the Labour right, notably Healey, Crosland and Callaghan, were more sceptical. The second division was in relation to the trade unions, with a distinctive Jenkinsite faction becoming increasingly concerned over the perceived dominance of the unions. Others on Labour's right wing were either ambivalent or, in the case of Callaghan, openly supportive of the party–union link. Attitudes towards public expenditure proved to be the third point of division, with Crosland and Hattersley supporting high levels of public spending whereas others close to Jenkins became more sceptical.

There were two other important consequences to these splits within the Labour right. The first is that the emergence of a distinctive Jenkinsite faction in these years led eventually to the formation of the Social Democratic party (SDP). The other important consequence of these debates is that the Jenkinsite faction morphed into New Labour some twenty years later.

It is possible to take issue with this account in at least two ways. The first point is that while the approach to political economy of the Jenkinsite faction does show certain similarities with New Labour (more critical of government action and more supportive of markets),

there are clear differences between the Jenkinsites of the 1970s and New Labour on constitutional reform and law and order. The Jenkinsite faction was consistently liberal, whereas New Labour has demonstrated more conservative and populist elements since 1997. The other key point that should be made here is that the discussion of public expenditure is limited by the failure to discuss Edmund Dell, who was a decisive influence on Healey at the time of the 1976 IMF Crisis in advocating cuts in public spending due to its 'crowding-out' effect on the 'wealth-creating' private sector of the economy.

Kevin Hickson
(University of Liverpool)

The British Left's 'Great Debate' on Europe by **Andrew Mullen**. London: Continuum, 2007. 352pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 8264 9366 8

European integration: few other single issues have had the power to fracture across the political spectrum, as both the Labour and Conservative parties have had the misfortune to discover. When studying European integration, it is often difficult simply to keep track of the changing positions taken by different individuals, interest groups and political movements. A thorough survey of the subject must not only include the content of the pamphlets produced by pressure groups or the speeches turned out by politicians, but also consider the actual numerical tally of votes cast, motions tabled and resolutions considered – both for and against European integration.

The British Left's 'Great Debate' on Europe is a carefully researched account of the general trends of opinion expressed by the British left regarding European integration. Andrew Mullen gives fair weight to the parliamentary Labour party and the Labour Party Conference, but includes other political parties on the same general end of the political continuum, such as the Communist party of Great Britain and the Social Democratic party. He also weighs the opinions of trade unionists, socialist organisations like the Fabian Society and notable individuals in British political life. He notes, for instance, the changing views of Tony Benn, who was generally in favour of European integration in the mid-1960s but who soon became one of the most ardent critics of the greater European project during and after the turbulent 1975 referendum over continued British membership in the European Economic Community

(EEC). Mullen is thus able to identify the British left's broader inclinations while still calling attention to differing viewpoints.

Mullen's book is a straightforward presentation of the 'great debate' pared down to its historical essentials – from vote and resolution tables to manifesto and speech extracts – and condensed with brief interpretations into less than 300 pages of actual text. A few short chapters on theoretical approaches and thoughts on future policy shifts round out the book, but Mullen generally restricts himself to the subject and seldom attempts to speculate on matters beyond its scope. His sparse, utilitarian approach may be a marked change for researchers who are accustomed to wading through seemingly unrelated analyses to find the pieces of data they may need for their own studies. Some readers may find Mullen's approach overly limiting; others, however, may find it refreshing to have a book that (as the phrase has it) does what it says on the tin.

Shannon Granville
(Independent Scholar)

We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit <http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/>.

Europe

Italian Politics: The End of the Berlusconi Era? by **Grant Amyot and Luca Verzichelli (eds)**. Dulles VA: Berghahn Books, 2006. 278pp., £37.50, ISBN 1 84545 266 6

This annual survey of Italian politics published in association with the Istituto Cattaneo is, as usual, a very helpful contribution, especially for anyone who is unfamiliar with the sometimes obscure subtleties of Italian affairs.

The main argument put forward by the editors is that, beneath an apparently calm surface, the deep currents of Italian politics in 2005 are still turbulent and unpredictable. In most respects, and with a little hindsight in view of the convulsions of the following two years, we might say they are right. Vassallo's chapter in particular on

the 2005 regional elections (pp. 47–66) explains how the apparent landslide victory of the centre left concealed several problems which had been hidden by factors such as asymmetric abstention, or ‘the greater personal appeal of the centre-left candidates for president in the most hotly contested regions’ (p. 59). All of the chapters, while focused on such diverse topics as foreign affairs, the party system, the political economy, the banking system, the referendum on artificial insemination, the Church, education and the competitiveness of the country, contribute to the idea that in most aspects of public life the year 2005 was marked by the persistence of old problems whose solution has once again been postponed.

Such an assessment applies to the difficult search for unity among the centre left, despite success in the primaries and the personal support for Prodi as leader of a still fragmented coalition (pp. 67–84). Berlusconi’s coalition equally seems to be held together by its leader rather than by a common vision or joint projects (pp. 105–22). Meanwhile, contradictory signals in foreign and European policy have undermined the government’s credibility and further slowed the already weak pace of a sluggish economy. Messori’s contribution on the bank takeover bids (pp. 139–62) provides an account of important transformations, where the end of the Fazio era could mark a shift towards a more internationally open financial system. From another viewpoint, Gasperoni criticises the still superficial reforms in national education, one of the areas where the country lags behind its European and Western partners (pp. 200–19).

In general terms the book offers a fair portrait of Italy in 2005: a country which, despite some encouraging signs, looks trapped in many of its long-standing and unresolved problems; problems which persist today and, as the authors indicate, are possibly worsening.

Ernesto Gallo
(University of Birmingham)

Companion to the European Union by **Alasdair Blair**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006. 371pp., £18.99, ISBN 0 415 35897 3

One of the most difficult tasks in European studies must be to write a book that gives an insight into the institutions and policies of the EU while at the same time introducing definitions for the various acronyms used in European politics. However, Alastair Blair has mastered this task skilfully and the result will become a useful

supplement to undergraduate and graduate courses alike. The *Companion to the European Union* will also prove useful to anybody sitting EU recruitment competitions or conducting research on multifaceted topics which are often riddled with an array of EU jargon.

There is more to this book than its extensive glossary section which gives an explanation for common policies, institutions and famous Europeans. It provides a very dense overview of the institutions and their role in decision making. The section on policies is similarly focused and to the point. Here, budgetary policy, EMU, agricultural policy, fisheries policy, social policy, regional policy, environmental policy, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and other policy fields are discussed. Each of the policy sections provides an overview of the history of the respective area as well as its key developments. For some policy areas a more detailed outline of the individual programmes is given. For example, the section on regional policy outlines the differences between the various funding schemes.

The glossary may provide fewer entries than similar books in the field. However, the entries covered receive a more detailed explanation than in some of the encyclopaedias on the EU. Another useful chapter in this book is the chronology of events. The author also provides a detailed overview of literature on the integration process, mostly by listing monographs for specific topics. The sheer value of this book lies in the fact that its entries are digestible and concise – ideal for people starting to study the EU.

As with many textbooks, the generalisations applied throughout the book are debatable. However, the author manages to phrase them carefully enough to expect the approval of most scholars in the field. I can warmly recommend this particularly labour-intensive and vastly practical companion to the European Union.

Michael J. Steffens
(Shanghai International Studies University)

Seven Years that Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective by **Archie Brown**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 350pp., £25.00, ISBN 978 0 19 928215 9

In *Seven Years that Changed the World* Archie Brown provides an authoritative and complete analysis of perestroika and of Mikhail Gorbachev’s role in the systemic changes which occurred during the final years of the

Soviet Union. This book is a collection of several of Brown's earlier articles – many updated to reflect access to new sources or archives – and new material. Four chapters, written between 1985 and 1989, detail Gorbachev's career path, the policies and changes of early glasnost, the reforms of high perestroika (that is, an increasing push for pluralism, the rule of law and political reform) and a synoptic analysis of perestroika in political terms, focusing on ideas, institutions, interests, culture and leadership.

Five subsequent chapters provide a contemporary assessment of perestroika and the changes it introduced with the benefit of hindsight. In these chapters, Brown examines the role of institutions, the dismantling of the Communist party, the international dimension of perestroika and its effects in the Soviet Union's satellite states and finally the impact of the end of the Cold War. The substantial conclusion to this volume, based on the most recently available archival material, puts Gorbachev's role and personality into perspective and contrasts his actions with those of Boris Yeltsin during the *fin de régime*.

The book's scholarship is unassailable. The prescience of Brown's earlier work – based as much as was possible in the mid-1980s on original sources and materials – is remarkable. There is no doubt in the reader's mind that the book is the result of years of systematic and rigorous inquiry and interrogation of primary and archival sources. In both the earlier and contemporary work presented, Brown unravels the multiple facets of perestroika – the institutions, norms, ideas, actors and interests involved – and delivers a solid work of political science that is quite distinct from much of the Kremlinology prevalent in the field in terms of rigour and breadth of analysis. This book should appeal to scholars and students seeking to gain an understanding of the nature of the changes which characterised the perestroika period, but also of their lasting influence on Russia's subsequent political evolution.

