



Book Reviews

Political Theory

Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics: A New Translation by **Robert C. Bartlett and Susan D. Collins.**

Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011. 319pp., £22.50, ISBN 9780226026749

This is the long-awaited translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* by those who agree with the position held by Leo Strauss and his students that if one is going to access texts through a translation rather than in their original language, one should use a translation that remains literal, which means being faithful both to what is said and also how it was said by the author. The translation by Bartlett and Collins comes from within this tradition of translation, with its insistence on faithfulness to the meaning and usage of the concepts and the language originally used by the author, enabling the reader to access the text as closely as if reading it in the language in which it was composed. This translation insists on keeping to the meaning of the Greek terms and how they were used by Aristotle, alongside a fidelity to the style and argument presented in the Greek text.

Another aspect of the approach that underlies Bartlett and Collins' translation and the school of hermeneutics they come from is that they find themselves in disagreement with the dominant schools of classical Greek philology in the Anglo-American tradition and how they often translate Greek texts, which tends to assume that there is a consistent tradition of the meaning of Greek terms used by (and often coined by) Aristotle (or Plato) and the Latin and medieval Roman Catholic tradition. Also, the Anglo-American tradition all too often pays little attention to the form in which the text is presented (although this is more the case when dealing with Plato and his use of the dialogic form than with Aristotle), whereas Bartlett and Collins pay close attention to the rhetorical character of the text. The goal of their translation is to allow one to access as closely as possible the ideas and arguments presented by the author in the text and not to do all

the work for the reader by explaining away or summing up the difficulties within it.

There has been another literal translation before this one that does a good job of balancing the hard line between faithfulness to the Greek text and readability – that by Joe Sach published in 2002. Sach's translation has fewer notes and often uses a wider variety of translations of key Greek terms, which makes it a bit more readable and is thus seen as being a very student-friendly literal translation. In contrast, the translation by Bartlett and Collins has extensive scholarly notes and explanations of possible alternatives or why they made a particular choice. Thus the Bartlett and Collins translation will also be very useful to those who are accessing the original Greek text, as it confronts the scholarship of classical philology. Even those who disagree with most of the interpretations of the Straussian school will find this translation extremely useful for the purpose of scholarship and for teaching more advanced courses where careful and close attention to the text is required.

Clifford Angell Bates Jr
(University of Warsaw)

Alain Badiou: Key Concepts by **A. J. Bartlett and Justin Clemens (eds).** Durham: Acumen, 2010. 207pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 1844652303

This volume of collected essays is part of a wider, self-described, engagement with Alain Badiou's work by 'Academics who understand their first duty to be to critique rather than to intelligibility' (p. 1). This ethos is evident throughout, both intellectually and aesthetically. If the reader's response upon encountering the above description would be to fling the book aside and read no further, then that might well be advisable. This is not a book written for them. Despite being described as an 'introductory' work in the canon of 'Badiou studies' (p. 158), *Alain Badiou: Key Concepts* is a tough read. Newcomers to the titular philosopher's work should not start here. Without some pre-existing



knowledge of Badiou's writings this collection brings a danger of confusing (or simply excluding) rather than enlightening. It reads, rather, as if aimed at those who have already grappled with his arguments and now desire greater understanding of what they (think) they have captured from them – even if the answer turns out to be, well, very little.

The book is divided into three parts, topped and tailed by brief though not perfunctory introduction and conclusions. The first part covers the 'fundamentals' of Badiou's thought ('Philosophy', 'the Conditions', 'the Subject' and 'Ontology'); the second explicates his key concepts or 'Conditions' ('Science', 'Love', 'Art' and 'Politics'); and the third details his critical engagement with and debts to several individual philosophers (Plato, Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, Heidegger, Lacan, Deleuze). Corralled within these delineated boundaries, Badiou's ideas are charted in terms of the history of their inter-related development – and as each tightly written chapter clearly shows, these developments have been significantly substantive. Theorists specialising in the above thinkers would do well to read the appointed chapters as they are sure to learn something of value – if only in gaining categorical reasons to reject Badiou's thought ('everything about Kant ... exasperates me', Badiou is quoted as writing and one can well imagine many Kantians using far more colourful language regarding his own work).

An important work in its area, this edited collection should undoubtedly take its place on the recommended reading lists for many MA courses and seminars (and the price is certainly right). An erudite companion to reading Badiou rather than an introduction, it will not win over or invite in anyone new, but then this does not seem to be the authors' major intent. This is an intervention in a conversation between 'academicians' ultimately still talking, maybe not unhappily, largely among themselves.

David S. Moon
(University of Liverpool)

A History of International Political Theory: Ontologies of the International by **Hartmut Behr**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 302pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 230 52486 6

Hartmut Behr contends that from the early nineteenth century onwards the history of thinking about inter-

national relations shifted from a universalistic to a particularistic perspective. In the first instance the point of reference for individual action and politics was universal law; in the latter case it was the particular well-being and interests of the state. This overall change can also be detected through a number of partial shifts. Ontologically, the focus went from mankind to the state, epistemologically from holism to structuralism, methodologically from hermeneutics to positivism and in moral theory ethics no longer occupied the central place. Behr argues that this is a fundamental issue which influences the discipline's approach towards numerous questions, not least about international cooperation and sociability.

Behr attempts to provide evidence of this shift by offering fresh perspectives on the thought of canonical figures in international political theory and by introducing the views of a number of neglected thinkers. For example, he argues that Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbes were not the core realists they are often mistaken for and hence that realism cannot be traced back to their ideas. The force of Christian universalism throughout the centuries is largely underestimated, as the (re)introduction of the ideas of Augustine, Aquinas, de Las Casas and Vitoria aims to illuminate. Behr argues that it was mainly through the influence of Hegel that universalism disappeared from thinking about international affairs. This has led IR theory astray, in particular the realist and English School theories.

Behr's thesis is daring. His new historical perspective and the additions to the history of international thought make the book interesting. Yet he fails to provide sufficient evidence for the ontological shift, especially from the nineteenth century onwards. He puts most emphasis on the lack of particularism before Hegel. Therefore the book implies more than the analysis is able to carry.

In itself this would not be a sufficient reason for a negative judgement on the book, but its poor readability certainly is. The book is, frankly, a tiring collection of bad writing practice, such as very long sentences (six to ten lines is common), eyebrow-raising metaphors, continual use of the semicolon, and numerous repetitions and asides.

Edwin Van De Haar
(Leiden University)

Walled States, Waning Sovereignty by **Wendy Brown**. Brooklyn NY: Zone Books, 2010. 167pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 1 935408 08 6

Wendy Brown's *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* offers a detailed exposition, analysis and critique of the contemporary phenomenon of walling and its relationship to nation state sovereignty. The author makes three substantive arguments: first, she contends that, notwithstanding differences in context, objectives and effects, walls can be conceived of as 'a single historical phenomenon' (p. 26), characteristic of the waning of sovereignty in modern nation states. Developing this argument further, Brown claims, second, that nation state walls in particular are emblematic of the detachment of sovereignty from the nation state (p. 24). Finally, the author asserts that the central attributes of nation state sovereignty are displaced from the nation state on to global capital and forms of political violence that are legitimised in religious terms (p. 23). Building upon an overview of her analysis, which the author presents in the first chapter, she maps sovereignty's treatment in modern political thought and assesses its configuration of the relationship between subjects and states (chs 2 and 3). The book concludes with a discussion of the affective dimension of walls, specifically with a consideration of citizens' affective attachment to walling in contemporary nation states (ch. 4). Using examples from current wall-building projects between or around nation states, such as the US wall along the Mexican border, to the building of walls in the service of colonial projects, such as the Israeli wall along Gaza, or the building of gated communities within nation states, Brown asserts that walls, rather than strengthening the distinction between inside and outside, actually blur and even undermine it.

Two aspects are particularly noteworthy. First, Brown's book is immensely readable. Albeit theoretical in focus – the author draws on proponents and critics of sovereignty, such as Schmitt, Agamben and Foucault – Brown complements her theoretical reflections with empirical evidence and case studies. Thus, this book should attract readers with an interest in political theory, comparative politics and international relations. It also offers a persuasive and elegantly argued analysis of the current state of sovereignty. Brown's theoretical considerations, specifically her thesis of the peculiar relationship between the waning of sovereignty (or rather, the displacement of nation state sovereignty on

to capital and religion) and the enhanced building of walls, are lucid and compelling, and further enhanced and illustrated by her use of examples. In sum, notwithstanding the serious subject matter of the book, it is an enjoyable read and I highly recommend it.

Birgit Schippers
(St Mary's University College Belfast)

Why Not Socialism? by **G. A. Cohen**. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2009. 83pp., £10.95, ISBN 978 0 691 14361 3

Readers familiar with Harry Frankfurt's *On Bullshit* will know what I mean when I say that this is a small book. It is approximately eight inches tall, and 83 pages long. It is the sort of thing one might expect to pull from one's Christmas stocking. However small the package, though, the problems that Cohen addresses in this slim volume are of enormous importance, and can be taken seriously by readers ranging from those with only a tangential interest in the field, to serious scholars of egalitarian and socialist thought.

Cohen attempts to begin to answer the cover question 'Why not socialism?' with a simple thought experiment. A group of people are on a camping trip. Someone has brought a Frisbee, someone else has brought fishing poles. Some people do the cooking, others the cleaning up, all depending on their preferences and skills. But no-one on this camping trip questions how much any other individual should pay for the use of any of the equipment, or how much anyone ought to be compensated for, for example, the market value of his skill in fishing.

Obviously, this hypothetical camping situation is meant to model the possibility of a larger-scale socialist market economy, in which the means of production are publicly owned, the output of which would be directed toward an egalitarian consideration of the advantage of all involved. If the question remains 'Why not socialism?', an obvious observer might reply that the camping situation, and the economic situation of societies as a whole, are vastly, and importantly, different.

In the remainder of this thin volume, Cohen attempts to undermine this worry that large societies are relevantly different from camping trips, such that socialism is the correct response to the latter, but not the former.

One concern I have is that if this text is meant to be a primer or introduction to the virtues of a socialist

political economy, then Cohen lets the arguments slip into the esoteric and academic. Chapter 2, for example, gets bogged down in the remarkable debate between Cohen and Ronald Dworkin regarding the correct currency of egalitarian justice (Cohen supporting access to advantage, Dworkin defending equality of resources). Relevant though it may be, this argument is an aside for those looking for a clear, concise, honest and intelligent introduction to socialist thinking. However, if lay readers are willing to wade through the esoterica, this is exactly what they will find.

Robert C. Robinson
(University of Georgia)

Autonomy and Liberalism by **Ben Colburn**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 165pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 415 87596 7

The relationship between liberalism and the concept of autonomy is a long and complicated one. In this text Ben Colburn intends to offer 'a clear and attractive theory of liberalism, to bring order to a rather chaotic and ill-managed debate concerning the deep foundations of liberalism on the one hand, and the details of liberal policy on the other' (p. 129). He succeeds in a clear and illuminating fashion. The text examines the results of a commitment to the promotion of a specific conception of personal autonomy at a fundamental level of liberalism. This is achieved through three broad stages. In the first, Colburn outlines an original conception of personal autonomy, which he places in the self-authoring tradition of Raz, Mill and von Humboldt. Contrasted with models of rational self-legislation or hierarchies of motivations, Colburn's conception provides new insight into the endorsement and independence conditions required for self-governance. The consequences of this model of autonomy are explored in the fourth chapter, where Colburn discusses the political morality implied by his arguments. Forming the second stage of the book's argument, Colburn scrutinises the relationships between autonomy and freedom, equality, responsibility and voluntariness. This worthy project both furthers our understanding of the concept and forms the basis of an explicitly political argument. In this chapter he tackles the rarely considered topic of how the state should distribute its autonomy-promoting effort. A convincing argument is given in favour of an

egalitarian distribution of the state's autonomy-promoting efforts.

The concluding section of Colburn's arguments aims to strengthen his position by arguing against opposing positions of political liberalism, comprehensive perfectionism and multicultural liberalism. The author's discussion of liberal theories that hold diversity as the core value will be of interest to many readers. Overall, Colburn's arguments are notable in that they provide something new in one of the longest-running disputes in contemporary political philosophy. His thorough treatment of the topic and the many issues raised is impressive in its focus on the practical consequences of his conception of self-authorship. This unique defence of comprehensive anti-perfectionism is aware of its own shortcomings, however. To its credit the argument consistently acknowledges modesty where necessary, giving further credibility to Colburn's views. The book is well written and accessible, and is suitable for research-orientated students and academics interested in a range of fundamental questions regarding the justification of liberalism.

Christopher Mills
(University of Manchester)

Karl Polanyi: The Limits of the Market by **Gareth Dale**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. 309pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4072 3

Developments since 2008 have done much to renew interest in what were once submerged questions of political economy. For many, the precedence and ubiquity of neo-liberalism seems reminiscent of the hegemony of the liberal economy that concerned much of Karl Polanyi's thought and writing. As such, Gareth Dale's book is a timely assessment of Polanyi's original and persuasive arguments. However, it is not just timely; it is also timeless, giving as it does an authoritative, comprehensive and critical exposition of Polanyi's writings.

Dale lays out a structure that seems consistently well thought out and helps present the complex and often overlapping subject matter in a way that is both clear and rigorous. He divides the book into six main chapters. The first of these, 'The Economics and Ethics of Socialism', discusses both Polanyi's work before his magnum opus *The Great Transformation* and the debate surrounding related concepts. The second focuses on

the content of this work itself, while Chapters 3 to 5 draw out key themes from it, subjecting them to further discussion and critique. These chapters are titled, respectively, 'The Descent of Economic Man', 'Trade, Markets and Money in Archaic Societies' and ' "Disembedded" and "Always Embedded" Economies'. The final chapter – 'At the Brink of a "Great Transformation"?' – relates the preceding discussion to more recent developments and engages with later interpretations and critiques of Polanyi's work.

