



POLITICAL STUDIES BOOKS

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POLITICAL THEORY

CULTURE AND EQUALITY

by **Brian Barry**

Oxford: Polity Press, 2000. 399 pages,
£16.99, ISBN 0 7456 2228 3

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research, professional

Rating: *****

Reviewer: ROBERT K. FULLINWIDER
(University of Maryland)

In this swashbuckling adventure, Brian Barry takes the helm of the Good Ship Liberalism to keep it off the shoals toward which its motley, quarrelling crew has allowed it to drift. Defamers on board such as multiculturalists Iris Young, Charles Taylor, Bhikhu Parekh, and James Tully are, of course, put over the side in short order (and with much spillage of blood). So too, 'false' friends among the crew, like Michael Walzer, William Galston, Chandran Kukathas, and Will Kymlicka, are made to walk the plank with Barry's cutlass at their backs. Indeed, by the time the carnage has ended, the Good Ship Liberalism sails with a skeleton crew: Brian Barry at the wheel, J. S. Mill in the crow's nest, and John Rawls somewhere below deck.

**THOMAS HOBBS AND THE
POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF GLORY**

by **Gabriella Slomp**

Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2001. 209 pages,
£45.00, ISBN 0 333 72642 1

Reviewer: PRESTON KING
(Lancaster University)

This may well be the most impressive of new books on Hobbes appearing over the

Even sharper than his cutlass is Barry's rhetoric. He proves himself not among the adjectivally-challenged as he tosses overboard argumentative baggage described as 'absurd', 'bathetic', 'purulent nonsense', 'plain silly', 'impracticable', and a 'perversion of common sense'. After such thorough deck-clearing the Good Ship Liberalism is by no means bereft of equipage, however, as Barry fills every hold and crawl-space with vigorous arguments of his own in defence of universalism and individualism, showing how the former admits the particular and the conventional, *just so far as they should be admitted*, while the latter abides associations and corporations, *just so far as they should be abided*. In making these arguments, Barry has a lot to say about the tricky relationship of the liberal state to children, their parents, and their education; even more to say about the nettlesome problems of 'accommodation', where individuals and associations demand on religious or cultural grounds to be exempted from generally applicable laws and regulations; and something to say about issues ranging as widely as marriage, culture, voluntariness, opportunity, and enlightenment.

past two decades or more. Why? Because the author writes clearly, precisely, economically; navigates comfortably the primary texts and differences between them; makes judicious use of biography and of relevant contexts; commands the secondary literature while resisting seduction by it; rejects reputation and fashion; displays restrained but genuine inventiveness; lays out a coherent case, which is absorbing and – if exception is made at least of the last chapter – even compelling.

Slomp sees Hobbes as a whole man, whose method of science and perception of the individual are one. Hobbes's understanding of man and the world are fused. The psychological components of Hobbes's individual (especially rationality, fear of death, desire for glory, equality) are but another aspect of Hobbes's science. Science is the study of motion; the chief cause of motion in man (following Hobbes, following Slomp) is glory. And Slomp is right to insist that far too little deference has been paid it. Through the analysis of glory, Slomp confirms, in a highly novel way, the distinctive, individualistic modernism of Hobbes. For Slomp, to advance glory as Hobbes's end, must demote self-preservation to a mere means. She argues that the aim of humans, in and through life, becomes (for Hobbes) that of advancing from 'a lesser to a greater power' – 'glory' being the pleasure one derives from wielding power over others.

Slomp supplies the fullest and the best account of Hobbist 'glory' in the literature, which alone would suffice to make her book uniquely valuable. She plays useful light on the alignment between Thucydides and Hobbes (to which still more attention is warranted) as a part of this resuscitation of Hobbist 'glory'. She attends, from the same perspective, to the question of gender in Hobbes – and does this more fully and astutely than any predecessor, including myself. The case Slomp makes for 'glory' is impressive, no matter that it forces intense reflection on, and balanced consideration of, the question whether, for Hobbes, it were ultimately better to die gloriously or to survive ingloriously.

Slomp rightly finds that Hobbes has 'glory' do hard labour in all his works, but that this constancy slips in the transition from *De Cive* to *Leviathan*, where glory (a matter of 'nature') is reduced to only one of

six causes of human motivation (all other causes being matters of 'nurture'). Slomp does not moderate the importance she attributes to 'glory' merely because Hobbes came to recognize, fairly plainly, that not everyone is driven by the impulse to dominate others – or certainly not driven to this in the same degree. Having re-tooled the causal thrust of Hobbist glory from 'standard' to 'worst' case – from a driving force riding every agent, to one bestriding only some – she then resorts to a more speculative reconfiguration of Hobbes's predicament (as presented in *Leviathan*) in limitedly game-theoretical terms.

Time now to shift from genuine celebration to limited lamentation. Slomp's superior exploration of Hobbes is likely purchased at the cost of an overly severe defence of the *oeuvre*, such that no important mistake(s) or shortcoming(s) can be admitted in it. For example, Slomp contends that observers detect in Hobbes diverse 'ideological positions', that they attempt to 'pigeon-hole Hobbes's thought in a single ideological box', and that this is 'an almost impossible exercise' (p. 155) or – more forcefully – 'an impossible, indeed a futile, exercise' (p. 164).

The author overlooks two considerations. (1) Most divergent characterizations of writers like Hobbes are rarely strictly opposed, i.e. mutually contradictory. Even if we assume it to be a mistake to view Hobbes as for example some species of 'moralist', or 'conservative', it cannot follow that a 'moralist' cannot also be 'conservative'. Indeed, to hold that Hobbes is some species of 'political geometer', as the author does, is itself compatible with many other characterizations that might fairly be made of Hobbes. (2) One cannot both complain about supposedly exclusive claims being made about Hobbes, while oneself making precisely such claims. If for example

one asserts that Hobbes is quintessentially a political geometer, and that this is somehow exclusively valid, then this in turn takes on every appearance of 'an

impossible, indeed a futile, exercise' – if we apply the rod with which the author herself chastises other commentators who similarly chance their arms.

EQUALITY by Alex Callinicos
Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000. 160 pages, £11.99, ISBN 0 7456 2325 5
<i>Readership:</i> Undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research, professional <i>Rating:</i> *****
AGAINST THE THIRD WAY by Alex Callinicos
Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001. 160 pages, £10.99, ISBN 0 7456 2675 0
<i>Readership:</i> Undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research, professional <i>Rating:</i> *****
Reviewer: JURGEN DE WISPELAERE (Fund for Scientific Research, Flanders)

Alex Callinicos published in short succession two little books on the theme of equality and how it appears in recent political discourse, most notably New Labour's Third Way. Together these books cover an impressive range of issues that entertains contemporary political thought and practice. Both volumes are recommended reading for anyone interested in the nature and future of contemporary Left-wing politics.

The first volume, *Equality*, discusses the value of equality as it appears in revolutionary thought and recent philosophical discourse, connecting both into a comprehensive critique of capitalist politics. The author starts off from the familiar and, for Left-wing thinkers, fairly uncontentious

observation that in recent decades the advanced economies have witnessed a substantial increase in inequality of income and wealth. Does this inequality pose a serious problem for Left-wing politics? Callinicos investigates this question by turning to two critical traditions. The first is the revolutionary politics of Marx, Tawney and Crossland. The second is the liberal-egalitarian tradition in post-Rawlsian political philosophy. The author suggests that the latter's project of grounding a theory of justice on egalitarian grounds reflects a deeper concern with the structure of modern society – a concern that is itself rooted in the revolutionary critique of capitalist production. Having re-established the connection between egalitarian political philosophy and the revolutionaries' agenda, Callinicos then outlines the consequences of trying to remedy inequality within the capitalist system. This is perhaps the most controversial part of the book – not only because it clearly reflects the author's classical Marxist perspective, but because the arguments often proceed in very broad sweeps and leave many alleys unexplored. Such is of course the nature of an introductory text, but many readers no doubt will find the arguments against alternative ways of organizing a market economy too unpersuasive.

The second volume, *Against the Third Way*, rehearses many of these ideas but develops them into a full-blown attack of the political philosophical foundations – or, rather, the lack thereof – in the fanciful doctrine of the Third Way. This is perhaps one of the best assessments of

New Labour's foundations I have come across. Callinicos manages in a very concise way to show how Third Way politics relies on fairly dodgy theoretical arguments and empirical facts about how the world works. The critique of the globalization debate is insightful in itself but above all splendidly conveys the notion that the Third Way simply draws the wrong sort of conclusions from the observation that our world is a global one. Callinicos then uses the same critical tools to explore the second main component of the Third Way – its controversial moralism. The omnipresent but often careless use of quasi-moral language by the main protagonists of Third Way politics (Blair and Brown, but also Schröder) has annoyed many a political analyst – not to mention political philosophers. In my view, Callinicos does a marvellous job of dispelling the magic of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown's moral stance by showing how, chiefly due to an unhealthy infusion of communitarian ideals, their particular brand of egalitarianism has moved from the core concerns raised by the revolutionary Left and liberal-egalitarian political philosophy. Callinicos goes on to explore one particular strand in which New Labour has applied its moral outlook: the often heralded but ultimately flawed attempt at creating an 'ethical' foreign policy. In a final chapter, Callinicos takes up his concluding argument from *Equality* that Left-wing politics must remain critical to Capitalism. In fairness this argument resonates much better here given the Third Way's idolatry of markets, economic competition, and so on. But again a critical reading of the author's main claims remains in order.

I have no doubt these books will have a serious impact in current debates on the role of equality in modern society and politics. Callinicos's treatment of the topics is characteristically lucid. He manages to outline the major issues and discuss them in broad yet balanced strokes; arguing the best case for the new version of Left-wing politics before critically engaging with it. Vague and often explicitly ambivalent terms are clearly explained and theoretical and empirical claims systematically investigated. This makes these books ideal for an introductory reading into the role of equality in contemporary politics, and hence very useful as a course text for undergraduates or a non-specialized readership. Another major strength of the books is that they explicitly connect political philosophy with practical political issues and examine Third Way orthodoxy in a much-appreciated no-nonsense style. For these reasons a more experienced reader too will gain many useful insights from a close reading. As mentioned before, one should keep in mind that Callinicos treats the topic from his own classical Marxist perspective – something, it should be noted, the author himself acknowledges – and a healthy measure of scepticism remains warranted at all times. A final critical point, perhaps, is that there is an amazing amount of overlap between the two volumes. Some readers might be put off by the amount of material from *Equality* that is repeated – often verbatim – in *Against the Third Way*. This reader at least would have preferred a slightly more substantial one-volume edition over the present slimmer two separate volumes.

**THE SEXUAL CITIZEN:
queer politics and beyond**
by **David Bell and Jon Binnie**

Cambridge: Polity, 2000. 184 pages, £14.99,
ISBN 0 7456 1654 2

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research, professional

Rating: ****

Reviewer: TERRELL CARVER
(*University of Bristol*)

Like gender, queer is not a noun but a verb. Bell and Binnie set out to queer the foundations of society by looking at gay marriage, gays in the military, gay economies, gay spaces, friendship and intimacy the gay way, and gay political strategies, whether of disruption or assimilation. What holds the book together is the able handling of post-structuralist methodologies, with a light touch. That way we hear less about the big names (Butler, Weeks) and more about the complexity of real-life situations, with a distinct nod to

the *diversities* of globalization (not just the 'McPink' affluent gay lifestyle). The politics of class is an underlying analytical theme, even though Marxism gets the expected ticking off for indifference to pleasure, not just sex, sexualities and gender. There is considerable Lesbian visibility. The authors have no time for 'straight gays' who aspire to be just like 'hets' (thus dichotomizing 'good' monogamous gays from 'bad' promiscuous ones), and no time for any gays who practise PC politics and tell others how they have to 'be' (particularly when they seize on naturalizing myths like gay brains or genes). The analysis is especially good on Blairite/Third Way discourses of 'neo-family values' that appear generously tolerant but actually give the nod to denigration. What queering delivers here is an understanding that 'gay marriage' and 'families we choose' both disrupt and support heterosexual assumptions about life trajectories and significant others, and that in queerness (as opposed to gayness) there are some worthwhile hints towards an alternative way of conceptualizing relationships.

**MAX WEBER'S SCIENCE OF MAN:
new studies for a biography
of the work**

by **Wilhelm Hennis**
translated by **Keith Tribe**

Newbury: Threshold Press, 2000. 230 pages,
£18.50, ISBN 1 903152 00 3

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: PETER LASSMAN
(*University of Birmingham*)

Wilhelm Hennis here continues the intellectual biography of Max Weber that

he began in his 'Max Weber: Essays in Reconstruction' (1988). Hennis wants to argue that Weber has been fundamentally misunderstood and misappropriated intellectually especially in terms of the current configuration of the social sciences. Hennis's objective is to reread all of Weber's texts in terms of both an appreciation of the author's intentions and a genuine concern for their intellectual context. Clearly, in Hennis's opinion this has not, apart from some notable exceptions, been done. This is especially true according to Hennis with regard to the systematic misunderstanding of the so-called value freedom argument.

Hennis's study is divided into three sections. The first is concerned with 'Max

Weber's Science of Man'. Here one finds a discussion of the anthropological presuppositions in Weber's work. The second section covers 'The Value Relation and the Power of Judgement'. Here Hennis discusses the disciplinary and academic context of Weber's argument. In the third section of the book Hennis outlines his project for 'an intellectual biography of Weber centred upon what he takes to the

central topic in his thought: 'The Cultural Problems of Capitalism'.

Although this work presumes prior knowledge Hennis's lively and engaged literary style makes his work highly accessible. This work is important, innovative, and, in my opinion, largely successful in its desire to force a radical rethinking of Weber's place in the intellectual canon.

**POWER IN BUSINESS
AND THE STATE:
an historical analysis of its
concentration**
by **Frank Bealey**

London: Routledge, 2001. 240 pages, £55.00,
ISBN 0 415 24697 0

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: JONATHAN CARSON
(York University, Canada)

This book examines how power has become more concentrated in both the state and corporations. Though the analysis begins with the pre-capitalist state, the focus is on the period since the advent of modern industrial society. The work's wide research base makes it useful for scholars, while its didactic moments – Tocqueville, Marx, and Weber each get a précis of their life and work – make it accessible to senior undergraduates. The in-depth treatment of each of that trio of thinkers is warranted, as their wrestling with the growth of industrial society

provides the theoretic skeleton of the book.

While Tocqueville and Marx are seen to make important contributions, it is Weber to whom most of Bealey's argument is in debt. Focusing on the United States, Britain, and France, Bealey traces state development through four stages: dynastic, collectivist, interventionist, and managerial. As his case studies each feature divergent capitalist developments and governmental structures, Bealey is able to discount variables such as institutional factors as guiding centralization. Leaving aside such factors, Bealey argues that technological advances and economic imperatives have resulted in rationalizations that have driven politics and business to ever-greater centralization.

The key weakness for this project stems from the reader's point of departure, for instance theoretically the centralization of power is a given from the Marxist perspective. That said, Bealey's project is ultimately successful. He offers a strong historical statement of the centralization of power, and ably links this to the prime theoretical accounts of the nature of industrial society.

TO BE TWO
by **Luce Irigaray**

London: Athlone Press, 2000. 125 pages,
£12.99, ISBN 0 485 12120 4

Readership: Postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ****

Reviewer: BIRGIT SCHIPPERS
(Queen's University Belfast)

This book continues Irigaray's project of an ethics and a politics of intersubjectivity based on the recognition of sexual difference. Intersubjectivity between men and women, entwining the personal, the political and the ethical, should be modelled on the feminine, as the feminine, according to Irigaray, rejects instrumental and objectifying approaches to the other. Cautioning against attempts to merge the two genders into one, Irigaray emphasizes the need for an 'in-between' between the two genders. This in-between requires a boundary and space between the sexes, expressing and acknowledging sexual difference, as well as a 'faithfulness to one's gender'. Irigaray is aware that the translation of this project into a

political practice poses difficulties. For example, she wonders which language a legislator should speak: should s/he appeal to the female or the male? By addressing this issue, Irigaray positions herself in the feminist discussion over language and representation. Her approach, however, in particular her two-gender ontology, will almost inevitably invite criticism from within feminism. Even though her notion of sexual difference transcends the biological, constituting a civil and cultural value and an ethical imperative, it remains embedded in a male-female binary. This not only imitates the binary thinking of Western philosophy. It also presumes a framework of heterosexuality, and it ignores the issue of differences between women.

This book makes an important contribution to the link between ethics, politics, and sexual difference. While Irigaray's flowery style at times obscures her philosophical analysis and political objectives, she nevertheless articulates a widespread feminist critique of Western philosophy's denial of the body, as well as feminist interests in embodiment and the recognition of sexual difference.

**ECONOMICS AND LANGUAGE:
FIVE ESSAYS**
by **Ariel Rubinstein**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2000. 128 pages, £9.95, ISBN 0 52178990 7

Readership: Academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: BEN O'LOUGHLIN
(New College, Oxford)

Arising from the author's lifelong interest in how people argue, *Economics and*

Language looks both at the economics of language – the pseudo-economic 'optimization' mechanisms that constitute how language works – and the language used in economic theory, particularly game theory. In five loosely connected chapters the author eschews an over-riding argument, instead setting out a set of original research questions. The first three chapters apply economic methods to questions regarding language, assuming language develops according to a functional logic. Linguistic structures evolve naturally to be optimally informative, indicative and easy to understand. Rubinstein assesses the

merits of evolutionary theory, game theory and pragmatics, pushing game theory as the best explanant of simple linguistic 'games' and interactions. Chapter Four suggests that decision makers verbalize their deliberations, so their preferences should be ascertainable from the language they use, while the fifth chapter seeks to uncover the misleading rhetoric of game theory. The book closes with three review chapters from the logician Johan van Benthem, and economists Tilman Borgers and Barton Lipman.

The author sets a novel agenda for economic theory, whilst admitting the practical limitations of his disciple. The

political reader, however, will struggle to match Rubinstein's assertion that 'the decision maker may choose ... to express his preferences by a formula' (p. 57) with any real policy making. Broadening the narrow 'economic man' view of preference-formation by assimilating linguistic considerations is commendable, but mathematical assimilation – pages of proofs for how A persuades B – still misses the nuances and above all *power relations* of human interaction. The economist's desire to simplify remains, but Rubinstein is humble enough to concede his interest is the principles of argument rather than life as it is, and on these terms he succeeds.

**CITIZENSHIP, MARKETS,
AND THE STATE**

by **Colin Couch, Klaus Eder and
Damian Tambini (eds)**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
282 pages, £40.00, ISBN 0-19-924121-X

Reviewer: **BILL JORDAN**
(*Exeter University*)

This is a very interesting and diverse set of essays about contemporary politics; whether the concept of citizenship succeeds in providing an adequate unifying theme for encompassing them all is more questionable. The first part of book, 'The Marketization of Citizenship', purports to examine the neo-liberal 'experiments' in using 'the market as an integration mechanism' (p. 5) but as chapters by Margaret Somers, Giovanna Procacci, Mark Freedland, Colin Crouch and Jane Jenson and Susan D. Phillips illustrate, the introduction of market principles into the public sector served many goals – efficiency, accountability, the weakening of trade unions and interest groups – but was seldom motivated by the aim of

transforming citizenship. Indeed, the neo-liberals and libertarians who inspired these innovations were usually hostile to the conceptions of citizenship and integration. Such attention as they gave these issues was forced on them by their continued reliance on (usually Christian) conservative parties, committed to ideas of community and mutual responsibility. Hence it is only Anton Hemerijck's chapter, which draws heavily on experiences in the Netherlands, that does justice to the complexity of theoretical and political influences on social citizenship. What this shows is that the hybrid solution to problems of long-term unemployment that emerged there – 'nearly full part-time employment' (p.158), cf. Tony Blair's UK – incorporates elements of deregulation and flexibility, along with wage subsidies, reductions in social insurance contributions and workfare-style pressures. Social citizenship is one of a set of competing ideas seeking a place in this policy fix.

The second part of the book, 'The Limits of Political Citizenship', examines attempts to improve participative integration of

citizens. These chapters are still more diverse. Yannis Papadopoulos is highly sceptical about the deliberative merits of direct democracy, especially referenda; Damian Tambini is enthusiastic that the Internet, through the civic networking movement, can encourage active political citizenship; Veit Bader questions whether present day societies require

the level of social integration and collective identity that they are assumed to need. Neither these, nor the book as a whole, rises to the challenge of Klaus Eder's claims that 'institutions are in fact basically rituals and ceremonies' (p. 216), and that citizenship is the critical evaluation of performances in a (democratic) theatre.

**LYOTARD AND THE END OF
GRAND NARRATIVES**

by **Gary Browning**

Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000.
205 pages, £14.99, ISBN 0 7083 1479 1

Reviewer: CAROLINE WILLIAMS
(Queen Mary and Westfield, London)

Lyotard and the End of Grand Narratives offers a balanced assessment of many of Lyotard's key works. It takes as a central text *The Postmodern Condition* which is viewed as the defining moment in Lyotard's oeuvre, but the book also engages with *Phenomenology*, *Just Gaming*, *The Differend*, *The Inhuman* and Lyotard's *Political Writings*, among others. The central argument running through the chapters is that Lyotard's conception of the totalizing theories of Marx and Hegel in particular, are partial ones which fail to take account of the openness of interpretation. Here, Browning's arguments resonate with those of other post-structuralists who also read Hegel and Marx in a non-metaphysical way, emphasizing the role of finitude and contingency

over closure and totality. The arguments in the book throw many of Lyotard's criticisms of grand narratives and their conceptual foundations back at him. In chapter 7 for example, Browning shows us how Lyotard's own underdeveloped account of the intensification of capital presupposes Marx's model of capital's self-reproduction, and points to the ways that Lyotard's postmodern discourse itself functions as a narrative. Ultimately, Browning's assessment finds Lyotard's political philosophy valorizing politics because of its tendency to focus upon corporeal, linguistic and materialist themes with insufficient attention given to their communicative power. Here it would have been helpful to have seen some development of how the space between the material and the political might be bridged (for example, in relation to Lyotard's limited theory of selfhood). Overall, however, this text is admirable in its breadth of coverage, its accessible style and its historical detail. It will be a helpful introductory text to undergraduate and postgraduate courses focusing on postmodernism and Lyotard's political philosophy.

LACAN AND THE POLITICALby **Yannis Stavrakakis**London: Routledge, 1999. 128 pages, £12.99,
ISBN 0415171873Reviewer: CAROLINE WILLIAMS
(Queen Mary and Westfield, London)

Lacan and the Political takes up the challenge of bringing together psychoanalysis and politics. It offers a convincing defence of the necessary exchange between the two for an enriched understanding of the political which in turn can contribute to the project of radical democracy. Stavrakakis develops a rigorous reading of the 'objective pole' of Lacanian psychoanalysis. He claims that it is here that we must locate and understand the political effects of the play of fantasy and identity formation as well as their tendency to failure and incompleteness. Here, and following closely Slavoj Žižek, he utilizes the concept of the real and traces its relation to symbolic constitution of the social and the construction of political identities, in both cases to draw out their contingent nature.

The book explores both the epistemological and the ethico-political resonances of the real, pitting Lacan against epistemological 'realists' (chapter 3) and reconfiguring utopian moment of politics beyond an ethics of harmony which threatens to freeze the creative moment of the political (chapter 4). This does not involve an aporetic stance however as it is here that the contribution of Lacanian psychoanalysis can be most visible: at one and the same time attending to the ethical implications of instituting antagonisms, and fleshing out the meaning of the 'structural impossibility' of a pure democracy (both of which track discussions around equality and difference in democratic theory). *Lacan and the Political* is well structured and succeeds in providing an advanced introduction to Lacan in a largely jargon free and accessible language. It also has the advantage of making clear some of the ideas and preoccupations underlying the work of Slavoj Žižek. Its arguments move easily across different theoretical terrains. It should make a significant contribution to contemporary political theory, and democratic theory in particular.