David Cashaback
(Independent scholar)

Italian NeoFascism: The Strategy of Tension and the Politics of Nonreconciliation by **Anna Cento Bull**. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007. 182pp., £37.50, ISBN 9 781845 453350

It is commonly accepted that Gianfranco Fini has transformed Alleanza Nazionale (AN) into a post-fascist

political party. Anna Cento Bull's very important reconstruction and interpretation of *stragismo*, the 'strategy of tension' and the involvement of neo-fascists questions this interpretation. The motives behind *stragismo*, the use of bombs to destabilise the republic in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the strategy of tension are not completely clear. However, Bull concludes that ultimately it appears that the intention was to create the need for some form of institutional and constitutional change and possibly even a *coup d'état*.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I reconstructs the events of *stragismo* and the strategy of tension, assessing the role of neo-fascists, the armed forces and the state. The events surrounding *stragismo* remain controversial due to: (1) the fact that no groups have taken responsibility; (2) the fact that the ultimate motives remain unclear; and (3) the degree to which the events have been politicised, especially before the fall of the First Republic. Combining evidence from judicial and parliamentary investigations, academic experts, presidents of the associations of victims and neo-fascists, Bull concludes that even though the identity (and even the motives) of the perpetrators is often less clear, the involvement of neo-fascists (in particular Ordine Nuovo) is beyond doubt.

Part II has the most important implications for Italian democracy. Using in-depth interviews and statements by party members, Bull concludes that the common interpretation of events by neo-fascists is that of victim as opposed to active acceptance. The reluctance to assume responsibility by unrepentant and unreconstructed neo-fascists is not surprising. However, more surprising, especially given its recent renunciations of its fascist past, is the reluctance on the part of AN to accept the role of neo-fascism in *stragismo*. The conclusions are threefold: (1) the narrative of victim functions as a *quid pro quo* with more intransigent forces within AN; (2) admission of guilt would affect the legitimacy of AN's participation in government; and (3) most importantly, accepting responsibility would require an alternative narrative of Italian post-war neo-fascism. Bull's solution proves to be the most radical with the most far-reaching implications for Italian democracy. She concludes that what is required is not more judicial investigations, but full amnesty and a truth and reconciliation commission. The hope is that this would facilitate national reconciliation – asserting

confidence in democracy and the capacity of the state to achieve transparency and truth.

Andrej Zaslove
(Wilfrid Laurier University)

Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe by **Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos (eds)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 433pp., £85.00, ISBN 0 19 920282 6

This scholarly book explores the various ways in which Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain have been transformed since the 1970s. According to the editors, these four states can no longer be considered 'exceptional' as their politics, economics and social structures have come to resemble more closely those of other Western and Northern European states. Three main factors explain the gradual adoption of widespread norms of democratic governance by this 'new' Southern Europe: socio-economic modernisation, processes of democratisation and European integration. In the introduction to the volume, these three long-term forces are combined with institutionalist theories to construct an eclectic theoretical framework that explains why these states bear little resemblance to the corporatist, authoritarian and clientelistic structures of the 1960s and 1970s. The rest of the chapters are devoted to the study of administrative structures and public policy outputs where substantial social and political changes can be observed. These are welfare reform (chs 2 and 3), the transformation of the judicial system after transition to democracy (ch. 4), modernisation of the public bureaucracy (ch. 5), the formulation and implementation of environmental policies (ch. 7) and the consolidation of public finance (ch. 8). Finally, the conclusion re-examines some of the initial hypotheses and elaborates some alternative explanatory factors that may illuminate the convergence of public policy processes.

Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe presents a convincing and straightforward causal argument about the transformative power of modernisation, democratisation and Europeanisation. Patterns of economic and political change are generally presented as the result of these three macro-processes, whereas some of the chapters elaborate a more specific set of explanatory variables for particular public policy outputs. For example, Pridham and Magone in chapter 7 resort to Inglehart's post-materialist thesis in order to explain the

emergence of an environmental consciousness in Southern Europe.

The evidence presented in this volume is remarkable and it is impossible to provide a detailed review of each one of these fine contributions. As is often the case with edited volumes, scholars will be drawn to the chapters that are more directly relevant to their research agendas. This reader found the well-written pieces on the welfare state (Castles) and social policy (García and Karakatsanis) particularly convincing as they dealt with the four case studies in a systematic fashion. Conscientious readers will benefit from a well-edited volume of comparative research that describes Southern European similarities while acknowledging the differing role of past structures and legacies in constraining policy choices. This informed review of state institutions and public policies provides a compelling account of the process of convergence that Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain have experienced since the 1970s. Scholars need look no further than this theoretically informed book when in need of a macro-sociological explanation that successfully describes the emergence of the 'new' Southern Europe.

Diego Muro
(King's College London)

Developments in European Politics by **Paul M. Heywood, Erik Jones, Martin Rhodes and Ulrich Sedelmeier (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. 385pp., £19.99, ISBN 0 230 00041 X

'What is Europe?' is the question that the editors of this volume start by asking the reader. At the end of the Cold War the question was raised with optimism but now there is a notion of caution and hesitation. The book is divided into four parts, each examining different levels of challenges to European politics to form a picture of what Europe is. The first part offers a broad overview of the effects of the globalisation of politics on issues such as European foreign policy (p. 35) and Europeanisation (p. 54). The second part is narrower and examines governance and political process, and chapters here include discussions of the emergence of political parties in Eastern Europe (p. 97) and the new regionalism that is emerging (p. 136), to mention a few. The third section goes deeper and investigates developments in politics and society. Issues discussed here range from scandals and corruption (p. 157) to the influence of religion on

politics (p. 237). The fourth part examines major challenges for Europe and discusses policy areas such as the welfare state (p. 259) and immigration (p. 280).

The book covers a wide range of topics and does indeed examine, as the title says, developments in European politics. The editors write in their introduction that there are two themes they want the readers to take with them: that 'Europe is not the European Union' and that 'Europeans are different ... because they want to be different' (p. 12). This is, however, not necessarily clear as the topics are so varied that it is hard to get a coherent grip on any overarching theme. The book also suffers from the lack of a conclusion binding the loose threads together, which would enhance the coherence of the chapters. Nonetheless, the volume offers interesting reading and the chapters are very well written. The book may not give the full answer to the question 'what is Europe?' but the insight it brings makes it recommendable for both students and scholars alike, and it should be read by anyone studying developments in European politics.

Tomas Adell
(Queen's University Belfast)

The Left Party in Contemporary German Politics
by **Dan Hough, Michael Koss and Jonathan Olsen.**

Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007. 214pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 230 01907 2

For some time now, (West) Germany's traditionally stable party system has been under pressure of fragmentation. This pressure has been brought to bear almost exclusively on the left of the political spectrum: thus, the social-democratic SPD has lost voters first to the Greens in the 1980s, and now more recently to the Left party, which itself emerged out of a union between disaffected SPD and trade union members (the WASG) on the one hand, and the ex-communist PDS on the other. In the 2005 federal election, the Left party scored a spectacular success, which has been underscored by further successes at state elections, and particularly in the western part of the country, in 2007 and 2008. Due to its current pariah status, one key effect of the Left party has been to complicate German coalition politics immeasurably, as the aftermath of the 2008 Hesse state election illustrated.

To say therefore that this new book examining the origins, structures and prospects of the Left party is timely is something of an understatement: there is

clearly an urgent need to understand the Left party and what it stands for. Thankfully, this contribution, written by an outstanding team of scholars from the UK, the US and Germany, fills this gap admirably. In this measured and nuanced analysis, the authors literally get under the skin of both the PDS and the Left party. Their theoretical framework, which draws on Kaare Strøm's rational choice taxonomy of parties as office seeking, policy seeking and vote seeking, is both uncluttered and effective. Although the authors rightly focus on the continuities between the PDS and the Left party, they also embed their analysis in the broader context of German politics. Thus, the origins of the WASG are discussed in detail and, in particular, an illuminating comparison is drawn between the Left party today and the Greens of the late 1980s and early 1990s. But what really sets this book apart is the remarkable degree of familiarity – not only with the party, but also with its personalities – that the authors are able to draw on. They devote considerable space to exploring how the key *Landesverbände* relate in their composition and goals to the national party, thereby illustrating that the Left party is by no means a homogeneous group.

In sum, scholars in search of a definitive assessment of this increasingly important political party need look no further than this excellent book.

Simon Green
(Aston University)

Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe 1985–2000 by **Nicolas Jabko.** Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2006. 206pp., £22.95, ISBN 978 0 8014 4463 0

The single European market, like all markets, is a political creation. Nicolas Jabko's task in this excellent essay is to remind us of that often-observed fact and then work out just how and why it is political.

His theoretical tool is 'strategic constructivism'. Much constructivist work is unsatisfying because ideas, rather than people, seem to be the actors, and when we see concrete studies of people they turn out to be networks unequal to the task of explaining European integration. Strategic constructivism repairs both flaws by looking at the way interested actors use ideas to achieve goals – such as building the European Union (EU) by invoking the market in different ways. 'In essence', he writes, 'the

market served as a conveniently broad repertoire of justifications. The Commission's goal and guiding motivation was to reform the economy but it was also to build political power at the European level' (p. 6). Neither the market nor the EU had to develop as they did; the Commission's (largely unexplained) strategic construction of the market is key to explaining why they did.

There are case studies of financial services, electricity, structural funds and EMU. Nobody will expect to see major scholarly analyses of these much-researched topics in the 122 pages that Jabko takes to cover them all, although there are references to interviews scattered through the pages. Rather, the four policy case studies should be read as illustrations, and the reader need not be convinced by any or all of them to be convinced of Jabko's overall argument and strategic constructivist perspective. The four areas illustrate four different uses of the market: as a constraint (financial services); as a norm (electricity deregulation), as a space (structural funds); and as a talisman (EMU). The metaphors are not all equally easy to use, but the studies of electricity deregulation (how the market came to matter in an area where there was no obvious reason for the EU or a market) and EMU (analysed through the contending logics of rigour and sovereignty) are provocative and ring true. The history of electricity deregulation, in particular, sounds like contemporary social policy – another area that does not seem to need EU powers, or a market, but where the Commission, among others, is hunting for justifications to create both.