It is however this last section which, when compared to those that precede it, is probably the weakest. For example, the sub-section 'Neo-liberalism and Counter-Movements Today' is culpable of casting the net too wide in its analysis so that it seems to lack some of the detail and nuanced argument that distinguish the first five chapters. To illustrate this specifically, the brief description of Venezuela (p. 216) as 'an uncomplicated case of the double movement in operation' glosses over much of the contention surrounding the Bolivarian republic in more focused literature. To dwell on this point though is certainly unfair as it is far from the main focus or thrust of the book, yet this latter section would benefit from a more comprehensive global discussion. Much as Polanyi's seminal work is limited by its Euro-centricity, so it follows that the same criticism could be levelled at the book that carries his name. Such minor flaws though should not detract from a work which is surely essential reading for anyone who aspires to an understanding of Polanyi's thought and work.

Robert W. Langton
University of Sheffield

Talking with Sartre: Conversations and Debates by **John Gerassi**. London: Yale University Press, 2010. 318pp., £15.00, ISBN 978 0 300 15901 1

Between 1970 and 1974, John Gerassi sat with Jean-Paul Sartre for weekly coffees and conversations, and was granted by him the official authorisation (scribbled on a paper napkin) to write his biography. The result was not so much a biography as 2,000 pages of transcripts, which include arguments and debates (and sometimes antagonisms), conversations, advice and insights into current and historical political problems and conflagrations. Gerassi has carefully edited those 2,000 pages into this volume, granting us a glimpse into

the mind of one of the twentieth century's most important intellectuals.

Conversations range from the literary and the philosophical to the political and the personal. Sartre talks freely about literature, and describes the influence of many writers on his own work, as well as on his activism. He describes the first time he read Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy on the Russian Revolution. He says: 'I became a revolutionary because I understood that it is not someone against whom we must rebel, but a state, a system, which must be overthrown' (p. 46).

Sartre's political insights are on topics that range from the use of torture and capital punishment to the causes and justifications for the Second World War (which he spent in a prisoner-of-war camp), and the US and French involvement in the Vietnam War. However, these insights usually turn the conversation back to Sartre's own philosophical work on the nature of responsibility and freedom, and to his political activism in opposition to fascism.

However, we also find in Sartre's own voice criticisms of his own work, such as the apparent contradiction between, on the one hand, his views on freedom, and on the other, his views on the effects that social conditions have on our choices and actions. These small insights into his thoughts regarding problems with his own theories may be Gerassi's most valuable contribution.

I was particularly captivated when conversations turned to Sartre's friendship and subsequent feud with Albert Camus, along with the casual way that we are granted insight into Sartre's long-term relationship with Simone de Beauvoir (whom he calls 'Castor'). Gerassi tells a story in which Sartre explains their decision to have an open relationship, because passion leads to possessiveness and jealousy. Sartre explains that he has never cried over a woman, which elicits silent tears from Castor. Apparently she has.

If I offer one criticism, it is that I am left knowing that there are literally hundreds more pages in Yale University's library (where Gerassi donated his papers) that are not included in this volume. Hopefully, Yale and Gerassi will see fit to organise more of these fascinating conversations with Sartre into another volume.

Robert C. Robinson
(University of Georgia)

Philosophy and Real Politics by **Raymond Geuss**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008. 126pp., £14.20, ISBN 0691137889

Raymond Geuss starts his polemical book with an attack on the claim that 'politics is applied ethics'. He identifies two readings of this claim: the 'anodyne' reading, which he accepts, and the 'ethics-first' reading, which he opposes. The former reading asserts that politics cannot be a value-free activity and that political actors are determined by certain conceptions of the good in pursuing their political constructs. The 'ethics-first' reading, on the other hand, takes ethics to be an independent discipline, with its own subject matter, through which we can arrive at an 'ideal theory' of ethics that eventually prescribes how humans should act and how they ought to live.

Geuss divides the book into two parts, concerned with realism and the failures of realism, respectively. According to Geuss, those theories that subscribe to the 'ethics-first' view fail to be realistic in so far as they construct structures and formulae without giving any value to their historical and contextual dimension. A 'realistic approach to political philosophy' takes politics to be a matter of conceptualising human interactions, or collective cooperative action, within their historical locus and social context. Geuss is certainly one of those philosophers who believe that politics should identify problem(s) or a set of questions and try to solve or provide answers to them. Following on from this conviction, Geuss raises three kinds of questions, which he labels as those of Lenin, Nietzsche and Weber.

Having identified this set of questions, political philosophy finds itself confronted with certain tasks to make sense of the world around us. These tasks, according to Geuss, move from understanding, evaluation, orientation and conceptual innovation to ideology. Sometimes conceptual innovations do not work for a variety of reasons, and fail to reflect the social context in which the concept should be instantiated, such as *phalanstère*, *Führerprinzip*, 'the Third Way' or 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'. In the final part of the book, Geuss criticises as unproductive and unrealistic contemporary analytic political philosophy's attempts, for instance, to construct idealised systems according to a certain set of 'rights' or to take a single virtue, such as 'justice', as the supreme political virtue.

The problem for Geuss is that these attempts start from *our* intuitions and a set of abstract rights, and not from agents' motivations or our social and political institutions. Geuss attacks Nozick for postulating that the possession of subjective rights can be taken as the starting point of his political philosophy. Rather than arguing for the rights of life, liberty, property, etc., they were taken for granted. These kinds of postulation and foundational thesis deter us from understanding the ways in which social interaction and cooperation are conducted in a certain historical context. Geuss also criticises Rawls' theory of justice for taking justice as the primary virtue among other human excellences based on our intuitions and an imagined hypothetical situation, which is not realistic and leads to an impasse in his theory, exactly for the reason that it has no space for a theory of power.

Dara Salam
(LUISS University, Rome and King's College, London)

Political Thought in the Age of Revolution 1776–1848: Burke to Marx by **Michael Levin**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 217pp., £18.99, 978 0 230 27211 8

This book considers the political thought of a number of thinkers against their historical background. The underlying idea is that 'a text is illuminated by its context' (p. 13). The book focuses on the years from 1776 to 1848, years that were marked by social unrest, revolution and momentous political developments.

Chapter 1 offers an overview of the period from 1776 to 1848. The period begins with the American Declaration of Independence (or American Revolution) in 1776. In 1787 the US Constitution was ratified. The American Constitution was put into effect in 1789, the year that witnessed the French Revolution. This latter event marked the beginning of the modern age. The period is also characterised by the Industrial Revolution, which began in Britain. Other significant events were the revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

Chapter 2 outlines 'the issues, assumptions and challenges with which our period begins' (p. 33). During this period 'modernity' emerged. Michael Levin summarises the basic features of 'modernity' as follows: society becomes capitalist, industrial and urban; politics 'is decreasingly aristocratic and moves towards becoming

ing liberal democratic'; the state becomes more bureaucratic and 'less military', a 'welfare state'; thought 'is relatively secular and rationalistic' (p. 16). He then discusses the intellectual movement known as 'the Enlightenment'. As well as radicalism, the modern world also comprised the reaction against it. Thus, the chapter closes with a discussion of the counter-Enlightenment and counter-revolution.

In the remaining chapters Levin considers how major thinkers of the period reflected on the social changes and political developments of their time. One chapter is devoted to each of the thinkers discussed: Edmund Burke, Thomas Paine, Jeremy Bentham, Georg Hegel, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Each chapter provides a short biographical introduction to the thinker concerned and then examines his political thought and writings before finally turning to look at the thinker's legacy.

By the end of 1848 'the age of revolution had come to an end, at least as far as central and Western Europe were concerned' (pp. 185–6). Three factors had 'tilted the balance against revolution': increasing affluence, the emergence of democracy and the 'counter-revolutionary use of military force' (pp. 186–7).

The book is well written and informed. It is aimed primarily at undergraduate students taking courses in the history of ideas and political thought, but its style makes it accessible to a wider readership. Overall, the book achieves its objectives.

Evangelia Sembou
(Independent Scholar)

The Political Philosophy of George Washington by **Jeffrey H. Morrison**. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 226pp., £21.00, ISBN 978 0 8018 9109 0

To write a book on the political philosophy of George Washington is indeed a very difficult task as Washington was not primarily a man who sought a life of reflection and inquiry; nor did he choose a life of scientific inquiry and investigation but instead chose for himself a life of action and one dedicated to duty and to the service of his country. But since this book is part of Johns Hopkins University Press' series on the 'Political Philosophy of the American Founders', one suspects that the author had little leeway on the title of this work. Nonetheless, this book does a very good job

overall of giving the reader a rather plausible argument of the intellectual background and ideas that would shape Washington's sense of the principles of right action and just government, which would in turn direct his sense of duty and inform his judgement in bringing about, as best he could, what his duty and fellow citizens commanded of him.

Jeffrey Morrison makes a persuasive case that George Washington's thought and career were shaped by the intersection of three ideologies: classical republicanism, British liberalism and Protestant Christianity. He shows that the path of classical republicanism in Washington's thought is founded on a vision of the Roman legacy of stoicism and agrarianism, guided by Livy's portrayal of Cincinnatus, Addison's *Cato*, Cicero's *De Officiis* and Seneca's *Morals*. Morrison also sketches out the respective paths of British liberalism (Locke *et al.*) and of Protestant Christianity (through a combination of the Anglican temperament, the English Bible and Protestant public rhetoric).

In this book, Morrison goes to great lengths to show that Washington's political life was very much shaped by his understanding of right principle as being a combination of the three ideologies outlined above. Morrison argues that for Washington there was a strong interconnection between principle and the demand to order one's life according to right action and self-control, so that one's judgement would not be corrupted or one's ability impaired to offer service to one's fellow citizens when their need and safety required it the most. Hence his book does a very good job in showing how these three ideologies shaped Washington's understanding of what was the best type of political order to serve the interests of its citizens, and the right and proper course of action that would help bring it about.

Clifford Angell Bates Jr
(University of Warsaw)

International Political Theory after Hobbes: Analysis, Interpretation and Orientation by **Raia Prokhovnik and Gabriella Slomp (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 212pp., £57.50, ISBN 9780230241145

Taking Hobbes as a point of departure, Prokhovnik and Slomp's edited work offers an analysis and reinterpretation of Hobbes' thought on international relations as

well as a reorientation of that thought towards contemporary debates in the field. The book addresses how Hobbes has been misinterpreted in the international relations literature, and particularly seeks to illuminate how a rejection of traditional realist oversimplification of Hobbes as well as a proper reinterpretation of his political thought can clarify contemporary realist debates.

The book also traces how later thinkers have interpreted and used Hobbes to fit their personal or a collective academic *Weltanschauung*; it re-conceptualises Hobbes' state of nature and pays attention to unappreciated Hobbesian ideas on international trade. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, the book seeks to understand and to supersede Hobbes in conceptualising international relations. Latching on to the key notion of sovereignty, several authors make it a point to address Hobbes' notion of sovereignty and use it to challenge contemporary realist debates and dogma, all the while pursuing a 'post-Hobbesian' realist interpretation of Hobbes. Throughout, there is a reinterpretation of the 'fragmentation' of Hobbesian thought with particular emphasis on the depoliticisation of Hobbes and a move to assess critically the merits of compartmentalising Hobbes' moral, legal and political thought.

Aimed mainly at the academy, this book offers not only an introduction to Hobbesian currents in contemporary international relations theory but also challenges those same currents. It reassesses the history of the discipline, seeks to re-conceptualise the Hobbesian framework and highlights gross oversimplifications of Hobbes in the literature. The editors largely succeed in this endeavour, although the book tends to restate previous conclusions in subsequent chapters. Overall, it is a reflection of the preoccupation with Hobbes in the realist tradition and a firm rebuke of the maddening oversimplification in contemporary realist debates, particularly with respect to different aspects of 'globalisation' and the spatial-temporal notions of sovereignty that they entail. The book focuses well on underappreciated aspects of Hobbesian debates in contemporary international relations literature and gracefully incorporates current events to illuminate the pointed (though sometimes arcane) aspects of Hobbes' thought emphasised throughout.

Joaquin A. Pedroso
(Florida International University)

The Representative Claim by Michael Saward.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 206pp.,
£45.00, ISBN 978 0 19 957938 9

Political science research on representation has long focused on the responsiveness of elected officials to public opinion. But during the past ten years or so, a growing number of democratic theorists have approached representation as a mutually constitutive relationship between representatives and constituents. According to this view, representation is best understood as an ongoing dynamic process, rather than a product of electoral authorisation and accountability; as distributed throughout society, rather than focused in legislative institutions; and as actively constructing new local, national and transnational constituencies, rather than tied to pre-established territorial districts. Michael Saward's *The Representative Claim* expands and enriches this line of thinking by focusing on the aesthetic and cultural dynamics of representation in both democratic and non-democratic contexts.

Although he argues that the meaning of any representative claim is locally contingent, Saward offers a generic framework comprising five elements: a *maker* of representations puts forward a *subject* that stands for an *object*, which relates to a *referent* and is offered to an *audience*. For example, a political party (maker) offers itself (subject) to the electorate (audience) as standing for the economic interests (object) of the citizenry (referent). The referent exists prior to representation, but 'the real political work lies in the active constitution of constituencies – the making of representations' (p. 51). After reviewing recent scholarship and elaborating his framework, Saward devotes special attention to representative claims by the non-elected (such as NGOs), and then considers the representation of nature, women and political parties. Arguing that scholars have often conflated representation and democracy, Saward delays normative considerations until the final chapter.