**FEMINIST APPROACHES TO
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS,
COMMUNITY AND POWER:
conscious acts and the politics of
social change. Volume I**

by **Robin L. Teske and
Mary Ann Tétreault (eds)**Columbia CO: University of South Carolina
Press, 2000. 320 pages, £25.95,
ISBN 1 57003 331 5Reviewer: SHIRIN RAI
(University of Warwick)

The first of two volumes *Conscious Acts and the Politics of Social Change* brings

to bear five different conceptualizations of politics upon the idea of social change. These are framed within the concepts of feminism, power, civil society, social movements and community. The introduction to the volume clarifies its objectives: to use communitarian understandings of politics to contribute to debates on 'interests'; to examine power, civil society and social movements to develop a nuanced understanding of human agency and political space; and finally, to answer questions about political action through an interplay between theory and practice. To meet these objectives the fifteen chapters address many

of this issues from theoretical as well as empirical standpoints. The authors include academics as well as activists and the writings range from debates on feminist jurisprudence, political philosophy, political organizations and movements such as the UN and NGOs, the Charta 77 Movement in Czechoslovakia, Chilean and Kuwaiti women's movements. The writing in many chapters is very personal in both content and style which does challenge the boundaries of

academia and the 'real world' (Meyer, Tinker). Some other chapters extend the definitions of political action and/or resistance. Marchand, for example, looks to testimonies as resistance practices. And still others, use cultural critiques and insights from postmodern feminism to explore the nature of agency and structures (Warkentin and Daly). In sum, this is a thought provoking volume, which will be valued by students of politics, feminism and sociology.

DEMOCRACY

by **Ellen Frankel Paul,**
Fred D. Miller Jr and
Jeffrey Paul (eds)

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2000. xiii + 323 pages, £14.95,
ISBN 0 521 78628 7

Reviewer: **ROLAND AXTMANN**
(*University of Aberdeen*)

Sadly, the chapters in this edited volume are held together only by the book covers. Christopher Morris argues that our understandings and justifications of democracy should dispense with the very idea of popular sovereignty. According to Loren Lomasky and Geoffrey Brennan, there is no duty to vote; but if you like that sort of activity, there's nothing wrong with casting a vote either. N. Scott Arnold suggests that legislators ought not to pass laws in order to make statements (for example, in favour of tolerance, acceptance, or validation of gay lifestyles): non-governmental institutions are far more appropriate expressive vehicles. There are epistemological reasons for giving up on the idea of democratic accountability, so Russell Hardin argues, because politicians cannot know the interests of individual citizens, and citizens do not know enough about

politics. David Estlund refutes political egalitarianism, 'the view that justice or legitimacy requires substantive political equality, specifically equal availability of power or influence over collective choices that have legal force' (p. 127). Democracy means that we find ourselves under the sway of a government with a finger in every pie – so says Kenneth Minogue. The democratic *telos* ultimately establishes a 'tutorial relationship' (pp. 223–4) between individual and government. Steven Wall maintains that, 'if there is any connection between personal freedom and participation in democratic politics, it is a weak and contingent one at best' (p. 225). For William Galston, in a world of value pluralism, it becomes impossible to accord democracy normative authority over all other claims. Less muted about the value of democracy is Josiah Ober who, by reference to democratic Athens, points to the connection between participatory democracy and the extension of negative liberties. And Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson rehearse the familiar arguments as to why deliberative democracy is different (from liberal and communitarian forms). Why Dmitry Shlapentokh's chapter, 'Can Russia Rise Again?', is included in this volume is anyone's guess. This volume has hardly any relevance for democratic politics 'out there'.

**CIVIL SOCIETY BEFORE DEMOCRACY:
lessons from
nineteenth century Europe**
by **Nancy Bermeo and Philip Nord**

Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
310 pages, £20.95, ISBN 0 8476 9550 6

Readership: Academic/research,
professional

Rating: ****

Reviewer: DOROTA I. PIETRZYK
(*University of Wales, Aberystwyth*)

This unique collection of essays on the development of civil society in nineteenth-century Europe, written by both historians and political scientists, provides a critical analysis of the connection between the consolidation of civil society and that of democracy. The first two parts of the book aim to trace this connection in countries such as Portugal, Russia, Italy and Germany where the development of lasting democracy failed, and in those in which it succeeded: in Great Britain, France and the Netherlands a vital civil society was a precondition of sustainable democracy. Consequently, the authors' core argument undermines the view which is frequently shared in current political theory and which stresses that a

thriving civil society is essential for a consolidating democracy. As the examples of some nineteenth-century European societies demonstrate, neither the density of associations nor the voting rights in themselves can support democracy everywhere. In the concluding chapter Nancy Bermeo emphasizes that pro-democratic civil society must be based on tolerance and plurality of views and interests. The historical-theoretical analyses presented in the book illustrates very clearly that it is not a high level of associationism but the virtue of civility, responsible citizenship, and strong political institutions that are the measure of a well-ordered democratic civil society. If so, the definition of civil society adopted by most of the authors, which identify it with associationism, seems to be too narrow. Civil society is a necessary precondition of democracy provided that it is understood in a broader sense as accompanied by a civic spirit, political culture and democratic citizenry.

These lucid empirical and theoretical studies, which throw light on historical reality and extract from it a lesson for contemporary democracies, will be of great value for historians as well as theorists of civil society and democracy.

**FROM PLURALIST TO
PATRIOTIC POLITICS:
putting practice first**
by **Charles Blattberg**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
xiii + 285 pages, £50.00, ISBN 0 19 829688 6

Reviewer: CECILE LABORDE
(*King's College London*)

Charles Blattberg sets out to defend a 'patriotic' politics of conversation against 'neutralist' and 'pluralist' theory. While

neutralist theory is dismissed for its commitment to disengaged reason and its 'self-mutilating' move from 'thick' to 'thin' description, pluralism is praised for its awareness of incommensurability (that is, irreducibility to a thin common measure) but criticized for its account of negotiation as a necessarily agonistic, zero-sum process. Blattberg's patriotic conversation, by contrast, is underpinned by a holistic, hermeneutical understanding of practical reasoning, which points to the possibility of re-interpretation and

harmonization of *prima facie* conflicting goods. Patriots are more aware of the diversity of goods than classical republicans, but also more sanguine than pluralist democrats about their possible reconciliation through the active practice of politics. The book then seeks to bring those insights to bear on issues such as law-making and representation, the social function of profit-making corporations, and the place of rights in the politics of recognition. While readers may doubt that the book entirely meets its (admittedly ambitious) objectives – the ending chapters are less persuasive than the central argument – its idiosyncratic, wide-ranging and synthetic approach to central issues of political, moral and philosophical analysis undoubtedly breaks new ground. Blattberg wants to rehabilitate politics, while avoiding both the

ethical monism of republican communitarianism and the moral indeterminacy of agonistic democracy. Where he is most forceful is in his demonstration that analytical political philosophy is unable to grasp the dynamics, and the deep meaning, of moral and political conflict and agreement. Whether his alternative hermeneutical approach is distinctive and determinate enough to support the political commitments Blattberg seeks to draw from it – the rehabilitation of leadership and glory, a corporatist model of socio-economic management, emphasis on nationally shared common goods – is open to question. But even those readers who may find fault with the substance of patriotic politics would do well to take notice of the challenges this book poses to the current practice of political philosophy.

**ESSENTIALS OF
POLITICAL RESEARCH**

by **Alan D. Monroe**

Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2000.
199 pages, £15.50, ISBN 0 8133 6866 9

Readership: Undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research

Rating: ****

**MAKING SOCIAL SCIENCE MATTER:
why social inquiry fails and
how it can succeed again**

by **Bent Flyvbjerg**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2001. 214 pages, £13.95, ISBN 0 521 77568 X

Readership: Undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research

Rating: ****

Reviewer: **TODD LANDMAN**
(*University of Essex*)

These two books could not be more different. The first argues that context-independent social inquiry is not possible while the second is a primer on quantitative research methods for political scientists. After seeking to establish the 'science' of political science, Monroe covers the main methodological concerns for studying politics, including theory building and research design, official statistics and survey research, statistical inference and graphic display of data, and bivariate and multivariate statistical analysis. In contrast, Flyvbjerg criticizes the social sciences for attempting to establish a Kuhnian 'normal' science of human activity. He argues that achieving law-like propositions and generalizations based on observations of human behaviour is impossible. The social sciences are not in a pre-paradigmatic phase that will someday become normalized, are dependent upon context-specific factors and not abstract rules and procedures, and

require a level of expertise about human behaviour that cannot be achieved without direct participation of the scholar. In place of objectivist approaches (cognitivism, functionalism, structuralism), he argues for a neo-Aristotelian approach based on the idea of *phronesis* (prudence or practical wisdom), which intentionally breaks down the distinction between facts and values in social

research, and strives to provide a more reflexive method for studying human activity. Ironically, the book is short on the kind of evidence that shows the social sciences have indeed failed, while the bulk of the argument relies on the work of Foucault, Bourdieu, and Dreyfus. Monroe is good for a second-year methods course, while Flyvbjerg is appropriate for a graduate course on epistemology.

**THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
JEREMY BENTHAM:
writings on the poor laws.
Volume I**
by **Michael Quinn (ed.)**

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001. 415 pages,
£55.00, ISBN 0 19 9242321

Readership: Academic/research

Rating: ****

Reviewer: DONALD WINCH
(University of Sussex)

We are given here the definitive versions of Bentham's earliest, previously unpublished responses to the problems of the English poor laws during the acute period of grain scarcity that occurred in the 1790s. In this respect these writings are comparable with two other highly-charged responses to the same subsistence crisis, Malthus's *Essay on Population* (1798) and Burke's *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity* (1800). In all three cases the existing system of outdoor relief and the proposals contained in Pitt's Poor Law Bill (1796) are the object of critical attention,

with Bentham easily providing the most ambitious alternative solution to the problem: 500 large houses of industry, under centralized supervision, capable of providing work, education, medical services, savings banks, and segregated indoor support for all categories of those classed as indigent. The scheme was to emerge in his published work on the subject, *Pauper Management Improved* (1802, 1812), as the National Charity Company, a privately-financed and profit-making body with some of the characteristics of a public corporation. Although this plan suffered the same fate as its near relative, the Panopticon prison, it remains essential to an understanding of the Bentham's mentality and public philosophy. The editing not only sorts out the tangled provenance of the papers, but provides an exhaustive set of explanatory notes. For those who are not dedicated Bentham scholars, perhaps the most valuable editorial contribution is the analytical index of subjects. It enables the reader to gain direct access to the individual eccentricities and peculiarities of Bentham's approach to this and other legislative problems.

**VICTOR CONSIDERANT AND THE
RISE AND FALL OF FRENCH
ROMANTIC SOCIALISM**

by **Jonathan Beecher**

Berkeley CA: University of California Press,
2001. 600 pages, £45.00, ISBN 0 520 22297 0

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: H. S. JONES
(*University of Manchester*)

Jonathan Beecher, the author of a standard study of Charles Fourier, here turns his attention to Fourier's best-known follower. Fourier was not the most level-headed of the early socialists: he thought he had demonstrated that human beings, because they displayed 810 different personality types, could achieve harmony only if they could be persuaded to live in communities, or phalanxes, of about 1620 members. If they did so, men and women could expect to live to the age of 144. How did such a curious doctrine

FEMINISM

by **Jane Freedman**

Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001.
106 pages, £12.99, ISBN 0 335 204155

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research,
professional

Rating: *****

Reviewer: JOHN HOFFMAN
(*University of Leicester*)

This is a lively and well-written book. It is lucid, comprehensive and its judgements are made in a sensitive and unobtrusive

achieve such influence in France and elsewhere?

For Beecher, Considerant's role as a popularizer was crucial, and he defends him from the accusation levelled at him by other Fourierists that he was an opportunist who lacked interest in the esoteric aspects of Fourier's doctrine and purged his ideas to make them palatable as a mere programme for the organization of labour. Chapter 2 offers a brilliantly lucid account of what made Fourierism so attractive, and stresses the spiritual basis of its appeal. Following the collapse of Saint-Simonism, Fourierism offered an appealing alternative to those in despair at the spiritual void that afflicted post-revolutionary society. Beecher stresses that Considerant, who was fascinated by Fourier's theodicy, fully shared this religious conception of Fourierism. But was also attuned to the audience he was addressing.

Considerant was a political thinker of the second rank, but this enthralling and authoritative biography offers a rich and compelling portrait of the early socialism of the romantic age.

manner. Freedman argues that if we are to make sense of the definitional tangle around feminism itself, we need to stress diversity, and concentrate on the issues and problems which feminists have addressed. She is right, I think, to argue that the public/private distinction ought to be reconstructed rather than eradicated, and her interest and expertise in French developments adds much to the book.

The equality/difference debate runs as a theme throughout, and Freedman sees it as a debate which is here to stay. It constantly pops up in the wide range of questions she tackles. We see it in her

treatment of representation, citizenship and the welfare state, and in her argument that the payment of wages for housework could simply institutionalize a traditionally conceived public/private divide. Her analysis embraces the question of the environment, female sexuality, sado-masochism and pornography, and she argues the case for handling questions like these in 'a non-essentializing and non-exclusionary manner'. Motherhood and reproductive technology need to be dealt

with in a way which is sensitive to context and ethnicity, and Freedman cites bell hooks's view that, at least in the USA, racism has taken precedence over sexism. In her concluding section on postmodernism and poststructuralism, Freedman argues that *both* the difference between, and the collective identity of women as a whole, should be considered together.

This is an ideal text for students and deserves a wide readership.

<p>PLURALISM: the philosophy and politics of diversity by Maria Baghramian and Attracta Ingram</p>
<p>London: Routledge, 2000. 280 pages, £16.99, ISBN 0 415 227143</p>
<p><i>Readership:</i> Advanced undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research, professional</p> <p><i>Rating:</i> ****</p>
<p>Reviewer: GEORGE CROWDER (Flinders University)</p>

A better title for this book would have been 'pluralisms', since the 'pluralism' that is its overarching theme is itself a plurality, referring to several very different ideas. These are loosely organized into three main sections, dealing respectively with epistemological, moral, and political senses of the term, and so giving a strong sense of the great variety of pluralisms currently under discussion.

It would be ungrateful to complain too much of a collection that brings together such a distinguished group of writers, including Pettit, Mendus, Jonathan Wolff,

and others. The very diversity of the collection, however, raises questions as to its purpose. Although the contributions are individually strong, there is remarkably little dialogue among them, especially considering that some are said to have been presented at a conference. The second section, for example, is ostensibly devoted to the implications of Isaiah Berlin's value pluralism for liberalism, and opens with John Gray's provocatively 'agonistic' reading of Berlin. But only one of the other three papers in the section addresses either Gray or Berlin. (This is a challenging piece by Jonathan Riley, the highlight of the collection for me.) Moreover, while much of the work here is too complex or compressed for beginners, more advanced readers will find much that is already familiar. Two of the three pieces in the third section, those by Nussbaum, and by Kymlicka and Cohen-Almagor, have already been published elsewhere (as has Gray's piece). Taken overall, this is really a loose assemblage of high-quality but divergent pieces than a coherent collection. It nevertheless makes accessible in one book a range of sophisticated writings on a multiplicity of important 'pluralist' themes.

**JUST CAUSE:
freedom, identity and rights
by Drucilla Cornell**

Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.
205 pages, £13.95, ISBN 0 8476 9791 6

Readership: Academic/research

**TOTAL FREEDOM:
toward a dialectical libertarianism
by Chris Matthew Sciabarra**

University Park PA: Pennsylvania State
University Press, 2000. 464 pages, \$24.50,
ISBN 0 271 02049 0

Readership: Academic/research

Reviewer: MATTHEW H. KRAMER
(*University of Cambridge*)

Each of these two books (especially Drucilla Cornell's) is marred by its author's self-importance, and neither book is greatly redeemed by the quality of its ideas. *Just Cause* is a slim collection of Cornell's essays – on a scattering of legal and political topics – several of which are exceedingly slight and forgettable. A few of the essays are somewhat more substantial, but they far too frequently brim with fashionable dogmas and outright confusion. (The only really impressive chapter is not by Cornell at all, but by Richard Posner in a reply to Cornell's analysis of employment contracts.) Typical of the confusion in Cornell's essays is the following assertion: 'Lacan's statement, that the signifier is privileged over the signified, means that there is no ontologically distinct order, for example, of race and gender, that can be separated from signifiers' (p. 25). Perhaps this attempt to derive a preposterous ontological conclusion from a simplistic semantic premise will pass for wisdom in some circles, but anyone hoping for a modicum

of philosophical rigor will have to look elsewhere. The book is well produced with a helpful Index, but the content of the ideas and argumentation is largely disappointing.

Chris Sciabarra's book is more lucid and interesting and philosophically informed than Cornell's volume, and it corrects some of her errors (such as her claim that libertarians are committed to an atomistic view of the self). It offers reasonably informative and accurate accounts of an array of libertarian thinkers, ranging from marginal crackpots to top-notch philosophers such as Robert Nozick. Though the prose is intermittently pedestrian and wordy, it is generally clear. The book connects libertarianism to Hegelianism in ways that are sometimes superficial but at other times piquant. On the whole, however, Sciabarra's detailed accounts of the ideas of various libertarian thinkers unwittingly reveal how simplistic most of those ideas are. Extreme libertarians too often resemble extreme left-wing visionaries in their conviction that seamlessly harmonious relations among human beings will emerge if the existent barriers to those relations are eliminated. To be sure, the barriers denounced by the libertarians are different from those reviled by left-wing radicals; nonetheless, in encountering the ideas of Murray Rothbard (for example), one gains the strong impression that he was just as markedly out of touch with reality as were Marx and Engels when they wrote about the glories of future communism. While right-wing libertarians and left-wing prophets construct their fantasies, the rest of us can proceed with the tasks of understanding and improving the legal-governmental institutions that are scorned by the proponents of those fantasies.

**EXHAUSTING MODERNITY:
grounds for a new economy**by **Teresa Brennan**London: Routledge, 2000. 216 pages, £12.99,
ISBN 0 415 23706 8*Readership:* Postgraduates,
academic/researchReviewer: GIDEON BAKER
(*University of Salford*)

Bemoaning that 'at precisely the historical point where we confront a totalizing process [capitalism] in practice, [theorists] have chosen to oppose it by saying we cannot totalize in theory', Teresa Brennan ambitiously seeks to provide a general theory 'of why we witness deterioration rather than progress'. Her treatise draws upon elements of Freudian psychoanalysis which, reworked, are used to uncover the 'foundational fantasy' whereby the human being comes to conceive of itself hubristically as the source of all agency. Thus the 'other' (persons and nature) is seen as a mere object for the subject's gratification. Capitalism constitutes the rule of the foundational fantasy as modern subjects deny their connectedness to and dependence on others/nature; the proliferation of commodities acts this out by constructing the subject as consumer and money as the measure of all things.

**DEMOCRACY:
a reader**by **Ricardo Blaug and
John Schwarzmantel (eds)**Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001.
590 pages, £16.95, ISBN 0 7486 1267 X*Readership:* Undergraduates*Rating:* ***Reviewer: MAD S. H. QVORTRUP
(*London School of Economics*)

Brennan then develops this critique of subject/object thinking in the direction of political economy by returning to Marx's labour theory of value. She argues that this theory can be rescued from its own subject-centrism by illuminating the ways in which nature as well as labour is a source of value. This insight is then capable of explaining why nature has to be exploited by capital if profit is to be made.

Finally, Brennan works out the implications of her critique for the 'polity', which consists in exposing the implications of the foundational fantasy for depleted and exploitative relations on both an interpersonal and economic level. The alternative is a realignment with nature, since otherwise 'we will continue to want to be subjects' through a process of objectifying the 'other'. This requires small-scale production geared towards the preservation of nature. How? Here the argument is decidedly sketchy: it must involve using the democratic state to set political limits on gain. But *who* would use the state thus and *how*, given the weakness of unilateral action in a situation of globalized production? Once again, the price to be paid for general theory is little by way of guidance in actual political struggle.

Democracy is a big topic. A concept which – to rehearse a cliché – has become 'essentially contested'. Thinkers as diverse as Lenin, Madison, Rousseau, and Benjamin Barber can all – depending on which definition you choose – be described as 'democrats'. Ricardo Blaug and John Schwarzmantel's anthology *Democracy: A Reader* does not outline solutions as to which of the numerous definitions of democracy is the 'right one'. Presenting key texts from Plato through Rousseau's

Social Contract and Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address to modern contributions by Benjamin Barber and Milton Friedman, this is arguably the most comprehensive reader on the subject available in English.

Nothing has – it seems been left out. All the key texts are there: Constant's essay on ancient and modern liberty, Hobbes' Leviathan, and Marx' essay on the Jewish question, to mention but a few. This richness of contributions is a strength, as

well as a weakness. By including *all* the key texts the editors have been forced to edit the individual essays down to the bare essentials – and sometimes less than that.

The book presents an overview, which will be indispensable for the students. However, the ruthless editing of the masterpieces makes this book unsuitable for more advanced readers. This verdict does not, however, detract from the fact that this book deserves to be widely used for many years to come.

**THE CHALLENGE TO FRIENDSHIP
IN MODERNITY**

by **Preston King and
Heather Devere (eds)**

London: Frank Cass, 2000. 205 pages, £17.50,
ISBN 0 714 681180

Readership:
Academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: DEREK EDYVANE
(University of York)

'If we inspect the modern period, the disposition we most commonly encounter with regard to friendship, is one of indifference to hostility', writes Preston King in his introduction to this interesting, if rather gloomy, collection of eight essays charting and lamenting the demise of friendship as a reputable philosophical and political category. Despite their apparently common theme, the essays cover a vast terrain, drawing attention to the role of friendship in scholars as diverse as Aristotle (Richard Mulgan) and Martin Buber (Charles Rustin). Indeed,

amidst such diversity, one might question whether we are, in fact, attending to a single theme or category at all. There are, however, some fertile discussions to be found within this melange. Lisa Hill and Peter McCarthy offer an enlightening account of friendship in the thought of Hume, Smith and Ferguson, which applies a refreshing corrective to the common view of commercial society as wholly alienating and fragmentary. Ruth Abbey provides a stimulating discussion of the frequently overlooked importance of friendship in the texts of Nietzsche's 'middle period', while Horst Hutter restores the reader to more familiar Nietzschean territory by way of his fascinating discussion of modern friendship and the virtue of solitude. Finally, Heather Devere supplies a useful bibliographical essay on Greek and Roman friendship. The diversity of the essays demonstrates the significance and range of the category of friendship, and the discussions provide helpful indication of the kinds of complication that any further work on the concept will have to address.

**MICHAEL WALZER ON
WAR AND JUSTICE**by **Brian Orend**Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000.
226 pages, £14.99, ISBN 0 7083 1648 4**Readership:** Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research**Rating:** ******Reviewer:** CHRIS ARMSTRONG
(*University of Bristol*)

Walzer is a well-known figure in IR on behalf of *Just and Unjust Wars*, his ground-breaking work on the just war tradition. He is also well-known in normative political theory for his work on justice – and in particular for the theory of ‘complex equality’ developed in *Spheres of Justice*. Unfortunately – from the point of view of academic rigour – these two Walzers have rarely been put together. Orend’s book, then, is to be commended for showing how these two apparently

distinct projects inform and feed off each other. Underlying both is a position on where we derive our political values, which tends to depict the nation-state as the repository of the coherent principles and beliefs necessary for a system of justice. This generates the central paradox of Walzer’s place in the academy, insofar as it produces both radical suggestions for domestic politics, and a sceptical position towards international justice and the rights of ‘humanitarian’ intervention which has seen him labelled as conservative.

Orend’s book manages to draw all of this out quite clearly, although he is perhaps a little more interested in the question of international justice than in Walzer’s (domestic) version of democratic socialism. The book works best as a guide-book to Walzer’s thought, which is not to say that Orend is not critical, but is to say that his main goal is to elucidate rather than to accept or reject. But its main value is that it promises to reunite the Walzers of political theory and IR.

**THE ESSENTIAL CIVIL
SOCIETY READER:
the classic essays**by **Don E. Eberly (ed.)**Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.
414 pages, £17.95, ISBN 0 8476 9719 3**Readership:** Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates**Rating:** *****Reviewer:** DOUGLAS WOLFE
(*University of Oxford*)

This book is a collection of essays by a range of important contributors to the contemporary debate over civil society. The collection is divided into four main sections: civil society theory, social capital, social authority and trust, and civil society

and the democratic state. Some of the most important authors that are included in this volume include: Robert Nisbet, Robert Bellah, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Amitai Etzioni, Francis Fukuyama, Michael Sandel, William Galston, Daniel Bell, and Vaclav Havel. All but one of the authors included is an American or an American resident and the book appears to be primarily intended to be for the use of American undergraduate and graduate students.

While the book is certainly a valuable collection it is not the *essential* civil society reader that it claims to be. Such a reader would contain historically important pieces on civil society from writers such as Hegel and Tocqueville and it would also include more than one article from non-Americans. Moreover, there is a

range of contemporary articles which are central to the debate over civil society that have not been included such as those by Charles Taylor, John Keane, Adam Seligman, Robert Putnam, and Michael Walzer.