Scott L. Greer
(University of Michigan)

In keeping with the style and remit of the series, Alistair Jones has provided a very useful A–Z glossary of the EU. At 163 pages this is a brief introduction which skips through the various topics at breakneck speed. As with all books of this type, the key question that the author has to face is in deciding which subjects to include or exclude. The premium that is attached to keeping the word and page limit under control means that tough choices have inevitably to be made. Thus while there is an entry on the European Environment Agency, EU environment policy is not included. In a similar vein, although entries exist for functionalism, neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism, it is nevertheless the case that liberal intergovernmentalism is not referred to. These are, of course, somewhat over-critical comments that can be made about all works of this nature.

The real issue that will determine the success of this book is the extent to which it meets the needs of the uninformed reader. And it is here that Alistair Jones has fully achieved his aim. He has provided an excellent book that is well written and which benefits from being comprehensive enough to answer the majority of the questions that someone might seek answers for; at the same time it is brief and clear enough to get these points across. This is by no means an easy task. The book benefits from the usual trademark features of cross-referencing and has a number of tables that will be appreciated by the reader. So this is a very useful addition to the literature on the EU which will be particularly welcomed by undergraduate and A-level students as well as a non-academic audience.

Alasdair Blair
(Coventry University)

A Glossary of the European Union by **Alistair Jones**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. 163pp., £9.99, ISBN 978 0 7486 2576 5

The expansion in the number of policy areas tackled at a European level has been equally matched by the growing number of academic studies of the European Union (EU). These studies can broadly be divided between specialist research monographs and introductory textbooks, neither of which are always the easiest for the beginner to navigate. The 'Politics Glossaries' series aims to provide brief, clear and convenient guides that will help the reader to gain a thorough understanding of the subject matter under investigation.

Constitutionalising Europe: Processes and Practices by **Michael Longo**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 242pp., £50.00, ISBN 0 7546 4698 X

This book by Michael Longo represents an attempt to shed light on the process of constitutionalising the European Union (EU) from an 'interdisciplinary' standpoint. Longo adopts a socio-constructivist perspective claiming a functional fusion of legal studies and political science towards a more comprehensive 'po-law-tics' approach (p. 3). Given the current developments at EU level and their still partial understanding, innovative contributions on the subject seem essential.

Longo poses two fundamental questions addressing both the feasibility and desirability of a supranational constitution. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 discuss the proto-constitutional nature of today's Europe and identify the constellation of actors responsible for shaping the process of European integration. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 focus on the attempts towards constitutional restructuring and the *raison d'être* of a formal EU charter.

Longo's answer to the initial questions is a qualified yes. He interprets the current constitutional debate as part of a broader incremental course towards a 'multi-farious supranational federation' (p. 208). In order to succeed, the constitutional process therefore requires the emergence of 'a direct link between polity and constitution building' (p. 205). Given the absence of an Ackerman-style constitutional momentum, the EU should embody common rights and shared democratic values, thereby abandoning today's 'permissive consensus' and favouring more inclusive actions at citizen level. This shift implies the formalisation of different constitutional levels and the recognition of a form of 'democracy beyond the state' (p. 172). The author concludes that without these premises further steps towards formal constitutionalisation might be highly hazardous.

Longo's well-written book represents a relevant contribution for a better understanding of the EU's constitutional developments, and his attempt at an integrated approach seems valuable. Noteworthy are the chapters devoted to the arguments 'for' and 'against' a constitution and the meta-reflections on the nature of the EU. However, the objective to provide an interdisciplinary approach seems only partially achieved. The work still suffers from an over-legalistic accent as revealed by the rather disproportionate emphasis on the European Court of Justice (ECJ) rulings, which hardly fits the *esprit* of the book. As a result of this imbalance the chapters appear occasionally disconnected. More generally, the effectiveness of Longo's arguments could profit from a more accurate conceptual definition of the 'interdisciplinary' approach. Notwithstanding these sporadic deficiencies, and given its far-reaching vision and detailed reconstruction of the integrative path, the book is recommended to all those eager to develop a clearer understanding of the constitutional debate beyond its conventional borders.

Stefano Braghiroli
(University of Siena)

Cosmopolitanism and Europe by **Chris Rumford (ed.)**. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007. 272pp., £20.00, ISBN 978184631047 8

The editor of this book is clear in the introduction: cosmopolitanism can be all things to all people. Most often it is associated with political issues such as pleas for global governance or cosmopolitan democracy, cultural issues like identity and the relation between local and global or issues of economic globalisation. The process of European integration is often perceived to have cosmopolitan credentials, even though European Union (EU) representatives hardly ever associate themselves with this phenomenon.

This edited collection sets out to illuminate the extent to which Europe is cosmopolitan and if and how cosmopolitanism can learn from the European experience. It attempts to do this in fourteen chapters, each dealing with a different aspect of the relation between cosmopolitanism and Europe. Topics covered include cosmopolitan theory, the imperial legacy of Europe, human rights, the European Information Society, sports, language, localism, and security and the borders of the EU. Alongside the editor, scholars such as Ulrich Beck, Daniele Archibugi, Gerard Delanty and Maurice Roche contribute.

Many of the chapters note the influence of Kant and Habermas in one way or another. Most authors are very sceptical towards the EU as a model for a cosmopolitan world. They do not detect many lessons to be learned from European integration which could be of interest for cosmopolitan thought, or could set an example on a global scale. Low points of European history and legacy are presented as evidence for this; the Holocaust is specifically analysed. A number of authors are openly biased against capitalism, which is portrayed in negative terms and is seen to stimulate inequality. This is at least peculiar, because an argument pointing at a positive relation between capitalism, trade and cosmopolitanism can easily be made and is therefore sorely missed. The book is mostly theoretical, with the notable exception of a chapter on the local and cosmopolitan attitudes among the European population. Even most case studies on the EU largely refrain from empirically testing the mostly normative cosmopolitan theories.

All in all, this book does not succeed in clarifying cosmopolitanism. The reader also largely remains in the dark about its relation with European integration.

Perhaps this elusive book has some value to the group of cosmopolitanism scholars, but it clearly suffers from a lack of appeal to academics in other disciplines, such as political scientists, political theorists and most likely even European studies scholars.

Edwin van de Haar
(Ateneo de Manila University)

Building States without Society: European Union Enlargement and the Transfer of EU Social Policy to Poland and Hungary by **Beate Sissenich**. Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2007. 237pp., £19.99, ISBN 0 7391 1223 6

Turkey's New European Era: Foreign Policy on the Road to EU Membership by **Burak Akçapar**. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. 210pp., £15.99, ISBN 0 7425 5401 5

Cosmopolitan Europe by **Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007. 311pp., £55.00, £18.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 3562 0, ISBN 978 0 7456 3563 7

The European Union (EU) is constantly in flux. Here we have three timely contributions which account for the ever-changing nature of this entity. Beate Sissenich questions how EU social policy was transposed and implemented in Poland and Hungary before 2004 and up until 2005. Burak Akçapar looks into the arguments for Turkey's membership of the EU. Finally, Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande draw a normative picture of *Cosmopolitan Europe*, a vision of how Europe could overcome its current problems.

Out of these books, *Building States without Society* is by far the most solid contribution to the debate. It is a thoroughly researched monograph that develops its arguments based on 170 interviews with national, union and business officials and two unique data sets on networks among 32 social policy organisations. The EU's social policy has hardly been studied in the context of EU Eastern enlargement. It is an area of legislation where the EU has run out of sticks and seems to govern almost solely with carrots. The latter have often been linked to social learning, whereas the former have been connected to the term conditionality. Sissenich comes to the well-documented conclusion that stakeholders in

the two candidate countries Poland and Hungary generally 'viewed EU social policy as unproblematic' (p. 102). The author argues that little attention was given to the substance and implementation of EU legislation. So while these countries formally adopted the rules of the EU's social policy, no real efforts were made actually to make legislation work in practice.

The EU itself was also unable to offer detailed instructions for policy implementation as it varied across its member states. The author offers a number of concrete examples on the social dialogue, the Employment Guidelines and other elements of EU social policy. Sissenich argues that cross-national rule transfer is determined by state capacity and organised interests. While state capacity enables a country to transpose and implement EU legislation to a higher quality, organised interests can ensure that the domestic implementation regime fits the respective society. Although the implementation of EU laws at the domestic level provided an opportunity for domestic interest organisations to become more important players at the national and supranational level, Sissenich comes to the conclusion that neither the Hungarian nor Polish labour and employer organisations rose to the challenge. Not even the availability of multiple networks was able to empower socio-economic interests in these candidate countries. Rather, the Eastern enlargement in 2004 could be seen as an elite-driven process in which 'society has been strangely absent' (p. 181). In some parts of the book the author could have given more attention to the influence of particular accession instruments.

Burak Akçapar's *Turkey's New European Era* reads more like a pamphlet for Turkish membership than an academic contribution to the ongoing debate. Given that the author is actually a diplomat involved in the current negotiation process this may be instantly forgiven. Thus for the humble observer this becomes an interesting view into the mindset of the Turkish negotiation team. Among other questions, the author asks whether the EU 'should choose to define itself as a Christian club by excluding Turkey' (p. 18). Yet logically there are other questions to be answered first. For example: is Turkey a functioning market economy? Is it a democratic state with free multiparty elections? There are other obstacles that Turkey has to overcome too. Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome declared that 'any European state may apply to become a member of the Community'. Yet only one-third of Turkey lies in

Europe. However, having engaged Turkey not only in a long-lasting accession process but also accession negotiation since 2005, the EU has invested a lot of effort into the possible membership of this Mediterranean country and seems determined to make it work.