By focusing on claims to represent, rather than representative institutions, Saward highlights the reception of representative claims by both intended and unintended audiences. And as he points out, audiences may not entirely overlap with proposed constituencies. Representing a constituency requires portraying both it and oneself; acting for others involves standing for them. But representatives cannot stand for all the identities and interests of their constituents, so representative

claims always remain incomplete and contestable. Saward briefly outlines provisional conditions of democratic legitimacy, but he argues that presumptive constituents should remain the final judges of whether someone actually represents them. And such judgments, Saward writes, are best assessed on a case-by-case basis. In this respect, *The Representative Claim* both offers useful insights into the concept of representation and raises important questions for empirical research.

Mark B. Brown
(California State University)

Writings on War by **Carl Schmitt**, translated by **Timothy Nunan**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011. 304pp., £17.99, ISBN 9780745652979

Carl Schmitt is without a doubt one of the most important political theorists of the twentieth century.¹ Timothy Nunan's translation of Schmitt's essays on war and international relations is a very important contribution to the current debates on the evolution of post-Cold War politics.

Schmitt was one of the first thinkers to understand that in an age of global politics the governing entities would no longer be coextensive with fixed borders or be limited to the control of a single dominant state. The limited resources and power of the European national state would not constitute a counterweight to the large powers such as the Soviet Union and the US. The classical European national state, in Schmitt's view, was destined to lose its historical political, economic and military sovereignty. He argued instead that the world would break down into global spheres of influence. In his view, *Grossraum* (great space) would become the dominant entity of international politics.

For Schmitt, a *Grossraum* is a great space (such as the European Union) dominated by a power that represents a unique political idea. Schmitt derived the concept of *Grossraum* from the study of the Monroe Doctrine, which had been put forward in 1823 by the American president, James Monroe. Schmitt maintained that the ultimate goal of the doctrine was to prevent foreign European powers from invading or influencing politically the Western hemisphere. The doctrine was not necessarily an aggressive policy in terms of international political interventions, but it was essentially a conservative policy aimed at preserving American influence over North and South America. To this end, Schmitt's

concept of *Grossraum* should not be confused with the German concept of *Lebensraum* (living space).² In fact, Nunan identifies the *Grossraum* too closely with the military and diplomatic German policies of the early 1940s. In contrast to Nunan's view it can be argued that the *Grossraum* concept is probably better utilised in understanding current international dynamics with the growth of China and the European Union.

Nevertheless, this book is a critical contribution toward understanding the new international multipolar order.

Notes

- 1 See George Schwab's work, *The Challenge of the Exception* (1989), for a unified perspective on the bulk of Schmitt's writings.
- 2 On the distinction between *Grossraum* and *Lebensraum* see George Schwab, 'Contextualizing Carl Schmitt's Concept of *Grossraum*', *History of European Ideas*, 19 (1–3), 1994.

Paolo Morisi
(Independent Scholar)

The Luck of the Draw: The Role of Lotteries in Decision Making by **Peter Stone**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 186pp., £32.50, ISBN 9780199756100

This book seeks to develop a general theory of lotteries, covering their application both to allocating goods and assigning responsibilities. While previous studies have pointed to various different features of lotteries, Stone argues that these can ultimately be reduced to sanitising decisions. Random decision making, that is, precludes influence by reasons. Where there are good reasons to decide one way rather than another, the use of lotteries is absurd. But random selection is useful – maybe even required – where we seek to exclude the influence of bad reasons.

The argument is both ambitious, in aiming to give a unified account of when lotteries are appropriate, and novel, in placing no weight on the fairness of equal chances as such. On Stone's view, a lottery merely excludes bad reasons, but this effect could be secured in other ways (p. 157); perhaps, for instance, through the choice of a young child (although if this really is unbiased, perhaps it could be considered a lottery). If the reason for using a chance procedure is simply to avoid the danger of bad reasons, though, I do not see why the procedure must be equiprobable, except of

course to avoid the threat of bad reasons assigning one party a greater chance.

Unfortunately, since Stone restricts his attention to fair (i.e. equiprobable) lotteries (p. 24), these issues are not fully addressed. But while it might be wise to begin any examination of complex phenomena by looking first at the simpler cases, I do not see how Stone's account could be extended to weighted lotteries. He might, of course, reply that a weighted lottery is always unjust, since if there is a stronger reason to award the good to one party, then that person should receive it directly, and not merely have a greater chance of it. But I am inclined (with John Broome) to think that a weighted lottery may be fairer than giving a good to the strongest claimant and neglecting other (perhaps only marginally) weaker claims entirely.

Despite points of disagreement, however, this book is clearly a welcome contribution to the (apparently growing) literature on lotteries. Whether or not its argument is persuasive, the attempt to provide a unified account of lotteries is informative. Moreover, although the careful qualifications make the text dry to read in places, both Stone's precision and wealth of examples underline the ten years that this book has been in the making.

Ben Saunders
(University of Stirling)

The Metaphysics of Self-Realisation and Freedom: Part 1 of The Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green by **Colin Tyler**. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2010. 213pp., £30.00, ISBN 978 1 845401191

Colin Tyler presents an informed and well-researched analysis of Thomas H. Green's liberal socialism in this remoulding of his doctoral thesis. Tyler argues that Green has been unfairly characterised by Edwardian and selected subsequent scholars of political thought, who tend to disregard the significance of Green by arguing and advancing positions designed to illustrate a misconceived 'less than pronounced relevance' in contemporary thought. This is an oversight that Tyler seeks to remedy by repositioning Green, arguing that his political philosophy demands greater scrutiny and understanding in order to garner more appropriately an enhanced appreciation of Green's significance for political philosophy.

Tyler seeks to argue that Green was a *liberal socialist*. 'Liberal' in the sense that he advocated the responsibilities of the individual towards their own intellectual, temporal and social elevations; 'socialist' in the sense of his gravitation towards a role of the state in enabling individual possibility to flourish free of the excessive forces of capitalism. Although it must be noted that Green eschewed the claim that 'humanity as a single entity can progress', illustrating his preference for the individual over collective approaches (p. 33).

Although divorced by their ideological contradictions – collectivism vs. individualism – Tyler highlights convergence points that can demonstrate compatibility, commonly eschewed by conventional liberal and socialist intellectual thought. Rather than follow the orthodox bipolarisation of these political strains, Tyler successfully puts forward a case for them to be brought together in this reassessment of Green. Significantly, the areas of convergence point towards *social* rather than exclusively political means, thus enabling compatibility to occur.

Tyler thus successfully presents a re-evaluation of Green but this book should not be mistaken for an orthodox introduction or restatement of either liberalism or socialism. Rather, it assumes an existing and mature understanding of both on the part of the reader, as the author attempts a more analytical task of deconstructing Green's argument of the eternal consciousness. By utilising Green as an illuminating figure, Tyler adopts a de facto case study approach towards advancing Green's original philosophical intention.

This book will be of particular interest to political philosophers and intellectual progressives seeking to enhance their already mature conceptualisation of liberalism and/or socialism. It is this group of academics to whom this book should be recommended. It may also be of use to those seeking a greater, broader intellectual appreciation of political philosophy more generally.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Huddersfield)

Locke on Toleration by **Richard Vernon (ed.)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 224 pp., £13.99, ISBN 978 0 521 13969 4

John Locke's defence of toleration is still considered a classical text regarding this topic. But in the light of the current debate one might start to wonder whether this is still justified, as Locke insists that government should

not tolerate Catholics or atheists and as some of the most pressing theoretical issues – for example whether toleration involves certain paradoxes – are not touched upon in his work.

Richard Vernon's new edition of Locke's writings on toleration and of Jonas Proast's rebuttals shows why one should bother with Locke's *Letters* nevertheless. Because, contrary to most contemporary writers, Locke understood that toleration is not a separate property a liberal government has to cultivate, but that its being tolerant simply *derives* from its being liberal. This is evident in Locke's main argument for why the government should not prescribe any religion: its first premise states that '[t]he end of a commonwealth constituted can be supposed no other than what men in the constitution of, and entering into it, proposed' (p. 141). But no-one, Locke continues, has good reasons to call for governmental proselytising, since neither is the government especially likely to get religious matters right (p. 9 *et passim*), nor does it have effective means to convert its subjects, as it might only command outward conformity and never sincere faith (p. 8 *et passim*). It is thus Locke's normative claim that legitimate governmental action is constrained by the citizens' consent that carries the weight of his argument – which is, of course, the quintessential liberal insight. This argument can already be sensed in Locke's original *Letter*, but only in the second and third letter as well as in the selected passage from the *Second Treatise of Government* does it emerge clearly.

As Locke's defence of religious toleration relies on his liberal theory, it is no surprise that Proast's main argument against Locke reads like a perfectionist account of political legitimacy. Thus, the most interesting part of Proast's critique is not his inquiry whether the empirical premises of Locke's argument really hold, that is, whether punishments might not inspire real faith after all. It is his question of why the government should not promote the good even if its citizens have not authorised this (p. 60 *et passim*). Who prevails in this argument is difficult to ascertain, as both authors offer mostly intuitions to sustain their respective claims. But it is certainly a merit of Vernon's edition to show Locke's role as a forerunner in the debate between liberals and perfectionists.

Christine Bratu
(University of Munich)

Other Voices: Readings in Spanish Philosophy by John R. Welch (ed.). Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. 363pp., £33.95, ISBN 978 0 268 04419 0

Reading *Other Voices: Readings in Spanish Philosophy*, one finds oneself sympathetic to the concern expressed – that English-speaking scholars, while accustomed to reading and referring to French-speaking or German-speaking philosophers, have been inclined to overlook philosophers working in Spanish – but sceptical about the approach to remedying it adopted in this anthology. Presumably the work is intended either for the general reader or as an undergraduate university text. Its limited attention to any single thinker, period or theme, and its lack of depth precludes it from contributing to scholarship. At the same time, however, the Spanish tradition as outlined here (which runs from Seneca and Quintilian in the era of the Roman Empire through the medieval period and thinkers like Isidore of Seville, Ibn Rushd (Averroës), Moses Maimonides and Ramón Llull, to the Renaissance and Juan Luis Vives, to the age of discovery and the Counter-Reformation with thinkers like Francisco de Vitoria, Bartolomé de Las Casas and Francisco Suarez, to the Enlightenment and Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, and ultimately to more recent thinkers like Miguel de Unamuno and José Ortega y Gasset) seems a little contrived and artificial. Not all wrote in Spanish or lived in Spain at the time in which they were writing, although they were born within what has come now to be known as Spain.

Readers of *Political Studies Review* will likely be more interested in some of these thinkers than others. Vitoria, Las Casas and Suarez were working within a Thomistic scholastic tradition in the context of debates over the legitimacy of Spanish conquests and policy in Latin America and, to their credit, they follow the logic of their philosophical positions even when it leads them to a critique of Spanish policy. Like Aquinas and before him St Augustine, they focus on posing questions about the content of justice in an inherently imperfect world. Their work is pertinent today because of their contributions to the development of the just war tradition, not only in its *jus ad bellum* (or just cause) aspect but also in its *jus in bello* (or just means) aspect. This and their contribution to the development of international law has inspired some scholarly attention – for example, works by

Bernice Hamilton, J. A. Fernandez-Santamaria and Anthony Pagden, and a new book in 2011 on Las Casas: *Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Conquest of the Americas* by Lawrence Clayton – but John Welch's suggestion that more work might be merited has itself some merit. Some will be interested in the thought of the twentieth-century thinker José Ortega y Gasset who writes that '*Man, in a word, has no nature; what he has is ... history*. Expressed differently: what nature is to things, history, *res gestae*, is to man' (p. 329, emphasis and ellipsis in original).

There are elements here of interest and, in a few cases, the translations are original to this volume. However, in some ways the book is simultaneously too ambitious and not ambitious enough, the former in that it probably attempts to cover too broad a range of thinkers and the latter in that it fails to cover any thinker, theme or period in sufficient depth.

James G. Mellon
(Independent Scholar)

Ethics and Public Policy: A Philosophical Inquiry by **Jonathan Wolff**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011. 224pp., £17.99, ISBN 9780415668538

The actual and potential relationship between philosophy and public policy has, arguably, yet to receive the type of direct, concretised examination it deserves. *Ethics and Public Policy: A Philosophical Inquiry* offers a welcome corrective to that oversight. With characteristic eloquence and clarity, Jonathan Wolff reflects upon his own involvement with public policy initiatives related to animal experimentation, gambling, drugs and public safety, for example, to demonstrate the ways in which philosophy and philosophers can contribute productively to efforts to address pressing public policy challenges.

Wolff begins by noting that, contrary to what many might assume, moral and political philosophising is not naturally compatible with the needs of public policy (p. 3). Philosophers inhabit a distinctly different professional world than that of policy makers. In particular, while policy makers must necessarily be concerned with developing proposals that can secure a substantial degree of support within a diverse community, philosophers are taught and expected to pursue the 'truth' and reject compromise undertaken merely for the purpose of generating greater support for their arguments.

Furthermore, the type of '“first choose your theory” approach' (p. 9) to problem solving that typically characterises philosophical debate is also incompatible with effective public policy development, which is instead best realised if one first concentrates on acquiring a sound understanding of the policy area and the specific problem under examination. In essence, then, if philosophers wish to be productively involved and taken seriously in the 'everyday world of public policy' they must acknowledge the difference between ideal theory and non-ideal theory, and work within the constraints of the latter as required. As Wolff astutely cautions: 'A refusal to get one's hands dirty is admirable, but unlikely to be sustainable in public policy' (p. 199).