Nonetheless, the articles which have been included are important: Sandel's piece (taken from *Democracy's Discontent*) is a

significant republican call for greater civic participation; Fukuyama's article (taken from *Trust*) is a useful analysis of social capital; Galston's essay provides a road-map of liberal virtues; and Nisbet's contribution is a provocative discussion of community. Overall, even though it may not be the *essential* civil society reader, this book is a useful collection of ideas on a topic of growing importance.

DEMOCRACY AND ASSOCIATIONS

by **Mark E. Warren**

Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000. 264 pages, £11.50, ISBN 0 691 05077 5

Readership: Advanced undergraduates, postgraduates

Rating: *****

Reviewer: DARIO CASTIGLIONE
(*University of Exeter*)

This is a welcome addition to the literature on the theory of associations that is gradually re-establishing itself as an important part of democratic discourse. Although the importance of associations for democracy has been at the centre of attention for some time, particularly with the revival of the idea of civil society in the last two decades, and the more recent success of the concept of social capital in empirical studies on the background conditions for the working of democratic institutions, neither literature has yet fully engaged with the normative and empirical claims that associations are good for democratic life. Warren brings to the discussion both a familiarity with

normative analysis of democracy and a sensibility towards the complex way in which normative and empirical claims mix. His medium-level analysis is comprehensive both of the various approaches to the problem and of the substance of the issue at hand. But, as he says, this is more an introduction to the topic than a definitive statement about it. The core of his analysis lies in the attempt to go beyond the blanket assumption that a thriving associational life is good for democracy, by distinguishing associations at various levels. On one hand, he tries to classify the different kinds of effects that associations may have on democratic life by distinguishing between those that effect the development of the individual, those that operate on the institutions and those that may determine public communication. On the other, he distinguishes the associations themselves in terms of their formation (voluntary and involuntary), of their different embeddedness in the social resources, and the kind of goods that they are meant to produce. The result is an intriguing and thought-provoking web of ways in which democratic life and associations interact.

**THE UNKNOWN MARX:
reconstructing a unified
perspective**

by **Takahisa Oishi**
(Foreword by **Terrell Carver**)

London: Pluto Press (in association with
Takushoku University, Japan), 2001.
240 pages, £40.00, ISBN 0 7453 1698 0

Readership: Academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: **BEN JACKSON**
(Nuffield College, Oxford)

In his foreword to this book Terrell Carver promises that the reader 'will experience an intellectual and possibly even physical experience of Pauline proportions'. Regrettably, I cannot say that perusing the dense Marxian exegesis contained within the pages of *The Unknown Marx* has brought me to a Damascene conversion. It is, nonetheless, an interesting work, even if the content of the book is less exciting than Professor Carver suggests.

The author, Takahisa Oishi, is a leading Japanese Marx scholar, and he draws upon fascinating research into the genesis of Marx's texts to mount a series of challenging interpretive claims about the development of Marx's thought and the relative significance of his various works. Oishi resists any attempts to chart Marx's intellectual trajectory through distinct stages (for example philosopher then economist, or liberal then communist). Instead, he argues that Marx's thought

exhibited far greater continuity than commentators have previously supposed, and to that end produces a detailed reinterpretation of the *1844 Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, charting their parallels with Marx's later writings on political economy.

Most controversially, Oishi wants to downplay the significance of the materialist interpretation of history, and instead emphasizes Marx's critique of political economy. Marx's real project, thinks Oishi, was to expose contemporary political economy as an ideological construct, and not to propose a grand theory about the development of history. As a consequence, Oishi maintains that *The German Ideology* does not deserve the significance accorded to it by subsequent generations of scholars and is less important to an understanding of Marx's thought than the underrated *Poverty of Philosophy*. Perhaps inevitably, Engels is fingered as the villain of the piece, since Oishi maintains that he put an exaggerated scientific gloss on Marx's writings and distorted the true impulse behind Marx's work.

In general, this is a thought-provoking book, which produces a mass of thorough, well-researched textual evidence to support its claims. Oishi's arguments deserve careful consideration. The book will therefore mainly be of interest to Marx specialists, who will have the time and inclination to roll their sleeves up and engage with the subtle interpretive issues that it raises.

Political Theory

New books received

Edward G. Andrew (2001) *Conscience and its Critics: Protestant conscience, enlightenment reason and modern subjectivity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 268, £30.00, ISBN 0 8020 4859 5

Anatole Anton, Milton Fisk and Nancy Holmstrom (eds) (2001) *In Defense of Public Goods: an anthology*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 490, £15.50, ISBN 0 8133 6618 6

Peter Dennis Bathory and Nancy L. Schwartz (eds) (2001) *Friends and Citizens: essays in honor of Wilson Carey McWilliams*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 324, £30.00, ISBN 0 8476 9746 0

Zygmunt Bauman (2000) *The Individualised Society*. Oxford: Polity, 272, £14.99, ISBN 0 7456 2506 1

Wilfred Beckerman and Joanna Pasek (2001) *Justice, Posterity and the Environment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 227, £45.00, ISBN 0 19 9245096

Sharon Beder (2001) *Selling the Work Ethic: from puritan pulpit to corporate PR*. London: Zed, 3000, \$25.00, ISBN 1 85649 885 9

Robert Bernasconi (ed.) (2001) *Race*. Oxford: Blackwell, 318, £15.99, ISBN 0 631 20783 X

Mark Blitz and William Kristol (eds) (2000) *Educating the Prince: essays in honor of Harvey Mansfield*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 330, £30.00, ISBN 0 7425 0827 7

David W. Carrithers, Michael A. Mosher and Paul A. Rahe (eds) (2001) *Montesquieu's Science of Politics: essays on The Spirit of Laws*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 468, £20.95, ISBN 0 7425 1181 2

Noam Chomsky [edited and introduced by Donald Macedo] (2000) *Chomsky on MisEducation*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 192, £13.50, ISBN 0 7425 0129 9

Catherine Eschle (2001) *Global Democracy, Social Movements and Feminism*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 291, £18.50, ISBN 0 8133 9149 0

R. W. Fevre [foreword by Zygmunt Bauman] (2001) *The Demoralisation of Western Culture: social theory and the dilemmas of modern living*. London: Continuum, 286, £13.99, ISBN 0 8264 5059 8

Thomas Franck (2001) *The Empowered Self: law and society in the age of individualism*. Paperback Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 325, £12.99, ISBN 0 19 924809 5

Andrew Gamble (2000) *Politics and Fate*. Oxford: Polity, 144, £11.99, ISBN 0 7456 2167 8

John H. Garvey (1996) *What are Freedoms for?* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 320, £12.95, ISBN 0 674 00411 6

Jonathan Gershuny (2000) *Changing Times: world and leisure in postindustrial society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 312, ISBN 0 19 828787 9

John Martin Gillroy (2001) *Justice and Nature: Kantian philosophy, environmental policy and the law*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 480, £50.50, ISBN 0 87840 795 2

Marco Giugni and Florence Passy (2001) *Political Altruism? Solidarity movements in international perspective*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 304, \$28.95, ISBN 0 8476 9881

John H. Goldthorpe (2000) *On Sociology: numbers, narratives and the integration of research and theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 343, £16.99, ISBN 0 19 8295723

Paul Griffiths (2001) *Problems of Religious Diversity*. Oxford: Blackwells, 191, £17.99, ISBN 0 631 21150 0

James Hankins (ed.) (2000) *Renaissance Civic Humanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 314, £37.50, ISBN 0 521 78090 X

Jose Harris (2001) *Tönnies: Community and Civil Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 310, £ 15.95, ISBN 0 521 56782 3

Donald Clark Hodges (2000) *Class Politics in the Information Age*. Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press, 229, \$28.95, ISBN 0 252 02583 0

Judy Howell and Jenny Pearce (2001) *Civil Society and Development*. Boulder CO: Lynne Reiner Publishers, 272, £39.95, ISBN 1 55587 619 6

Elihu Katz and Yael Warshel (eds) (2001) *Election Studies: what's their use?* Boulder CO: Westview Press, 295, ISBN 0 8133 6635 6

Ruth Kinna (2000) *William Morris and the Art of Socialism*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 265, £14.99, ISBN 0 7083 1582 8

Murray Knuttila and Wendee Kubik (2001) *State Theories: classical, global and feminist perspectives*. Third Edition. London: Zed, 221, £14.95, ISBN 1 85649 032 7

Sonia Kruks (2001) *Retrieving Experience: subjectivity and recognition in feminist politics*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 207, £10.95, ISBN 0 8014 8417 0

A. R. Lacey (2001) *Robert Nozick*. Chesham: Acumen, 256, £12.95, ISBN 1 902683 25 0

Regina G. Lawrence (2000) *The Politics of Force: media and the construction of police brutality*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 279, £11.50, ISBN 0 520 22192 3

Arthur Lupia, Mathew McCubbins and Samuel Popkin (eds) (2000) *Elements of Reason: cognition, choice and the bounds of rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 330, £14.95, ISBN 0 521 65332 0

David Lyon (2001) *Surveillance Society: monitoring everyday life*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 201, £15.99, ISBN 0 335 20546 1

Barbara MacKinnon (ed.) (2000) *Human Cloning: science, ethics and public policy*. Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press, 171, \$29.95, ISBN 0 252 02491 5

Michael D. McGinnis (ed.) (2000) *Polycentric Games and Institutions: readings from the workshop in political theory and policy analysis*. Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 539, £15.50, ISBN 0 472 06714 1

Bill Martin (2001) *The Radical Project: Sartrean investigations*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 136, £14.95, ISBN 0 8476 9699 5

Melissa M. Matthes (2001) *The Rape of Lucretia and the Founding of Republics: readings in Livy, Machiavelli and Rousseau*. University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 197, \$18.95, ISBN 0 271 02055 5

Dennis C. Mueller (2000) *Constitutional Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, £18.99, ISBN 0 19 5144074

Cary J. Nederman (2000) *Worlds of Difference: European discourses of toleration c.1100–c.1550*. University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 167, \$18.95, ISBN 0 271 02017 2

Maurizio Passerin d'Entrèves and Ursula Vogel (eds) (2000) *Public and Private: legal, political and philosophical perspectives*. London: Routledge, 206, £13.99, ISBN 0 415 166845

Paul Pierson (ed.) (2001) *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 527, £40.00, ISBN 0 19 829753 X

Edward Bryan Portis, Adolf G. Gundersen, and Ruth Lessl Shively (eds) (2000) *Political Theory and Partisan Politics*. New York: State University of New York Press, 226, \$19.95, ISBN 0 7914 4592 5

Arthur Ripstein (2001) *Equality, Responsibility and the Law*. Paperback Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 319, £14.95, ISBN 0 521 00307 5

John R. Rowan (1999) *Conflicts of Rights: moral theory and social policy implications*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 236, £15.50, ISBN 0 8133 6564 3

Garrett Ward Sheldon (2001) *The Political Philosophy of James Madison*. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 159, £25.00, ISBN 0 8018 6479 8

Brian Simpson (2001) *Human Rights and the End of Empire: Britain and the Genesis of the European Convention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1176, £60.00, ISBN 0 19 826289 2

Andrew S. Skinner and Knud Haakonssen (compiled) (2001) *Index to the Works of Adam Smith*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, £45.00, ISBN 0 19 8285663

Paul Slovic (2000) *The Perception of Risk*. London: Earthscan, 473, £19.95, ISBN 1 85383 528 5

Malcolm K. Sparrow (2000) *The Regulatory Craft: controlling risks, solving problems and managing compliance*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 346, \$20.95, ISBN 0 8157 8065 6

Susan Stedman Jones (2001) *Durkheim Reconsidered*. Oxford: Polity, 288, £15.99, ISBN 0 7456 1616 X

G. Ross Stephens and Nelson Wikstrom (1999) *Metropolitan Government and Governance: theoretical perspective, empirical analysis and the future*. New York: Oxford University Press, 408, £37.99, ISBN 0 19 511297 0

Kok-Chor Tan (2001) *Toleration, Diversity and Global Justice*. University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 245, \$28.50, ISBN 0 271 02067 9

Xavier Vives (ed.) (2000) *Corporate Governance: theoretical and empirical perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 238, £30.00, ISBN 0 521 78164 7

John R. Wallach (2001) *The Platonic Political Art: a study of critical reason and democracy*. University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 479, \$25.00, ISBN 0 271 02076 8

Jerold Waltman (2000) *The Politics of the Minimum Wage*. Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press, 172, \$24.95, ISBN 0 252 02545 8

David Wasserman and Robert Wachbroit (eds) (2001) *Genetics and Criminal Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 344, £14.95, ISBN 0 521 62728 1

Maureen Whitebrook (2001) *Identity, Narrative and Politics*. London: Routledge, 184, £16.99, ISBN 0 415 23895 1

Dexter Whitfield (2001) *Public Services or Corporate Welfare*. London: Pluto Press, 336, £16.99, ISBN 0 7453 0856 2

BRITAIN

<p>THE RISE OF NEW LABOUR: party policies and voter choices</p>
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<p>by Anthony F. Heath, Roger M. Jowell and John K. Curtice</p>
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<p>Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. 195 pages, £40.00, ISBN 0 19 924510 X</p>

<p><i>Readership:</i> Undergraduates, advanced undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research, professional</p>

<p><i>Rating:</i> *****</p>

<p>Reviewer: DAVID DENVER (Lancaster University)</p>
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This book is an example of electoral analysis at its best. It is concerned with the period from 1979 to 1997 and examines key questions relating to British electoral politics over these years. Was Conservative success from 1979 to 1992 the fruit of Thatcherite policies? Did social change – in particular the decline of the size of the working class – require the Labour Party to completely re-think its electoral strategy? To what extent did the various experiments in policy change

affect the level of support obtained by the parties? Were traditional Labour voters disillusioned by the Party's move to the right in 1997?

These and other questions are explored and discussed using data from the British Election Study series of surveys. The analyses are inventive and easy to follow (the details of logistic regressions being sensibly confined to appendices) and, for the most part, persuasive. Various myths are debunked ('Essex Man' was a key figure in Conservative success and had to be wooed by Labour); other impressions are confirmed (Labour's vote in 1997 was much more middle-class than previously); apparent mysteries are explained (despite being the preferred party on unemployment and welfare Labour lost in the 1980s because it was too extreme on other issues). Each chapter focuses on a major question and in each case there is an excellent account of the context of the question to be discussed and a clear – if sometimes complicated – conclusion.

Everyone with more than a passing interest in British politics ought to read this hugely impressive book.

<p>DOES THE UNITED KINGDOM STILL HAVE A CONSTITUTION?</p>
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<p>by Anthony King</p>

<p>London: Sweet and Maxwell, 2001. 127 pages, £12.95, ISBN 0 421 74930X</p>
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<p><i>Readership:</i> Undergraduates, advanced undergraduates, postgraduates</p>
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<p><i>Rating:</i> ***</p>

<p>Reviewer: CATHERINE NEEDHAM (Nuffield College, Oxford)</p>

King's account of the demise of the UK's traditional constitution is based on a series of Hamlyn lectures delivered by the author in late 2000. He provides an engaging and accessible account of constitutional evolution in the UK, highlighting the extent to which reforms over the last 30 years have undermined the assumptions on which the constitution was based. For King, a constitution should proceed on the basis of coherent and fixed principles, and he argues that the UK now lacks a constitution in this

normative sense. He contrasts power-sharing with power-hoarding systems, arguing that Britain has departed from power-hoarding without embracing power-sharing. The result is 'power-fractionated' – a constitutional 'unsettlement', which lacks the stability and simplicity of the traditional constitution, yet does not incorporate the consensual approach of a power-sharing democracy such as the Netherlands.

The book is aimed at those without extensive background knowledge of constitutional studies but is provocative enough to interest more seasoned

analysts. King provides a fresh approach to familiar material, drawing on references from Shakespeare and the rules of football to clarify more obscure aspects of the constitution. His account of the disjuncture between the normative model of a constitution and the UK's haphazard version merits attention. Yet he is unclear about the future implications of this disjuncture, suggesting only that we shall see in due course. If, as he believes, a constitution should be based on fixed principles of reason, he needs to make a stronger case for what will happen when those principles are absent.

**THE CONSTITUTIONAL
FOUNDATIONS OF JUDICIAL REVIEW**

by **Mark Elliott**

Oxford: Hart, 2001. 292 pages, £30.00,
ISBN 1 901362 180 6

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: FRED NASH
(*University of Southampton*)

Are there any foundations and principles in the British constitution? More to the point, is there a British constitution? Alas, we have a historical system of government but hardly a constitution worth the appellation. That being so, in looking for constitutional foundations of judicial review or, indeed, for fundamentals, we are liable to find vague concepts.

Vires-based judicial review is a logical feature of any system in which power is conferred by statute: its presence marks the general applicability of the concept of

rule of law and indicates the presence of a largely open system. But, *vires*-based judicial review is limited and, in fact, also limiting: complex processes of modern governance require more. Mark Elliott argues for a modified and enlarged conception of judicial review based upon rule of law. While that modification is a definite improvement, problems arise over the judicial review of non-statutory, prerogative and, under the terms of the Human Rights Act 1998, substantive cases. We are now faced with essentially different types of judicial review, which one narrowly defined conception cannot explain and justify. Elliott argues that the larger, more vague concept of rule of law, embracing principles of common law and of good governance, can afford justification for different types of judicial review.

So far as it goes this argument is sound, but his search for constitutional foundations, inevitably based on a large bag of assumptions, leads into darkness. Rule of law, like many other 'main' concepts defining and governing this system

cannot arbitrarily be elevated to foundational status, especially when we have serious difficulties with the idea of a British constitution. Such stipulative attempts amount to bad social science, though Elliott is not the first to commit this sin: a recent book with many prominent contributors is, in effect, built upon the proclamation of a number of concepts as fundamentals without apparent rhyme or reason.

As a breed, thesis-based books suffer from narrow analytical vision and a hefty bag of assumptions. Elliott's book is no exception. However, it has the merit of airing and clarifying many aspects of a largely neglected feature of our system, and is recommended on the basis that increasing juridification of this system of government calls for further study of the judiciary, its powers and its rôle.

<p>DID THINGS GET BETTER? An audit of Labour's successes and failures</p>
<p>by Polly Toynbee and David Walker</p>
<p>London: Penguin, 2001. 273 pages, £6.99, ISBN 0 141 000163</p>
<p><i>Readership:</i> Postgraduates <i>Rating:</i> ****</p>
<p>Reviewer: PETER STAFFORD <i>(University of Manchester)</i></p>

This book aims to cut through the red tape and spin of the Labour government and present an overview of the achievements and the failures of a government which promised so much to an electorate whose demands were great. In many cases, such an aim has been impossible to achieve. The authors note that because the Labour government stayed with Conservative spending plans, real reform only began in 1999. In which case, the report-card states that it is too early to tell for a fair conclusion to be drawn. This rather defeats the

purpose of the book, as time and again, the only assessment that can be made is wait and see.

On the positive, however, it is possible to leave the generalized conclusions, and treat this book as a handbook of Labour policy. The authors explain simply the multitude of initiatives, schemes and programmes in various policy areas. In this respect, *Did Things get Better?* comes into its own. It explains the purpose of these reforms, the finances and the consequences. In complex areas such as Education and Health reform, a factual impartial guide is much needed and well provided here.

As expected of two leading journalists, the book is well written, with anecdotes and asides amongst the facts and statistics. It is well balanced and fairly presented, being neither sycophantic nor tirelessly condemning. Had this book been written later and covered a longer period of time, its conclusions would have been stronger and an assessment easier to make.

**INCLUSIVE GOVERNMENT
AND PARTY MANAGEMENT:
the National Assembly for Wales
and the work of its committees**

by **J. Barry Jones and
John Osmond (eds)**

Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs and Welsh
Governance Centre, 2001. 200 pages, £15.00,
ISBN 1 871726 69 7

Rating: ***

Reviewer: **ROGER SCULLY**
(*University of Wales, Aberystwyth*)

As with its more celebrated cousin, the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales was designed around an ethos of 'new politics' that placed great emphasis on the role of committees within the new institutions. This edited volume constitutes a welcome and thorough assessment of the functioning of the Assembly's committees during the first year of the chamber's life. The contributors, all close observers of the chamber, present detailed accounts of each of the major committees within the Assembly,

**ASPECTS OF THE BELFAST
AGREEMENT**

by **Rick Wilford (ed.)**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
278 pages, £40.00, ISBN 0 19 9242623

Reviewer: **FEARGAL COCHRANE**
(*Lancaster University*)

This collection sets out to examine the constitutional design of the Belfast Agreement, its political significance, and the difficulties that have been encountered in its implementation since 1998. The thirteen chapters written by leading

evaluating both the successes and the challenges experienced by each. None of the chapters in this book could fairly be described as theoretically ambitious or methodologically innovative; however, at this early stage in the Assembly's existence, their informative, interesting and well-written descriptive accounts are of great value. Alan Storer's account of life in the Economic Development committee is of particular interest, though in part simply for detailing how the committee became the arena for wider power battles among the leading figures in the Welsh Labour party. The editors' conclusion is that many of the broader ambitions for committees in the Assembly to be inclusive and powerful centres of policy development remain unrealized, and sceptical observers may believe that these ambitions will always be elusive. However, as this book is intended to be the first of an annual series, observers of Welsh politics and those interested in the Welsh variant of devolution should have the opportunity to continue to follow the editors' informative accounts of the development of the National Assembly.

academic experts, place the Agreement within its historical, political, legal and comparative dimensions. One of the strengths of this collection is that, like the society under discussion, the contributions disagree fundamentally on the Agreement's significance. This is perhaps inevitable, so close to the event.

Paul Mitchell contributes an excellent chapter on the impact of the new consociational political structures on traditional ethnic voting patterns. Brendan O'Leary puts in a typically polished performance, assessing the pedigree of the new institutions and the Agreement's

future prospects. His conclusion is broadly optimistic, based on the lack of other options for the various protagonists. 'These agreements are precarious equilibria, but are infinitely better than their alternatives – fighting to the finish, or the panaceas proposed by partisan or naïve integrationists' (p. 79). Brigid Hadfield contributes a useful (if rather dry) legal analysis of the Agreement, while Anthony McIntyre rehearses yet again, the rather worn republican critique of the 1998 dispensation. Rick Wilford provides a good exposition of the structure of the institutions, while John Coakley pens a

very useful essay on attitudes to the Agreement in the Irish Republic.

Other contributions are less impressive. Henry Patterson's bad tempered polemic on the 'appeasement' of British policy, would have been better published as a political pamphlet, than appear in a collection of this quality. The book finishes strongly though, with an excellent chapter by Adrian Guelke, assessing the international dimensions of the Agreement.

Overall, this is a high quality publication and a very worthwhile addition to the literature.

**THE OFFICE OF
THE LORD CHANCELLOR**

by **Diana Woodhouse**

Oxford: Hart, 2001. 231 pages, £22.00,
ISBN 1 84113 021 4

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates

Rating: ***

Reviewer: FRED NASH
(University of Southampton)

The thesis of this book is that the office of the Lord Chancellor is a historical and theoretical anomaly, and should be abolished. This comes in two parts. Firstly, that potentially and actually contradictory powers and functions are concentrated in one appointed office, with no direct line of responsibility to the elected House. Secondly, that whereas before the *sine qua non* of the office was to protect the independence of the judiciary and represent it to the executive and the legislature, lately this has changed whereby emphasis is now on its executive and political powers and functions. This shift

serves to render acute the absence of direct accountability at the level of the office to the elected House.

In support of this thesis, Woodhouse examines the office in detail. But, do her arguments support it and the proposition that the office should be abolished? Neither point naturally follows from her analysis; indeed, her detailed treatment of the office – from judicial appointments to executive functions – in which Woodhouse ably demonstrates much that is actually wrong with it, confuses the issue. Abolishing the office and creating separate heads will not correct the endemic problems she so clearly identifies.

Woodhouse assumes a British constitution – although occasionally she questions its logic and coherence – and a constitutional rôle for the Lord Chancellor. However, apart from a rather limited consideration of separation of powers, there is hardly any discussion of the 'constitution' at all. The problem is that her desired conclusion is not derived from an examination of the major terms of her thesis, and most of her effort is spent in examining minor propositions implied by it, and the actual

working of the office. Yet, the view that the office should be abolished is more easily established through constitutional theory arguments.

The contribution of the book is not the thesis – which is not original anyhow. It is to be found partly in the demonstration

of the changing nature of the office, but mostly in the lucid and detailed account of the working office and in so clearly identifying and laying bare the problems with this aspect of British government. Alas, some of these problems are insoluble, in that every possible solution tends to attract strong criticism.