The author identifies the main dividing lines over the issue of Turkish membership. The Turkish negotiation team has on several occasions demanded fair conditions for EU membership. As the author highlights, in 2004 it almost left the negotiation table since it felt treated differently in comparison to other candidate countries. Akçapar gives a detailed insight into the negotiation process between Turkey and the EU. He engages with the problems concerning the division of Cyprus, the economy, human rights issues and global security concerns in relation to Turkish EU membership. Talk about a *privileged partnership* instead of *membership*, for example, left many negotiators in the dark. The author considers such notions as deliberate attempts to provoke Turkey to walk away from the table. He concludes that the transformation of Turkey into a stable democracy partly relies on EU membership. The reformers within the country would not otherwise be able to secure the success of their movement in the long run. One might question whether this argument is fully coherent and logical on its own.

Beck and Grande's contribution begins with the identification of an ongoing crisis not only of the EU as an entity but of Europe as a whole. The EU which lies at the centre of a fundamental transformation remains, according to the authors, a mystery for us; it 'escapes our understanding' (p. 2). They also describe Europe as the 'last politically effective utopia' (p. 2). While dealing with broad concepts throughout, this book uses hardly any empirical or systematically collected data or information to underline its often exceptionally broad claims. On page 3, for example, after having stated that Eastern enlargement has added to the EU's current malaise, the authors claim that 'Eastern European member states harbour the same scepticism towards the distant bureaucracy in Brussels that nourished their mistrust of Moscow'. As tempting as it may be to agree with such bold statements it is hard to overlook how thinly the empirical evidence presented supports each of these claims. In addition, such generalities seem to hide the fact that some of the smaller member states that entered in 2004 regard EU membership as a vehicle for foreign policy reform.

States such as Latvia and Lithuania seem to have overcome the perils of their history.

The concept of cosmopolitan Europe is at times confusing. The authors describe it in the introduction as a 'theoretical construct and a political vision' (p. 18). The whole architecture of the book seems to be based on an often-claimed truth, namely that European integration has been driven by the interaction of intergovernmental and supranational logics. This idea in itself is much less revolutionary than the authors intend to imply. In general, the basic problem underpinning this monograph is that it tries to do two things at the same time: firstly, it seeks to explain the EU in its current state; and secondly, it wants to describe an alternative future for the EU and Europe as a whole. These two enterprises seem impossible to master in one book. Even though at times the authors seem to have solved this dilemma, they often become victim of their own cause by renaming trends that have been described many times before, or redefining existing terminology, such as the term *Europeanisation*, in a way that will leave the majority of the profession with question marks.

Michael J. Steffens
(Shanghai International Studies University)

We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit <http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/>.

The Americas

Democracy after Pinochet: Politics, Parties and Elections in Chile by Alan Angell. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007. 229pp., £14.95. ISBN 1 900039 71 0

In the Shadow of the Generals: Foreign Policy Making in Argentina, Brazil and Chile by Martin Mullins. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 178pp., £50.00. ISBN 0 7546 4736 6

The collapse of dictatorships in South America at the end of the twentieth century did not signify a total break with the past: the policies of civilian governments were

still influenced by the legacy of the old regimes and some components of these administrations still remained in place. This continuity of policy is most readily apparent in the case of Chile. Here the neoliberal policies of the old regime were rarely questioned, and the armed forces retained influence over policy making after handing over power to a civilian government in 1989. Chile's transition to civilian rule was overseen by General Augusto Pinochet himself. Pinochet safeguarded his own position by remaining commander-in-chief of the army; making the armed forces independent of civilian control and trials for human rights abuses committed during the dictatorship almost impossible; and implementing a number of laws and regulations to prevent future governments from diverging from his neoliberal reform programme.

The consequences of Pinochet's judicial reforms as well as the legacy of the dictatorship are the principal focus of Alan Angell's *Democracy after Pinochet*, an investigation of political parties and elections in post-dictatorship Chile. The first two chapters of the book concentrate on key factors in the political development of contemporary Chile, such as international involvement in, and reaction to, the 1973 coup against President Salvador Allende; the 1988 plebiscite on Pinochet's rule; and the various ideological shifts in the Chilean left, which were influenced by the decades-long exile of its leadership. The subsequent four chapters examine the 1989, 1993, 1999–2000 and 2005–6 presidential and parliamentary elections. They consider the electoral campaigns and programmes of the participating political parties, the outcomes of the elections and changes in the political debate across the successive electoral campaigns. Chapter 7 examines the legacy of the Pinochet era in post-1989 Chilean politics, underscoring the neoliberal project's influence on the values and attitudes of the society; the effects of the 1980 Constitution and the 'binding laws' introduced by Pinochet; and the impact of the dictator's 1998 arrest in London on the Chilean debate on the period of the dictatorship. Chapter 8 compares the Chilean party system with other systems in South America. It draws attention to common trends among societies that have adopted a neoliberal trajectory, such as a lack of ideological debates and the portrayal of politicians as technocrats. The final chapter considers Chileans' popular perceptions of the situation in their nation, including their low levels of confidence in political institutions and democratic

processes. Each part of the book draws on reports from Chilean dailies and is supported by quantitative data that delineate the various electoral outcomes.

While Angell investigates the imprint left by the Pinochet dictatorship on Chile's political landscape, Martin Mullins' *In the Shadow of the Generals* is primarily concerned with the impact of authoritarian regimes on contemporary foreign policy formation. Focusing on three Southern Cone states – Argentina, Brazil and Chile – Mullins calls for an approach to foreign policy analysis that is more nuanced and inclusive than the prevailing Realist perspective of international relations theory.

The first chapter outlines some concepts that Mullins views as undervalued in contemporary foreign policy analysis. First, he argues that human subjects, conceived not solely as power maximisers but as individuals conditioned by day-to-day life, should be placed at the heart of any process of political decision making. In this context, Mullins employs Heidegger's notion of 'embeddedness', a conceptual tool that is useful for investigating how individual identities, as well as foreign policy, are constituted by political and historical narratives and experiences. Moreover, embeddedness underlines the multifaceted nature of time, space and power, contravening the positivist tendency to apprehend these arenas in strictly homogeneous terms. Here Mullins emphasises the need to incorporate into foreign policy analysis the Gramscian notion of ideological hegemony, along with Foucault's idea that power emerges from highly complex and imbricated forms of practice. The following three chapters constitute case studies of Argentina, Brazil and Chile, respectively. Enlisting the conceptual tools outlined in the first part of the book, each chapter begins with a brief historical overview and then considers how various historical narratives and phenomena such as 'the politics of identity' have influenced the formation of foreign policy in the nation under discussion.

While Mullins endeavours to illustrate the shortcomings of the realist perspective, he nevertheless does not reject Realism as a tool for explaining foreign policy. Rather, he calls for the incorporation of post-positivist methodology in order to overcome the limitations of this approach.

Ania Kowalczyk
(University of Salford)

Madison's Managers: Public Administration and the Constitution by **Anthony M. Bertelli and Laurence E. Lynn Jr.** Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. 166pp., £16.50, ISBN 0 8018 8319 9

The central question tackled by the authors of *Madison's Managers* is public management's balancing of political, legal, economic and policy discretion with an increasing list of public tasks and responsibilities. Bertelli and Lynn's work developed from a series of conversations that began over eight years ago. Lynn, an academic, and Bertelli, a University of Chicago-trained lawyer with the Pennsylvania Office of the Attorney General, presented cases or published articles on competence in American public administration and its constitutional roots. Their combined efforts led to one of the foundational books on managerial responsibility and the separation of powers in American government. *Madison's Managers* is an excellent text for any course on public administration theory, constitutional or administrative law or public personnel management.

The book has four distinct characteristics which serve as its theoretical foundation. First, it is based solely on American constitutional thought and history. Bertelli and Lynn attempt to link the country's administrative law debates with its application in public sector management. Secondly, the authors attempt to link Waldo's 1948 theoretical contributions with American history. They challenge the reader by removing perceived misconceptions held by the American public. Furthermore, the authors encourage the reader critically to review these contributions yet use them to create a postmodern public administration based upon Madison's writings. The third unique trait of this book is its support for public personnel management. Bertelli and Lynn claim that the success of these proposed ideas lies with the public sector manager who understands economics, social theory and contract law. Like many other public administration textbooks, *Madison's Managers* challenges its readers to look beyond the privatisation movement and reconnect the profession with its constitutional roots.

It is the last characteristic that separates *Madison's Managers* from other texts on this subject, although the separation is not a complete departure from current administrative thought. This book serves as an excellent supplement on most related topics and will be essential

to the field as we develop new theories and applications in a postmodern America.

Dwight Vick
(West Texas A&M University)

In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution by **Joseph Crespino.** Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007. 360pp., £22.95, ISBN 0 691 12209 1

Crespino supplies a lucid and insightful analysis of the transformation of Mississippi from a Democratic to Republican stronghold between the 1950s and 1970s. Dissecting the rhetoric of segregationists, Crespino uncovers arguments for small government, religious freedom and anti-communism that buttressed the defence of Jim Crow. The erosion of *de jure* segregation in the American South not only exposed the political shoals of *de facto* segregation throughout the United States, but also linked white southerners with conservatives across the nation.