However, Wolff emphasises that none of the above prevents philosophy from being of use to policy makers. For example, philosophers can 'bring to the table' valuable skills, such as the ability to identify important distinctions, detect ambiguities and confusion, 'reflect on the logical relations between ideas, and so on' (p. 8). Although many others possess such skills, they are typically much more developed in philosophers. One of the most important skills possessed by philosophers is their ability to develop alternatives to the status quo that are informed by the work of generations of their predecessors who 'have agonized about similar questions' (p. 8).

Ethics and Public Policy is an extremely interesting book which offers important, useful insights for philosophers and policy makers alike.

Shaun P. Young
(York University, Toronto)

International Relations

The Legal Empowerment Agenda: Poverty, Labour and the Informal Economy in Africa by **Dan Banik (ed.)**. Surrey: Ashgate, 2011. 217pp., £25.00, ISBN 9781409411192

Global Poverty: How Global Governance is Failing the Poor by **David Hulme**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 246pp., £21.99, ISBN 978 0 415 49078 8

There can be little doubt that the extent of poverty in the global system, the levels of economic inequality and how these problems might be overcome have become abiding topics of research and discussion across the

academic community. In the books under review two different ways of examining these issues are set out. In *The Legal Empowerment Agenda* the contributors ask how the poor can be helped through the introduction of the legal structures which (many historians argue) underpinned the economic development of the West. In *Global Poverty* the lens is reversed and the role of the institutions of global governance is evaluated and found wanting as regards the amelioration of global poverty.

Dan Banik has carved out a space for himself as a scholar who seeks to establish the efficacy of the legal empowerment agenda on the ground, with this being a companion volume to his *Rights and Legal Empowerment in Eradicating Poverty* (2008 – previously reviewed in *PSR*, 8 (2), 251–2). His and his collaborators' work has engaged with the ideas of Hernando de Soto, who argues that the establishment and expansion of legal rights to property (most obviously land holdings) allow the poor to escape from the trap of hand-to-mouth existence and start to profit from their industry and effort. In this new volume Banik gathers together a wide range of cases (and researchers) to examine the impact of legal empowerment on the informal economy in Africa. Noting that the Commission for the Legal Empowerment of the Poor had focused on labour and 'business' rights, but still building on de Soto's emphasis on property rights, Banik's collaborators on this project were asked to examine both the value of and the constraints on the legal empowerment agenda in Zambia, South Africa, Malawi and elsewhere, with an emphasis on South African Development Community members. Balancing discussions of street vending and other informal 'occupations' with accounts of the informal health sector and social care, chapters examine the various ways in which legal regulation (and 'empowerment') can help decrease transaction costs for informal workers and by doing so enable more 'profitable' economic activity. While many of the case studies focus on ways in which the work and life experience of those in informal work can be improved through legal and non-legal social interventions, most importantly they also testify that there is no 'silver bullet' that can reduce poverty or quickly transform social relations for the better in economically challenged communities. Nevertheless, the volume allows the reader to gain real insight into the interaction between social forces, legal structures and economic development.

If Banik's book identifies the legal sector as the arena where action can make a difference, in David Hulme's *Global Poverty: How Global Governance is Failing the Poor* we move to a different level of analysis altogether, or more accurately, to a more complex assemblage of issues. Utilising the approach of Robert Cox to identify the social forces that impact on global poverty while also offering a clear historicisation of the issue, Hulme integrates a wide-ranging discussion of global poverty with an account of the various global institutional responses mobilised in the last two decades. The book travels from historical contextualisation via an assessment of how we understand poverty to questions about how various ways of thinking about poverty drive prospective 'solutions'. This wide-ranging book sets out to do much more than the subtitle suggests by attempting to map the full range of issues that anyone thinking about global poverty might wish to engage with. However, this is both its strength and its weakness: offering such a wide-ranging account acts to help the neophyte with an excellent survey of what they need to explore; for the seasoned campaigner, however, while the links between issues *may* be suggestive, overall there may be some desire to see the subtitle's question explored in a little more sustained manner. That said, this is an excellent primer on global poverty and would be a very useful source to underpin an undergraduate course on the subject.

As this review has indicated, *The Legal Empowerment Agenda* is an excellent corrective to single policy responses to global poverty, and while one may regard the weighting of politics and law differently to the contributors, there is much of value to be gained from a perusal of these cases, even if it is the slightly trite realisation that there is no single answer to global poverty; as such this would be an excellent supplementary reading for any course on global poverty. The Hulme book, on the other hand, while perhaps slightly out of kilter with the rest of the 'Global Institutions' series, by virtue of its lack of sustained institutional focus, and its length, clearly will be an excellent and thought-provoking undergraduate course book which will underpin a nuanced and multi-focal treatment of the subject; colleagues now have an excellent basis on which to develop courses that will complement established curricula on international relations.

Christopher May
(Lancaster University)

Crafting an African Security Architecture: Addressing Regional Peace and Conflict in the 21st Century by **Henry Baseda (ed.)**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 222pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 4094 0325

The book under review explores the genesis, *raison d'être* and practicability of promoting an African security architecture for implementing the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). The R2P doctrine became popular following the release of the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in 2001. R2P was prompted by the need to mitigate humanitarian tragedies like those in Bosnia and Rwanda in the 1990s. The work underscores the argument that the aspiration of effectively executing the R2P doctrine can only be achieved if complemented by a firm commitment to improve capacity in security, governance and resource allocation. The volume, which is a compilation of twelve chapters from a rich mix of authors with different backgrounds, will attract the attention of not only policy makers and practitioners of conflict management, but also university students interested in grasping practical experiences of and the complementary roles played by the African Union (AU), UN, EU, sub-regional organisations and individual leading states in Africa's security dynamics.

Crafting an African Security Architecture attempts to strike a balance between the AU's milestones and weaknesses in operationalising its peace and security architecture. The AU is credited for exhibiting fundamental differences from its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in terms of its ambitious agenda, elaborate institutions and actions (i.e. not being a 'paper tiger', pp. 17–9). The volume is, however, overly critical of the AU in some sections. It is a bit harsh to say that 'the AU is widely perceived as an elite project' (p. 26) without at least appreciating efforts already taken within the AU's auspices to deconstruct that perception. Moreover, South Africa is much criticised for its 'quiet diplomacy' with regard to Zimbabwe (p. 27) while elsewhere the country is highly praised for its peacekeeping role in Burundi (p. 116, p. 126, p. 138).

Finally, as the volume was published in 2010, some facts could have been updated to reflect recent developments. Specifically, the actual membership of the EASBRIG (thirteen or fourteen member states?) needs

to be reconciled as it may confuse readers. On page 188 the author mentions thirteen EASBRIG member states including Tanzania, which by the date of the volume's publication had moved on to join the SADCBRIG. And Burundi is barely mentioned on page 190, without explicitly stating whether or not it is part of the fourteen EASBRIG states.

Rasul Ahmed Minja
(University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany)

The International Politics of Mass Atrocities: The Case of Darfur by **David R. Black and Paul D. Williams (eds)**. London: Routledge, 2010. 289pp., £28.99, ISBN 0415559030

The International Politics of Mass Atrocities: The Case of Darfur is a unique volume that examines the roles played by international and regional actors in the 'world's worst humanitarian crisis' (p. 6). The editors claim in their introduction that they chose to focus 'on how some of the most influential actors within international society responded to the war in Darfur from its beginning up until the end of 2007' (p. 1). They claim also to be interested in what these responses divulge about a variety of important issues in contemporary world politics, including the foreign policy priorities of some of the world's most powerful actors, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) concept, the ongoing global war on terrorism, international repercussions of the war in Iraq, the current condition of the UN system in relation to global security challenges, and the state of security in Africa.

The book is innovative and noteworthy in bringing together a range of writers who jointly outline the response of 'international society' – as contested a notion as that is – to the tangled conflict in Darfur, and Sudan more generally. The book is divided into three sections. The first, entitled 'Regional Politics', explores how domestic and regional politics affected, interfered with and destabilised the conflict. The second, 'Multi-lateral Politics', examines how multinational organisations such as the UN Security Council, the African Union, the European Union and the International Criminal Court responded to, or virtually disregarded, the crisis. The final section, 'Bilateral Politics', explores the individual relationships between Sudan and the US, China, France and Canada, showing how each country, despite acknowledgement of and concern for the

conflict, in effect either was ineffectual, or neglected or frustrated the situation.

This book is successful in providing a fairly comprehensive picture of the conflict and the responses it invited from global actors. It has an interesting feel to it, like a narrative in which each chapter covers the same events and characters from a different perspective. Characters are shown in different lights and are given different levels of attention and significance. The inevitable overlap does not seem repetitive but provides nuance. Although the book professes not to be about the nature of the war (p. 6), it is reasonably thorough. However, it would be more accessible to those with limited knowledge of Darfur if more effort had been made in the introduction to provide a basic 'lie of the land', of both the book and the conflict.

Kirsten J. Fisher
(University of Helsinki)

Laws, Outlaws, and Terrorists: Lessons from the War on Terrorism by **Gabriella Blum and Philip B. Heymann**. London: MIT Press, 2010. 225pp., £16.95, ISBN 978 0262014755

International terrorism and contemporary domestic and international counter-terrorism strategies trigger questions as to whether the prevailing attitude towards terrorism has changed. *Laws, Outlaws and Terrorists: Lessons from the War on Terrorism* offers a comprehensive and timely analysis of how law, policy and morality should shape counter-terrorism practice in order to protect security and liberty. By reference to the US counter-terrorism measures employed since September 2001, the authors present the lessons learned from the war on terrorism and argue for the development of a counter-terrorism model that is distinct from the war and peace paradigms against contemporary terrorism threats.

The first part of the book focuses on the relationship between counter-terrorism and law and argues for adherence to both domestic and international legal rules in the struggle against terrorism. The final section of Part I is most interesting, dealing with a topic that has been widely overlooked, that is, the role of legal counsel to the executive in the context of the war on terror. Drawing upon the issues covered in Part I, the second part addresses the implications of coercive and non-coercive measures such as targeted killing, detention and interrogation and provides an insight into the

lessons learned from the use of such counter-terrorism measures. In the final part of the book, the authors manage to challenge the traditional absolute view of non-negotiation with terrorists and they offer some creative suggestions in order to reduce moral support for terrorism.

The book is written in a comprehensive and exceptionally accessible manner and will be essential reading for those specialising in the field of terrorism and counter-terrorism. It casts light on some of the most difficult and controversial questions on counter-terrorism and encourages those engaged with the topic to reconsider whether a rebalancing exercise is necessary in order to deal with the terrorism threat successfully. The book is innovative in calling for a reappraisal of the non-negotiation with terrorism policy, and it stands apart from the available literature on terrorism that has been published in recent years. A further distinctive feature of the book is that it is not limited to a traditional legal analysis of the application of domestic and international legal rules to the fight against terrorism. The authors manage not only to shed ample light on the lessons learned from the war on terrorism, but also to contribute to the search for a counter-terrorism strategy that respects the rule of law and democratic values.

Emmanouela Mylonaki
(London South Bank University)

The Routledge Handbook of War and Society by **Steven Carlton-Ford and Morten G. Ender (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 324pp., £125.00, ISBN 978 0 415 56732 9

The defining events of this generation may turn out to be the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. With their far-reaching consequences for military and civilian personnel, these wars present scholars with many facets and angles to analyse. The editors of *The Routledge Handbook of War and Society* present a volume that maps this terrain for further research: taking Iraq and Afghanistan as focal points offers a better understanding of the profound effects of modern warfare on society; taking the standpoint that war is too important a subject to be removed from sociological inquiry and left to military history and political science, the editors and contributors place the topic in a multidisciplinary forum.

The changing nature of war necessitates studies that analyse the experiential dimension as well as scrutinising milestones and objectives. Nowhere is this more sharply brought into focus than on the 'home front' (p. xxiii). This arena is traditionally highly political while contemporary war has brought this aspect to the front line too. The 'war and society' approach taken by nearly 50 contributors from the military and academia is an ideal lens through which to dissect contemporary war (p. xxi).

'360-24-7' is how Dandeker terms these wars; 360-degree warfare all day, every day (p. xxii). In four sections, this study maps this terrain from a military point of view but also offers a more in-depth analysis from angles one would not usually see taken. Part I analyses combat and the aftermath of the war on the ground; Part II takes a critical look at the same topic but from the perspective of non-combatants; while Parts III and IV map out and explore the territory of war on the home front, including its social construction and a vigorous study of the role of the media.

Chapters of note for their innovative perspectives and analysis include those on social network analysis, Iraqi adolescents, the media and the Muslim enemy, the well-being of military children, and trends in the attitudes of American undergraduates towards the wars. This study highlights how soldiers' perceptions of themselves have altered; and the 'psychological dilemmas' created for military personnel when their training does not match the actualities of war or the severe problems caused when the neat definitions of civilian and combatant become blurred by the very nature of these two most contemporary wars (p. 2).

Valuable for both students and practitioners, this collection of 25 essays provides an ideal and insightful base for further exploration of the issues created by what Hoffman terms 'hybrid war' (p. xxiv).

Adrian Gray
(Lancaster University)

The Making of a Transnational Capitalist Class: Corporate Power in the 21st Century by **William K. Carroll**. London: Zed Books, 2010. 273pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 1 84813 443 0

The Making of a Transnational Capitalist Class: Corporate Power in the 21st Century is the latest contribution to

the growing body of political economy literature devoted to transnational capitalist class (TCC) formation and development. William Carroll builds on largely theoretical analyses of TCC formation by Leslie Sklair (*The Transnational Capitalist Class*, 2001), William Robinson (*A Theory of Global Capitalism*, 2004) and others, using social network analyses to establish transnational interlocks between major corporations, policy organisations and billionaire individuals, among other units of analysis. Carroll's findings indicate that indeed a small network of mostly finance capitalists, headquartered in a handful of North American and Western European cities, can be distinguished as a transnational fraction of the global capitalist elite. However, he does not conclude that this fraction can be accurately described yet as a conscious class 'in-itself and for-itself', as has been posited by proponents of TCC theory (e.g. Robinson and Harris).¹ Instead, Carroll's findings and conclusions largely support Van der Pejl's 1984 description in *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class* of a loosely affiliated transatlantic ruling class, increasingly centred in continental Western Europe.