<p>GLADSTONE CENTENARY ESSAYS by David Bebbington and Roger Swift (eds)</p>
<p>Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. 299 pages, £15.95, ISBN 0 85323 935 5</p>
<p><i>Readership:</i> Postgraduates, academic/research</p>
<p><i>Rating:</i> ***</p>
<p>Reviewer: SHANE EWEN (<i>University of Leicester</i>)</p>

This edited volume marks the centenary of Gladstone's death in 1898, emerging from an international conference held at Chester College in 1998. The book subsequently focuses on high politics, with particular emphasis on the changing character and ideology of Gladstone from his early career in the 1830s to his final administration in the 1890s. There is also an intriguing chapter tracing his legacy within Edwardian Liberal party politics, particularly regarding Asquith's and Lloyd George's attempts to legitimize their position as party leader.

The collection covers a wide range of Gladstone's personal relationships, notably with Peel, Cobden, and the Scottish Presbyterian Thomas Chalmers. Little is made of his relationship with Queen Victoria, or of other important cabinet members, such as Palmerston or Goschen, nor of his major political opponent, Disraeli. The chapters cover his attitude towards church-state relations, Irish Home Rule, the Egyptian and Indian crises of the 1880s, enfranchisement, taxation and, to a lesser extent, social reform and local government.

The book is aimed largely at an audience with a specific interest in Victorian high politics and biography. It rightly makes no attempt to provide an undergraduate introductory text, as this is available in numerous other volumes dedicated to Gladstone and Disraeli. The empirical research is methodical, if a little repetitive with its emphasis on Gladstone's personal diaries. However, it does succeed in adding to the debates concerning Gladstone's influences, his changing ideology, and his pragmatic approach towards fiscal governance through various thought-provoking essays.

**HUMAN RIGHTS, EQUALITY AND
DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL IN
NORTHERN IRELAND**

by **Colin H. Harvey (ed.)**

Oxford: Hart, 2001. 335 pages, £22.50,
ISBN 1 84113 119 9

Rating: ****

Reviewer: **FRANCESCA KLUG**
(*King's College London*)

Whether it ultimately fails or succeeds, the Good Friday Agreement held out the promise of an innovative approach to democratic politics, extending beyond the crucial task of conflict resolution. Although the structures proposed and established by the Agreement are designed to reflect 'the particular circumstances of Northern Ireland', the ethical vision that drives the agreement is potentially of universal relevance. In a series of essays by scholars engaged in this process of change, this book focuses on the human rights, equality and criminal justice aspects of the Agreement.

**BRITAIN AND 1940:
history, myth and popular memory**

by **Malcolm Smith**

London: Routledge, 2000. 178 pages, £9.99,
ISBN 0 415 24076 X

Readership: Academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: **ANTOINE CAPET**
(*University of Rouen*)

Britain and 1940 is firmly grounded in the 'myth of the Blitz' debate launched by Angus Calder in the book of that name (1991), largely to counter Paul Addison's

Most of the contributors are legal academics but their analyses tend to be more political and constitutional than legal, in the narrow or technical sense. Editor Colin Harvey roots his work in the 'critical legal tradition'. A recurring theme in his analysis is the importance of 'deliberative democracy'. This approach informs his critique of human rights discourse which tends to 'glorify judicial protection' and bring 'certainty' where political life appears 'indeterminate and chaotic'. This is why innovations such as the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission which encourages alternative forms of human rights protection 'can be so important'. A challenging chapter on humanitarian intervention and paramilitary activities also questions the efficacy of a human rights approach to this problem.

While many of the chapters are more descriptive than analytical and some cover well-trodden ground, the book is essential reading for anyone concerned about the Island of Ireland, recent constitutional developments in the UK and the values of equality and human rights in modern political life.

views on the 'post-war consensus' (*The Road to 1945*, 1975). All the familiar themes of the 'People's War' are there: the Evacuation, the Priestley-Churchill rhetoric at the time of Dunkirk, the 'Guilty Men' syndrome, the East End/West End 'reconciliation', the role of the BBC, the Press (notably *Picture Post*) and the Crown Film Unit, the 'collectivist' success of the Beveridge Report, Labour's triumph in 1945.

Malcolm Smith indicates that he set out to re-examine all this in the light of 'the relationship between academic history and popular memory', aiming to find the nature of the intellectual construction which defined '1940' in the next sixty

years in a chapter significantly entitled 'Refighting the war: Attlee to Blair', and less obviously in one called 'America, Europe and the world', in which British attitudes to Europe are traced to the war. This is of course an enormous task considering all the elements which have to be taken into account since 1940, and the great difficulty in identifying 'popular

memory', which in fact the author largely neglects, concentrating instead on high politics for the period 1945–2000, with special emphasis on Margaret Thatcher's attempted re-enactment of '1940' during the Falklands crisis. Altogether, as a re-reading of events 1940–2000 in the light of '1940', the book undoubtedly has a valuable contribution to make.

Britain

New books received

Steven Barnett and Ivor Gaber (2001) *Westminster Tales: the twenty-first-century crisis in political journalism*. London: Continuum, 160, £14.99, ISBN 0 8264 5020 2

Michael Barrett Brown (2001) *The Captive Party: how Labour was taken over by capital*. Nottingham: Socialist Renewal, 70, £5.00, ISBN 0 85124 645 1

Martin Ceadel (2000) *Semi-Detached Idealists: the British Peace Movement and international relations, 1854–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 480, £50.00, ISBN 0 19 9241171

Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett (2001) *Keith Joseph*. Chesham: Acumen Publishing, 480, £25.00, ISBN 1 902683 03 X

Laura K. Donohue (2000) *Counter-Terrorist Law and Emergency Powers in the United Kingdom 1922–2000*. London: Frank Cass, 448, £42.50, ISBN 0 7165 2687 5

Fabian Society (2001) *Paying for Progress: a new politics of tax for public spending*. London: Fabian Society, 388, £9.95, ISBN 0 7163 6003 9

Michael Foley (2000) *The British Presidency*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 374, £16.99, ISBN 0 7190 5016 2

Jonathan Hearn (2001) *Claiming Scotland: national identity and liberal culture*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 328, £16.99, ISBN 1 902 93016 9

Malcolm Hill (2000) *Slavery in a Land of Liberty: civil liberty and wage slavery in Britain*. London: Othila Press, 229, £25.00, ISBN 1 901647 22 6

Ron Johnston, Charles Pattie, Danny Dorling and David Rossiter (2001) *From Votes to Seats: the operation of the UK electoral system since 1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 262, £14.99, ISBN 0 7190 5852 X

Jennifer Lees-Marchment (2001) *Political Marketing and British Political Parties*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 264, £14.99, ISBN 0 7190 6017 6

Richard Rose (2001) *The Prime Minister in a Shrinking World*. Cambridge: Polity, 290, £14.99, ISBN 0 7456 2730 7

Robert R. Sullivan (2001) *Liberalism and Crime: the British experience*. Lanham MA: Lexington Books, 240, ISBN 0 7391 0130 7

NORTH AMERICA

**IT DIDN'T HAPPEN HERE:
why socialism failed in the
United States**
by **Seymour Martin Lipset
and Gary Marks**

London: Norton, 2000. 379 pages, £19.95,
ISBN 0 393 04098 4

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research, professional

Rating: ****

Reviewer: **ANDREW WROE**
(*University of Essex*)

Lipset and Marks set out to answer a question that has puzzled Marxists and students of US politics for many years: why did socialism fail in the United States? What makes this most recent attempt different from hundreds of previous ones is that the authors are not concerned with testing the validity of their own hypothesis. Instead, they aim to test as rigorously as possible some of the more plausible hypotheses or possible causes already on the market, including: the hegemony of anti-socialist American values, ideas and political institutions; the failure of unions and the socialist party to

unite as a single political force; the sectarian commitment of socialist leaders to ideological purity over political reality and opportunism; the repressive anti-socialist state; and the division of working-class consciousness by race, ethnicity and immigration.

Their analytical approach provides a classic example of applied, comparative social science. Different regions, states and cities within the US are compared, and the US experience is contrasted with those of Canada, Australia and Europe. The scope is thus broad, the detail deep, and the time-span wide. It is rigorous and impressive.

While the undergraduate may find some of the detail off-putting, there is much here for graduate student and faculty. Both will be pleased that Lipset and Marks, broadly judged, succeed in positing a plausible, thoughtful multivariate explanation for socialism's US failure. Their answer? Briefly stated, it encompasses pretty much all of the above causes interacting together in a unique and complex play across history, which today still frames policy and politics in the US. By the authors' thinking, then, the United States was and is exceptional.

**AMERICAN GOVERNMENT:
conflict, compromise and citizenship**
by **Christopher J. Bosso,
John H. Portz and Michael C. Tolley**

Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2000.
590 pages, £20.95, ISBN 0 8133 6871 5

Readership: Undergraduates

Rating: ****

Reviewer: **EDWARD ASHBEE**
(*Denstone College*)

American Government will prove popular with both students and educators. It is a clearly written textbook that surveys the public policy process, the core institutions of government and the character of American political culture.

The layout – which is structured around headings, subheadings and summaries – ensures that the book can be put to good use by even the most casual reader. Many of the book's themes are developed through boxes and extracts that are

drawn from a diverse range of primary sources. In contrast with many textbooks, each of the chapters is well-referenced. The coverage of civil rights and the role of interest groups is particularly impressive for an introductory text.

Bosso and his co-authors are, however, venturing into a highly competitive market. Despite its many strengths, *American Government* may lose out. Some other texts offer more innovative design features. The book has, perhaps inevitably, already been overtaken by events. Even the early returns from the 2000 census would have added much to

its coverage of American society. Furthermore, *American Government's* treatment of political culture is a little frustrating. While there are – at different points in the book – interesting and useful discussions of 'Americanism', the nature of ideology, and the health of American democracy, these are largely detached from contemporary events and processes. Conservatism is considered in isolation from the conservative movement of the 1980s and 1990s. Newt Gingrich's role as House Speaker is discussed but his political objectives are left to one side. The book would, therefore, have been strengthened by more assertive editorial direction.

**SHADES OF CITIZENSHIP:
race and the Census
in modern politics**
by **Melissa Nobles**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2000. 248 pages, £10.95, ISBN 0 8047 4059 3

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research,
professional

Rating: ****

Reviewer: KEVIN HOWARD
(University College Dublin)

Melissa Nobles account of the way ethnic-racial designations used in censuses are shaped and in turn shape wider discourses of ethnicity and race is ground-breaking and adds to a growing body of literature analysing the interaction between census categorization and identity formation. The US of all liberal democracies has the longest continuous history of census taking as well as the longest history of 'counting by race'. Nobles maps the changing designations used in the US census, to 'count by race', to show how

these designations do not just reflect racial discourse but in turn 'feed back', shaping racial discourse.

Of particular interest are Nobles analyses of the mobilization of 'Black' activists in Brazil and 'multiracial/multiethnic' activists in the US to secure census visibility. Securing census visibility was and is central to challenging official discourses around issues of 'ethnicity and race'. The resistance to change derives both from the deeply embedded assumptions of politicians, administrators, academics, journalists etc about just what constitutes the ethno-scape as well as from those whose material interests could be threatened by possible changes. Brazilian 'Black' activists campaign to make visible via the census the relative disadvantage of those of African origin challenging the official myth that Brazil is a 'racial democracy'. In the US, multiracial/multiethnic activists argue that 'monoracial' categories in the census are a denial of their 'identity'. The idea that people can be of 'mixed race' of course pre-supposes the idea that people can be of a single 'race' therefore reinforcing 'race' thinking. The main

resistance to the 'multis' came from 'monoracial' non-white advocacy groups fearful of 'racial seepage' from their categories to the 'mixed race' category, implicitly acknowledging that 'racial

seepage' from the 'white' camp is inconceivable. Given the furore around the ethnic group question in the recent UK censuses this book is not only very informative but also extremely timely.

**CONSERVATION RECONSIDERED:
nature, virtue and American
liberal democracy**
by **Charles T. Rubin (ed.)**

Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.
254 pages, £19.95, ISBN 0 8476 9717 7

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ****

Reviewer: NIGEL ASHFORD
(Staffordshire University)

Contemporary environmentalists are very dismissive of the conservationist movement of the early 20th century, which they view as utilitarian, anthropomorphic and efficiency-oriented, concerned to exploit nature for the interests of humans. They look for inspiration to a 'preservationist' movement viewed as more moral and biocentric. The origins of this historical understanding are to be found in the classic study by Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*.

The purpose of this volume is to repudiate that conventional interpretation by

demonstrating that conservationism had a strong moral and political content, providing a richer understanding of nature (and of humanity within it) than most environmentalism. A secondary purpose is to demonstrate that the preservationists too have been misleadingly portrayed.

The method is a careful analysis of the thought of both conservationists (Muir, Roosevelt, Pinchot, Leopold) and so-called preservationists (Muir, Emerson, Thoreau, Olmsted). Unlike so many edited volumes based on conference papers, these essays reveal common themes, elucidated in the introduction by Charles Rubin and afterword by Bob Taylor. They include: humanity as part of nature, and not in opposition to it; the need for epistemic modesty; and a respect for liberal democracy. I particularly enjoyed the comparison between Teddy Roosevelt and Al Gore, and the refutation of the fashionable biocentric interpretation of Thoreau.

This volume is highly successful in achieving its goal of demonstrating that conservationism requires serious reappraisal. It deserves a place on any course on environmentalism that seeks to provide an historical or philosophical dimension.

**THE RUSSIANS ARE COMING!
THE RUSSIANS ARE COMING!
pageantry and patriotism
in cold-war America**
by **Richard M. Fried**

New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
220 pages, £26.00, ISBN 0 19 513417 6

Readership: Postgraduates and
academic/research

Rating: ****

Reviewer:
CECILIA ELIZABETH O'LEARY
(California State University,
Monterey Bay)

Political figures such as Senator Joseph McCarthy and public spectacles such as the House on Un-American Activities hearings are lodged within national memory and historical studies of the Cold War. But who were the lesser-known activists and what were the 'grassroots' rituals of anti-communism? Drawing upon magazines, newspapers, and government records, Richard M. Fried chronicles what he had previously discounted as 'soft' representations of anti-communism: loyalty parades, Cold War pageantry, and Freedom Trains. Fried now realizes that

these rituals offer insights into how liberals and conservatives tried to win ordinary citizens over to their crusades. Creating and sustaining a culture of anti-communism took hard work. Self-proclaimed patriots turned to WWII for organizing lessons on how to insert their campaign into the centres of public life. Paradoxically, the ideals that they promoted – individualism and abundance – undermined the very civic virtues of an engaged, albeit zealous, citizenry that they tried to inculcate.

Fried's treatment of the 1950s is thoughtful and rich in detail. The weakest chapter is on the demise of the Right and the rise of the New Left in the sixties. He dismisses the Free Speech Movement in a sentence, claiming that the 'revolution devoured its young when the Filthy Speech Movement lost the moral ground more decorous pioneers had gained' (p. 140). A more nuanced analysis of oppositional culture and attempts to re-define the meaning of patriotism is warranted. Overall, though, *The Russians are Coming!* provides an excellent introduction to the Cold War culture that existed outside of movies and government witch-hunts. The research is extensive and the writing sharp.

**REGULATORY ENCOUNTERS:
multinational corporations and
American adversarial legalism**

by **Robert A. Kagan and
Lee Axelrad (eds)**

Berkeley CA: University of California Press,
2000. 446 pages, £15.95, ISBN 0 520 22288 1

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: WAYNE MCINTOSH
(University of Maryland, College Park)

Regulatory Encounters compares government regulation of multinational businesses and corporations in the United States to the regulatory policies in other economically advanced democracies.

In ten in-depth case studies, the contributors to this volume assess the experience of a particular multinational corporation with legal regulations and practices in the United States, Japan, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, The Netherlands, and the European Union, carefully analysing the decision and implementation processes in each country. Separate chapters

are devoted to various issues related to environmental protection, product safety, and legal rights and litigation. The collection of case studies in *Regulatory Encounters* generally support the notion that adversarialism, a hallmark of the American legal system generally, dominates the workings of the regulatory process in the United States and that this highly legalistic approach often results in higher economic market costs and delays than in the other countries included but does not necessarily lead to greater protection for the public.

**CHOOSING OUR CHOICES:
debating the presidential
nominating process**

by **Robert E. Diclerico
and James W. Davis**

Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.
136 pages, £11.95, ISBN 0 8476 9448 8

Readership: Undergraduates

Rating: ***

Reviewer JON ROPER
(*University of Wales, Swansea*)

In the end victory hangs by a chad – or on a Supreme Court opinion – but this book is a reminder that the nominating process itself is critical to the outcome of American presidential elections. Robert DiClerico and James Davis provide an historical overview of the changes in the nomination system, and argue the case against and in favour of the existing methods. There is a useful select bibliography. The authors include extracts from the 1970 McGovern-Fraser Commission Report and four further readings debating

The analytical framework for the collection of studies is a theoretically interesting one, and the case studies do offer a useful starting point for placing law and regulations into a comparative perspective. The book is also generally very well written and draws upon a wide range of data resources. The major weakness is that several of the pieces depend heavily upon information from multinational corporations themselves without sufficient weight given to corporate opponents or to government sources.

the case for national primaries, for 'approval voting' in multicandidate elections and for a regional primary system.

The arguments are familiar ones, but are accessibly and clearly presented. The growth of primary elections and the delegate selection process has removed the nomination from smoke-filled rooms and from the floor of the convention itself. The choice is now known before the event: conventions are coronations orchestrated for a television audience. To return to the old ways, however, is to try to put the genie of democratic participation and openness back into the bottle. Nevertheless, the book points out that the skills needed to win the nomination may be both different and incompatible to those required to lead a party and to govern effectively. The readings do not add much to the author's own contributions, but overall this is a useful introductory text for students interested in the mechanics of the presidential nominating system, and the ways in which politicians – and academics – are continually tempted to tinker with them.

**THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT, THE FAR
RIGHT AND THE BOUNDARIES OF
AMERICAN CONSERVATISM**

by **Martin Durham**

Manchester: Manchester University Press,
2000. 204 pages, £13.99, ISBN 0 7190 5486 9

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, academic/research

Rating: **

Reviewer: STEVE BRUCE
(*University of Aberdeen*)

Civilization has its discontents and the USA has very many of them. There is a plethora of right-wing organizations campaigning against feminism, equal rights for women, gay rights, immigrations, the right of the state to raise taxes, and gun control. Christian Identity people claim to be the true children of Israel. Militiamen claim the right to form private armies. The Patriots insist that the modern nation-state is illegitimate. The Christian right tries to restore a conservative moral culture.

This short book describes in detail the components of the US far right and their inter-connections. Its exposition of the views of Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson and all points right is excellent. But it does not offer any data on what sorts of people support the various elements of the mosaic, and in what numbers. Apart from some anecdotal references we have to infer the supporters from the agenda, which is not wise. And size matters. Are the state-shunning Patriots significant or are they just the USA's version of Scotland's Skye Bridge Toll protestor Robbie the Pict?

With no evidence of scale, this book could mislead. Calling the first chapter 'the rise of the right' and failing to point out that all those discussed are serial losers shows a lack of proportion. The far right is exotic but unsuccessful. The state remains and it grows more, not less, liberal and tolerant. Colin Powell and Condoleeza Rice are in high office; Buchanan and Robertson are not.

North America

New books received

Roland Adickes (2001) *The United States Constitution and Citizens' Rights*. Jefferson NC: McFarland, 173, £27.10, ISBN 0 7846 0929 0

David N. Ammons (2001) *Municipal Benchmarks: assessing local performance and establishing community standards*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 509, ISBN 0 7619 2078 1

Kathleen L. Barber (2000) *A Right to Representation: proportional election systems for the twenty-first century*. Chicago IL: Ohio State University Press, 240, \$21.95, ISBN 0 8142 5058 0

John R. E. Bliese (2001) *The Greening of Conservative America*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 349, £19.99, ISBN 0 8133 3802 6

David W. Brady, John F. Cogan and Morris P. Fiorina (eds) (2001) *Continuity and Change in House Elections*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 312, £15.95, ISBN 0 8047 3739 8

Colton C. Campbell and Nicol C. Rae (eds) (2000) *The Contentious State: partisanship, ideology and the myth of cool judgement*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 216, \$19.95, ISBN 0 7425 0116 7

Colton C. Campbell and John F. Stack Jr (eds) (2001) *Congress Confronts the Court: the struggle for legitimacy and authority in lawmaking*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 160, \$19.95, ISBN 0 7425 0139 6

Stephen F. Cohen (2000) *Failed Crusade: America and the tragedy of post-communist Russia*. London: Norton, 304, £15.95, ISBN 0 393 04964 7

E. J. Dionne Jr and William Kristol (eds) (2001) *Bush V. Gore: the court cases and the commentary*. Washington DC: Brookings Institute, 346, \$15.95, ISBN 0 8157 0107 1

Michael A. Genovese (2000) *The Power of the American Presidency 1789–2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 286, £14.99, ISBN 0 19 512544 4

Alan Grant (ed.) (2000) *American Politics: 2000 and beyond*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 280, £19.95, ISBN 0 7546 2133 2

Frederick Harris (1999) *Something Within: religion in African-American political activism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 237, £15.99, ISBN 0 19 514595 X

Nick Heffernan (2000) *Capital, Class and Technology in Contemporary American Culture: projecting post-fordism*. London: Pluto Press, 256, £15.99, ISBN 0 7453 1104 0

Scott C. James (2000) *Presidents, Parties and the State: a party system perspective on democratic regularity choice, 1884–1936*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 307, £37.50, ISBN 0 521 66277 X

Kathleen Hall Jamieson (2000) *Everything you think you know about Politics and why you are Wrong*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 287, £10.50, ISBN 0 465 03627 9

Christine A. Kelly (2001) *Tangled up in Red, White and Blue: new social movements in America*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 208, £17.95, ISBN 0 7425 0813 7

Daniel Kryder (2000) *Divided Arsenal: race and the American state during World War II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 316, £19.95, ISBN 0 521 59338 7

Peter Levine (2000) *The New Progressive Era: towards a fair and deliberative democracy*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 269, \$19.95, ISBN 0 8476 9574 3

James MacGregor Burns and Susan Dunn (2001) *The Three Roosevelts: the leaders who transformed America*. London: Atlantic Books, 687, £25.00, ISBN 1 903809 08 8

Susan A. MacManus (2000) *Targeting Senior Voters: campaign outreach to elders and others with special needs*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 246, £14.95, ISBN 0 7425 0112 4

David McKay (2001) *American Politics and Society*. Fifth Edition. Oxford: Blackwell, 381, £11.99, ISBN 0 631 22416 5

Willard C. Mathias (2001) *America's Strategic Blunders: intelligence analysis and national security policy, 1936–1991*. University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 367, \$35.00, ISBN 0 271 02066 0

Frank Ninkovich (2000) *The United States and Imperialism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 320, £16.99, ISBN 1 57718 056 9

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal (2000) *Congress: a political-economic history of roll call voting*. New York: Oxford University Press, £14.99, ISBN 0 19 514242 X

Susanna Hornig Priest (2001) *A Grain of Truth: the media, the public and biotechnology*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 152, £14.95, ISBN 0 7425 0948 6

David Brian Robertson (2000) *Capital, Labor and State: the battle for American labor markets from the Civil War to the New Deal*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 296, \$22.95, ISBN 0 8476 9726 0

Nicholas Evan Sarantakes (2000) *Keystone: the American occupation of Okinawa and US-Japanese relations*. College Station TX: Texas A&M University Press, 287, ISBN 0 89096 969 8

Leonard Seabrooke (2001) *US Power in International Finance: the victory of dividends*. Basingstoke: Palgrave (formerly Macmillan Press), 301, £45.00, ISBN 0 333 92167 4

Mark A. Smith (2000) *American Business and Political Power: public opinion, elections and democracy*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 245, \$16.00, ISBN 0 226 764648

Richard Sobel (2001) *The Impact of Public Opinion on US Foreign Policy Since Vietnam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 288, £18.99, ISBN 0 19 510528 1

Curtis Stokes, Theresa Melendez and Genice Rhodes-Reed (eds) (2001) *Race in 21st Century America*. East Lansing MI: Michigan State University Press, 502, ISBN 0 87013 574 0

Gregory F. Treverton (2001) *Reshaping National Intelligence for an Age of Information*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 284, £24.95, ISBN 0 521 58096 X

Hanes Walton Jr (2000) *Reelection: William Jefferson Clinton as a native-son presidential candidate*. New York: Columbia University Press, 343, £31.50, ISBN 0 231 11552 0, £14.00 pbk ISBN 0 231 1153 9

Carl Watner and Wendy McElroy (eds) (2001) *Dissenting Electorate: those who refuse to vote and the legitimacy of their opposition*. Folkestone: Shelving, 135, £28.45, ISBN 0 7864 0874 X

M. Dane Waters (ed.) (2001) *The Battle over Citizen Lawmaking: the growing regulation of initiative and referendum*. Durham NC: Caroline Academic Press, 312, \$28.00, ISBN 0 89089 968 1

Cindy Williams (ed.) (2001) *Holding the Line: US Defense Alternatives for the 21st Century*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 296, £14.95, ISBN 0 262 73140 1

EUROPE

**THE CELTIC TIGER:
the myth of social
partnership in Ireland**
by **Kieran Allen**

Manchester: Manchester University Press,
2000. 216 pages, £13.99, ISBN 0 7190 5848 1

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research,
professional

Rating: *****

Reviewer: PETER SHIRLOW
(*University of Ulster, Coleraine*)

At last, a book that carefully exposes the allegories of Ireland's internationalizing economy. Kieran Allen's work, mobilized via a Marxist analysis, not only challenges the popular stories of wealth and job creation but in so doing provides a readable and coherent contemporary history of how the, oft quoted, Celtic Tiger was born. In so doing he challenges the neo-liberal account that Ireland's phenomenal growth was not merely based upon fiscal propriety, profit maximization and higher levels of investment. Instead he accurately argues that 'economic boom' was born out of global recession, the Americanization of the Irish economy, wage restraint, extended surplus extraction and public sector cutbacks.