Convincingly arguing that Mississippi was 'America writ small', Crespino thoroughly examines newspapers, personal papers, government records and organisational documents to demonstrate how – despite the temporary ascendancy of hardline segregationists such as those in the Citizens' Councils – practical segregationists willing to compromise on desegregation in order to avoid federal intervention or damage business relationships maintained a significant presence in Mississippi (p. 6). Issues of taxation, religion and communism repeatedly challenged racist politicians. Many white Mississippians, for instance, balked at state funding through the Sovereignty Commission of lecture tours by anti-communists such as Myers Lowman. Smearing civil rights activists as reds was OK so long as tax dollars were not involved. Furthermore, liberal preachers inspired by social gospel activism – many from outside Mississippi – conflicted with the dominant conservative view that religion should focus on saving souls in the afterlife rather than deal with worldly matters. The establishment of white-dominated Christian academies as an alternative to integrated public schools during the 1970s complicated the debate over integration. Efforts to withhold federal tax exemptions for these schools stirred a firestorm of controversy regarding religious freedom, a point eventually championed by Ronald Reagan. White southern politicians also found a sympathetic ear in Richard Nixon,

who eased the enforcement of integration as US Senator John Stennis of Mississippi pressed for federal bussing legislation in northern communities in a successful effort to stir opposition to assaults on *de facto* segregation due to residential patterns.

Crespino's provocative study stands prominently in the emerging historiography of the conservative backlash against liberalism, though the work would have benefited from considering white Mississippians' reaction against feminism, gay rights and the sexual revolution. Despite this limitation, scholars and students interested in southern history, political history or the evolution of the Civil Rights Movement will find that this book provides an accessible and balanced account of the major political realignment that gave legs to the modern Republican party.

Anthony J. Stanonis
(Queen's University Belfast)

White Rage: The Extreme Right and American Politics by **Martin Durham**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007. 180pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 415 36232 0

In *White Rage: The Extreme Right and American Politics*, Martin Durham examines the development and ideology of extremist groups in the twentieth-century United States. His study reveals both the underlying fears and hatreds that drive extremist thought in America and, more importantly, the contentious debates within these movements over goals and strategies. Durham offers both a frightening counterweight to recent scholarship that emphasises the colour-blind rhetoric of modern conservatism, as well as a fascinating look into the internal struggles among fringe elements in modern American politics. In nine succinct chapters, Durham examines how radical racists and anti-Semites have drawn inspiration from, and debated the meaning of, among others, Nazism, Southern slavery, the American Revolution, women's rights, Christianity and radical Islam. Rather than a consensus born of shared fears, hatreds and paranoia, Durham finds movements riven by disputes (both personal and philosophical) over targets, strategies and alliances. Although often at war with each other, Durham warns that these groups' internal squabbles should not distract us from the ongoing threat they pose to the life and livelihood of racial, ethnic and religious minorities. In chapter 7, for example, he balances the rhetoric of hatred with the very real acts of

violence it inspires, from the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 to the 1999 assault on a Jewish day-care centre in Los Angeles.

Durham offers valuable insights into the production and dissemination of hate-filled music and literature. We meet, for example, the shadowy figures behind such publications as *Thunderbolt* and white power musical groups such as WAR (White Aryan Resistance). In addition, he explores how extremist groups have sought to forge alliances, from the efforts of some groups to find common cause with black nationalists, to the support of others for radical Islam's attacks on Israel and the US, to the strategies of yet others to ally with anti-globalisation movements.

Although there is much to recommend here, one wishes that Durham had offered more analysis of the social and economic forces that compel individuals to join extremist groups and carry out such unconscionable acts, and how this has changed over time. Given the current state of US and international economies, and the prospect of even more tumultuous times ahead, a more detailed discussion of the conditions that give rise to extremist thought and actions would have lent valuable insight into the groups and individuals under inquiry. That said, this book will prove indispensable to all scholars of extremism in twentieth-century and modern America.

Andrew W. Kahrl
(Harvard University)

The Polarized Presidency of George W. Bush by **George C. Edwards III and Desmond S. King (eds)**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 463pp., £25.00, ISBN 978 0 19 921797 7

As the George W. Bush administration approached its end, political commentators were understandably focused on the battle for the Democratic presidential nomination. The Republican nomination was assured early on, but what remained uncertain was whether John McCain could win against the Democrat nominee, how he would change Grand Old Party (GOP) policy if he did, and not least, what would be the legacy that he might choose to distinguish himself from.

This collection emphasises the polarising impact that Bush has had on American politics. Immediately after 9/11, Bush received the highest approval ratings

ever given to a president. Before this, however, polling revealed an average 57-point difference between approval ratings among Republicans and Democrats, and in the aftermath of the Iraq invasion, a 2004 poll reported that while 89 per cent of Republicans approved of the job the president was doing, only 12 per cent of Democrats did.

From the first poll taken in 2001, it was evident that Bush fundamentally divided the country. As we would expect, much of this collection is focused on Iraq. How the president decided on war, how he sought to persuade the public and what role intelligence played are all extensively discussed, and topics ranging from the furore over torture to arguments about the rightful extent of presidential power are addressed. But polarisation both predates and reaches beyond Iraq, and other areas also receive attention. One chapter considers how the Bush White House used communications, while another includes a consideration of the president's ill-fated attempt to authorise the operation of highly sensitive seaport terminals by a Dubai-owned company. The book concludes with a discussion of how Bush's failure to reform social security can be illuminated by the theory of path dependence.

While one can always think of areas that such a collection should cover (perhaps most pressing, Bush's failure to reform immigration), this is an outstanding collection. It seems a long time since commentators were noting how adept the newly elected Bush was at reaching beyond his base. Now, however, we are more at home with seeing him as having pursued a strategy that denied him not only the support of liberals and moderates, but even some conservatives. His administration presided over a crisis in the American polity, and this work is very rich both in setting out how this was and in examining why.

Martin Durham
(University of Wolverhampton)

Strategies of Dominance: The Misdirection of US Foreign Policy by P. Edward Haley. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. 286pp., £36.50, £15.50, ISBN 0 8018 8397 0, ISBN 0 8018 8413 6

With the 2008 American presidential elections, there has been no shortage of political commentary speculating that the United States is at the threshold of

a new era in foreign policy. P. Edward Haley's *Strategies of Dominance* provides a stimulating analytical framework that foretells whether American foreign policy is headed for a significant shift by examining the patterns of recent policy-making paradigms. Haley reviews the foreign policies of the last three American presidents, Bush I, Clinton and Bush II, and analyses their respective decision-making approaches to Iraq, the former Soviet Union, Israel and Palestine, North Korea, and towards smaller countries such as Somalia and Haiti. He details their accomplishments and inadequacies, and lays out an argument that these three presidents all operated under a similar post-Cold War paradigm of American exceptionalism. The differences found in their respective policies are a result of how far each president was comfortable with pushing American exceptionalism on to the rest of the world. Haley sees the post-Cold War paradigm as a distracting issue that prevented the United States from taking full advantage of its hegemonic position following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Haley finds great fault with this paradigm and thus with recent American foreign policy. He argues that the US has focused too much time and effort on utopian dreams of universal democratisation instead of taking a more pragmatic approach to world affairs. In his conclusion, he contends that the US should forgo the American exceptionalism paradigm and concentrate instead on strengthening the multilateral institutions that benefit both the US and other countries as well. Unfortunately, Haley does not go into detail as to how the US will forgo this policy perspective, considering that it is deeply entrenched in domestic interests and popular political rhetoric. He is right to argue that the three post-Cold War presidents operated under similar assumptions, but does not demonstrate how this diverges from previous eras in American history. American exceptionalism has been prominent in American foreign policy since Woodrow Wilson, and was a major foundation of the American Cold War policy. Considering that American exceptionalism is such an incumbent and ingrained idea in American politics, it would be surprising if any significant shifts in the American foreign policy paradigm were to take place under the next presidential administration.

Patrick Shea
(Fordham University)

Power and Superpower: Global Leadership and Exceptionalism in the 21st Century by **Morton H. Halperin, Jeffrey Laurenti, Peter Rundlet and Spencer P. Boyer (eds)**. New York: The Century Foundation Inc., 2007. 440pp., £11.99, ISBN 087078 509 5

Power and Superpower: Global Leadership and Exceptionalism in the 21st Century is a product of a non-partisan conference of the same name held in New York in June 2006 sponsored by The Century Foundation and the Center for American Progress. The book is an amalgamation of the conference and individual contributions from specialised working groups focusing on the current and future position of the leadership role the United States has and will play in the world. The scope of the book is broad, yet it offers a clear and succinct message: the United States must engage and cooperate on an international level to ensure global security and prosperity in the twenty-first century.

The premise of the work hinges on the idea of American exceptionalism as developed by Alexis de Tocqueville in his nineteenth-century work *Democracy in America*. The authors argue that this positive concept of American exceptionalism, *vis-à-vis* America as the global leader, found its zenith in Liberal Internationalism and the correlate institutions developed after the Second World War. It is argued that this form of exceptional Liberal Internationalism gave, and has given, the United States its legitimacy. To be certain, the essence of Tocqueville's American 'exceptionalism' is capable of being adapted to serve the needs of anyone, and Halperin *et al.* argue that this adaptation has occurred in the current administration. The Bush neo-conservative ideology has hijacked the positive concept of American exceptionalism, creating an 'exempt' America that is not accountable to the liberal international order, that acts individually and uses pre-emptive aggressive power as the primary instrument of liberal change.

Tocqueville was keenly aware of the potential for the American project to go off course. Isaac Kramnick tells us that one of the earliest usages of the word 'individualism' was used in the 1840 translation of *Democracy in America* in which Tocqueville concluded that Americans were more concerned with their own ambitions than those of a common good. This seems to be the interpretation of 'exceptional' which the current administration has adopted. The book

acknowledges this, but avoids overt Bush bashing and presents an exceptionally knowledgeable, credible and well-rounded examination of the issues by some of the most pre-eminent policy strategists today. For anyone concerned and interested in American politics, this is essential reading and, at the very least, should be provided to the newly elected president as a guide to United States policy development and implementation in the twenty-first century.