The book is divided into three sections, each containing three chapters. In the first section, Carroll's focus is on transnational corporate community formation. He demonstrates interlocking networks between boards of major corporations and leading neo-liberal global policy groups, and charts the spatial clustering of corporations in the transnational corporate policy network into a handful of North American and Western European cities. Having established the existence of a spatially clustered transnational corporate community, Carroll looks in the second section to chart the 'changing organization of corporate power' from 1996 to 2006: devoting chapters to changing spatial distributions of major corporations, the trend toward transnational networks, and the structural and spatial organisation of billionaires and their placement within the increasingly transnational corporate policy networks. The third section further describes the longitudinal trends characterising the transnational corporate community identified, using the Gramscian notion of transnational historical bloc as a framework for analysis.

Carroll's study is extensive and empirically rigorous, drawing together an array of relevant literature and providing convincing statistical analyses to validate

what has been a largely theoretical body of research. Using professional linkages to identify a discernible transnational capitalist fraction, Carroll has vindicated an important component of TCC class formation. Yet considerable room remains for further analysis. In particular, an empirical analysis of social, as opposed to professional, networks, including qualitative ethnographic research, would illuminate the social linkages that must likewise constitute a component of class formation.

Note

1 Robinson, W. I. and Harris, J. (2000) 'Towards a Global Ruling Class? Globalization and the Transnational Capitalist Class', *Science & Society*, 64 (1), 11–54.

Jonas Ganso
(University of Pittsburgh)

Imperfect Cosmopolis: Studies in the History of International Legal Theory and Cosmopolitan Ideas by **Georg Cavallar**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011. 191pp., £27.99, ISBN 978 0 7083 2382 3

In this short book Georg Cavallar argues that cosmopolitanism has seldom been subjected to a careful consideration of its historical development, despite having achieved 'buzzword' status in contemporary debates. Therefore, he seeks to re-establish the messier and more compromised contours of cosmopolitan thought, emphasising that cosmopolitanism has many parents. He seeks to understand cosmopolitanism as it developed in international legal theory and in political philosophy by introducing both well-known and less-referred-to writers to unpick the unitary 'master narrative' that often lies behind contemporary depictions of cosmopolitanism's intellectual history.

Starting with Francisco de Vitoria, Cavallar works through a cast of cosmopolitans whose work has too often been simplified or (perhaps wilfully) misrepresented, placing Kant into a complex history of ideational development, while noting that Kant's thought in this area developed to become less inconsistent (especially as regards race issues). Thus while it is true that early cosmopolitans presented the imperfect cosmopolis of the title, Cavallar argues that each writer's work must be considered on its merits and in the socio-political context of their time, not merely be regarded as part of a continuum with present-day

debates. Noting that many early cosmopolitans were (or could be considered) outsiders, Cavallar suggests that the history of cosmopolitanism is therefore influenced by the desire for inclusion from beyond, rather than an inclusion-as-imperialism that some recent critiques have identified. However, he concludes that while a complete dismissal of cosmopolitanism's values seems increasingly unacceptable in politics today, the question that remains is: *which* cosmopolitanism might we adopt?

For Cavallar this question can only be answered by a nuanced understanding of the idea's ambiguous history, its imperfect realisation in contemporary debates and a recognition that much cosmopolitan thought remains rooted in a broadly European discourse. If any cosmopolis is imperfect (as the title suggests) then this book is intended to move its adherents to a more humble assessment of their position.

Overall, this is both an interesting criticism of contemporary debates, and an introduction to the shape, and key writers, of a historical appreciation of cosmopolitanism. Any student studying cosmopolitanism in international relations, or with an interest in how international legal debates have been (mis)used in contemporary politics would likely gain considerable insight from Cavallar's study and I can see no reason why this should not find its way on to many reading lists in future years.

Christopher May
(Lancaster University)

The Kurds and US Foreign Policy: International Relations in the Middle East since 1945 by **Marianna Charountaki**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 320pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 58753 2

Ethnic problems play an important role in political and international relations. In the Cold War era with the predominance of realist theories in international relations, there was less attention paid to ethnic and identity issues, but at the end of the Cold War these found an important place in the study of IR. In the years that followed, different titles tapping into the topic have been published, each of which has added to the literature in its own way.

The Kurds and US Foreign Policy by Marianna Charountaki is one of the most recent titles to analyse the Kurdish Issue and US–Kurdish relations, and their

interaction with domestic, regional and global politics. The author believes that we are faced with a scarcity of empirical and theoretical literature on interrelations between state and non-state actors in IR and that the study of the Kurds' problems can partly fill this gap. Kurds are non-state actors and an ethnic minority living in four countries in the Middle East: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. The main question of the book is what relationships exist between the Kurds and American foreign policy, and how the future of these relationships can be explained.

To answer this question, the book is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter provides an introduction which describes the framework of the book. In chapter 2 the author examines the political roles played by the Kurds of the Middle East. Chapter 3 analyses the factors that shape US foreign policy in general and in the Middle East in particular. In the following chapters, Charountaki analyses the motives, facts, behaviours and ideologies of US foreign policy in relation to the Kurds over different periods starting from 1945 and extending to 2009. Finally, in chapter 7, the conceptual implications of the work are discussed and conclusions are drawn.

In conclusion, the author believes that US–Kurdish relations are determined by four parameters: America's relationship with the regional states; Kurdish relations with the states of residence; the empowerment of the regional states; and internal developments in the US and the regional states.

On the whole, the book can be considered as a useful source for IR professors, students and researchers, specifically when non-state actors, ethnic issues and the Kurdish issue are concerned. Readers can equip themselves with various theoretical foundations by reading this interesting book and enhance their knowledge of the literature of state and non-state relationships in international relations.

Alireza Rezaei
(Islamic Azad University, Hamedan Branch, Iran)

The Foreign Policy of Lyndon B. Johnson: The United States and the World, 1963–1969 by Jonathan Colman. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010. 231pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 7486 4013 3

For decades the Vietnam War dominated the scholarship on Lyndon Johnson's foreign policy. In the mid-

1990s, historians began to investigate 'what went right' for the Johnson administration. H. W. Brands expanded the study of American globalism in the 1960s beyond Southeast Asia, and Thomas Schwartz analysed US relations with Western Europe 'in the shadow of Vietnam'. Now add Jonathan Colman to the list of Johnson revisionists.

Colman gives Johnson high scores for his foreign and economic policies. He asserts, like Schwartz, that strengthening NATO was Johnson's major accomplishment. Colman begins by summarising the internal dynamics of the Johnson administration, providing descriptions of individuals such as Dean Rusk, George Ball, McGeorge Bundy, Walt Rostow, Robert McNamara and Clark Clifford. Colman addresses Johnson's troubled relationship with the intelligence community, and concludes his introductory chapter with a discussion of Johnson's weekly 'Tuesday lunches'. Colman ably discusses US policy toward a diverse set of countries, but does not identify a larger strategic framework that guided the administration's policies toward Vietnam, Britain and France, NATO, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, Cyprus, the combatants of the Six Day War, and Latin America.

Colman is on firmer ground when dealing with America's relations with its European allies than with Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. Many will question his claim that Johnson's decision to Americanise the war effort in Vietnam was 'a rational and well-considered policy' (p. 4). While noting that Johnson made the ultimate decision, Colman hedges by stating that escalation was 'a product of Cold War policies that had been in place for nearly twenty years' (p. 30). In his discussion of the Middle East, Colman refutes William Quandt's claim that the Johnson administration gave Israel a yellow light during the run-up to the Six Day War. According to Colman, 'Instead of receiving a green light from Washington, Israel ignored a red one' (p. 153). In his discussion of Latin America, Colman defends American paternalism in the Western hemisphere by arguing that, in the case of US intervention in the Dominican Republic, 'It seems that in at least one instance Washington did know what was best for one of its southern neighbours' (p. 182). Furthermore, Colman fails to mention American support for the military coup in Brazil that overthrew João Goulart in 1964. Despite

these drawbacks, Colman's book has much to offer specialists and non-specialists alike.

Matthew Shannon
(Temple University, Philadelphia)

Beyond War: The Human Potential for Peace by Douglas P. Fry. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. 352pp, \$17.95, 978 0195384611

Something is definitely wrong with the world. Nearly every day we hear news of bomb blasts and other acts of maiming fellow human beings. Never has peace been more needed than now and the world should understand the imperative for a more harmonious existence. The journey towards peace, no matter how tortuous, must be embarked upon by the community of nations. War has created a universal confusion which threatens to 'even close our minds to the possibility of developing alternatives to armed conflicts' (p. 1). This is the theme that runs through Douglas Fry's book, which debunks the 'war bias' and 'presents a novel slant' (p. 5) on conflict management so that we can live peacefully around the world. Using anthropological analysis of communities, Fry states that it is an over-hasty observation to see man as 'warrior', which is just a 'cultural belief in western society', and it is baseless to assume that war is 'inevitable' (p. 12). The theme of war has been perfected for us by 'Hollywood films and daily newscasts' (p. 21), which does not match with archaeological facts (p. 63).

Fry uses several analyses to explain that peace could be achieved in our lifetime. He has no illusion that social life will be free from turmoil, but he clearly states that violence is not an option (p. 86), and the world has not done well in its search for a viable solution to conflicts. Fry presents many examples using communities we might dismiss as ancient, such as the *Semai* people of Malaysia, where a distinct dispute resolution mechanism of *becharaá* has been in place for quite some time, and the Lozi kingdom in Zambia, with a court system that spanned over 200 years.

Although in recent years the world has seen the proliferation of 'peace institutions', problems associated with 'social stratification' and a 'plethora of injustices and cruelties' (p. 98) and exploitative tendencies by 'power mongers' have all increased. If something akin to the Geneva Conventions could be found in Aboriginal Australia (p. 121), then we should examine the

impact and changes caused by the arrival of Europeans. It is 'necessary for human survival' (p. 223) that the world should abolish war. This is a realistic proposition and one that *Beyond War* seeks to fulfil. Fry's book is thus a useful reminder to a world with the United Nations.

Kawu Bala
(Attorney General's Ministry, Belmopan, Belize)

Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation by Charles L. Glaser. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 314pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0 691 14372 9

Charles Glaser's book attempts a marriage of two well-established theoretical traditions in international relations: (structural) realism and strategic choice. Glaser is concerned with asking how states *ought* to act in the international system, presenting a normative strategic choice perspective which considers the optimal strategies for rational states under specific international conditions. Glaser argues that realists have been wrong to focus predominantly on power at the expense of the important variables of motives, information and the offence–defence balance (the extent to which power can be translated into offensive or defensive military capabilities). Accordingly, much of the book is dedicated to exploring how these variables affect the policies states should adopt. Glaser demonstrates many potential outcomes, yet the underlying point is that states will find it in their interests either to cooperate or to compete depending on their particular situation. After developing the theory in the first three chapters, subsequent chapters are devoted to assessing counter-arguments and outlining theoretical extensions. Glaser concludes with an example, addressing the rise of China and arguing – *contra* realism – that the fear of conflict here is unwarranted. Instead, he suggests that the US may be wasting valuable resources on unnecessary balancing attempts.

Although the theory is both detailed and well presented, there are times where a more in-depth discussion of its philosophical foundations would have been useful. One particular example concerns the instrumental use of rationalism and the rejection of explanatory theory. Although Glaser frequently reiterates that his account considers only what states *should* do, the

normative claims are weakened by the absence of a parallel explanatory theory explaining how states *actually* behave. This is because it is only rational for a state to behave in accordance with Glaser's recommendations if the opposing state may be assumed also to act rationally. Glaser dismisses the need for empirical verification by insisting that a theory must be judged on the basis of its deductive logic alone. But in a world where the assumptions of strategic choice have little ontological purchase, the normative points that follow must be called into question. Although the book leaves some fundamentals unanswered, Glaser should be commended for demonstrating how even realist assumptions can lead to cooperative and peaceful outcomes in international politics. The manner in which he reaches these conclusions is also praiseworthy, particularly his attention to detail. Glaser interrogates important realist concepts and lays bare their conceptual and methodological shortcomings, before correcting or adapting them appropriately. This makes Glaser's restatement of realism the most sophisticated yet.

Benjamin Martill
(London School of Economics and Political Science)

Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy by **Kelly M. Greenhill**. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 320 pp., £26.95, ISBN 978 0 801 44871 3

Weapons of Mass Migration is the first comprehensive account of how weak state and non-state actors engage, or threaten to engage, in coercive engineered migration to alter the policy behaviour of stronger (generally liberal) states. Coercive engineered migration consists of the creation, manipulation or exploitation of population movements to achieve diverse objectives and, according to Kelly Greenhill, it is neither a novel nor ineffective practice. It has been used in more than 50 cases over the past 60 years (p. 18) with a conservative success rate of 57 per cent (p. 32). While not a policy tool of first resort, Greenhill shows that challengers often succeed in using coercive engineered migration when the target state's public is divided over how to respond to the population flow (political agitation) or when the target state is unable to accommodate the latter (capacity swamping).