In going beyond popular readings of Ireland's political economy Allen forcefully argues that class polarization has been achieved via labour and capital restructuring and the capacity of the Irish State and inward investors to keep wages low in relation to high levels of productivity. The Chapter on 'Who got the main share of the Celtic Tiger' is in itself a clearly presented account on how class forces have led to wealth redistribution among the already wealthy. In terms of political analysis this work also highlights how Ireland's mode of social partnership evolved not as a fair and effective system but as a vehicle which tamed unions and guaranteed the 'triumph' of Ireland's 'New Right'.

One mild criticism is that the book could have done more in explaining how a significant section of the Irish electorate has become supportive of an economic system, which has brought with it property inflation, greater economic dependency and higher levels of social instability. As the author argues the role of those who support his analysis is to promote the realities of alternatives to a society caught up in consumption, self-congratulatory celebration and a political system which supports the vandalizing of public services. The trick is to expose and sustain a culture of discontentment.

**THE FRENCH ROAD TO
EUROPEAN MONETARY UNION**

by **David J. Howarth**

Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000. 239 pages,
£42.50, ISBN 0 333 92096 1

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: C. H. FLOCKTON
(*University of Surrey*)

In this excellent and fairly exhaustive account of the French approach to EMU, the author moves from the late 1960s onwards, devoting large sections to a discussion of attempted reform of the International Monetary System (IMS), to the Snake in the 1970s, the EMS negotiations and ERM evolution over the 1980s, the negotiation of the EMU project and finally the route via Maastricht to eventual monetary union. Each section gives a very full account of the economic background, the proposals under discussion, French objectives and compromises, and it brings out clearly French motives, whether international monetary or European power motives, positive or negative monetary power motives. Abiding attitudes and objectives, such as the

POLAND AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

by **Karl Cordell (ed.)**

London: Routledge, 2000. 208 pages, £55.00,
0 415 23885 4

Reviewer: JACEK KUCHARCZYK
(*Institute of Public Affairs*)

The book is an attempt to present a panorama of the post 1989 transformations and changes in Polish politics and the political system in the context of

desire to combine international monetary influence with domestic room for manoeuvre, a strong preference for fixed exchange rate systems, totemic significance of trade surpluses and the desire to roll back US dollar monetary hegemony, reforming the IMS towards a more stable and symmetric system, are discussed: the work then examines how France sought to pursue these in successive international negotiations from the immediate post-Bretton Woods period to EMU. Power motives are clarified at each turn. In the early 1970s, France had sought IMS reform and there then followed the long period of French ambiguity towards European monetary arrangements through the Snake and the EMS, when a German standard was imposed and France sought to counter franc speculation, Bundesbank dominance and achieve a counterweight to German economic influence. The EMU project also had serious opponents in France and was clearly a hesitant, elite project. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, achieving a single currency was the only path for the replacement of the Bundesbank and to tie a united Germany into the EU, with France as an uneasily equal partner. This text will appeal to advanced students and researchers in equal measure and its references are excellent.

European integration process. The contributors, who are a group of political scientists from Wroclaw University, cover not only (as the title suggests) Poland's relations with the European Union but paint a broad picture of Polish party and electoral system (including political marketing), political culture, values and attitudes, foreign policy (with the EU, but also with Germany and Ukraine) as well as public administration reform. The book's underlying assumption is that the prospect of EU integration has been a driving

force for the systemic transformation and adjustment to 'European standards'. In this way the book tends to blur the distinction between modernization process and EU adjustment. On the contrary, the relation between the two processes is anything but unproblematic. Over the last decade Polish public debate has been evolving from the general concept of 'return to Europe' to EU accession requirements. The beginning of Poland's membership negotiations was a turning point in this country's relations with the European Union but the reader will be

hard pressed to find this fact reflected in the book. The period after 1998 has also been marked by a great increase in research and studies devoted to the adjustment (also available in English) and one would expect some reference to this work in the book. To sum up, while the interested reader will find here a wealth of information about Poland's political evolution, he or she should not expect to learn a lot about the negotiation process nor about Polish attitudes to the present-day dilemmas of EU integration.

**PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVES
IN EUROPE 1848–2000:
legislative recruitment and careers
in eleven European countries**
by **Heinrich Best and
Maurizio Cotta (eds)**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
547 pages, £55.00, ISBN 0 19 829793 9

Reviewer: JUDITH O'CARROLL
(*University of Exeter*)

The authors set out to provide a distinct, unique and theoretical focus for comparing countries in respect of legislative recruitment patterns. They aim to avoid the country by country 'patchwork' approach of using datasets and evidence from disparate sources. They attempt to address Otto Hintze's question of why Parliament in imperial Germany had not succeeded in gaining the 'ruling influence in the state' as it had done in Britain and France. Social and political background variables are treated as independent variables. Structural parameters are established, or there are seen to be weakening links between factions of political elites. The data cube on p. 19 allows the authors to integrate the dependent and

independent variables. It also allows examination of the connections between elite structure, regime stability and preferences of representative institutions. The authors argue that Hinze is correct in his assertion that there was a strong correlation between social background of legislators and their parliamentary party affiliations. This incapacitated the imperial Reichstag. Best and Cotta say it should be possible to verify this by a series of second order comparisons (in Rokkan's terms), incorporating cross-national and cross-temporal designs. Each chapter follows a formal structure, charting historical composition of elites, the continuity and discontinuity of legislatures through empirical data and discussion.

This is an ambitious text, which utilizes the work of Rokkan, Field and Huntington in the first and final chapters. However, there is little attempt to integrate and develop these aspects in the empirical chapters. The data cube is not operationalized in the country chapters, and the data charts produced in each chapter, lack clarity in their blocked black/white format. The chapters tend to appear as an eclectic collection of

national parliamentary legislatures, although Ilonski's chapter on 'Belated Professionalization in Hungary' and Jose Magone's chapter on Portugal do address the modernization material in the final chapter more explicitly.

The data cube presents a rigorous operationalization of the 'simple and refined schemes' of recruitment on p.10. However, it gives rise to a complexity of analysis, which makes the text more suitable for specialists in this field, rather than as a general text for students and teachers. The typology of legislators in the final

chapter does provide a useful tool for operationalizing, and integrating the twin concepts of democratization and professionalization, which is useful for undergraduate students and teachers. This typology, illuminating Huntington's work, provides a meaningful framework for the study of European parliamentary elites and those of other legislatures in the post-modern world.

Although not a fully integrated theoretical and empirical work, its writing style makes this text an essential reference book in its field.

<p>KOSOVO'S REFUGEES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION by Joanne van Selm (ed.)</p>
<p>London: Continuum, 2000. 239 pages, £15.99, ISBN 1085567 641 9</p>
<p><i>Readership:</i> Advanced undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research and professional</p> <p><i>Rating:</i> ****</p>
<p>Reviewer: EYTAN MEYERS (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)</p>

This volume describes the approaches of a number of EU governments – Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, Sweden, Austria, Italy and France – towards refugees from Kosovo. It aims to develop four main themes: (1) the influence of lessons learned from the reception and statuses accorded to displaced Bosnians on the treatment of displaced Kosovars; (2) the national debates on asylum and immigration within which this crisis took place and which influenced policy-making; (3) the wider theoretical issue, especially the questions of 'societal security' and

xenophobia; and (4) the way EU integration (or the lack of it) affected policy-making in the different states.

The book is well organized: each chapter details the policy of a particular state towards Kosovar refugees, as well as past policies towards asylum seekers in general, and Bosnian ones in particular. Most chapters also describe national debates on asylum and immigration, and offer some reference to the influence of EU integration. The wider theoretical issues are only dealt with in a few chapters.

From an empirical perspective, the book provides us with a wealth of data about state policies and public attitudes towards Kosovo's refugees. It also highlights some important findings. For example, while public opinion on the reception of and assistance to Kosovar refugees proved very positive, policy-makers underestimated this public show of solidarity. Another point emphasized is the failure of member states to reach an EU-level approach.

From a theoretical perspective, van Selm discusses both the usefulness of and the problems with the concept of

'societal insecurity'. Also, given the public sympathy for the refugees, she questions the importance of religion in the context of potential existential clashes in Europe.

But the theoretical implications could be further developed. Van Selm notes that 'we do not seek actively to engage in theory-making, but rather to lay open questions for further, theoretically and conceptually oriented, debate' (p.195). This is unfortunate. The case studies here could be better utilized to understand the obstacles faced by the EU in forming a

common foreign and immigration policy, and to indicate how multinational organizations succeed, or fail to cope, with problems of collective action. A more structured comparison of the policies of various states could help us understand the domestic and international determinants of refugee policy.

To conclude: this is a well-written, empirically rich book, which sheds light on important empirical findings and theoretical concepts. Hopefully it will provide the basis for the development of theories in this field.

**EAST CENTRAL EUROPE IN
THE MODERN WORLD:
the politics of the borderlands
from pre- to postcommunism**
by **Andrew C. Janos**

Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
438 pages, £37.50, ISBN 0 8047 3743 6

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates

Rating: ****

Reviewer: ROBIN T. PETTITT
(Unilever)

It is fair to say that doing justice to a millennium of East Central European political history within the confines of a single book is all but impossible. Yet this is exactly what Janos has attempted in writing this book. His narrative starts in the 8th century around the time when Christianity was starting to make its presence felt in the region and finishes on May 1 1998. The book begins by setting out the theoretical, temporal and spatial foundations of the study and then goes through the political history of the region in increasing detail.

His main theoretical assumptions are threefold. First that the region's political history can only be understood in the context of its location on the periphery of a wider world system. In this he takes his inspiration from prominent scholars of long term social change such as Braudel and Wallerstein. Secondly, he asserts that a central influence on the region's politics has been its continuing 'backwardness' in relations to the rich 'core' countries of the North Western part of Europe. Thus, the region's history has been dominated by a continuing and failing attempt to obtain standards of living similar to those of Western Europe and all the problems incurred as a result in terms of increased consumption at the expense of savings and thus investment. Finally, he notes that the region has for most of its modern existence been under the continuous and more or less direct control of powerful external hegemony, be it in the form of subservience to superior Western economies or the direct control of Ottoman, Czarist Russian, Nazi and Soviet empires.

Janos has been remarkably successful in his somewhat ambitious project and has written a fascinating and enlightening

account of East Central Europe's political history. He manages his impressive collection of sources with great acuity and never loses sight of his main points in the vastness of the topic under investigation. The only minor weakness is that he

adds little of interest to the literature on post-communist East Central Europe. However, this is a minor point which takes little away from what is by all measures an impressive study of East Central Europe.

**THE POLITICS OF ITALIAN
NATIONAL IDENTITY**

by **Gino Bedani and Bruce Haddock**

Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001.
303 pages, £40.00, ISBN 0 7083 1622 0

Readership: Postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: LUCIA QUAGLIA
(*University of Sussex*)

This is a multidisciplinary volume that focuses on some 'critical junctures' in the development of modern Italy and its national identity (or identities). The contributions to the volume focus on instances in which the conceptions of 'nation' were contested or problematic in Italy. Overall, the book spans the period from the Italian Risorgimento (19th century) to the rise of the Northern league and the membership of the European Economic and Monetary Union in the 1990s.

The eleven contributors cover a variety of topics providing fine-grained descriptions

and robust analyses. The individual contributions are tied together and set into context by the excellent introductory chapter written by the editors of the volume. The main argument of the book is that national identity is a discursive construction rather than a 'natural' fact. As the editors make clear in their introduction (p. 1), they analyse 'the Italian tradition as a "national text", open to multiple (and deeply contrasting) interpretations, but constituting a discursive framework which links groups and sub-cultures that may well have incompatible goal and values'.

This is a sophisticated reading, yet, readily accessible to non-cognoscenti, in particular scholars interested in Italy or, more generally, in the role of politics in building 'national' identity. Political scientists, sociologists and anthropologists alike will find in it very interesting cues. There are no gaps or parts missing in the volume, however, a proposal for further research, which springs from the most recent events in Italy, would be to explore the 'politics of Italian national identity' in the period of the Berlusconi governments.

**IMMIGRATION AND
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

by **Andrew Geddes**

Manchester: Manchester University Press,
2000. 208 pages, £40.00 ISBN 0 7190 5688 8,
£14.99 pbk, ISBN 0 7190 5689 6

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates

Rating: ****

Reviewer: FIORELLA DELL'OLIO
(*University of Birmingham*)

Geddes examines the manner in which the integration process in the EU is increasingly bound up with the issues of asylum and immigration, and it considers the way that these issues are now becoming part of the wider process of Europeanization. The book discusses four main points. First, it addresses the problem of the coexistence of both restrictive and expansionist tendencies in European immigration politics. Second, it acknowledges that the Europeanization of immigration becomes a major challenge for member states because of the new patterns of policy co-operation that it requires. Third, it analyses the practical difficulties associated with implementing immigration policies at the level of the nation-state. Finally, it examines the problem of representing immigrants' interests at EU level and their integration. The approach that Geddes adopts is critical towards the way in which the process of

Europeanization occurs with reference to immigration. In particular he implies that the 'fortress Europe' is one of the outcomes of single market liberalization. He further suggests that there is no correlation between restrictions and increasing and decreasing of immigration flow. The author nevertheless develops a positive approach towards the EU in terms of the way that it shapes 'debates about immigration control, immigrant inclusion and free movement of migrants because of specific policy competencies ceded by treaty' (p.33). It is in this context that Geddes develops his theory on the 'institutionalization' of EU migration policy, which is a key issue throughout the book. By applying a theory on policy-making patterns immigration and asylum are seen as a 'constituent' policy sector, in which the rules of the game remain a matter for negotiation. There are also two broader points in this book. First, Geddes stresses the connection between free movement, immigration and asylum, and secondly, he draws attention to the impact that institutions established to manage free movement have on the rights of migrants in EU member states. The book is particularly innovative in describing the new pattern of political mobilization at the EU level by groups seeking to represent migrants' interests in the EU and this is what makes the author's overall argument plausible. It is essential reading not only for scholars of European integration but also for undergraduate and graduate students of EU politics and public policy.

**THE FUTURE OF
THE GERMAN ECONOMY?
An end to the miracle?**

by **Rebecca Harding and
William E. Paterson (eds)**

Manchester: Manchester University Press,
2001. 159 pages, £11.99, ISBN 0 7190 6010 9

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research,
professional

Rating: ****

Reviewer: MARTIN MARCUSSEN
(University of Copenhagen, Denmark)

The short answer to this book's main question: 'What future for the German economy?' is 'bright'. Rhineland Capitalism or Modell Deutschland with its enabling state, independent central bank, stability-oriented economic policy, networked financial structures, export-based growth and co-decision making is far from static. On the contrary, it has developed continuously over decades and centuries and, historically, proven to be very adaptive and innovative. Current challenges to the model emanating from globalization, Europeanization and unification are serious and require change. However, pressure for change does not necessarily redirect the German model towards the Anglo-Saxon model, nor are external shocks something new to the German political economy. The authors of the book recognize that there are serious

problems related to the rigid German labour market and that the unemployment problem remains unresolved under Chancellor Schröder, but with one exception only they also emphasize the innovative forces immanent in the institutional set-up of the German economy. Thus, the German model is there to stay, but it is always in a process of incremental change. This all indicates the soundness of the model, the authors hold, in sharp contrast to the more static British economic and political institutions.

Clearly, everybody who is familiar with the so-called 'joint decision-making trap' and has followed the international media in recent years and read about the economic crisis in Germany are puzzled by such an optimistic tone. However, as the editors conclude, even in a state of so-called 'crisis', Germany remains the largest exporter in the world, it has consistently had low inflation since 1995 and its balance of payments is in massive surplus. All this, despite the fact that specifically unification has raged the economy. The only way to understand this, the authors hold, is to study how change in a consensus-society takes place and how deep-rooted Germany's political-economic institutional structures really are.

This book is thought provoking, clearly written, stringently edited and well researched. A must for everybody interested in globalization and Germany.

Europe

New books received

Gill Allwood and Khursheed Wadia (2000) *Women and Politics in France 1958–2000*. London: Routledge, 270, £17.99, ISBN 0 415 184932

Malcolm Anderson with Eberhard Bort (2001) *The Frontiers of the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave (formerly Macmillan Press), 243, £42.50, ISBN 0 333 80435 X

Sheldon Anderson (2001) *A Cold War in the Soviet Bloc: Polish-East German relations 1945–1962*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 332, £18.50, ISBN 0 8133 3783 6

Bertrand Badie (2000) *The Imported State: the westernization of the Political Order*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press (distributed outside North America by Cambridge University Press), 278, £11.95, ISBN 0 8047 3767 3

Stephen Barnour and Cathie Carmichael (eds) (2000) *Language and Nationalism in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 319, £40.00, ISBN 0 19 823671 9

Werner Bonefeld (ed.) (2001) *The Politics of Europe: monetary union and class*. Basingstoke: Palgrave (formerly Macmillan Press), 208, £42.50, ISBN 0 333 92010 4

Simon Bromley (ed.) (2001) *Governing the European Union*. London: Sage, 336, £15.99, ISBN 0 7619 5461 9

Franco Cardini (2001) *Europe and Islam*. Oxford: Blackwell, 248, £16.99, ISBN 0 631 22637 0

Lars-Erik Cederman (ed.) (2001) *Constructing Europe's Identity: the external dimension*. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 277, £46.50, ISBN 1 55587 872 5

Maria Green Cowles and Michael Smith (eds) (2001) *The State of the European Union Volume 5: risks, reform, resistance and revival*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 488, £45.00, ISBN 0 19 829757 2

Kenneth Dyson and Kevin Featherstone (1999) *The Road to Maastricht*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 882, £25.00, ISBN 0 19 829638 X

Stephen George and Ian Bache (2001) *Politics in the European Union*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 474, £16.99, ISBN 0 19 878225 X

Ronald Hall, Alasdair Smith and Loukas Tsoukalis (eds) (2001) *Competitiveness and Cohesion in EU Policies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 385, £48.00, ISBN 0 19 829522 7

Astrid Hedin (2001) *The Politics of Social Networks: interpersonal trust and institutional change in post-communist East Germany*. Lund: Lund University, 288, ISBN 91 88306 27 5

Knut Heidar (2001) *Norway: elites on trial*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 209, £16.95, ISBN 0 8133 3200 1

Ruth Henig and Simon Henig (2000) *Women and Political Power: Europe since 1945*. London: Routledge, 127, £9.99, ISBN 0 415 19852 6

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (2001) *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 267, £18.95, ISBN 0 7425 1020 4

Dora Kostakopoulou (2001) *Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 223, £40.00, ISBN 0 7190 5998 4

Paul G. Lewis (ed.) (2001) *Party Development and Democratic Change in Post-Communist Europe*. London: Frank Cass, 230, £18.50, ISBN 0 7146 5155 9

John Loughlin (2001) *Subnational Democracy in the European Union: challenges and opportunities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 435, £40.00, ISBN 0 19 829679 7

Ian Manners and Richard G. Whitman (eds) (2001) *The Foreign Policies of European Union Member States*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 295, £14.99, ISBN 0 7190 5779 5

Barbara Marshall (2000) *Europe in Change: the new Germany and migration in Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 186, £14.99, ISBN 0 7190 4336 0

David S. Mason and James R. Kluegel (2001) *Marketing Democracy: changing opinion about inequality and politics in East Central Europe*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 301, £18.95, ISBN 0 7425 0153 1

David McKay (2001) *Designing Europe: comparative lessons from the Federal Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 178, £40.00, ISBN 0 19 924213 5

David McKay (1999) *Federalism and the European Union: a political economy perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Jan-Werner Muller (2000) *Another Country: German intellectuals, unification and national identity*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 310, £20.00, ISBN 0 300 08388 2

Reinhard Rürup (ed.) (2000) *The Problem of Revolution in Germany, 1789–1989*. Oxford: Berg, 224, £45.00, ISBN 1 85973 276 3

Richard Sakwa and Anne Stevens (eds) (2000) *Contemporary Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 283, £15.99, ISBN 0 333 77270 9

Jeffrey R. Schnapp (ed.) [translated by Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Olivia E. Sears and Maria G. Stampino] (2000) *A Primer of Italian Fascism*. Lincoln NB: University of Nebraska Press, 416, £16.95, ISBN 0 8032 9268 6

Gerald Schneider and Mark Aspinwall (eds) (2001) *The Rules of Integration: the institutionalist approach to European studies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 229, £14.99, ISBN 0 7190 5799 X

ASIA-PACIFIC

CAPITAL, COERCION, AND CRIME: bossism in the Philippines by John T. Sidel
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Stanford: Stanford University, 1999. 248 pages, \$19.95, ISBN 0 8047 3746 0
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Reviewer: MARK R. THOMPSON (<i>University of Erlangen-Nuremberg</i>)

This book is a paradigmatic example of a rewarding country case study: assiduously researched with five field studies, extremely well written, theoretically sophisticated, and comparative in perspective (in particular the introduction and conclusion can be recommended to comparativists willing to read a study on such an 'obscure' location). Sidel pioneers our understanding of 'bossism' which has been curiously overlooked by those who work within the clientelist framework dominant in studies of Philippine politics. Provincial warlords and political clans monopolize coercive and economic resources to manipulate elections and distort social relations. Sidel argues that bossism became firmly rooted in the Philippines due chiefly to the peculiarities

of American colonialism: by establishing a 'colonial democracy' rather than an extensive bureaucracy at an early stage of capitalist development, US policy allowed local elites to manipulate the poverty and insecurity of the many to win control of the state apparatus through electoral competition which they used to accumulate ever more wealth and power. Sidel attacks the theory of the 'weak' state advanced by Migdal and others, pointing out that it is through the control of the state that bossist monopolies are created, not the other way around. Sidel's perspective is decidedly pessimistic: by concentrating on bossism, the (apparently paradoxical) importance of democratic values and moral appeals invoked by reformist movements to mobilize various 'people powers' against corrupt and/or dictatorial presidents in the Philippines is downplayed. But Sidel's fine study will be of great interest to students of the mafiosi in Italy and Russia, the 'godfathers' of Thailand, the cocaine barons of Colombia, the US urban machine mayors, the hacienda owners in the Mexican state of Chiapas, and other cases of bossism.

THE POLITICS OF POLICY-MAKING IN SINGAPORE

by Ho Khai Leong

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. 269 pages, £15.99, ISBN 0 19 588767 0

<i>Readership:</i> Advanced undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research
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<i>Rating:</i> ***

Reviewer: RICHARD COMMON (<i>London Guildhall University</i>)
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As the title suggests, this book provides an important insight into the closed world of policy-making in Singapore by focusing on its key political institutions and the interactions therein. As the author suggests, there is a 'continual quest for better accounts of the decision-making process in the city-state' (p. 220). Although the book steers clear of advocating Western-style pluralism in Singapore, what is implicit is the argument that an increasingly better educated and sophisticated citizenry is bringing pressure to bear on the political elite in terms of policy-making. In particular, the

author analyses the main inputs into the Singaporean policy process including the role of prime-ministerial leadership, the legislature, the bureaucracy and the citizenry. Therefore, the book provides a comprehensive analysis of contemporary Singapore politics, which also has a wide-ranging resonance for scholars of developing states in East and Southeast Asia.

Although the author is based at the National University of Singapore, what is notable about the book is the lack of first-hand data from interviews with either

politicians or officials. However, students of Singapore politics are unlikely to be surprised – research access to policy institutions is notoriously difficult. This is not necessarily a weakness of the book, but further insight might have been gleaned by talking to some opposition politicians beyond the confines of the dominant People's Action Party, for instance. However, the book is an important contribution to our understanding of Singapore, but those who equate economic success with democratization are likely to be dismayed by its findings.