Judith Murray
(University of Newcastle)

Dealing with Dictators: Dilemmas of US Diplomacy and Intelligence Analysis, 1945–1990 by **Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow (eds)**. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2007. 227pp., £34.95, £17.95, ISBN 0 262 13459 4, ISBN 0 262 63324 8

In drawing together a mix of interesting and often problematic case studies from the Cold War, May and Zelikow seek to encourage the reader not to pass judgement on US foreign policy decision making, but instead to examine processes, deliberations and decisions, and ask whether they themselves would, or indeed could, have done anything different. The book, which emerged as a product of the 'Intelligence and Policy Program' at Harvard University, illuminates the inherent problems in the intelligence-policy maker nexus, and shows how US foreign policy decision making is often frustrated by crossed moral and practical purposes.

Beginning with an examination of 'the loss of China' from 1945 to 1948 and concluding with an examination of policy towards Saddam Hussein's Iraq from 1988 to 1990, the book begins to advance a rudimentary conceptual framework for understanding the delicate and often chronic dilemmas that taint the ostensibly moral goals of US foreign policy. In the case of the Congo (1960–3) the authors ask the reader whether any other course of action other than installing the despotic Mobutu was feasible given the structural confines generated by the anxieties of the period. A decade later the authors ponder whether things really could have been done differently regarding the Shah of Iran or the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua given the greater openness and 'press power' of the post-Vietnam era. Similarly they question whether anyone really had enough influence to persuade Ronald Reagan that the US relationship with Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines was becoming at best problematic and at worst inimical to US interests by the mid-1980s.

What the book suggests is that at times decision makers simply did not ask the right questions. Was the Congo really of primary strategic importance to the US? Or was it more likely to become a substantial burden on any subsequent Soviet takeover? Should more have been done in China to support the Kuomintang? Should the Bush administration have listened to the CIA rather than regional leaders and put more pressure on Saddam Hussein in 1990?

Overall the book provides a fascinating insight into perhaps the greatest paradox in US foreign policy – when is it justifiable to support authoritarian, corrupt and despotic regimes to ensure a supposedly greater good? The answer to this question will undoubtedly continue to trouble policy makers as the US embarks upon securing itself in the post-9/11 world.

Andrew Futter
(University of Birmingham)

US Labour in Trouble and Transition: The Failure of Reform from Above, the Promise of Revival from Below by **Kim Moody**. London: Verso, 2007. 296pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 84467 154 0

In this, his third book, Kim Moody concentrates on analysing the reasons behind the decline of the American labour movement from the 1970s, culminating in the 2005 split in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). By providing a thorough analysis of the period, which includes an overview both of the changes in the economy as well as the organisational evolution of unions during the time period analysed, Moody attempts to open up the possibilities for revival. In a nutshell, Moody argues that the decline of labour unionism in the US has been both a consequence of capitalist restructuring and of the unions' inability to respond adequately.

The book is divided into three parts. Firstly, the author concentrates on the macroeconomic changes that have characterised the US economy in the last 30 years. In this section, the mobility of capital, the changes in the structure of the economy (the move from manufacturing to services) and the consequent changes in the composition of the workforce are considered. This part concludes by providing the view that the last three decades have been beneficial to capital and detrimental for labour. Secondly, Moody focuses on the responses by organised labour to these macroeconomic transformations. Here, the argu-

ment that the organisational form of US labour – that of *business unionism* – is to blame for organised labour's inability to respond to macroeconomic changes takes hold. Finally, Moody discusses in great depth the 2005 split. The criticism Moody offers is based around the inefficacy of reforms that are carried out from above. For the author, the split is an example of the shallow power that business unionism creates. The power is shallow because it is not based around the power that arises from the workplace and the community.

Moody's work provides a continuation of his previous two works *An Injury to All* (1988) and *Workers in a Lean World* (1997). Continuing from these works, Moody advocates for a *social movement unionism*. In his view, this should offer an organisational synergy between community and politics which is rooted in the workplace. It requires an analysis of economic changes that is thorough as well as demystifying. As an illustration, Moody offers a crucial point: most of the relocation of production in the US did not go overseas. Rather, it moved to the low-unionised Southern states. The book is aimed at both academics and students interested in labour issues as well as labour activists.

Monica Clua Losada
(University of York)

Revisiting Waldo's Administrative State: Constancy and Change in Public Administration by **David Rosenbloom and Howard McCurdy (eds)**. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2007. 206pp., \$27.50, ISBN 1 58901 093 0

Revisiting Waldo's Administrative State provides a 'cosmic connection' between Waldo's 1948 and 1984 publications and modern-day administrative practices. A twentieth-century public administration theorist, Waldo's critiques were unfathomable in the 1940s. He challenged philosophical orthodoxy, scientific principles and their relationship to administrative theories. Waldo questioned their links to American political culture and constitutional government while proposing a democratic theory for public administration. The aim of this book's contributors is to connect Waldo's theoretical questions with modern-day concerns in public administration. Rosenbloom and McCurdy have compiled a series of essays written by leading experts in

the field, which address questions modern-day public administrators ask themselves.

'The Material Background' by Donald Kettl in Part I links the earlier waves of administrative reform and their focus on infrastructure with today's 'softer' or less definitive tasks of public health or environmental policy, while Howard McCurdy's essay on the cultural and ideological background of public administration analyses America's struggle between policy issues, a pragmatic ideology and their competing preferences.

In Part II Norma Riccucci successfully combines organisational theory and practice, community values and reform with graduate courses in research methods in chapter 4, while chapters 5 and 6 examine the relationship between current reformers, the three branches of American government and the need for 'good administrators' who respect the separation of powers, value-neutral advice and bureaucratic involvement in political decision making on complex issues with 'ominous consequences and no apparent civilized solution'.

The remaining six chapters in Part III are much like Waldo's 1948 text because they focus on specific issues of the day. Within these essays, the authors predict which issues pose the greatest bureaucratic, humanistic and democratic challenges to twenty-first-century American society. Larry Terry's chapter discusses modern society's reverence for private-sector management styles that are inflicted upon government bureaucracy. The chapter entitled 'Business and Government' by Barbara Romzek combines Waldo's and Terry's ideas and applies to governmental contracting. John Cadigan uses a similar approach in his essay, which focuses exclusively upon the American military. The remaining chapters relate Waldo's mid-twentieth-century theories to twenty-first-century issues such as global warming, safe food supplies, the population boom in Indonesia and Africa and the greying of Europe, China, Japan and other industrialised nations. The final essay finds Waldo's original thoughts on bureaucratic theory to be as relevant today as they were 60 years ago. However, Rosenbloom and McCurdy contend that these theories must be re-conceptualised, reconnected and redefined to fit the needs of the twenty-first century.

The book's major strength lies in its application of public administration theories to tomorrow's social problems that we, as a planetary society, have not widely discussed. Unfortunately, the table of contents does not clearly delineate between the three sections. The editors

could also have made the book more relevant by applying the theories to issues we currently face such as public health pandemics, education and energy demand. Nonetheless, the book advances Waldo's work into the twenty-first century and serves as an excellent graduate text in public administration theory or as a supplement in an introductory course.

Dwight Vick
(West Texas A&M University)

The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945 by Nina Tannenwald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 449pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 521 52428 5

In this monograph, Tannenwald attempts to tackle the causes of a non-event: why the US, enjoying nuclear superiority, has not made a nuclear strike against hostile regimes since Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Deterrence theory, which posits that states are instrumentally rational, fails to address why nuclear weapons remained unused against non-nuclear adversaries who could not retaliate in kind. Neither do non-deterrence explanations account for why the US would not have deployed nuclear weapons had they been tactically useful. Tannenwald suggests that (1) the nuclear taboo is a significant but neglected aspect of the practice of deterrence; (2) the nuclear non-use taboo rather than non-possession has contributed to the stigmatisation and delegitimation of nuclear arsenals as a tool for fighting wars; and (3) the nuclear taboo has sanctioned the legality of conventional forces and stabilised deterrence between the two superpowers during the Cold War.

In contrast to norms, Tannenwald defines the nuclear taboo as the most severe inhibition, 'a powerful *de facto* prohibition' (p. 10) against the first use of nuclear arsenals and a 'bright line' norm, since the nuclear taboo implies that its violations generate a 'transformative effect' which 'moves one irrevocably to a new world' (p. 11).

To uncover the role the nuclear taboo has played in decision making, Tannenwald traces the first use of atomic bombs in 1945 and the rise of the nuclear taboo afterwards. She demonstrates that US abstention from the use of nuclear arms in the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the 1991 Gulf war is better explained by normative concerns than by deterrence or other non-deterrence factors.

Tannenwald suggests that the nuclear taboo is regulative, constitutive and permissive. Regulative effects have enjoined employment of nuclear weapons by the US; permissive and constitutive effects have defined the legality of conventional weapons and what it means to be a civilised state. The US has reinforced its understanding of who it is through compliance with the nuclear taboo. However, it is questionable whether the nuclear taboo has been well entrenched and is a taken-for-granted assumption held by US top state elites. As indicated in the 2002 *Nuclear Posture Review*, the US not only lowered the threshold for the use of nuclear arsenals but considered pre-emptive nuclear strikes against Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria. This slightly undermines the logic of appropriateness that this book seeks to advance. In sum, Tannenwald's nuanced arguments illuminate that the nuclear taboo is a significant variable which needs to be brought into the equation of nuclear behaviour.

Shih-Yu Chou
(University of Sheffield)

We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit <http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/>.

Asia and the Pacific

Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation in India and Pakistan by **Katherine Adeney**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 238pp., £37.99, ISBN 1 4039 7186 2

Katharine Adeney's book sets a new standard in the literature on comparative federalism and South Asian studies. The book excels on three fronts. Firstly, it deftly links the leading theoretical literature on ethnic conflict regulation to historical analysis. Secondly, it achieves a great deal of depth in comparing India and Pakistan, an endeavour that has attracted surprisingly little attention. Thirdly, the author provides robust empirical results that ought to satisfy those who approach the study of comparative politics with a quantitative bent as well as those who tend to be sceptical of such methodological approaches.