To test her theory, Greenhill selects cases from three different regions (Latin America, Southeast Europe and

Northeast Asia), includes state and non-state actors as challengers, and incorporates examples of coercive engineered migration success and failure. She posits her theory, and evaluates the evidence for and alternative explanations against it in a clear, thorough and convincing manner. Through interviews, archival research, and public opinion, policy and media analysis, Greenhill demonstrates how pro- and anti-migrant groups' positions affect the vulnerability of target states to coercive engineered migration. In a novel twist, Greenhill also demonstrates that international norms regarding refugee protection and appropriate liberal behaviour can be used against target states to coerce the latter into policy directions they might not otherwise choose.

Weapons of Mass Migration is not simply a theoretical evaluation of non-military coercion, however. Greenhill is careful to illustrate the policy implications of coercive engineered migration for each of her selected cases and her final chapter provides policy options to lessen target states' vulnerability to this type of coercion. Where she is less careful, perhaps, is in her treatment of refugees and migrants. While the title of the book suggests that 'mass migration' and 'forced displacement' are the same, and Greenhill places migrants and refugees in the same category for her analysis, these are arguably two different phenomena and groups. Additionally, the reader must bear in mind that the coercion in 'coercive engineered migration' refers to the act of the challenger toward the target state, and not necessarily to a coercively displaced population (as her chapters on Haiti and Cuba demonstrate). That said, international relations theorists, foreign policy analysts, migration, security studies and human rights scholars will all find this book a valuable addition to their scholarship.

Kristy Belton
(University of Connecticut)

Ethics and International Relations by **Ethan B. Kapstein and Joel H. Rosenthal (eds)**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 542pp., £155.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 2848 4

It is far from easy to understand, let alone talk and write about, how ethics becomes manifested in the real world. In the field of international relations, this task becomes further complicated by the disciplinary need to ascribe motivations, values and principles to conglomerates such as firms, organisations and, of course,

states. For Ethan Kapstein and Joel Rosenthal, the way out of this dilemma is to ground an ethical theory of international relations in the policy choices made by influential actors and states.

Kapstein and Rosenthal make a claim for the fundamental relevance of morality to international relations, and conclude that the discipline is ultimately as normative as it is positive. They make this argument through selecting published articles that have come to be seen as important or prominent in the field with a starting point of the Rawlsian model of a closed society dealing with other, similarly bounded polities. They have collected and edited papers centred on issues of war, membership and authority, humanitarian concern and the social consequences of globalisation. They focus on international trade as a locus for ethics, and human rights as the basic denominator for rights promotion in the face of globalisation.

It is perhaps because the anthology is intent on capturing the *Zeitgeist* that the book appears to be somewhat stagnant in its message. Although behavioural economics has pointed the way for understanding the enactment of ethics, other forms of morality that are 'softer', or harder to quantify, are being explored in the field with much success. Indeed, the absence of papers on environmental ethics or on the morality of migration unhinged from citizenship concerns speaks to the problems with such a review-style anthology.

Notwithstanding the above, this book provides an important introduction to a complex subject. It is notable for its attempt to bridge policy, ethical theory and state practice. The articles selected and edited by Kapstein and Rosenthal provide a genuine means to understand the development of the study of ethics and international relations, as well as to reflect on the major themes that have dominated the field thus far.

Stephanie J. Silverman
(St Antony's College, Oxford)

Beyond Constitutionalism: The Pluralist Structure of Postnational Law by Nico Krisch. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 358pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 922831 7

One of the key issues raised by the notion of globalisation as a threat to national sovereignty has been the question of the manner in which we can characterise global legal structures. For some this has become the

legalisation of global politics, for others it is one form of constitutionalism or another; with Stephen Gill and others seeing a 'new constitutionalism' serving the interests of global capital, arrayed against more legally focused commentators who see any move towards a global constitution as a recognition that legal structure and process cannot but help respond to globalisation.

Nico Krisch argues that while we have clearly left behind the tidy world of domestic law to the border, and international law beyond, this has not been replaced by a unified (or potentially unifying) constitutionalism, but rather has revealed a radical pluralisation of the resulting post-national law. Krisch explores the contours of various forms of constitutionalism, concluding that conceptually what is on offer has largely replaced foundations with process, perhaps for understandable reasons. However, this suggests that the result is not a (post-national) 'constitution' in its classical sense. Thus, he argues, pluralism may offer a more convincing approach.

Krisch seeks to take this from merely being an appeal for analytical purchase to a normative position of support for post-national pluralism as a political project. Here, he notes that given the clear political and social plurality of the post-national world, we need to conceive of a global legal order that maps on to this plurality and does not seek merely to see plurality as a stage on the road to constitutional unity.

This argument is developed through three case studies: of European human rights law; of the administration of United Nations sanctions; and of disputes around genetically modified organisms at the World Trade Organization. Utilising these cases, Krisch argues that the main criticisms of pluralism – that it is unstable and subject to the machinations of political power – are overstated, and while not completely erroneous, fail to see the larger picture. In practical terms these are minor issues held against the stability and deliberative possibility that pluralism on the ground offers.

This is an excellent book representing the best in current analysis of law and politics at the global level, and will offer insights and helpful analysis to anyone who is interested in the manner in which we characterise, and think about, law in our post-national world.

Christopher May
(Lancaster University)

Decentering International Relations by **Meghana Nayak and Eric Selbin**. London: Zed Books, 2010. 216pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 1 84813 239 9

From its very beginnings, the field of international relations (IR) seems to have become an 'American social science'. The 'founding fathers', the main journals, and the most influential schools of the discipline have all had the inimitable 'apple pie' flavour of North American ingredients. At the same time, the fall of the Berlin Wall appears to have challenged the American underpinning of IR only slightly, mostly as a result of the emergence of a distinct European IR focused on the explanation and understanding of the intensifying dynamics of political, economic and social integration in the continent. However, even these post-Cold War reconsiderations have failed either to change or challenge the Western gaze of the discipline.

In this respect, Meghana Nayak and Eric Selbin's book makes an eloquent case for the need to 'decentre' IR. For them, decentring is an ongoing project of 'interrogating, disturbing, engaging, reframing, challenging, mocking, or even undoing mainstream, privileged ways of viewing the world' (p. 8). In other words, the aim is not only to include non-Western perspectives in IR's field of observation, but also to democratise the discipline so that it can both take seriously and engage meaningfully with 'the everyday and the ordinary' (p. 159).

The decentring project has both epistemological and ontological implications – on the one hand, it affects the ways in which we study global life and, on the other hand, it informs that global life is constituted by multiple, coexistent and interactive worlds. According to Nayak and Selbin, rather than disempowering, a decentred IR actively contributes to recovering the emancipatory potential of the discipline. In particular, the book focuses on the aspects of indigeneity, human rights, globalisation, peace and security.

What emerges from the decentring endeavour is a powerful challenge to the dominant myths and narratives of IR. At the same time, Nayak and Selbin raise a series of probing questions whose response entails a profound rethink and re-evaluation of the disciplinary purview. The book's rarely erudite yet extremely accessible account of the decentring approach is likely to benefit both students and scholars of IR, international

history, development studies and general political science.

Emilian Kavalski
(University of Western Sydney, Australia)

New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding by **Edward Newman, Roland Paris and Oliver P. Richmond (eds)**. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2009. 392pp., £26.99, ISBN 978 92,808 1174 2

New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding is one of the first books that seeks to expand the debates and controversies on liberal peacebuilding by exploring its nature, effectiveness and its implications for establishing conditions for sustainable peace through the prioritisation of externally led democratisation and liberalisation processes. The main argument of this book is that core attributes of liberal peacebuilding should be constructively and critically questioned in order to reveal the controversies surrounding the appropriateness, effectiveness, legitimacy and legacies for establishing stability and a viable state. Relevant to the fast-growing discipline of peacebuilding, this book provides a well-balanced combination of theoretical discussions and case studies, examining the core propositions of liberal peace and alternative/critical approaches.

The first part provides a theoretical discussion by some of the main proponents of liberal peace, as well as its critics, who examine the motivation behind different peacebuilding practices, interrogate the shortcomings and unintended dynamics of liberal peace, and explore its role in the area of social welfare and transitional justice in post-conflict societies. The second part examines the nature and implications of liberal peacebuilding in a number of post-conflict case studies including Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Timor-Leste, Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Cambodia, and regional overviews of liberal peacebuilding in Africa and Latin America.

Although most of the debates covered in this volume are familiar to specialist academics and practitioners, its added value is the attempt to unravel some of the essential shortcomings of liberal peace in theory and practice and to suggest some alternative solutions. However, the theoretical part could have provided more space for exploring these new solutions that advocate more contextualised and emancipatory perspectives. This is particularly evident in Edward New-

man's peacebuilding typology, Oliver Richmond's notion of 'local-liberal hybridity' and 'post-liberal peace', and Michael Pugh's notion of 'life welfare', where the contributors propose new concepts but could have elaborated more extensively the implications and difficulties of these concepts for operationalisation at the analytical, methodological and practical levels. These observations notwithstanding, the volume makes a promising presentation of a type of critique that is substantiated with evidence and constructive alternative solutions for how to understand and approach analytically and practically different war-torn societies. Overall, some of the ideas discussed in this book set out an ambitious yet complex research agenda on peacebuilding, which seems to mark the beginning of a 'critical turn' in peace and conflict studies.

Gezim Visoka
(Dublin City University)

America's Global Advantage: US Hegemony and International Cooperation by **Carla Norrlof**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 286pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521 74938

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States was indisputably left as the dominant political actor in the world today, playing an important role in determining the world order. The main question of Carla Norrlof's book is how the US has maintained its privileged position within international systems for more than 60 years.

Norrlof analyses American hegemony through the lens of international cooperation theories with a special focus on trade and money in the international political economy framework. She believes that however inevitable the American decline is in the long run, a sufficient number of major and lesser powers currently have a strong interest in maintaining America's hegemony. Also, the US has the largest domestic economy, the key world currency and the strongest military.

The book's introduction sets out the main argument and structure of the text. Chapter 2 explains the indicators of America's hegemonic status based on the literature of hegemony in international political economy. The third chapter examines a theoretical account of how cooperation occurs under hegemony, while chapter 4 deals with how the theoretical

proposition relates to collaboration in the area of trade. The interactive effects between monetary and commercial powers are examined in chapter 5, and the next chapter explores the relation between military dominance and economic power from the point of view of security. The penultimate chapter discusses the challenge of American hegemony and regional rivals, and in the concluding chapter the author provides a summary of how America's key currency, commercial power and military preponderance facilitate US hegemony in the current international systems.

The US enjoys the structural advantages that other countries and regions (e.g. China, the EU, East Asia, etc.) do not. The transformation of the current power structure is more dependent on other countries' organising capacities than America's relative weakening. In the current world order, countries benefit from cooperation but such gains are asymmetrically distributed. Generally, in the author's view, America's position will be preserved in the international system for the foreseeable future.

This is a book of broad vastness in its dimensions, namely US hegemony, and it provides a plausible analysis of international political economy. Although for a complete explanation of America's hegemony it would be desirable also to have an analysis of soft power, this is an excellent and interesting book in the literature on hegemony which will equip readers with various theoretical foundations and enhance their knowledge.

Alireza Rezaei
(Islamic Azad University, Hamedan Branch, Iran)

Critical Security Studies: An Introduction by **Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 182pp., £22.99, ISBN 978 0 415 48444 2

Published thirteen years after Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams' landmark *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, Peoples and Vaughan-Williams' *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* provides a contemporary account of the IR sub-field known as critical security studies (css). With discussion points and a reading guide following each chapter, this text is clearly designed for a student audience, but it also serves as a starting point for any political theory or IR scholar interested in the sub-field.

Defined in opposition to state-centric, military-focused, 'traditional' security studies, css has broadened the study of security to include questions about human emancipation, development, migration, terrorism and the biosphere. This book is distinguished by its contextualisation of css within politico-theoretical frameworks. The first half includes chapters on Critical Security Studies (capital letters suggest the 'Aberystwyth school of thought' and emancipatory Critical Theory), feminist approaches, post-colonial approaches, post-structuralism/international political sociology (associated with the 'Paris school' of css) and securitisation theory (the 'Copenhagen school'). The authors acknowledge that telling the 'narrative' of css with reference to 'schools' is problematic, and they encourage readers to 'travel without maps' in exploring css (p. 11). The second half addresses issues of environmental security, terrorism, human security, borders, and technology and mediated war. No less theoretical, it touches on biopolitics and surveillance; the politics of 'exception'; and the politics of fear deployed by 'risk advisory systems'.

The feminist css chapter is perhaps the least interesting, as it primarily reviews the same arguments feminist scholars have made within IR for twenty years (some of which are essentialist and some of which focus on too-easy targets, like the gendered language of weapons operations). The chapter on post-colonial studies also reflects unfinished business with respect to the operation of cultural privilege and marginalisation in the context of (Europe-dominated) css. The most provocative chapter addresses human security and development. Here, the authors problematise the discourse of human security by linking it to a new form of state-centrism and a justification for colonial powers to maintain their dominance over developing countries via continued surveillance, military engagement and the imposition of economic and political liberalism.

Critical Security Studies: An Introduction accepts the plurality of approaches that constitute 'critical security studies', rather than trying to assimilate these into a single framework. Well written and organised, this text offers a thoughtful analysis of a range of approaches and issues, and provides a concise guide to a burgeoning and complex sub-field.