Asia-Pacific

New books received

Robert D. Blackwill and Paul Dibb (eds) (2000) *America's Asian Alliances*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 143, £29.95, ISBN 0 262 052285 3

Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller (eds) (2000) *The Rise of China: an international security reader*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 296, ISBN 0 262 52276 4

Anita Chan, Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet and Jonathan Under (1999) *Transforming Asian Socialism: China and Vietnam compared*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 247, ISBN 0 8476 9847 5

Larry Diamond and Byung-Kook Kim (eds) (2000) *Consolidating Democracy in South Korea*. Boulder CO: Lynne Reinner, 259, £44.95, ISBN 1 55587 848 2

Lowell Dittmer, Haruhiro Fukui and Peter N. S. Lee (2000) *Informal Politics in East Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 329, £13.95, ISBN 0 521 64538 7

Richard Louis Edmonds (2000) *Managing the Chinese Environment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, viii + 326, £16.99, ISBN 0 19 829635 5

Rosemary Foot (2000) *Rights Beyond Borders: the global community and the struggle over human rights in China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 296, £12.95, ISBN 0 19 8297769

David S. G. Goodman (2000) *Social and Political Change in Revolutionary China*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 416, \$24.95, ISBN 0 7425 0865 X

A. James Gregor (2000) *A Place in the Sun: Marxism and Fascism in China's long revolution*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 231, £34.95, ISBN 0 8133 3782 8

Shaohua Hu (2000) *Explaining Chinese Democracy*. Westport CT: Praeger, 204, ISBN 0 275 96553 8

Jing Huang (2000) *Factionalism in Chinese Communist Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 458, £40.00, ISBN 0 521 62284 0

Hiromitsu Ishi (2000) *Making Fiscal Policy in Japan: economic effects and institutional settings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 352, £45.00, ISBN 0 19 924071 X

Hiromitsu Ishi (2001) *The Japanese Tax System*. Third Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Solomon M. Karmel (2000) *China and the People's Liberation Army: great power or struggling developing state?* New York: St Martin's Press, 229, ISBN 0 312 22389 7

Lisa A. Keister (2000) *Chinese Business Groups: the structure and impact of interfirm relations during economic development.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 234, £12.99, ISBN 0 19 5920759

Mushtaq H. Khan and Jomo K. S. (eds) (2000) *Rents, Rent-Seeking and Economic Development: theory and evidence in Asia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 338, £15.95, ISBN 0 521 78866 8

Linsu Kim and Richard R. Nelson (2000) *Technology, Learning and Innovation: experiences of newly industrialising economies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 377, £14.95, ISBN 0 521 77987 1

Gillian Joh and Ooi Giok Ling (eds) (2001) *State-Society Relations in Singapore.* Singapore: Oxford University Press, 266, £14.99, ISBN 0 19 5885155

Rose J. Lee and Cal Clark (eds) (2000) *Democracy and the Status of Women in East Asia.* Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 222, £46.50, ISBN 1 55587 888 1

David Tawei Lee (2000) *The Making of the Taiwan Relations Act: twenty years in retrospect.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 224, £21.99, ISBN 0 19 592209 3

Michael Leifer (ed.) (2000) *Asian Nationalism.* London: Routledge, 210, £17.99, ISBN 0 415 23285 6

Linda Low (1998) *The Political Economy of a City-State: government-made Singapore.* Singapore: Oxford University Press, 335, £15.99, ISBN 0 19 5883624

Xiaobo Lü (2000) *Cadres and Corruption: the organisational involvement of the Chinese Communist Party.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 368, £35.00, ISBN 0 8047 3958 7

Duncan McCargo (2000) *Politics and the Press in Thailand: media machinations.* London: Routledge, 212, £55.00, ISBN 0 415 23376 3

Malcolm H. Murfett, John N. Miksic, Brian P. Farrell and Chiang Ming Shun (1999) *Between Two Oceans: a military history of Singapore from the first settlement to final British withdrawal.* Singapore: Oxford University Press, 415, £5.00, ISBN 0 19 588482 5

Thant Myint-U (2001) *The Making of Modern Burma.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 290, £15.95, ISBN 0 521 79914 7

P. W. Preston (2000) *Understanding Modern Japan: a political economy of development, culture and global power.* London: Sage, 256, £14.99, ISBN 0 7619 6196 8

Gerlad Segal and David S. G. Goodman (2000) *Towards Recovery in Pacific Asia.* London: Routledge, x + 148, £16.99, ISBN 0 415 22354 7

Richard Sims (2001) *Japanese Political History since the Meiji Renovation 1868–2000.* London: Hurst, 419, £14.95, ISBN 1 85065 452 2

Robert H. Taylor (ed.) (2001) *Burma: political economy under military rule.* London: Hurst, 174, £14.95, ISBN 1 85065 547 2

Frederic Wakeman, Jr and Richard Louis Edmonds (2000) *Re-appraising Republican China.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, viii + 209, ISBN 0 19 829617 7

Ming Wan (2001) *Human Rights in Chinese Foreign Relations.* Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 200, £24.50, ISBN 0 8122 3597 5

Susan Whiting (2001) *Power and Wealth in Rural China: the political economy of institutional change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 361, £40.00, ISBN 0 521 62322 7

OTHER AREAS

<p>REFLECTIVE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: views from the south by J. S. Wessels and J. C. Pauw (eds)</p>

<p>Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2000. 512 pages, £20.99, ISBN 0 19 571504 7</p>
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<p><i>Readership:</i> Postgraduates, professional</p>

<p><i>Rating:</i> ***</p>

<p>Reviewer: JOHN CRAIG <i>(University of Leeds)</i></p>
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This book is written for all of those involved in the study and practice of public administration, with the aim of stimulating critical reflection on a range of philosophical issues relating to the question of 'What is good government?' (p. 1). The eighteen chapters are divided into four sections which focus on contextual issues, ethics, epistemology and methodology. At the beginning of each of these is a short introduction that serves to highlight the main themes of the

papers and establish a sense of overall coherence.

Although it is sub-titled 'Views from the South', the book might have been more accurately label 'Views from South Africa', since most of the contributors are based in that country and many of the Chapters are concerned with issues that have arisen there. This should not be interpreted as a criticism, since many of these raise important questions over the relationship between the management of public resources and social justice that have a global relevance.

Overall, the book does a good job of raising some important, and sometimes neglected, issues. Reflecting the diversity of the readership to which it is addressed, the editors recognizes that 'it may not be easy reading for everybody', but suggests that it will reward those who are 'satisfied with chewing and digesting little bits at a time' (p.5). Others may choose to pick out the chapters which appeal to their particular tastes and find this equally rewarding.

<p>INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN RUSSIA by Neil Robinson (ed.)</p>

<p>Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000. xii + 235 pages, £42.50, ISBN 0 333 73525 0</p>
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<p><i>Readership:</i> Undergraduates, advanced undergraduates, academic/research</p>
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<p><i>Rating:</i> ***</p>

<p>Reviewer: ANASTASIA NESVETAILOVA <i>(University of Wales, Aberystwyth)</i></p>

Ten years after the breakdown of the USSR, it is essential that we consider new theoretical currents in the study of post-socialism. For students of Russian politics in particular, it is also time to draw lessons from the nine years of the Yeltsin's rule. This collection, edited by Neil Robinson, aims both to challenge and contribute to, theories of new institutionalism, emphasizing the significance and longevity of informal structures, relations and patterns of conduct for processes of politico-economic and social change (pp. 1-3). The contributors provide thorough chronological accounts of the emergence

and evolution of the Russian presidency, parliamentarism, judiciary, regional government structures, oligarchy, ministries, and civil society throughout 1991–98. Within this wide scope of analytical focus, the volume searches for a critical vision of the significance of key political players, as well as institutionalized patterns of elite and inter-elite liaisons, societal traditions, behaviour, and historical legacy in shaping the trajectory of Russian transformation. For political scientists, the book opens up an illuminating narrative of the structure/agency *problematique* in the post-Soviet context,

supported with plentiful data (particularly interesting are articles by N. Robinson on the Presidency, R. Sakwa on State and Society and M. Wyman on Public Opinion). For a student audience, theoretical accounts are accessibly presented and empirical evidence thoughtfully structured. While advanced researchers would inevitably find some materials repetitive, conceptual implications of ‘interpenetrated crises of politics and society’ (p. 9) raised in the book, present important long-term queries that need to be elaborated upon in light of the recent changes in Russian political leadership.

**THE SOVIET ELITE FROM
LENIN TO GORBACHEV:
the central committee and its
members, 1917–1991**

by **Evan Mawdsley and
Stephen White**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
323 pages, £25.00, ISBN 0 19 829738 6

Reviewer: **JAMES WHITE**
(*University of Glasgow*)

The declared premise of this book is that the elite ruling group of the Soviet Union was the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The authors analyse the composition of the Central Committee in terms of age-group, nationality and social origin through a series of chronological periods: the Revolution and Civil War, early and late Stalinism, the Second World War, renewal under Khrushchev, stagnation under Brezhnev, and renewal and eventual collapse under Mikhail Gorbachev. Tables of statistics are enlivened by occasional case studies of individual Central Committee members, some of which draw on material gained in interviews. Among the

authors’ findings are that, contrary to what many historians have maintained, the revolutionary elite which carried out the Russian revolution was not replaced by a cohort of organizers, which formed the basis of Stalin’s support.

It remains unclear, however, how the Central Committee relates to the Soviet elite. In the first part of the book the Central Committee is said to be the elite; but further on it emerges that there are wider definitions of the Soviet elite, and in one place the authors speak of ‘the level of the political elite that was represented on the Central Committee’. This has important implications, because it means that what is true of the Central Committee is not necessarily true of the Soviet elite as a whole. One notes, for example such a divergence in the question of hereditary privilege: that gained by members of the Central Committee was not passed on to their children (p. 260); but that enjoyed by the wider elite, the *nomenklatura*, was (p. 292). In terms of the history of the CPSU Central Committee itself, however, this is a very useful work.

**INDIA AND PAKISTAN:
the cost of conflict and
the benefits of peace**

by **Mahmud Ali Durrani**

Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001.
xvii + 96 pages, £7.99, ISBN 0 19 5796039

Reviewer: YUNAS SAMAD
(*University of Bradford*)

This book tracks two diplomatic initiatives led by the United States which worked behind the scenes trying to improve Indo-Pak relations and prevent the Kashmir conflict from going nuclear. The Balusa Group, of which Durrani was a member, is part of this wider process, trying to break the dip-lomatic logjam, by the bringing together of influential elites, from the two countries, to experiment with fresh ideas.

Durrani's central argument is that India and Pakistan are on the verge of a disastrous nuclear arms race, which would

be economically crippling and still leave open the possibility of an accidental nuclear conflict or nuclear war by miscalculation. While his estimation of the dangers are correct he over estimates the economic costs of the arms race for India, which is better placed to take such a burden than Pakistan. These grave facts are then contrasted with a more positive scenario based on a peace dividend. The author feels that Indo-Pakistan relations can and must be improved and proposes a number of confidence building measures that would have an immediate effect.

Durrani's, influential member of the Pakistan military Establishment, journey from dyed in the wool chauvinist to an advocate of peace is nothing short of spectacular. It reflects the deep-seated concern and the search for alternative strategies, within the high command, which is deeply perturbed with the nuclearization of the South Asian arms race.

**DEMOCRACY AND THE STATE:
welfare, secularism
and development in
contemporary India**

by **Niraja Gopal Jayal**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
299 pages, £10.99, ISBN 0 19 565612 1

Readership: Postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ****

Reviewer: VIJAY KAPUR
(*Seattle Central Community College*)

This book aims to develop an ambitious paradigm to understand the operational parameters of the Indian nation-state that emerged after independence in 1947. Jayal outlines the philosophical, political, religious and regional contradictions that influenced its evolution into

an apparatus where democratic values were integrated into an overarching philosophy of paternalistic administrative governance based on perceptions of 'national interest' and the 'larger collective good', rather than a modernizing philosophy where equitable exercise of the attributes of citizenship was encouraged and guaranteed to all. This conceptual construct is examined through case studies examining the Indian state's lacklustre performance in managing famine relief in affected parts of Orissa, assessing the rationale for the accelerated parliamentary passage of debatable legislative safeguards for exercise of Muslim personal law in matters of divorce, and evaluating the patchy and perfunctory record in managing developmental initiatives in the Narmada Valley Project.

Jayal's analysis is well grounded in theory and empirically relevant. However, her

allusion to continual efforts of elites and self-serving interest groups to dominate the public agenda can be interpreted as an indication of the conflict-laden maturing of the democratic process, rather than a manifestation of the weakness of the Indian nation-state. Perhaps a holistic but situationally valid construct of Indian

democracy, incorporating components of culture, history, ideology, philosophy, political statecraft and religion, will now evolve as a corollary to Jayal's laudable effort and help inculcate better understanding of the complex but inherently particularistic nature of the contemporary Indian democratic polity and society.

COMMUNISM AND ITS COLLAPSE

by **Stephen White**

London: Routledge, 2000. 91 pages, £9.99,
ISBN 0 415 17180 6

Readership: Undergraduates

Rating: ***

Reviewer: LUKE MARCH
(*University of Edinburgh*)

This slim line but factually dense text aims at an introductory historical overview of the main features, evolution and demise of the communist states, focusing on the USSR and Eastern Europe. Commencing with an introduction to communist ideology and the role it performed in states which professed it, the author surveys communist development in a broadly chronological fashion, dealing more briefly with the genesis of communist regimes in the first two chapters. Then with lengthier treatment of their long decline and the beginnings of transition in chapters 4–8. In chapter 9 the author

posits several competing explanations for the collapse, focusing on the role of ideology, the national question and economic factors. This book's strengths include its wealth of empirical and anecdotal detail (such as a description of the Ceaucescu regime as 'socialism in one family'). It covers a wide range of countries very economically, and raises some important questions over the weaknesses of communist rule and the possibilities of reform. However, the rather descriptive style has its drawbacks, and the reader may find the nature of communism and the reasons for its collapse dealt with rather elusively in this text. A more contextual introduction would have helped, focusing more on a critique of communist ideals and structures than a description of various party programmes. The role and legacy of the 1917 revolution is featured curiously tangentially in this analysis. Certainly this is a very useful introduction, but it only partially amounts to the challenging interpretation of debates implied by its cover.

MY SIX YEARS WITH GORBACHEV
by **Anatoly Chernyaev**
(translated and edited by **Robert English and Elizabeth Tucker**)

University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. 437 pages, \$32.50, ISBN 0 271 02029 6

Readership: Undergraduates, advanced undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: **LUKE MARCH**
(*University of Edinburgh*)

This account of the evolution of *perestroika* is not just a memoir by Gorbachev's chief foreign policy aide Chernyaev, but also a biography of a 'great reformer' and a volume of immense historical interest. It is comprised largely of journal extracts and written records, and is a fuller and more objective record than provided by any protagonist to date, focusing in detail on the foreign and domestic policy process and Gorbachev's political evolution. It is far from simply descriptive, and the

author reflects repeatedly on Soviet leaders' merits and defects and the mistakes and successes of perestroika. A sympathetic but far from uncritical picture of Gorbachev emerges, rather in opposition to the contemporary consensus, and there are many new insights. The Soviet leadership in 1985 apparently saw the country as on the verge of collapse, while Gorbachev's emphasis on democratization emerged far earlier than commonly thought. Gorbachev's more radical plans were often blunted by internal opposition and Western scepticism, and his awareness of Soviet national grievances was greater than he is generally credited with. One fascinating subject of this volume is the painful re-evaluation of Soviet dogmas, and Chernyaev is very critical of Gorbachev's inability to let go of the Baltic states, the Party and socialism, as his advisors continually argued. This is a nuanced and complex account, written in an exhilarating style. The 'feeling of approaching catastrophe' (p. 343) is conveyed particularly grippingly, as is Gorbachev's gradual loss of control. An absolute must for all wishing to understand Gorbachev.

REFORMING THE STATE:
fiscal and welfare reform in
post-Socialist countries

by **Janos Kornai, Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman (eds)**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 299 pages, £15.95, ISBN 0 521 77488 8

Readership: Postgraduates, academic/research, professional

Rating: ***

Reviewer: **VLADIMIR GEL'MAN**
(*European University, St. Petersburg*)

This substantial volume resulted from a seminar series held at Collegium

Budapest. It draws together eight chapters by Eastern and Western economists and political scientists. The topics of the chapters cover crucial areas of fiscal and welfare policy in Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Georgia. The overall assessment of the first stage of policy reforms in post-Communist countries is based upon various issues and perspectives, such as labor market adjustment (Gimpelson), establishing of tax administrations (Tanzi), the impact of institutional design and policy choices (Haggard, Kaufman, and Shugart), leadership strategies (Greskovits), public health (Kornai) and pension system (Hausner). The lessons from the case of Sweden for Eastern Europe (Lindbeck)

also might be considered in some sense as a post-Socialist, although not post-Communist, experience.

The volume makes thoughtful contributions to the ongoing debate on the politics of economic adjustment. The authors focus on the impact of economic crises, consequences of institutional reforms, and the role of those interest groups that are 'losers' and 'winners' in the policy-making process. As the chapters show, East European experience adds a lot

of stimuli for new discussions. Despite its title, the volume pays less attention to the problem of 'stateness', which seems to be a major obstacle for effective policy reforms. However, the decline of state capacity, especially salient in the post-Soviet states, may limit the efficiency of policy measures, even if their economic necessity is obvious. Clear evidence for that is provided in the chapter on failure of tax policies in such weak states as Russia and Georgia. This issue remains largely overlooked in the collection.

**TWENTY FIRST CENTURY
CANADIAN DIVERSITY**

by **Stephen E. Nancoo (ed.)**

Ontario: Canadian Educators' Press, 2000.
383 pages, \$39.96, ISBN 9 781896 191089

Readership: Undergraduates,
professional

Rating: **

Reviewer: PASCALE DUFOUR
(*Carleton University, Montreal*)

This book on Canadian diversity of 18 chapters, written by 20 authors, from academic and non-academic horizons, could be separated in two parts.

On one side, Canada looks like Candide's best world. Diversity, which is defined mainly as ethnic and sexual diversity, is not only good news for the future but Canada seems to deal quite well with it, from federalism to work place, through family and cultural pluralism.

On the other side, we find chapters where the questions raised by diversity are the main focus. One of the chapters treats the relationship between diversity and mass media; others focus on education,

women, police functions, social policies, conception of human rights and definitions of ethical principles in the context of diversity. Some solutions to improve the Canadian situation in those fields are also proposed by authors. If the best world is not for today, it could be for tomorrow.

The purpose of the book is not explicitly clear but it could have been written for strangers who hesitate to immigrate to Canada, professionals or civil servants working in the immigration field who have lost their confidence in the capacity of the country to address diversity problems. Or those who are sceptical about Canadian multiculturalism or Quebec nationalists who are studying federalist position on the question (the linguistic diversity of the country is astonishingly absent from the debate). For sure, this book is not a comprehensive political analyses explaining current conflicts in Canadian society on the question of immigration and diversity, or a source of empirical data, quantitative or qualitative, that shows from a sociological point of view what diversity means for people in the concrete world or what are forms it takes.

**IS APARTHEID REALLY DEAD?
Pan-Africanist working-class
cultural critical perspectives**

by **Julian Kunnie**

Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2000.
272 pages, £24.50, ISBN 0 8133 3758 5

Readership: Academic/research,
professional

Rating: **

Reviewer: PAUL WILLIAMS
(*University of Wales, Aberystwyth*)

Kunnie's book attempts to counter triumphalist accounts of South Africa's ongoing transition from an explicitly 'Black Consciousness working class' perspective. It is also a call to arms (literally) for South Africa's black working class, especially women, to organize themselves into a revolutionary movement capable of forcing socialism back onto the country's political agenda. Kunnie argues that ANC elites have sold out their working class and rural constituents by supporting the 'neo-colonial' economic policies of the former apartheid regime. This sell-out

**REAPING THE WHIRLWIND:
the Taliban movement in
Afghanistan**

by **Michael Griffin**

London: Pluto Press, 2001. 304 pages, £19.99,
ISBN 0 7453 1274 8

Reviewer: AMALENDU MISRA
(*University of Sussex*)

This book is what it claims to be: the first comprehensive profile of the Taliban in the twenty-first century. Using the cold war politics and the fractured political process that followed as the backdrop, Griffin has developed a confident and authoritative account of contemporary Afghan politics.

has not been confined to the ANC in South Africa but is conspicuous across most of Africa's post-independence governments. In this sense at least, Kunnie makes an interesting contribution to the transition literature.

However, the book suffers from several serious problems. First, Kunnie's attempts to make capitalism synonymous with white power are unconvincing. Evidence of class-based rifts within South Africa's white population is skirted over, while blacks failing to conform to Pan-African and socialist principles are dismissed as 'unconscientized' agents of white power. Second, Kunnie's notion of civilizations (African and Western) is too racially purist and denies the possibility of fluid membership. For Kunnie, the idea of white Africans is an oxymoron; there are only white settlers. Third, the author often exaggerates the contemporary levels of support for parties espousing Pan-Africanism, Black Consciousness, and his preferred solution of armed revolt. For these reasons – and others – the book is unlikely to stimulate the desired effect.

The scope and subject material has been handled very well by the author. In fact Griffin captures the emergence and rise of the self-styled 'soldiers of Islam' with cadence, candour, wit and erudition. Although written in a journalistic style, the book nonetheless provides an intelligent and accessible narrative of the complex and enigmatic political ideology of the Taliban which is associated with homophobic oppression at home and Islamic extremism abroad.

There is a certain seductiveness in Griffin's arguments when he introduces the readers to the role of external actors in fermenting domestic political chaos, in the years following the Soviet withdrawal

from Afghanistan. What emerges is the following: the humanitarian disaster in Afghanistan is the handiwork of obstinate Taliban authorities and the sole remaining recalcitrant super power the

United States. Given the current state of affairs, Griffin's conclusion is depressingly familiar. Afghanistan is just another country condemned to remain in the armpits of international society.