The book contains eight chapters and three helpful appendices and is roughly divided into three themes. Chapters 1, 3 and 5 provide the theoretical backbone to this study. Although federalism has not received universal acceptance in resolving ethnic conflict in multi-ethnic societies, Adeney's main theoretical contribution is to argue that optimally devised federal institutions (or provincial design, as the author specifies) can minimise the probability of ethnic strife from occurring, but also serve as a tool for managing ethnic conflict once it has erupted.

In chapters 2 and 4, the author offers a detailed historical context on the development of post-independence federal institutions in India and Pakistan. Given their common colonial legacy, it is curious that few studies in comparative politics have used India and Pakistan as case studies. Adeney's contribution on this front alone advances and develops the links between area-specific studies of post-colonial societies and the domains of comparative politics. Adeney shows that the wide divergence in federal design after India and Pakistan's independence from Britain stems from a range of pre-independence institutions relating to provincial autonomy. As Adeney shows, these factors also contributed to the divergence in the robustness of democratic institutions in these two countries.

For students of comparative federalism, Adeney presents quantitative methods in innovative ways. For instance, she uses Taagepera and Shugart's well-known effective number of parties index (N) to calculate the effective number of religious and linguistic groups in British India. This approach shows that there was wide pre-independence disparity between India and Pakistan pertaining to linguistic heterogeneity, but not in terms of religious heterogeneity. Later in the book she demonstrates, quite convincingly, how India most optimally designed federal institutions that accommodated a high level of linguistic heterogeneity.

The book's impressive empirical underpinnings will be invaluable in predicting the expected levels of federal stability in India and Pakistan. As Adeney boldly asserts, 'it is the denial of recognition and accommodation that provides the condition for conflict to flourish' (p. 120). However, she also shows how the number and size of political parties and the relative weight of the ethnic background of bureaucrats can contribute to federal instability. In sum, the book provides fertile ground for policy makers in the design of functional federal

institutions in multi-ethnic societies and will undoubtedly inspire future research using a larger sample of federations.

Lawrence Saez
(School of Oriental and African Studies)

China Factors: Political Perspectives and Economic Interactions by **Gordon C. K. Cheung**. New Brunswick NJ and London: Transaction Publishers, 2007. 165pp., £34.50, ISBN 978 0765803429

This study focuses on the politics of economic relations after 1997 within a geographic entity termed Greater China, comprising China (PRC), Hong Kong and Taiwan. While the term Greater China is conceptually imprecise, the impact of this region on the global economy and on world politics is beyond dispute. Foreign exchange reserves alone collectively equal over 2 trillion dollars. It is this power-in-being and power potential that makes the study of this region one of enormous importance. How these three areas interact is thus a question that demands the attention of scholars and policy makers alike.

Intense interaction within Greater China involving social, economic, political, business and tourist contacts are a mosaic that is unpacked by using Kenichi Ohmae's variables of integration, interdependence, identity and independence. 'Integration' is explored in the context of reactions to the Asian financial crisis and how, and in what way, this crisis brought about structural transformations in the region. While the policies of Hong Kong and Taiwan differed from those of China, the immediate effect of the financial crisis on China was to strengthen capital flow management. Hong Kong's economy recovered, in part, from various measures initiated in China which galvanised interactions with neighbouring cities. For Taiwan, trade with China expanded such that by the end of 2003 almost 4,000 Taiwanese companies had invested more than one billion dollars in various Chinese industries.

'Interdependence' involves regional and global connections. Both Taiwan and China are members of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), with the result that integration has become firmly established. Strong and active coordination in economic policies should facilitate China's involvement in world activities as well as strengthening cross-straits ties. The central issue involv-

ing 'Identity' is the degree to which the component parts of Greater China share a common identity. Hong Kong is in a transitional state but the issue is complicated in Taiwan by the island's process of democratisation. While the people of Taiwan do not dispute that they are Chinese, they disagree with their mainland compatriots as to how they should live. This leads inevitably to the question of 'Independence', which has been a central and contentious issue in cross-straits relations.

This book provides a competent overview of a complex topic. The author's insights are convincing and logically presented. One shortcoming is the lack of professional copy-editing, which occasionally distracts from an otherwise persuasive argument.

Richard W. Wilson
(Rutgers University)

Power and Contestation: India since 1989 by **Nivedita Menon and Aditya Nigam**. London: Zed Books, 2007. 219pp., £12.99, ISBN 978 1 84277 815 9

Power and Contestation, written by two well-known political theorists-cum-activists in India, presents the most up-to-date and comprehensive chronicle of India's political history since 1989. Combining post-nationalist, feminist and new left perspectives, the authors candidly illustrate how the *power* of capital and nation in post-1989 India has constantly been *contested* in public and political discourse.

Narrating the political transformations and changing state-society relations in India in the last two decades, the authors argue that India post-1989 has witnessed a significant departure from its foundational principles such as Nehruvian socialism, secular nationalism and the principles of non-alignment. Although global factors like the 'end of the Cold War' and neoliberal reforms have significantly influenced developments in India, the authors argue that it was primarily the 'internal conflicts and logics' that propelled these transformations in India (p. 2). With the decline of the Congress party and the regionalisation of Indian politics, the issue of caste has re-emerged in the political sphere. The 'mandalization of politics' (p. 16) and the increasing political mobilisation of the lower caste has not only challenged the hegemony of the upper castes but also significantly influenced the imperatives of electoral politics in India. Secularism, a key political principle which traditionally provided

considerable psychological and political security to religious minorities, has been under vigorous attack with the rapid rise of Hindutva politics manifested in the demolition of Babri Mosque in 1992 and the 'state-sponsored massacre of Muslims in Gujarat' in 2002 (p. 51).

Globalisation and neoliberal economic reforms, as updated incarnations of the old idea of development and modernisation, have dispossessed people, disrupted communities and destroyed their cultures and livelihoods without offering them any viable or dignified alternatives. As a response, various non-party political formations and grass-roots movements or what the authors call 'new left' movements have emerged to contest the exclusive and exploitative logic of global capital and its local ally the nation/state. The conflicts in the north-east and Kashmir region have also challenged the 'idea of India'. Although global capital has helped the Indian nation to secure a place in the world, the authors conclude that 'in India, as elsewhere in the world, the contestations to the power of Capital and Nation are so many, so varied, and so relentless' (p. 181).

Since the book is written from the 'new left' perspective, it captures only one aspect of India's transformation since 1989. Despite this, the strength of the book is its numerous recent examples and candid analytic style, which make it an admirable contribution to the Zed Books series on 'Global History of the Present' and a rich resource for anyone working on India.

Sarbeswar Sahoo
(National University of Singapore)

We welcome short reviews of books in all areas of politics and international relations. For guidelines on submitting reviews, and to see an up-to-date listing of books available for review, please visit <http://www.politicalstudiesreview.org/>.

Other Areas

Globalization and Business Politics in Arab North Africa: A Comparative Perspective by **Melani Claire Cammett**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 265pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 0 521 86950 8

Melani Claire Cammett's book provides the reader with a clear and very accessible description of the economic

problems and current transformations occurring in the North African countries.

The author constructs a model of economic reaction – a response to globalisation and world integration processes – and checks its effectiveness based on the analysis of business politics in two countries of the Maghreb: Morocco and Tunisia. The author presents the relations and dependencies of these two countries in the world and attempts to define their position in a complex globalising market. She shows that, while the two countries display many economic similarities (e.g. trade dependence on the EU), they have developed completely different responses to economic liberalisation.

Cammett focuses her analysis on the textile and garment industry, which is a significant sector for both the Moroccan and Tunisian economies. This sector in particular has faced most competition from Asia and Central and Eastern Europe in recent years, leading to numerous changes and transformations and resulting in privatisation and liberalisation within the sector. Using her extensive research, the author presents an in-depth study of these transformations and thus gives the reader far more than just a general description of current problems.

The book's analysis is supported by numerous quotes from the various interviews and is richly illustrated with charts and tables, and altogether it provides a stimulating and pleasurable read. It fills a gap in the research and literature on Arab North African countries in the second half of the twentieth century and therefore provides an intellectual contribution that will be of particular interest to academics in the field of economics and international relations. Cammett's study will become an important voice in discussions on the economic future not only of the Maghreb, but of the whole Middle East.

Katarzyna Jarecka-Stepień
(Jagiellonian University, Cracow)

Israeli Counter-Insurgency and the Intifadas: Dilemmas of a Conventional Army by **Sergio Catignani**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. 264pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0415433884

This clearly written, balanced and accessible book sets out to analyse the tactical and operational conduct of the Israel Defence Forces' (IDF) counter-insurgency operations during two major Palestinian uprisings (1987–93

and 2000–5). It aims to examine ‘whether or not the IDF has been able to adapt its conventional order of battle and conduct of warfare to the realities of the Israeli–Palestinian low intensity conflict (LIC) and achieve some sort of victory over the Palestinian insurgency’ (p. 1). The book also looks at ‘what effects both Palestinian Intifadas have had on the combat morale of the IDF’ (p. 1) – something which the author sees as strongly related to combat efficiency.

The book begins by conceptualising the notion of combat motivation and what it may mean in the context of the IDF. This is followed by a useful historical account of political–military relations in Israel, the development of the state’s national security doctrine and the rise of LIC, setting the context for analysing the IDF’s tactical and operational conduct during the two Palestinian Intifadas. The examination of the first Intifada underscores the confusion and demoralisation that the IDF experienced during this period. Although the account is succinct, balanced and animated by interviews, the feeling is that it does not add a great deal to what we already know.