Liz Sutherland
(University of Western Ontario)

Contemporary Diplomacy by **Geoffrey Allen Pigman**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. 241pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4280 2

This book is meant to be a survey of the terrains of contemporary diplomacy. Basing contemporary diplomacy on representation and communication, the author provides the reader with a useful lens through which to view and understand interactions between actors in a communication-intense post-Cold War world. The book is divided into two sections. While the first section concentrates on the representative function of actors and venues (nation states, multilateral institutions, multinational firms and civil society organisations) the second reflects on the communicative aspects of processes, functions and areas of diplomacy (public, economic, military, cultural diplomacy). Students of diplomacy will value the systematic and organised approach of the chapters, the topology of multilateral institutions and the author's clear language, while practitioners will be particularly interested to read how technology has shaped roles and influenced diplomatic processes in recent time. In the concluding chapter, Geoffrey Pigman considers prospects for diplomacy and explores theoretical approaches (positivist and post-positivist) that have been applied in order to understand diplomacy.

The book is essential reading in at least two aspects. First, it systemises our knowledge of actors involved and processes evolving around contemporary diplomacy. Pigman, known for his expertise in international political economy (IPE), has provided an excellent framework giving insight into the multidimensions of contemporary diplomacy through a variety of vivid examples. He introduces the reader to the flourishing areas of public, economic and cultural diplomacy, going beyond the political foreground of a state-centred, classical study of diplomacy. Second, Pigman's book opens a discourse on how to theorise diplomacy greatly detached from the concept of sovereignty. Placing diplomacy in the context of inter-state security relations has shaped our understanding of diplomacy but, Pigman argues, does not sufficiently explain the contemporary diffusion of power and the increasing quantity of diplomatic representation and communication. He forwards the argument that power over outcomes is more important than sovereignty (p. 209). However, the concepts of jurisdictional and political sovereignty remain significant parameters in the analysis of con-

temporary diplomacy. Rather than relegating the sovereignty discourse, we should recycle its useful parts to help us understand actors' relative position to each other, increasing our knowledge of diplomatic actors' internal freedom of choice and their external political constraints. Pigman's book combines academic style with the insider-like knowledge of a practitioner, making it an essential source of reference for students, practitioners and academics alike. The author can be warmly congratulated.

Kai Bruns
(Keele University)

Third World Protest: Between Home and the World by **Rahul Rao**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 275pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 956037 0

In this book, the product of his Oxford University dissertation, Rahul Rao finds that global justice is elusive, caught between Third World statism and the oft-abused cosmopolitanism of the Western powers. How, then, can new social movements become effective agents of change? Rao argues that groups such as the modern-day Zapatistas have constructed 'a complex spatial imaginary of threat, in which the freedom of the political community was perceived to be threatened from both outside and within' (pp. 137–8).

Rao contends that these 'dual movements' occupy a middle ground between the 'hegemonic discourses of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism' (p. 8). Proponents of liberal cosmopolitanism, who champion individual rights, consider human rights abuses by Third World states against their citizens to be justification for humanitarian interventions. Through military interventions and neo-liberal economics, Rao laments that 'liberal cosmopolitanism today enables self-interested exercises of power to masquerade as fantasies of rescue' (pp. 56–7).

In contrast to liberal cosmopolitanism, Third World leaders champion communitarianism – Rao's second 'hegemonic discourse' – to safeguard national self-determination in a globalising world. Communitarians place primacy on the national community over individual rights. In a succinct historical overview, Rao traces how cosmopolitan ventures such as the League Against Imperialism, Pan-African Congresses and Communist Internationals gave way to a 'hyper-defensive Third World mentality' after independence (p. 2).

In the final chapters, Rao demonstrates how the twin dynamics of cosmopolitanism and nationalism shaped the 'protest sensibilities' of groups ranging from the Karnataka State Farmers' Association to the transnational LGBT movement. Rao discerns the tensions and convergences between the international and the domestic in a plethora of protest movements. He extends this line of argument to readings of Marx, Lenin, James Joyce, Rabindranath Tagore, Edward Said and Frantz Fanon.

Rao's over-reliance on international normative theory allows him to locate a strategic coherence in Washington's post-Cold War foreign policy that most commentators reject. Furthermore, America's humanitarian interventions of the past two decades are not as recent a phenomenon as Rao contends. For example, the McKinley administration's war against Spain in 1898 indicates that humanitarianism has long provided the rhetorical justification for American globalism.

Nevertheless, Rao provides the reader with a sophisticated analytical framework to understand the role of the nation state, non-governmental organisations and non-state actors in contemporary international relations. He also challenges the ways in which scholars and activists conceptualise national borders, as domestic conflicts increasingly become subject to global scrutiny. The book leaves little question as to how Rao would interpret the recent 'humanitarian intervention' in Libya.

Matthew Shannon
(Temple University, Philadelphia)

Globalization and the National Security State by **Norrin M. Ripsman and T. V. Paul**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 296pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 19 539391 0

This is an important book. Amidst debates on the impact of globalisation on the national security state, Ripsman and Paul come forward with a well thought out and empirically driven effort to evaluate that impact, and more particularly the notion that the national security state is losing its relevance. To test the main globalisation theses on national security against actual behaviour, they develop and use a simple two-step methodology: first, they take a macro perspective to see if in fact globalisation has led to major changes in the way security is being pursued. To make that

determination, they use the following indicators covering the period 1991–2007: changes in global military expenditures, military manpower and the numbers of inter-state wars; the attention devoted to non-traditional security challenges; and the role of non-state actors in security affairs. Second, they assess, taking into account the relative power and position of a state, how contemporary states' national security policies and responses have been affected by changes brought about by globalisation. They conclude that global trends do not conclusively support globalisation theses (and where it does support them other explanations than globalisation are possible if not more likely), that the state still retains primacy in the provision of security, and that globalisation has had an uneven effect on contemporary states' national security policies and responses (having to do with their power status, national integrity and location).

The immediate benefit of this book is that it now allows for better and more informed debates on the impact of globalisation on the national security state, debates that should no longer be limited to generalisations and anecdotal evidence. Another benefit is that the methodology and analytical framework can easily be emulated for regular reassessments of the globalisation theses. On the other hand, because of the authors' realist perspective and the use of a level of analysis centred around the state, the narrative on the impact of globalisation on the national security state is missing important dimensions. The impact terrorism has had, for instance, on the globalisation of national security policies and responses (e.g. in the areas of intelligence sharing and law enforcement cooperation), suggests that a narrative written from, say, a biopolitics perspective, would lead to more nuanced and problematised conclusions.

Stéphane Lefebvre
(Carleton University, Ottawa)

International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, Colonialism and Investigations of Global Modernity by Robbie Shilliam (ed.). Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 268pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 57772 4

The increasingly independent international agency of China, Brazil, India, Turkey and other actors in global affairs has led many commentators to argue that what

we are witnessing is the emergence of a 'world without the West'. The suggestion is that the patterns and practice of international politics are being transformed by rules, norms and institutions whose origin is not in the West – and this appears to be a qualitatively new condition in world affairs. For at least 200 years, the rivalry over structural power in global politics seems to have been 'the great game' of Western actors. Thus, the so-called Oriental/Third World/developing nations have been the plaything of Western whims – either as mere observers (at best) or as victims (at worst). In both instances, however, *agency* (especially global agency) was not a feature of their international identity. Instead, they were assumed to be passive recipients of the Western gaze/rule/aid as scripted by the templates of colonialism, the Cold War order and democratisation.

Yet the growing prominence of non-Western agency has challenged this perception and demonstrates that non-Western actors are just as skilled and willing to engage in the global playground as Western ones. The acknowledgement of this new reality provides the point of departure for the volume edited by Robbie Shilliam. The exploration focuses on the interaction between 'non-Western thought and international relations'. As the editor suggests, the 'orientation – or perhaps reorientation – towards non-Western thought is a perilous but unavoidable undertaking if international relations scholars wish to explore the global context of modernity' (p. 12).

The underlying assumption of the volume is that perspectives embedded *only* in Western thought provide inadequate explanation and understanding of the dynamics of global politics. Therefore, the thirteen chapters included in the collection provide a spectrum of alternative positions grouped in four parts: colonial conditions, cultural contexts, dynamics beyond the nation state and critical reflections. The contributions included in the volume offer original perspectives on both the contribution of and implications of non-Western perspectives to the study of world politics. It is expected that the book will be of interest, on the one hand, to the growing cohort of students and scholars of 'non-Western' international relations and, on the other hand, to those partial to post-colonial perspectives in international history, political theory and cultural studies.

Emilian Kavalski
(University of Western Sydney)

A History of Chemical and Biological Weapons by **Edward M. Spiers**. London: Reaktion Books, 2010. 224pp., £16.95, ISBN 978 1 86189 651 3

With so much international attention focused upon the threat from nuclear weapons and on the possibilities of global nuclear disarmament, it is often easy to forget that nuclear weapons are only one component of what have become labelled 'weapons of mass destruction', or WMD. In fact, one could make the case that biological and chemical weapons – the focus of this illuminating book – are easier to acquire, more usable and possibly even more devastating than nuclear weapons. Moreover, with the spread of the technology and knowhow needed to produce such armaments ever increasing, and given that we are now living in the age of international terrorism, it would appear to be a particularly important moment to draw attention to this often overlooked threat.

Although biological and chemical weapons have been used in warfare throughout history, they remain to some extent a taboo subject with a peculiar and sinister status. In this regard, Edward Spiers' book successfully demystifies what is meant by chemical and biological warfare, and introduces the reader to the many forms these weapons can take and to the wide variety of ways in which these weapons can be used and delivered. The book is largely chronological, with chapters examining the use of biological and chemical weapons during the First World War, in Third World conflicts, and specifically by Iraq, but the reader is also introduced to the broader debates and politics that have surrounded these weapons and the implications of their use. Perhaps most worryingly, the book shows how easy it might be to cause considerable disruption and possibly mass casualties with these weapons, particularly through a biological attack, and the author cautions against false optimism based on the relative scarcity of their past use.

The book therefore provides a compelling case for governments across the globe not to overlook the potential threat of biological and chemical weapons, and to ensure that they are taking both active and passive precautions against such an attack. In this respect, the book is more than just a history of these weapons, but also an important addition to the literature on the types of threat we are likely to face in the future, and how they can and should be contained and

counteracted. Consequently it is an important reminder of the substantial destructive and psychological power of chemical and biological weapons, as well as an accessible history about how states have thought about their use and utility in the past.

Andrew Futter
(University of Birmingham)

The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity by **Vicki Squire (ed.)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 236pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 58461 6

Racism, Postcolonialism, Europe: Postcolonialism across the Disciplines by **Graham Huggan and Ian Law (eds)**. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009. 213pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 184631219 9

'The framing of irregular migration as a political concern across regions of the global North is ... linked to processes of securitization and criminalization', Vicki Squire argues (p. 3), echoing recent disciplinary trends of combined studies of security and migration. Although there has been significant work done by way of understanding how these domains are conceptually and empirically articulated, there is some way to go regarding the role that histories of particular regions play in the so-called security–migration 'nexus'. For instance, the history of Europe as a region of the 'global North' is partly the history of (de)colonisation, integral processes of which are the contemporary migrations with the politics and practices that characterise them. Post-colonial theory could be made relevant here in a plurality of ways, since the history and present of migrations to regions of Europe have oriented post-colonial problematics and research 'back home'.

Huggan and Law's work *Racism, Postcolonialism, Europe*, extracts the post-colonial critique from its traditional disciplinary boundaries and 'exotic' objects, and draws attention to Europe's 'foreigners'. To that end, a number of scholars across the humanities explore through empirical case studies the construction and contestation of racial ideologies, broadly fitting into three thematic: 'concentrationary legacies' examines anti-Semitism and racism against Romani people; 'multiculturalism and its discontents' examines racisms of 'respect' and 'distance' within the liberal

politics; and 'racisms of migration' explore themes around surveillance and the 'policing of cultural difference'. In this last section, the contributors unpack migration policy, refugee oppositional artistic practices and the 'making' strangers of Turkish migrants in Europe.

Although security and/or its theorisation is not an explicit object of study, concerns about it underpin the empirical contexts analysed, namely, 'national or pan-European contexts in which difference is less likely to be seen as an asset than as a threat' (p. 8). However, these insightful and contextually 'thick' accounts could be further theorised by turning to more elaborate understandings of migration from the viewpoint of security. In other words, the post-colonial critique has a lot to gain from a more sustained engagement with how security is extended in the domain of contemporary migrations. Conversely, security studies can – and do – profit from critical engagements with the post-colonial urge to rethink racism as bound with familiar, social and political practices 'at home'.

Vicki Squire's remarkable theorisation of the production of 'irregular' mobility sets the tone for the contributions to her edited volume, *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity*. The main theme explored in this book is the (contested) politics of mobility. The contributors examine both the ways in which mobility becomes an object of control through heterogeneous and socially dispersed practices implicating various actors in uneven power relations across mobile border zones, and the ways in which mobility is reclaimed by contesting practices of surveillance and control, practices productive of irregularity. The term 'irregularity' – distinct from the state-sanctioned 'illegality' – is used to speak to an *ambivalent condition*: on the one hand, there is the production of irregularity and irregular subjects through security and control; on the other hand, this condition bears the potential of a counter-politics and 'emergent struggles around irregularity to re-define what it means to "be political"' (p. 9). In interpreting the politics of control, the place of technology, crime and even 'dramatic events' is taken into consideration.

The second part of the book takes up the challenging task of rethinking politics through the lens of migrant agency, which is more often than not obscured by nominal, moral hierarchies which constitute migrants as incapable of being autonomous and politi-

cal. The volume is conceptually challenging, its 'analytics of irregularity' potentially offer innovative lines of empirical research, and its political perspective is rather radical. However, as suggested at the beginning of this review, such an analytic framework – and security studies in general – could profit from a constructive dialogue with post-colonial theory. Such an encounter would require rethinking binaries such as the 'global North'/'global South'. It would also invite researchers in security studies to think about the cultural, racial and historical particularities of sub-regional units and how these relate to practices that seek to control and regulate transnational mobility.