Other Areas

New books received

Rita Abrahamsen (2001) *Disciplining Democracy: development discourse and good governance in Africa*. London: Zed, 183, £14.95, ISBN 1 85649 859 X

African Development Bank (2001) *African Development Report 2001: fostering food governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 270, £15.99, ISBN 0 19 8297157

Iqbal Akhund (2000) *Trial and Error: the advent and eclipse of Benazir Bhutto*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 364, £7.99, ISBN 0 19 5791606

Shahid M. Amin (2000) *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: a reappraisal*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 327, £7.99, ISBN 0 19 579398 6

Sarah Ashwin (ed.) (2000) *Gender, State and Society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*. London: Routledge, 176, £15.99, ISBN 0 415 23883 8

Philip Boobbyer (2000) *The Stalin Era*. London: Routledge, 250, £14.99, ISBN 0 415 18298 0

Peter Calvert and Susan Calvert (2001) *Politics and Society in the Third World*. Harlow: Pearson Education, 316, ISBN 0 582 43724 5

David R. Cameron and Graham White (2000) *Cycling into Saigon: the conservative transition in Ontario*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 224, \$75.00, ISBN 0 7748 0813 6

Roderic Ai Camp (1999) *Politics in Mexico: the decline of authoritarianism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 287, £17.99, ISBN 0 19 512412 X

Youssef M. Choueiri (2000) *Arab Nationalism: A history*. Oxford: Blackwells, 280, £15.99, ISBN 0 631 21729 0

Lenard J. Cohen (2001) *Serpent in the Bosom: the rise and fall of Slobodan Milošević*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 456, £21.50 hbk, ISBN 0 8133 2902 7

Padma Desai and Todd Idson (2001) *Work without Wages: Russia's nonpayment crisis*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 268, £20.50, ISBN 0 262 04184 7

Gideon Doron and Michael Harris (2000) *Public Policy and Electoral Reform: the case of Israel*. Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 144, \$45.00, ISBN 0 7391 0134 X

Elisabeth J. Friedman (2000) *Unfinished Transitions: women and the gendered development of democracy in Venezuela, 1936–1996*. University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 324, \$22.50, ISBN 0 271 02024 5

Daniel Gavron (2000) *The Kibbutz: awakening from utopia*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 288, \$24.95, ISBN 0 8476 9526 3

Robert B. Horowitz (2001) *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 429, £40.00, ISBN 0 521 79166 9

Wayne Hudson and John Kane (eds) (2000) *Rethinking Australian Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 274, £14.95, ISBN 0 521 59670 X

Heyward Isham with Natan M. Shklyar (2001) *Russia's Fate through Russian Eyes: voices of the new generation*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 447, £18.50, ISBN 0 8133 3866 2

José Itzigsohn (2000) *Developing Poverty: the state, labor market deregulation, and the informal economy in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic*. University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 197, \$18.95, ISBN 0 271 02028 8

R. W. Johnson and David Welsh (eds) (1998) *Ironic Victory: liberalism in post-liberation South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 432, £19.99, ISBN 0 19 571684 1

Ashok Kapur (2001) *Pokhran and Beyond: India's nuclear weapon capacity*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 286, £18.99, ISBN 0 19 569435

Sergei N. Khrushchev (2000) *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower*. University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 765, \$54.95, ISBN 0 271 01927 1

Safdar Mahmood (2000) *Pakistan: political roots and development*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 450, £9.99, ISBN 0 19 5793730

Sherbaz Mazari (ed.) (1999) *A Journey to Disillusionment*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 678, £15.99, ISBN 0 19 579076 6

Maureen Appel Molat and Fen Osler Hampson (eds) (2000) *Canada among Nations 2000: vanishing borders*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 353, £12.99, ISBN 0 19 541540 X

D. van Niekerk, G. van der Waldt and A. Jonker (2001) *Governance, Politics and Policy in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 252, £16.99, ISBN 0 19 571853 4

Haig Patapan (2000) *Judging Democracy: the new politics of the High Court of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 214, £14.95, ISBN 0 521 77428 4

Shinder Purewal (2000) *Sikh Ethnonationalism and the Political Economy of the Punjab*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 224, £18.99, ISBN 0 19 5651804

Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (eds) (2001) *The War for Palestine: rewriting the history of 1948*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 249, £13.95, ISBN 0 521 79476 5

Yakubu Saaka (ed.) (2001) *Regionalism and Public Policy in Northern Ghana*. New York: Peter Lang, 256, \$32.95, ISBN 0 820 451452

Anthony Shadid (2001) *Legacy of the Prophet: despots, democrats and the new politics of Islam*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 351, £15.95, ISBN 0 8133 3779 8

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled (2000) *The New Israel: peacemaking and liberalization*. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 304, ISBN 0 8133 3873 5

Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman (2000) *Without a Map: political tactics and economic reform in Russia*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, ix + 223, £15.95, ISBN 0 262 19434 1

Olufemi Vaughan (2000) *Nigerian Chiefs: traditional power in modern politics, 1890s–1990s*. Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 291, £55.00, ISBN 1 58046 040 2

Jennifer A. Widner (2001) *Building the Rule of Law: Francis Nyalali and the road to judicial independence in Africa*. London: Norton, 454, £24.50, ISBN 0 393 05037 8

Eyal Zisser (2001) *Asad's Legacy: Syria in Transition*. London: Hurst and Company, 218, £17.50, ISBN 1 85065 450 6

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**DEBATING GOVERNANCE:
authority, steering, and democracy**
by **Jon Pierre (ed.)**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
xiii + 251 pages, £16.99, ISBN 00-19-829772-6

Reviewer: BOB JESSOP
(Lancaster University)

Governance is an academic growth industry and offers an important organizational focus for inter-disciplinary work. This collection illustrates many of its strengths and some of its weaknesses. Essentially, it comprises six thematic reviews of the literature and emerging issues and three more substantive discussions of different supranational scales of governance. Paul Hirst provides a magisterial review of the nature, scope, and significance of governance for issues of democracy. Guy Peters discusses the heuristic value of governance in comparative politics. Rod Rhodes usefully reviews changing forms of governance in public administration and central government's role in meta-governance. Gerry Stoker

and Andrew Gamble also provide valuable commentaries on emergent issues in the fields of urban governance (including urban regimes) and economic governance (including different 'economic constitutions' and different models of capitalism) respectively. Jan Kooiman, one of the founding fathers of governance studies, summarizes some key themes from his past and present work. The second part of the volume is concerned with governance at the global, triadic, and regional scale. James Rosenau reflects on complexity, globalization, and governance; Tony Payne offers some preliminary reflections on forms of regional governance in North America, Europe, and the Asia-Pacific; and Alberta Sbragia provides an outstanding analysis of the specificity of EU governance. The volume as a whole would certainly provide a useful and accessible supplementary source on governance for various advanced undergraduate and postgraduate courses in the social sciences and researchers would also benefit from those chapters that move beyond review to agenda-setting and/or innovation in substantive fields.

**THE COMING OF GLOBALIZATION:
its evolution and contemporary
consequences**

by **Richard Langhorne**

Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. 170 pages,
£13.99, ISBN 0 333 94718 5

Readership: Undergraduates,
professional

Rating: **

Reviewer: JERNEJ PIKALO
(University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)

In the abundance of literature on globalization, this book is just another example of mainstream thinking on globalization that hardly contributes anything new to the globalization debate. Richard Langhorne has set out to write a book on globalization that would clarify what globalization is and why it happened, but ended up with more or less the same reasoning and ideas that we have already seen.

Langhorne sees the source of globalization in the evolving communications

revolution. Advances through history from the steam engine to the Internet have had important implications for the role of the nation-state, legitimacy of the political system, role of an individual, international system of states and for security issues. Reoccurring themes of this book are discrepancy between social institutions territorially rooted and activities such as banking or stock market activity which have no geographical location and the consequences of it. He is trying to show us through historical development how social institutions

evolved and what this means in the light of new circumstances of global relations and processes.

Clearly and concisely written, this book makes a good introduction to the globalization debate, but unfortunately this is all there is to it. Although sometimes rich in detail, without any references in the text it hardly qualifies as a serious scientific and research work that would leave a distinctive mark on its readers or serve as a vantage point for further research in greater and more specialized detail.

**GLOBALIZATION AND
POSTMODERN POLITICS:
from Zapatistas to
high-tech robber barons**
by **Roger Burbach**

London: Pluto, 2001. 240 pages, £12.99,
ISBN 0 1453 1649 2

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research,
professional

Rating: ***

Reviewer: NEIL STAMMERS
(*University of Sussex*)

The title of this book accurately records what it sets out to do. Split into three main parts, part one examines the nature and dynamics of globalization and the rise of the 'High-Tech Robber Barons' who, it is argued, dominate four key sectors of the global economy: computing and communication technologies, bio-technology, the media and banking. Part two looks at what the author sees as the consequent emergence of a postmodern politics; a

politics which has witnessed the demise of Marxism but is also witnessing the rise of new forms of resistance to corporate power all round the world. Part three of the book then looks in more detail at the Zapatista movement in an attempt to identify ideological and strategic contours of a radical postmodern politics.

Written in an accessible style the book is clearly intended as a contribution to the debates among radical activists and analysts who are searching for 'post-marxist' paths towards fundamental and global social transformation. Within this is a rarely found willingness to at least engage with the question of the forms of economic relations that could frame alternatives to corporate power. Although an interesting read, there is relatively little by way of analytic innovation in this volume. Indeed, for this reviewer, the key concepts of globalization and postmodern politics were seriously impoverished because of a deeper commitment on the part of the author to an economism which would look very familiar to students of Marxism.

**KOSOVO:
the politics of delusion**

by **Michael Waller, Kyril Drezov
and Bulent Gokay (eds)**

London: Frank Cass, 2001. 199 pages, £17.50,
ISBN 0 7146 5157 5

Reviewer: DAVID CHANDLER
(Leeds Metropolitan University)

This is an ambitious book, setting out to combine neutral historical scholarship with academic political engagement in twenty short essays. The first half of the book seeks to give a dispassionate view of various aspects of the background and history to the Kosovo conflict and the second half to offer diverse passionate views, written at the time of the conflict, pro and contra the NATO action. This is rounded off with the reproduction of some relevant documents including the Rambouillet Text's controversial Appendix B on NATO implementation and UN Security Council Resolution 1244 which established the legal basis for the

**THE FOLLIES OF
GLOBALISATION THEORY**

by **Justin Rosenberg**

London: Verso, 2001. 215 pages, £16.00,
ISBN 1 85984 611 4

Readership: Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research,
professional

Rating: ***

Reviewer: DARREN G. LILLEKER
(University of Sheffield)

The tendency has developed, among modernist politicians and social and political theorists, to use the term globalization as an explanatory variable rather

UN's transitional administration of the province.

The book is perhaps a little too ambitious, averaging a mere seven pages per essay, the authors have little room to add flesh to their points. This restriction of space works well for the second half of the book where responses to the conflict are sharply articulated, from Andrew Fear's critique of the 'Diana-ization' of foreign policy and John Sloboda's charge of hypocrisy and self-interest, to Alex Danchev's conception of a 'healthier moral zone' and Matthew Wyman's view that bombing was an act of kindness to Serbia, analogous to punishing a misbehaved child.

The limited space and diverse viewpoints work less well when it comes to the historical background to the conflict, particularly as the wider international and regional contexts are not considered. However, both Patrick Thornberry's essay on international law and Kyril Drezov's prescient piece on the implications of international intervention for stability in Macedonia are well worth reading.

than as a descriptive tool. It is this trend that Rosenberg argues has overstepped the verge of social sciences possibility of coherence. (p. 7) Through a critique of the work of Jan Aart Scholte, Rob Walker and Anthony Giddens, Rosenberg questions the logical integrity of globalization theory. He argues persuasively that there is a lack of substance to support the claims of these theorists and proposes that unless empirical substantiation is provided then they will be silenced by the weight of opposing evidence.

The argument is broken down into useful sections which analyses each of the theorists, though Giddens receives the longest section and therefore severest criticism. Each section dwells on the

major work on globalization in each case, unpacking the argument piece by piece and critically examining if the author's conclusion is justified and valid. This framework provides a lucid critique of globalization theory, though it does read very much as a theoreticians critique, and the reliance on the three theorists does mean that it does not, as it appears to claim, force the reader to question the normative perspectives that have become associated with the New World Order. There is also a subtext; refuting Giddens'

social theory of globalization. This is the ultimate destination of the argument and, in places, could be accused of entering into a pedantic discussion of definitions.

That said Rosenberg's book is highly useful as it does encourage the reader to re-evaluate the increasingly popularized account of globalization as the cause of social and political change and look at other temporal and spatial definitions for global convergence.

<p>THE STATE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS by John M. Hobson</p>
<p>Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 258 pages, £12.95, ISBN 0 521 64391 0</p>
<p><i>Readership:</i> Advanced undergraduates, postgraduates, academic/research</p> <p><i>Rating:</i> ****</p>
<p>Reviewer: PETER STARIE (<i>University of Portsmouth</i>)</p>

This book is an ambitious, and largely successful, attempt to fulfil a number of aims. The principal aim is to provide an overview of how international relations scholars have theorized the state. This means that Hobson provides very commendable overviews of general theories of international relations *and* theories of the state. Thus, the first half of the book is concerned with the more 'traditional' theories of international relations – realism and liberalism and the various neo- and other variants that have proliferated in the post-war era – and the manner in which the state has been theorized and under-theorized. The second half of the book is concerned with the more 'socio-logical' theories of the state – Marxism,

constructivism, postmodernism, Weberian historical sociology – and the manner in which their version of state/society relations has affected their analyses of international relations.

These accomplished overviews allow Hobson (the great grandson of the 'New Liberal' J. A. Hobson) to put forward his modified Weberian historical and sociological approach on the basis of his (balanced) criticisms of the aforementioned approaches. It is Hobson's contention that all other approaches, in some way or another, adopt a 'binary logic' and privilege one of the following in these three couplets: agency/structure, society/state, national/international, the latter explaining the divide between international relations scholars and domestic politics analysts. However, as some convergence and theoretical pluralism has taken place in the last twenty years, Hobson argues that the possibility for some form of synthesis and transcendence of the binary logic of polar opposites is now possible. However, while drawing on a range of the best points of each approach, Hobson is well aware of the dangers of the 'pick and mix' approach to theorizing and argues that his attempt at producing a 'non-realist, non-reductionist theory of the state' which can fulfill a

'structurationist synthesis of agency and structure' is only possible on the basis of a revised form of Weberian historical sociology, influenced by Giddens and Mann. His arguments are plausible and coherent but are still open to the traditional criticisms of Weberian sociology. Furthermore, there are a large number of neologisms and awkward terms that could have been pruned.

<p>DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE: international co-operation for democratization by Peter Burnell (ed.)</p>
<p>London: Frank Cass, 2001. 383 pages, £42.50, ISBN 0 7146 5106 0</p>
<p><i>Readership:</i> Academic/research, professional</p> <p><i>Rating:</i> ***</p>
<p>Reviewer: THOMAS BRÄUNINGER (University of Konstanz)</p>

Peter Burnell's edited volume provides an excellent overview on how Western democratic governments support democracy worldwide; an issue which is still a white spot on the map of international cooperation. The book comprises one introductory chapter (Peter Burnell) on core dichotomies that make up the space in which democracy assistance is located including assistance versus intervention, one-sided aid versus cooperation. What follows are dense case studies in democracy promotion focusing on donor institutions (United Nations, European Union, multi-lateral development banks), recipient countries (Africa, South-East Asia, Russia), and instruments adopted (electoral, civil

Nevertheless, this is a challenging book that will be used by advanced undergraduates and those interested in the state, international relations theory and the globalization debate and, especially, the links between these three discourses. It provides very informative diagrams and excellent discussion questions and guides to further reading at the end of each chapter. In short, it is well worth reading.

society, or legal technical assistance). Regarding its principal objective to 'examine the record of democracy assistance over the last decade' and bringing 'the phenomenon to the attention of a wider audience' (p. 3) this volume is a fine collection of in-depth insights of field experts.

What the reader may miss, however, is a coherent framework for interpreting these cases comparatively or for relating the topic of democracy promotion to the broader context of international politics theory. Understandably, given the contributors' expertise for certain institutions, countries and instruments, the issue is approached consecutively, chapter by chapter rather than in a comparative manner. Nor has the book the ambition to develop a coherent theory of why actors in the international system give certain kinds of assistance to others and what (un-)intended effects for the national and international political systems this will engender. Those readers who are seeking a sound argument on why, how and under which conditions democracy assistance is effective, have to be patient. But this detail-rich edited volume offers a first map to a phenomenon of increasing import.

**ROGUE STATES:
the rule of force
in world affairs**

by **Naom Chomsky**

Cambridge MA: South End Press, 2000.
264 pages, \$16.00, ISBN 0 89608 611 9

Readership: Undergraduates

Rating: **

Reviewer: JOHN DUMBRELL
(Keele University)

Naom Chomsky does not here offer an analysis of the concept of 'rogue states' in recent US foreign policy; for such an analysis readers should consult Robert Litwak, *Rogue States in US Foreign Policy* (2000). Rather, Chomsky's book is a familiarly freewheeling assault on US militarism, economic imperialism and American-led globalization ('the emerging system of state corporate

mercantilism disguised with various mantras like globalization and free trade' (p. 208)). The US, the leading 'rogue state', is excoriated for treating with contempt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for murderous bad faith in Kosovo, for bogus democracy-promotion, for 'almost reflexive' support for slaughter in East Timor. Chomsky's outrage extends to the American intelligentsia and to US allies. The former can be relied upon 'to tolerate or deny terrible crimes' (p. 11). Britain, by 1998, was 'about as much of an independent actor as the Ukraine was in pre-Gorbachev years' (p. 37).

Much of Chomsky's argument deserves very serious consideration. What damages his tireless polemic is haphazard and slapdash scholarship, as well as an implausibly infinite capacity to be shocked by the wickedness of the world and its leaders.

**THE ENDS OF GLOBALISATION:
bringing society back in**

by **Don Kalb, Marco van der Land,
Richard Staring, Bart van
Steenbergen, and
Nico Wilterdink (eds)**

Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.
403 pages, £20.95, ISBN 0 8476 9885 8

Readership: Postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ****

Reviewer: JERNEJ PIKALO
(University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)

In an era when there is a lot of oversimplified talk about globalization, this book comes at the right moment for all researchers who want an in-depth analysis of globalization processes based on

empirical facts. The authors hope that this book will advance our understanding of globalization's consequences for human equality and inequality, role of the state, nature, effects and forces of migration, cultural homogenization and heterogenization, and historical trajectory of the process itself (p. 2). This book is interdisciplinary in its character and addresses questions of globalization that are studied by economists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists and philosophers.

The book is divided into five parts, each (except the first) being preceded by a theoretical introduction: part I concentrates on theoretical perspectives of globalization, part II on capital flows and income distribution, part III on migration, part IV on cultural identity, and part V on

global institutions. A reoccurring theme of the book is that globalization is much more of a complicated process that just a natural history of transnational flows and markets operating by inertia. It is a socially instituted and mediated process, where social and political institutions play major roles.

Very informative, thoughtful and enlightening. The editors have done a good job in bringing together so many varied perspectives. A must for all readers who prefer critical insight and richness of detail to just quick reference and oversimplification of processes that influence our everyday lives.

**REVOLUTIONS IN SOVEREIGNTY:
how ideas shaped modern
international relations**
by **Daniel Philpott**

Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press,
2001. 340 pages, £12.95, ISBN 0 691 05747 8

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research, professional

Rating: ****

Reviewer: MARK E. DUCKENFIELD
(University College London)

In a refreshingly bold break from much of the recent international relations literature, Philpott places ideas at the centre of his analysis, arguing that common ideas about sovereignty in each era are the 'constitution' of the international system. Philpott argues that sudden changes in conceptions of sovereignty are the result of earlier changes in ideas about political authority and justice. He not only takes the rare step of emphasizing the role of ideas, but points to religious beliefs as one foundation for the shared norms about

appropriate international behaviour that underlie systems of sovereignty at any given point in time. Philpott's historical cases are examinations of the 'revolutions' of the Westphalian system and the period of decolonization that followed the Second World War. Philpott begins his analysis with an exploration of how the revolutionary ideas of the Protestant Reformation with its challenge to the existing Catholic order laid the groundwork for a new conception of independent, sovereign states. The national liberation movements of the post-war era owed their origins less to religious belief than a recognition by nationalists of the universal claims of equality, freedom and self-determination contained in the rhetoric and declarations (such as the Atlantic Charter and the UN Charter) of the leading Allied Powers. Philpott points to changes in ideas about the appropriateness of imperial rule both in the minds of colonizers and the colonized as the impetus for the success of the decolonization movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Overall, this is an important contribution to debates about sovereignty.

NGOS AND HUMAN RIGHTSby **Claude E. Welch Jr (ed.)**

Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. 408 pages, £35.00, ISBN 0 8122 3569 X

Reviewer: **TONY EVANS**
(*Southampton University*)

Although NGOs are often referred to in the literature on human rights, usually in positive tones, important aspects of their work and global role have still to be investigated. This volume sets out to examine some of the key questions about human rights NGO activity, including who sets the goals of human rights NGOs, what means are used in pursuit of these goals and what resources are available for promoting them. A further issue concerns the influence of human rights NGOs, which many claim has grown considerably in a post-Cold War era, characterized by globalization. Against this are those who argue that the evidence for reaching this conclusion is unconvincing. While this volume does not attempt to

THE MEANING OF ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY: ecological politics and policy in the new security era

by **Jon Barnett**

London: Zed, 2001. 192 pages, \$22.00, ISBN 1 85649 786 0

Readership: Undergraduates, postgraduates, professional

Rating: ****

Reviewer: **PAUL ROGERS**
(*Bradford University*)

Barnett argues that environmental security has been hijacked by the conventional security discourse to the extent that environmental and resource problems likely

resolve this and other important tensions surrounding NGO activity, the editor is concerned to offer a more systematic approach that brings greater clarity to all sides of the arguments.

This volume is organized around three sections: a group of studies on northern NGOs, who focus their activities on civil and political rights (Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, International Commission of Jurists); a second set of studies looking at economic, social and cultural rights; and a third set focusing upon issues of effectiveness. While many of the contributors follow the editor in concluding that NGOs do make a substantial difference to human rights conditions, the chapter by Mutua is more critical. The chapter by Cingranelli and Richards also offers a critical approach to current research in the field of human rights NGOs.

This volume is a welcome addition to a field of study that is in urgent need of further research.

to impact on states should be seen as 'threats' to state security rather than part of a wider dilemma that can only be approached in the context of an analysis of global human security. In doing so, he devotes a substantial part of the text to providing a critique of existing approaches, with an emphasis not just on military paradigms but also on the more narrow aspects of environmental thinking.

His examination of US security attitudes to environmental insecurity in the 1990s is particularly astute, as is his ability to integrate a number of disciplinary approaches. Moreover, he has a style that combines an ease of reading with a quite remarkable coverage of the literature, given the brevity of the book. The

text would have been strengthened by a greater emphasis on the relationship of environmental constraints to socio-economic divisions, and his proposals for a more humane concept of environmental

security are not fully developed. For a first book, though, this is still an exceptionally good analysis – thoughtful, cogent and radical. Hopefully there will be much more to come.

International Relations

New books received

Philip Allott (2001) *Eunomia: new order for a new world*. Paperback Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 480, £16.99, ISBN 0 19 9244936

Ian Anthony and Adam Daniel Rotfield (eds) (2001) *A Future Arms Control Agenda: proceedings of Nobel Symposium 118, 1999*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 387, £30.00, ISBN 0 19 924 505 3

John Baylis and Steve Smith (2001) *The Globalisation of World Politics*. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 720, £19.99, ISBN 0 19 878263 2

Ronald H. Chilcote (ed.) (2001) *The Political Economy of Imperialism: critical appraisals*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 267, £20.95, ISBN 0 7425 1010 7

Jean-Marc Coicaud and Daniel Warner (eds) (2001) *Ethics and International Affairs: extent and limits*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 293, ISBN 92 808 1052 9

James W. Davis, Jr. (2000) *Threats and Promises: the pursuit of international influence*. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 222, £27.50, ISBN 0 8018 6296 5

Paul Dukes (2000) *The Superpowers: a short history*. London: Routledge, 197, £12.99, ISBN 0 415 23042 X

Michel Feher (2001) *Powerless by Design: the age of the international community*. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 192, £11.50, ISBN 0 8223 2613 2

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Alexander Gillespie (2001) *The Illusion of Progress: unsustainable development in international law and policy*. London: Earthscan, 256, £14.95, ISBN 1 85383 757 1

Kjell Goldmann, Ulf Hannerz and Charles Westin (eds) (2000) *Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era*. London: Routledge, 290, £18.99, ISBN 0 415 23891 9

Richard Grant and Jan Nijman (eds) (2000) *The Global Crisis in Foreign Aid*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 252, \$20.50, ISBN 0 8156 2772 6

Marianne Hanson and William T. Tow (2001) *International Relations in the New Century: an Australian perspective*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 238, £14.99, ISBN 0 19 551001 1

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000) *Empire*. Paperback Edition. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 495, £12.95, ISBN 0 674 00671 2

Shale Horowitz and Uk Heo (eds) (2001) *The Political Economy of International Financial Crisis*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 304, £20.95, ISBN 0 7425 0133 7

Humanitarian Studies Unit (2001) *Reflections on Humanitarian Action: principles, ethics and contradictions*. London: Pluto, 208, £14.99, ISBN 0 7453 1726 X

Ho-Won Jeong (2000) *Peace and Conflict Studies: an introduction*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 424, £55.00, ISBN 1 84014 095 X

John J. Kirton, Joseph P. Daniels and Andreas Freytag (eds) (2001) *Guiding Global Order: G8 governance in the twenty-first century*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 392, £45.50, ISBN 0 7546 1502 2

Kate O'Neill (2000) *Waste Trading among Rich Nations: building a new theory of environmental regulation*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 298, £14.50, ISBN 0 262 65052 5

Torsten Persson and Guido Tabellini (2000) *Political Economics: explaining economic policy*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 552, £37.95, ISBN 0 262 16195 8

George Ann Potter (2000) *Deeper than Debt: economic globalisation and the poor*. London: Latin America Bureau, 162, £8.99, ISBN 1 899365 46 X

Real World Coalition (eds) (2001) *From Here to Sustainability: politics in the real world*. London: Earthscan, 192, £8.95, ISBN 1 85383 735 0

Bruce Russett and John Oneal (2001) *Triangulating Peace: democracy, interdependence and international organisations*. New York: Norton, 393, ISBN 0 393 97684 X

Dinah Shelton (ed.) (2000) *Commitment and Compliance: the role of non-binding norms in the International legal system*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 560, £60.00, ISBN 0 19 8298080

Marie-Claude Smouts (ed.) (2001) *The New International Relations*. London: Hurst, 236, £16.50, ISBN 1 85065 433 6

Philip Towle (2000) *Democracy and Peacemaking: negotiations and debates 1815–1973*. London: Routledge, 212, £48.00, ISBN 0 415 21471 8

John A. Vasquez (ed.) (2000) *What do we Know about War?* Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 448, \$29.95, ISBN 0 8476 9927 7

Jeffrey N. Weasserstrom, Lynn Hunt and Marilyn B. Young (eds) (2001) *Human Rights and Revolutions*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 265, £17.95, ISBN 0 8476 8737 6

Frank C. Zagare and D. Marc Kilgour (2000) *Perfect Deterrence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 414, £17.95, ISBN 0 521 78713 0

COMPARATIVE

**THE NEW INSTITUTIONAL POLITICS:
performance and outcomes**by **Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson**London: Routledge, 2000. 343 pages, £17.00,
ISBN 0 415 18321 9*Readership:* Advanced
undergraduates; postgraduates,
academic/research*Rating:* ****Reviewer: SIMON BULMER
(*University of Manchester*)

Lane and Ersson have produced an important book: important both for new institutionalism and comparative politics. In it they discuss two of the key approaches in institutionalist analysis – the socialist and the rational choice variants. Their preference is for an institutionalism with clearly defined hypotheses about institutional effects, facilitating their identification and measurement. They then deploy this approach to explore some of the long-standing institutionalist accounts in political analysis. A set of cases explores hypotheses developed by the likes of Althusius, Locke, Montesquieu, Linz, Kelsen, Lijphart, Duverger, Lehbruch,

Hayek and Friedman. With eleven such cases in little over 200 pages – leaving aside the theoretical and concluding sections of the book – *each* is a sometimes compressed account of what could easily be a doctoral thesis. However, the cases are accessible; and they deliver intriguing results on the accuracy of the original hypothesis.