The examination of the al-Aqsa Intifada – which Catignani perceives as an ‘urban guerrilla war and terror campaign’ (p. 104) rather than a popular uprising – is more rewarding, for it is one of the first accounts to link the tactical and operational conduct of the IDF, its ethical dilemmas and the broader environment in which it operated during the al-Aqsa Intifada. The causes and consequences of the new tactics and operational conduct adopted by the IDF – including the introduction of the major weapons platform, greater reliance on real-time intelligence and swarm tactics – are convincingly exposed. As Catignani rightly emphasises, the IDF’s adaptation of its conventional order of battle and conduct of warfare did not only result from the al-Aqsa Intifada being a different type of conflict from the first one; it was also a product of the changed international, political, economic and social environment in which the IDF operated during the two Intifadas. Even though the IDF has been able to adapt very well from a tactical perspective to both Palestinian Intifadas, Catignani convincingly demonstrates that it remained unable to impose a strategic solution on the Palestinian insurgency.

Overall I would recommend this book for advanced undergraduate and master’s students, academics and practitioners who are interested in political–military relations in contemporary Israel and the current state of

the IDF. Those doing comparative work on the challenges posed by LIC to conventional armies at the beginning of the twenty-first century may also benefit from Catignani’s study.

Amnon Aran
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Intimate Enemy: Images and Voices of the Rwandan Genocide by **Robert Lyons and Scott Straus**. Brooklyn NY: Zone Books, 2006. 185pp., £24.95, ISBN 1 890951 63 3

Lyons and Straus have produced a non-academic text that provides no analysis and little contextualisation of the Rwandan genocide. Why then is it a novel, insightful, compelling and chilling contribution to the discourse on the Rwandan conflict?

Intimate Enemy is complex in its simplicity and is the product of two differing approaches. Straus provides a number of extracts from interviews undertaken with convicted or confessed Rwandan *génocidaires*, whereas Lyons provides over 70 portrait photographs of both victims and perpetrators. There is no link between the interviews and the photos, each project having been undertaken separately. For Straus academic restraints mean that the interviewees are unnamed, although we are given information about their sentencing and their previous occupation. For Lyons, an independent photographer, such constraints do not apply and we are provided with details about each photograph. The overall purpose of the text is ‘not to interpret or analyse the narratives it contains but to present largely unmediated narratives and images’ (p. 24). This simple objective is unquestionably achieved. No more and no less is provided.

The images that we often associate with the Rwandan genocide – the machete and corpses on the roadside – are absent. Those images result in the inability to comprehend the brutality, immensity and inhumanity of what occurred in Rwanda. Lyons and Straus have purposely avoided such content, and in doing so they bring the reader down to the level of the individual. We are forced to reflect on the banality of the interviewees – it is this sense of normality that is most chilling.

Intimate Enemy is aimed at academics and non-academics alike. It is neither grotesque and voyeuristic nor insipid and trite. It is a novel means of re-engaging the reader to the almost unimaginable events of 1994. Its

complexity comes from forcing each of us individually to inquire as to what we would do in a similar situation to these *génocidaires*.

It is not possible to remain unmoved by the rawness with which Lyons and Straus have conveyed the information. This is not supposed to be a stand-alone resource on the genocide in Rwanda and in fact the interview excerpts used here are part of a larger analysis used by Scott Straus elsewhere [see below]. This text is a reminder not to simplify events or to identify *génocidaires* as the 'other,' as evil or demonic.

Michael Clarke
(University of Bath)

The Kurdish Nationalist Movement: Opportunity, Mobilization and Identity by **David Romano**.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 277pp., £17.99, ISBN 0 521 68426 9

Although ethnic nationalist resurgence has manifested itself across the globe many times in recent decades, explanations of the phenomenon are susceptible to overgeneralisation or, conversely, to being too contextually limited. David Romano negotiates this challenge by exploring the Kurdish nationalist resurgence in Turkey, Iraq and Iran using three theoretical frameworks found in the social movement literature: opportunity structure, resource mobilisation and cultural framing. In addition to the principal objective of examining the Kurdish nationalist resurgence in comparative perspective (although the crucial part of the analysis focuses on Turkey), the author claims that his 'logic of analysis ... should be useful for anyone seeking to examine social movements in other contexts' (p. 2). After individually assessing the value of each theoretical approach to social movements against the case of Kurdish ethnic nationalism in Turkey (chs 2–4), the book's theoretical synthesis unfolds gradually in chapter 5. Individual studies on Iraq (ch. 6) and Iran (ch. 7) are followed by a concluding chapter in which Romano compares and contrasts all three cases while noting that 'opportunity structures emerged as crucial determinants of the form Kurdish challenges would take' (p. 249) in all three cases. The major strength of this work is how Romano traces the theoretical claims of three approaches through empirical narratives.

The theoretical framework and arguments of this book are well reasoned and accessible to readers with a limited

background in general social movement frameworks. But despite the high quality of the analysis and Romano's background as a teacher and researcher in Northern Iraq and Turkey, the different theories and applications across countries make it somewhat difficult for a coherent set of ideas to emerge. Rather than dealing with these transitions in presentation of the cases, I found it more compelling to approach each country study as a unique contribution. Also there are minor confusions in the text such as the percentage of the Kurdish population in Turkey (20 per cent on page 3 but 23 per cent on page 243) and reference to Leyla Zana, who was said to be in prison (p. 174, fn.5) at the time of publication in 2006, but actually was released in 2004.

These minor errors and presentational criticism notwithstanding, Romano has brought to our attention a serious subject – the Kurdish nationalist movement – and has provided a serious effort to show how theoretical approaches to examining social movements can help us to grapple with the topic.

A. Tolga Turker
(University of Cincinnati)

The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda by **Scott Straus**.

Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2006. 273pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 8014 4448 7

Scott Straus' award-winning publication is one of the most groundbreaking and comprehensive contributions to the ever-expanding literature on the Rwanda genocide. By repudiating the 'first wave' explanations of the genocide (primordial/ancient tribal hatreds argument) and challenging the totality of the now conventional 'second wave' (modernist and constructivist argument), the author develops a theory based on micro-level study which utilises both a social science and statistical approach.

At its core, the author attempts to answer 'how and why did genocide happen?' (p. 2). If such a query is instilled in a plethora of complex sub-questions involving group behaviour and socio-psychology, the answer is relatively straightforward. Perpetrators committed such horrifying acts due to peer intimidation (intra-ethnic coercion) and/or extreme alarm/trepidation at the advancing Tutsi rebel army (inter-ethnic anxiety). In both cases, fear was the common denominator. Straus also concludes that the timing and context of Rwanda

was ripe for genocide: intense civil war (legitimisation of killing), state power (hardliners monopolising authority) and ethnic categorisation (the collective 'other').

Perhaps the most *extraordinary* aspect of the publication is just how *ordinary* the perpetrators were. Such a conclusion will not have been lost on those readers well acquainted with the events of 1994. However, unlike a number of previous books on the subject, *The Order of Genocide* is grounded in extensive and innovative research. By utilising a variety of methodologies including both qualitative and bivariate regression analysis, the author is able successfully and effectively to model those patterns of mobilisation and violence that drove the genocide. Nevertheless, the book is of interest far beyond simply the Rwanda genocide; key themes include the dichotomy between state and society, coercion, authority, mobilisation, obedience, group dynamics, the nature of conflict and ethnic identity.

Straus writes with fluency and simplicity without sacrificing a scholarly and well-argued text. There are a number of notable chapters which, for example, analyse the historical trends in the country and evaluate the 'space of opportunity' (p. 91) prior to the shift in the balance of power. Furthermore, his well-explained and thorough primary research is often accompanied by detailed triangulation and cross-referencing of secondary sources. However, such perseverance for clarity does at times lend itself to repetition. This is unfortunate because beyond some illustrative examples from the Holocaust, the book could certainly be improved with more substantiated comparative reflections on genocide. Let us hope that with the country's relatively successful parliamentary elections of September 2008, Rwanda can finally move on from being exclusively associated with the opprobrium of such events.

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Business and the State in Southern Africa: The Politics of Economic Reform by Scott D. Taylor. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007. 267pp., £35.50, ISBN 9781588264985

For Scott Taylor effective coalitions between business and political elites are a key prerequisite for successful

economic adjustment in developing countries. These can constitute 'reform coalitions' which 'refer to cooperative arrangements between state and business, typically acting collectively via associations that play an instrumental role in the formation of generally "good" policies' (p. 9). While such coalitions have been identified as an important factor in explaining successful strategies pursued in Latin America and East Asia, they have been weaker and less common in Africa. On this basis, the book sets out to explore the conditions which give rise to, and sustain, such coalitions.

The first two chapters focus on developing a conceptual model of business–state relationships, which is then used to analyse three country case studies of Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Taylor devotes a chapter to each of these, providing an authoritative account of evolving business–state relations and placing these within the broader context of political and economic reform. The case studies are informed by over 150 interviews conducted with key policy actors, and this allows Taylor to dissect some of the conflicts and tensions between state and business associations that he documents. One does not have to buy into Taylor's overall conceptual framework to appreciate the detailed and illuminating analysis presented in each of these case studies. The final chapter draws the strands of argument together and places them within a comparative perspective.

The book is likely to be of interest to scholars of Southern African politics and to those with a wider comparative interest in state–business relationships but less familiarity with the political economy of the region. It could usefully be used as further reading for undergraduate students taking courses focusing on African or comparative political economy. It will also appeal to postgraduate readers and academics studying these issues.

John Craig
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