Lane and Ersson have shifted the debate in new institutionalism towards testable models. However, unlike much rational choice institutionalist work, where testable models are the norm, the cases are not concerned with ‘micro’ issues like the impact of congressional rules upon office-seeking. Instead, they take on such concerns as whether presidential or parliamentary systems deliver better policy performance, or with exploring Duverger’s law concerning electoral institutions and political outcomes. They also avoid the trap of prioritizing the design of the model over the empirical puzzle. Their conclusion – on the importance of constitutionalism – provides further food for thought. Important reading for comparativists and institutional theorists alike.

**A VIRTUOUS CIRCLE:
political communications in
postindustrial societies**by **Pippa Norris**Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2000. 398 pages, £14.95, ISBN 0 521 79364 5*Readership:* Undergraduates,
advanced undergraduates,
postgraduates, academic/research,
professionalReviewer: MARK WHEELER
(*London Guildhall University*)

Pippa Norris’s book ‘A Virtuous Circle’ challenges the conventional wisdom that the process of political communications in the news media and political parties has been responsible for the civic malaise which is effecting postindustrial societies, most especially the United States and western Europe. It contends that rather than ‘blaming the messenger’, it is necessary to consider how the public relates to and acts upon the forms of political communication that they are presented with.

To this end, Norris employs a comparative analysis of party systems (the rise of the post-modern campaign) and the news media (including the growth of the Internet) in western democracies. She argues that there is a consistently positive relationship between the news media and the electorate's greater efficacy with regard to political participation. In effect, there is a 'virtuous circle' between the conduits of political information and a citizenry that is 'better informed and more highly educated, with higher cognitive skills and more sources of information'. (p. 319) In turn, this may mean that whilst people are more critical of political

institutions, that this is not so much a measurement of their cynicism but demonstrates an enhancement within their civic engagement.

Whilst this reviewer would not always agree with the book's conclusions, Norris must be admired for producing a well-written and challenging book, which confronts much of the existing literature on the media's effect on political participation. The argument is set out coherently and is convincingly established through her impressive marshalling of a wide-range of detailed empirical studies.

**UNIONS, EMPLOYERS,
AND CENTRAL BANKS:
macroeconomic coordination
and institutional change in
social market economies**

by **Torben Iversen, Jonas Pontusson
and David Soskice (eds)**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2000. 339 pages, £14.95, ISBN 0 521 78884 6

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: *****

Reviewer: **MATTHEW WATSON**
(*University of Birmingham*)

This volume is marked by the consistently high quality of its scholarship. Drawing on the neo-institutionalist insights on which the reputation of each contributor is founded, the volume problematizes the simplistic conception of institutional 'efficiency' that dominates orthodox economic accounts of macroeconomic policy-making. The contributors show that advanced capitalist economies exist in a context that is defined by the interaction of multiple institutional logics. Each of these logics, albeit initially

contingent, has developed in a path-dependent manner to become increasingly embedded in social practice. Seen in this way, successful policy adaptation is not merely a matter of enforcing a simple policy rule. Rather, it requires the successful management of a complex array of social relations of production.

As a contribution to an empirically-minded political science of economic policy-making, this volume has much to offer. It delivers its promise to increase the predictive power of economic policy-making by incorporating complex institutional interdependencies into conventional linear models. The explanatory power of orthodox macroeconomic theory is thus enhanced as its underlying assumptions are relaxed. However, for those eager to challenge the very basis of orthodox macroeconomic theory, the volume offers significant scope for critical appraisal. As is clear from the willingness of many of the contributors to work with the theories and methods of neo-classical economics, the volume provides a revisionist critique of the conclusions of neo-classical theory, rather than a challenge to the whole tradition.

Whether one's concern is for high quality empirical analysis of the process of macro-economic policy-making, or for the failure

of most political scientists to challenge the core claims of orthodox macroeconomic theory, this volume is a worthy read.

**POLITICS WITHOUT A PAST:
the absence of history in
postcommunist nationalism**
by **Shari J. Cohen**

Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2000.
304 pages, £12.95, ISBN 0 8223 2399 0

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research, professional

Rating: ****

Reviewer: ROBIN T. PETTITT
(Unilever)

Cohen's case study of Slovenia, which she uses as a 'theory developing' case (p. 7) offers a challenging view of the political landscape of Central and Eastern Europe.

She argues that the imposition of Leninism was a particular kind of nation building. The Leninist nation builders were successful in destroying rival national ideologies and accompanying interpretations of the past, but failed in creating any kind of loyalty to their own 'world view'. This has created populations and governing elites without a shared understanding of what it means to be, say, Slovenian. The outcome is a political landscape where people are not tied to each other as Slovenians and therefore have little feeling of a common interest. This has created

a type of political elite that is governed by nothing other than personal gain.

Cohen uses the phrase mass-elite since the elite is without a common national ideology which is what Hannah Arendt associates with the 'masses'. This 'mass-elite' is not tied to any specific ideology, but will pick up and drop whatever language and party label best suits the moment.

Consequently, whilst both the language of democracy and, at times extreme, ethnic nationalism can be found in the region, such rhetoric will often be a mere gloss for a gaping lack of ideological commitment. There are 'ideological elites' in the region as well, but Cohen argues that these have been largely outflanked by the highly flexible 'mass-elites'. Thus, the region is neither seeing a gradual transition to western free market democracy, nor a return to ethnic nationalist strife, but the rise of an amorphous political system where a fundamental lack of ideological commitment is the norm.

Even though the concept of the 'mass-elite' could do with more elaboration, Cohen's book is a well written and engaging challenge to the 'end of history' versus 'return of history' debate which has dominated scholarship on the region until recently. For that reason alone her work deserves attention and applause.

**POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS:
democracy and social choice**

by **Josep M. Colomer**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
266 pages, £50.00, ISBN 0 19 924183 X

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research, professional

Rating: *****

Reviewer:
HENDRIK JAN KRAETZSCHMAR
(*London School of Economics*)

Josep M. Colomer's book investigates the relationship between institutional design, social efficiency and democratic stability. In doing so he combines social choice theory with the study of institutions in political science. Essentially he argues, that more complex institutional formulas produce greater social efficiency and stability than simple institutional arrangements. The three variables investigated concern the complexity of the electorate, the inclusiveness of electoral procedures and decision rules as well as the degree of political (de-)centralization. According to

**TECHNICAL FOULS:
democratic dilemmas and
technological change**

by **John Kurt Jacobsen**

Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2000.
196 pages, £12.95, ISBN 0 8133 1999 4

Reviewer: PERRI 6
(*University of Strathclyde*)

Jacobsen's short book is an attempt to pour some political science down the now well-worn groove created by the literature on the social shaping of technologies. After a condensed theoretical introduction reviewing some leading political theories of technology in order to

the author, socially efficient results can be expected under institutional arrangements that favour the social choices of the median voter.

For institutional engineers and academics working in the field, Colomer's central line of reasoning will seem barely novel, although reached from an intriguingly original angle. Compared to alternative institutional arrangements, parliamentary systems combined with PR, near universal suffrage and federal structures best maximize social efficiency and democratic stability in pluralistic polities. A large number of both quantitative and qualitative empirical references on democratic regimes worldwide are supplied to validate this assertion.

This book should attract a broad readership from different fields within political science. It provides a wealth of theoretical and empirical insights beyond the confines of social choice theory, addressing issues relating to democratic stability and governance, elite engineering and the malleability of political institutions. Its wealth of empirical examples make it easily intelligible and a thoroughly pleasant read.

situate the author's own neo-Marxist or radical perspective, the book examines the twentieth century politics that shaped four fields of technology. These are automation in the production process, military technology, the spectrum from eugenics to contemporary genetic engineering, and the impacts of technologies generally upon the environment. In each chapter the central argument is that technologies have been shaped by the interests and political mobilization of already powerful groups. The book concludes with a 'j'accuse' against global business, professions of scientists and technologists working with business, and both national governments and institutions of transnational

governance. However, the book is rather a disappointment. The argument about technology is really a peg for a denunciation. There are indeed horrible uses of technology; but in itself this tells us little. Theoretically, the collective interest-based account is not really defended against, for example, any of the institutionalist, constructivist or rational choice theories. Moreover, the way in which the account

is presented makes it seem cruder than perhaps it need be. Some of the substantive chapters are much less empirical than they need to be, to make out the case, relying heavily instead on reviews of writings other political theorists; in any case, none really adds much to the existing literature. Those looking for sophisticated accounts of the political shaping of technology should look elsewhere.

**TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE?
The merits and limits of
rational choice theory**
by **Andre Blais**

Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000. 242 pages, \$19.95, ISBN 0 8229 5734 5

Readership: Advanced undergraduates

Rating: ***

Reviewer: **ANDREW HINDMOOR**
(*University of Exeter*)

Is it possible to account for the decision to vote or abstain from a rational choice perspective? This is of course well-worn ground but Blais argues that the existing literature relies too heavily upon theoretical manoeuvring and that much can be learnt from empirical tests of why actual people actually vote. Seven hypotheses are examined. Voters vote (1) to maintain democracy, (2) out of a sense of

duty, (3) because they are risk-averse, (4) because they think that no-one else will vote, (5) because group leaders and politicians make it easy for them to vote, (6) because the cost of doing so is effectively zero, and (7) because it is not rational to calculate whether it is rational to vote. Blais concludes that rational choice has some explanatory value but that this value is very limited. The main reason people vote is out of a sense of duty and duty and rationality do not mix. At most rational choice can tell us something about the circumstances in which the half of the population who do not believe themselves to have a duty to vote will vote. The strength of the book is its weakness. Blais offers a concise and hugely readable review not only of the main ways in which rational choice theorists have sought to resolve the paradox of voting but of the resulting empirical literature. Yet in doing so he brings into doubt the claim that the existing literature is unwilling to engage with empirical issues.

**COMPARATIVE POLITICS:
interests, identities, and
institutions in a changing
global order**

by **Jeffrey Kopstein and
Mark Lichbach (eds)**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2000. 429 pages, £21.95, ISBN 0 521 63356 7

Readership: Undergraduates

Reviewer: BERTHOLD RITTBERGER
(*Nuffield College, Oxford*)

Jeffrey Kopstein and Mark Lichbach have edited a comparative politics undergraduate textbook that takes a different route than most standard textbooks in the field. At the centre of their volume lies the question of why different countries have taken different developmental paths to the modern world. Why, for example, did Britain experience a remarkably stable development towards liberal democracy, and, on the other hand, why has France oscillated between democracy, dictatorial and monarchic rule during the same period? Why did other countries, such as Germany and Japan, go through a period of fascist rule and military expansionism before opting for democracy after World War II? Why have late industrializing regimes, such as China or Russia, been more receptive to communist ideology than countries that industrialized earlier? Together with the authors of ten individual country chapters, Kopstein and Lichbach provide answers to these questions by embedding the country studies in a broader global economic and political context. In their introductory chapter, an analytical framework is presented which stresses that international political challenges, whether geopolitical or economic,

have had variable impact on domestic institutions, identities and interests of influential social or political groups. Furthermore, these variable patterns of international and domestic factors then produce variation in economic and political strategies pursued by different countries at different periods in history (e.g., market-liberal versus command economics or democratic versus authoritarian rule). Kopstein and Lichbach group the ten countries under scrutiny into four different categories labelled early, middle, late and experimental developers. The analytical framework is then applied to account for the category- and country-specific developmental pathways in different historical periods (diachronic comparison). Ensuing the discussion of the countries that comprise a single category, the editors add a brief section in which they also compare the different countries within each category and across different categories synchronically.

What makes Kopstein's and Lichbach's approach interesting and innovative is the their dual focus on politics and history by accounting not only for differences in the way countries are structured economically and politically but also for changes in countries' political and economic structure over time. However, there is also a downside to this otherwise compelling volume. The editors' claim to familiarize students of comparative politics with the 'master concepts' and 'dominant theories' in this field is not met satisfactorily. Unfortunately, these concepts and theories are rarely mentioned explicitly in the text and, concomitantly, the authors have failed to include a bibliography that would guide interested students to the classical works and concepts of comparative politics.

**MEDIATED POLITICS:
communication in the future
of democracy**

by **W. Lance Bennett and
Robert M. Entman (eds)**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
2001. 516 pages, £18.95, ISBN 0 521 78976 1

Reviewer: JONATHAN HARDY
(University of East London)

This ambitious collection explores the implications for democracy and citizenship in changing media environments. The editors, Bennett and Entman, describe a policy sphere, part of the wider public sphere, from which citizens are increasingly excluded. Contributors examine the Internet and such factors as media fragmentation, strategic communication campaigns, information stratification, commercialism and market segmentation, considering their relationship to changes in forms of political engagement. A common theme is that 'fragmentation of the information commons' is occurring and will increase. Some contributors propose adjustment to changing conditions in order to (re)engage citizens, some suggest consequences are not altogether bleak,

ARGUING COMPARATIVE POLITICS
by **Alfred Stepan**

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
380 pages, £40.00, ISBN 0 19 924270 4

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research, professional

Reviewer: BERTHOLD RITTBERGER
(Nuffield College, Oxford)

Alfred Stepan's book *Arguing Comparative Politics* is a fifteen chapter-volume of both, published materials and 'work in

while others argue for systemic reforms if the media is to properly serve democratic needs. The editors argue for expanding the field of political communication, for instance beyond news media to entertainment. Contributors here, as elsewhere, divide, between those defending journalistic norms and those perceiving the collapse of boundaries between news and entertainment as irrecoverable.

Blumler and Gurevitch's comparative study of US and UK election coverage is amongst the exceptions in a largely North American collection. The US focus is undeniably justified, but in examining political communication in the most deregulated media system some key variables appropriate to other media systems, including regulation, are less adequately explored.

This hugely rewarding, dialogic collection illuminates differences and signals new research directions through exchanges between internationally renowned political scientists and communication scholars. Shaped by normative concerns and combining innovative theorizing with empirical investigation, this is an indispensable volume addressing politics, democracy and the public sphere.

progress', that covers the main themes in Stepan's wide-ranging scholarship on comparative politics. The structure of the book revolves around three themes, state-society relations, challenges and problems of democratization and democratic governance structures and their impact on policies and stability of polities.

In the first part of his collection, Stepan presents some of his older work on state-society relations. One of the better known pieces in this section is taken from his *The State and Society* (1978) in which he confronts Liberal-Pluralist and Marxist

theories of the state with his Organic-Statist view of state-society relations and shows that, in contrast to Liberal-Pluralist and Marxist tenets, approaches to exploring state-society relations have to pay more attention to the state as a powerful agent capable of structuring the relationships within civil society but also between state institutions and civil society. Although the 'Bringing the State Back In'-literature is, as of today, well-entrenched in political science, the chapters in the first part of the book provide a 'remembrancer' with regard to the times in which the role of the state was marginalized in the political science literature.

In the second part of the book, Stepan has selected various chapters in which he explores different pathways to the construction, consolidation or deconstruction of polities and democracy. In these chapters, some of which are based on more recent research, he links theoretical claims and conceptual maps with empirical material to generate compelling insights into some of the more understudied themes in comparative politics, such as the nexus between nationalism and democracy and between religion and democracy.

In the third part of the volume, in which Stepan discusses frameworks of democratic governance (such as presidentialism, semipresidentialism, parliamentarism

and federalism), one chapter should receive special attention by students of comparative government. In the last chapter of the volume, Stepan criticizes Riker for his too restrictive conceptual map of federal polities. Although Riker's model of federalism may fare well in accounting for 'coming together'-type federations such as the United States, it fails to explain federations that have been formed for reasons such as 'holding together' multiethnic, -religious, -national polities. Stepan seeks to remedy this situation by developing a set of variables with which to account for unexplained variation in the type of federal polities without succumbing to the problem of concept stretching.

Although students of comparative politics will be familiar with most of Stepan's work compiled in this 'best-of' volume, it has to be stressed that particularly the more recently written chapters in which he builds on Gellner's and Anderson's theories of nationalism to explore the nexus between theories of nationalism and democracy, his critique of Riker's model of federalism as well his take on Huntington's 'clash of civilization'-thesis in which he advances an argument about the compatibility between different religious systems and democracy which are, by any means, innovative and pointing to gripping new research agendas.

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
THE COMPANY**

by **John Parkinson, Andrew Gamble
and Gavin Kelly (eds)**

Oxford: Hart, 2000. 311 pages, £22.50,
ISBN 1 84113 120 2

Reviewer: JOHN McHUGH
(*Manchester Metropolitan University*)

'In the last hundred years the company has become a central institution of the modern capitalist economy.' Why then has it not received more attention from political scientists? The editors of this new analysis argue that existing work has taken place within specialized discipline boundaries and what is needed is a political economy (their emphasis) of the company. Of course the idea of political economy is problematic but here its

'starting point is that social orders and the institutions which make them up need to be studied as complex wholes rather than as analytically distinct parts'. They provide such an analysis utilizing the findings of two research programmes whose main empirical reference is Britain and Germany. Liberal market views espouse the virtues of the company whereas socialists have seen it as illegitimate. Most contributors occupy ground between these positions, both empirically and normatively, and argue that the emphasis on a priori ideology has led to a failure both to recognize, empirically, the variation in

company practice and to explore ways in which the company could be modified. Any book based on a broad research programme faces a choice about communicating its results. Here some chapters analyse broad themes (excellent chapter on Labour Party, illuminating on the party's nature and beliefs) while others are more narrowly focused (The responsibilities of institutional shareholders). The overall result is positive with uniformly clearly written and accessible pieces which add significantly to the quality of debate about the nature and role of the modern company.

**HOUSING POLICY MATTERS:
a global analysis**
by **Shlomo Angel**

New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
£37.99, ISBN 0 19 513715 9

Readership: Advanced
undergraduates, postgraduates,
academic/research

Rating: ***

Reviewer: KERRY ROGERS
(*Southampton Institute*)

This is an interesting and ambitious project, which presents an extensive volume of housing information and analysis. The author advocates an enabling policy environment, which encourages a range of housing providers and housing solutions, with the exception of new large-scale public provision, and supports his thesis by drawing on statistical data and modelling. Information is drawn from one major city in each of fifty-three countries in 1990 to explore the effects of different housing policy regimes.

Three broad sections cover firstly the conceptual framework, the enabling

environment is seen as 'setting boundaries and giving support whilst relinquishing control' (p. 12). The second section explores the components required to foster an enabling regime such as the interaction with residential infrastructure and importance of property rights. An index is constructed which measures the degree of enabling present in different countries. The final section examines housing policy and housing sector performance mainly through statistical data and accompanying analysis. The author concludes that there is global convergence towards enabling regimes.

The comparative data supplied by the author is tightly packed throughout the book, which could potentially overwhelm the reader, the use of formulaic data may also be difficult for those unfamiliar with this type of approach. On its own terms however, the book succeeds in its objective to use a comparative analysis to explore how differences in housing policy shape housing outcomes, and accepts that further work is required. Moreover, it illustrates very well the complexities of housing policy and the environment it operates in.

Comparative

New books received

F. S. Aijazuddin (2000) *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head: the secret channel between the US and China through Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 192, ISBN 0 19 579449 4

Lester R. Brown (2001) *State of the World 2001*. London: Earthscan, 288, £12.95, ISBN 1 85383 769 5

Gary C. Bryner (2001) *Gaia's Wager: environmental movements and the challenge of sustainability*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 279, £14.95, ISBN 0 8476 9489 5

Alexandra Barahona De Brito, Carmen Gonzalez-Enriques, and Paloma Aguilar (eds) (2001) *The Politics of Memory: transitional justice in democratizing societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 439, £18.99, ISBN 0 19 924090 6

Tony Evans (2001) *The Politics of Human Rights*. London: Pluto, 144, £14.99, ISBN 0 7453 1452 X

Joel S. Fetzer (2001) *Public Attitudes towards Immigration in the United States, France and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 267, £13.95, ISBN 0 521 78679 7

Neil Fraser and John Hills (eds) (2001) *Public Policy in the 21st Century: social and economic essays in memory of Henry Neuburger*. Bristol: The Policy Press, 285, £17.99, ISBN 1 86134 267 5

Paul Freston (2001) *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 356, £40.00, ISBN 0 521 80041 2

Theodore J. Gilman (2001) *No Miracles Here: fighting urban decline in Japan and the United States*. New York: State University of New York Press, 219, \$19.95, ISBN 0 7914 4792 8

Andrew Glyn (2001) *Social Democracy in Neoliberal Times: the left and economic policy since 1980*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 384, £45.00, ISBN 0 19 9241376

Peter Gold (2001) *Europe or Africa? A contemporary study of the Spanish North African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 206, £14.95, ISBN 0 85323 995 9

Dipak K. Gupta (2001) *Path to Collective Madness: a study of social order and political pathology*. Westport CT: Praeger, 256, \$25.00, ISBN 0 275 97221 6

Nancy J. Hirschmann and Ulrike Liebert (eds) (2001) *Women and Welfare: theory and practice in the United States and Europe*. Piscataway NJ: Rutgers University Press, 320, \$24.00, ISBN 0 8135 2882 8

Donald L. Horowitz (2001) *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 605, £22.00, ISBN 0 520 22447 7

Anne O. Krueger (ed.) (2000) *Economic Policy Reform: the second stage*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 600, £41.00, ISBN 0 226 45447 9

William M. Lafferty and James Meadowcroft (eds) (2000) *Implementing Sustainable Development: strategies and initiatives in high consumption societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 523, £55.00, ISBN 0 19 829439 0

Ram Mudambi, Pietro Navarra and Giuseppe Sobbrío (eds) (2001) *Rules and Reason: perspectives on constitutional political economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 334, £15.95, ISBN 0 521 65959 0

Deepa Narayan (ed.) (2000) *Voices of the Poor: can anyone hear us?* New York: Oxford University Press and the World Bank, 354, £16.99, ISBN 0 19 5216016

Deepa Narayan, Robert Chambers, Meera K. Shah and Patti Petesch (eds) (2000) *Voices of the Poor, Volume 2: crying out for change*. New York: Oxford University Press and the World Bank, 330, £9.99, ISBN 0 19 5216024

Otto Newman and Richard de Zoysa (2001) *The Promise of the Third Way: globalisation and social justice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave (formerly Macmillan Press), 268, £42.50, ISBN 0 333 79285 8

Vernon Valentine Palmer (2001) *Mixed Jurisdictions Worldwide: the third legal family*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 512, £60.00, ISBN 0 521 78154 X

Mark Pennington (2001) *Planning and the Political Market: public choice and the politics of government failure*. London: Athlone Press, 230, £17.99, ISBN 0 485 006065

Susan J. Pharr and Robert D. Putnam (eds) (2000) *Disaffected Democracies: what's troubling the trilateral countries?* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 362, £12.50, ISBN 0 691 04924 6

Michael Saward (ed.) (2000) *Democratic Innovation: deliberation, representation and association*. London: Routledge, 242, £55.00, ISBN 0 415 23442 5

Adam D. Sheingate (2000) *The Rise of the Agricultural Welfare State: institutions and interest group power in the United States, France and Japan*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 291, £29.95, ISBN 0 691 00983 X