Both these books should prove valuable to researchers in (critical) security and migration studies, as well as to those interested in post-colonial and ethnic/race studies. Critically, the perspectives developed in these two volumes are mutually complementary, both contributing to interdisciplinary explorations of security, mobility and race.

Christos Pallas
(University of Essex)

The International Arms Trade by **Rachel Stohl and Suzette Grillo**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. 278pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 4154 6

The International Arms Trade gives an overview of the legal and illicit trade in small and light weapons, as well as the consequences of this trade. It also seeks to explain the international measures for regulating weapons circulation. Stohl and Grillo attempt to unravel the politics and economics driving the trade, tracing technological and geopolitical trends. They put the trade in context via the complex post-Cold War politics, including the milestones of the 1991 Gulf War and 9/11. They surmise that economics is now a greater driving force than politics due to the 'oligopolistic' nature of the trade, that is, arms companies having a 'cosy relationship with foreign governments' (p. 44). They emphasise the fundamental role of the five permanent Security Council members in the arms trade, who are collectively responsible for 80 per cent of all weapons sold. While at times rather dry, the summary of the P5 regulation mechanisms is thorough. The authors also succeed in uncovering fundamental aspects of the illicit trade, which is by definition difficult to study. Their distinction between the black market (sales

violating the law) and grey market (exploitation of loopholes) provides a useful conceptual framework. While the arms trade only accounts for 0.5 per cent of global trade – \$5 billion per year (an estimated \$1 billion of which is illegal) – it has severe consequences. Some of the cited consequences of unregulated arms circulation are obvious, but Stohl and Grillot also note the longer-term development impact.

Arguably, the final chapter on arms control mechanisms is the most important. It provides a comprehensive outline of international and regional agreements, alluding to the increasing role of NGOs. However, due to the lack of theoretical grounding, the chapter lacks in-depth analysis regarding specific policy recommendations, such as increased transparency or international legally binding agreements. The conclusion instead meekly proposes ‘multiple and varied solutions’. The authors do not refer back to distinct categories of arms sales, or to the role of different actors, such as large defence lobby groups. Questions remain regarding, for example, why countries such as the US are opposed to international cooperation despite rigorous domestic laws. The lack of theoretical analysis could be partly explained by the heavy reliance on government, NGO and newspaper sources, due to a lack of publicly available documents.

Overall, this is a succinct and comprehensive introduction to the international arms trade. It would provide a good starting point for scholars interested in human security or economics who wish to develop a deeper insight into the arms trade.

Clare Sharkey
(University College London)

Channels of Power: The UN Security Council and US Statecraft in Iraq by **Alexander Thompson**. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 261pp., £21.95, ISBN 978 0 8014 4718 1

The role of international organisations (IO) in peace and security has never been more significant than in recent years. Still, much needs to be learned about the actual dynamics of IOs as providers of strategic information transmission. Alexander Thompson has done a fine job in shedding light on this question by conducting a detailed analysis of why powerful states, more particularly the United States, channel coercion through the United Nations Security Council. Within

global security, the Council is quite unique as the principal legitimiser of the use of force.

This book should be seen as a clear and sophisticated addition to the existing literature on this topic. Its main theme is the observed puzzle that states sometimes channel policies through IOs while operating without them at other times. Theoretically, this volume should be located in the mainstream tradition of American liberal institutionalism. The author claims that the constructivist analysis of the Security Council’s legitimating role does not satisfactorily address this puzzle. In contrast, Thompson articulates six related hypotheses to overcome this lacuna in the literature in what, it must be said, is a very well-assembled second chapter of the book. Empirical evidence is found in the important cases of the US-led, UN-authorized Gulf War of 1991 and the more controversial Iraq War of 2003. By working with IOs, powerful states transmit information to two audiences. First, they can assure other state leaders of their genuine intentions, and second, they can send policy information on the coercive measures to foreign publics.

Thanks to his fine research design, Thompson is able to trigger the attention of the reader, but we can also observe some shortcomings with some of the assumptions. If powerful states are interested in what foreigners think of certain actions, is this then not just an example of the importance of inherently constructivist notions of identity and norms? Informing the global community of sensitive actions such as coercion has an intersubjective character. The public can claim a rejoinder on the street. What about the millions of people protesting during the planning and prior to the breakout of the war in 2003? If the point is to inform foreign publics, why then stay so deaf to their reactions? The author also claims that the Security Council is a neutral and politically independent organ (p. 7, p. 37). Few UN observers will agree with this statement. Notwithstanding this, the book delivers important insights into the complex relationship between powerful states and IOs and overcomes what the author labels the false dichotomy of ‘knee-jerk unilateralism’ and ‘doe-eyed multilateralism’ (p. 15). It can only be hoped that sceptics on Capitol Hill (re)discover the relevance of Turtle Bay and get a notion of some of this book’s important findings.

Francis Baert
(United Nations University and Ghent University, Belgium)

Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform by **Catherine Weaver**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. 224pp., £13.50, ISBN 978 0 691 13819 0

Catherine Weaver's aim is to 'explain the nature of, and reasons for, the hypocrisy' at the World Bank (WB) (p. 3) – with hypocrisy being defined as the gaps between the WB's 'talk, decisions, and actions' (p. 19). Drawing on sociological institutionalism and resource dependency theory, Weaver's approach to get to the roots of the WB's hypocrisy consists of investigating how its external environment and its internal organisational culture influence its stated goals and actions, eventually creating inconsistencies between them.

After an overview of the historical (trans)formation of external environment and organisational culture, the author illustrates their concrete interplay in a case study of the WB's good governance and anti-corruption activities. Weaver's main argument is that the manifold demands posed by the WB's external environment (including donor states, client countries, capital markets and other organisations) and evaluation groups are inconsistent and also clash with firmly established WB-internal intellectual and operational culture. In the specific case of the governance and anti-corruption agenda, hypocrisy is caused by a combination of conflicting external political pressures, shifts in economic theory, WB-internal concern over programme failures, intellectual opposition towards anything openly 'political', lending imperatives, social concerns, individual advocacy and management quarrels. Reform is generally made difficult by 'continued environmental goal incongruence as well as the difficulty of transforming the bureaucratic politics and culture' of the WB (p. 178).

'[S]ome degree of hypocrisy' (p. 186) is inevitable at the WB and might actually increase under reform pressure. The book, which contains eight years of empirical research, draws on an impressively wide range of sources and manages to illuminate the complex relations between the WB's external and internal environment in very detailed and insightful ways. It is well and accessibly written and of relevance for researchers on organisations as well as for development practitioners. The chosen focus on hypocrisy, however, runs the risk of missing some important aspects regarding the

relation between the WB and its environment. While the subjectivity of the concept is recognised ('hypocrisy is a matter of perception', p. 16), this does not have any further methodological implications. By analysing hypocrisy as something that can be objectively determined, and by focusing mainly on how external demands play out WB-internally, the book neglects the ways in which the powerful organisation influences wider political discourses about socially constructed concepts like poverty, development and corruption – including their meaning and the necessary measures to achieve or prevent them – and thereby also perceptions of hypocrisy.

Anja Carolin Gebel
(University of Aberystwyth)

Comparative Politics

Producing Globalisation: Politics of Discourse and Institutions in Greece and Ireland by **Andreas Antoniadis**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010. 192pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 7844 6

Producing Globalisation is an excellent and original comparative study of how globalisation is articulated by leading political parties, social and religious leaders, and the media in Ireland and Greece. Andreas Antoniadis successfully transforms discourse theory into a systematic research strategy to demonstrate how the experience of globalisation discourse diverges in different states. The methodology and resulting discourse analysis, allowing Antoniadis to make verifiable claims about globalisation discourse, is a particular strong point. The research is explicitly framed as contributing to ideational and institutionalist literature: how globalisation is (ideationally) produced on a 'social level' or presented in 'public discourse', and (institutionally) how states' responses to globalisation are far from homogeneous (p. 10). Beyond this, there are two further major substantive aims.

The first is the outline of 'hegemonic discourse communication', which entails 'studying the conditions of production, reproduction and change of social life within the *international*' (p. 9). This framework attempts to, first, transcend both material and ideational accounts (p. 17) and also, second, to show how

discourse helps order the 'everyday life' of the social (p. 18). Whether it is possible to transcend (ontologically) the material-ideational without reproducing that same divide in empirical research potentially masks some of the more interesting contributions of the frameworks. For instance, the focus on globalisation discourse as 'about social becoming and everyday life, its constraints, its opportunities, its conditions of production and reproduction' (p. 80) could have been reconfigured to address the problem of 'the audience' or of discourse 'success' in constructivist approaches.

The second, and perhaps more value-added contribution, is to highlight how the communication of globalisation diverges in different states. Antoniadis shows that while Ireland's experience and communication of globalisation can be characterised by consensus, the equivalent in Greece was experienced as contestation. These different apolitical and political communications of the same trend highlight how globalisation discourse should not be considered as a 'predetermined phenomenon' (p. 154). Instead, analyses should focus on how different institutional settings and interest-group structure lead to different experiences and discourses of globalisation. *Producing Globalisation* is an interesting and well-argued contribution to the globalisation discourse and institutionalist literature which may be of particular value to those interested in operationalising discourse theory and/or in studying the relationship between ideas and political outcomes beyond the restrained setting of elite actors.

Liam Stanley
(University of Birmingham)

Taming the Gods: Religion and Democracy on Three Continents by Ian Buruma. Ithaca NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 142pp., £13.95, ISBN 978 0691134895

Religious and political authorities are always in potential conflict and ought to be separated if democracy is to thrive, at least in modern times. This idea is relatively uncontroversial in the abstract, but it becomes disputable as one considers *how* a 'wall of separation' between the two authorities should be established in specific places burdened with history, culture and political traditions. This slim volume by the literary journalist Ian

Buruma examines how the tensions between religion and politics have promoted or hindered the realisation of democratic ideals in Europe (Britain, France and the Netherlands), North America (the United States) and Asia (China and Japan).

Taming the Gods consists of three chapters. The first one discredits the simplistic contrast between American religiosity and European secularity, discussing the diverse ways in which secularism has manifested itself *within* Europe and *throughout* American history. The second chapter similarly challenges the crude contrast between the (monotheistic) West and the (polytheistic) East, demonstrating that the failure to keep a balance between the religious and the secular is a problem known outside as well as inside the West. The final chapter shifts from diagnosis to prescription, addressing the challenge of radical Islamism in contemporary Europe. Arguing that the resentment, hatred and violence expressed in religious language by minorities in Europe typically result from social alienation and political exclusion, Buruma defends an accommodationist and integrationist ideal to tolerate difference as long as citizens 'play by the rules of democracy'.

A short book covering numerous issues and 'three continents', *Taming the Gods* inevitably suffers from occasional oversimplification. Multiculturalism 'as an ideology' is briefly mentioned and rejected, while non-ideological or less ideological conceptions of multiculturalism are hardly discussed. China and Japan are chosen to represent Asia, leaving us to wonder what 'oriental wisdom' Buruma would have extracted if he had focused on other Asian countries such as India and Indonesia.

To underline those shortfalls and denounce Buruma's book as too ambitious is easy, but that would be unfair. *Taming the Gods* is a sensible commentary on contemporary European politics and society, illuminated by the author's shrewd analysis of relevant issues in China, Japan and the United States. Some will surely find his moderate secularism unsatisfactory, but those who wish to propose a bolder solution must take seriously the significance of Buruma's enlightened scepticism: dare not to attempt to achieve, politically as well as epistemologically, what lies beyond the limits of human capacity.

Kei Hiruta
(University of Oxford)

Economists and Societies: Discipline and Profession in the United States, Britain, and France, 1890s to 1990s by **Marion Fourcade**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 384pp., £16.95, ISBN 978 0 691 14803 8

Taking its starting point in theories about the sociology of culture, knowledge and professions, *Economists and Societies* by Marion Fourcade sets out to study three 'orders' of economics in Britain, France and the United States: the modes of incorporation of economic knowledge into higher education and scientific research; the modes of construction and incorporation of economic knowledge through policy making and policy advice; and finally the place of economic technologies in the broader system of economic relations (p. 21).

Through comprehensive historical analysis of the role of economics in the three countries, Fourcade identifies three institutional logics of economic knowledge production: American scientific and commercial professionalism which produces 'market-oriented' economic knowledge; British 'public-minded elitism' where the identity of economists has been shaped by a political culture centred on small, tightly knit societies of economic knowledge organised around the authority of elite Oxbridge institutions and personalities; and a 'statist' French economics profession which derives its characteristics from a national political culture and institutional make-up centred on the administrative exercise of public power. Although filled with perceptive and engaging theoretical discussions, the main contribution of the volume is the empirical rigour and depth exhibited throughout the three case studies. Taken together, the book forcefully brings home the point that national institutional logics structure in important ways the very idea of what economics is and thus which political role it should be assigned in the economies of Britain, France and the United States.

In the ambition to cover fully the different national trajectories of the three cases, however, it remains somewhat unclear which generalisable implications might be drawn from the study. That is, the strong focus on the distinctiveness of different national systems seems to come at the expense of generalisation. The analysis could also have benefited from a different selection of cases. Using a most-different case design, the author unsurprisingly finds that the differences in national cultures lead to differences in the role of economics in

Britain, France and the United States. One can appreciate the author's methodologically-based refusal to employ the language of 'variables' or 'causality' (p. 16) – or more traditional forms of comparative method (p. 13) – while simultaneously wishing for an alternative case selection which might have enabled greater analytical and empirical leverage, in turn leading to more surprising conclusions. To sum up, this thoroughly researched and well-written book would probably have been even better had the author developed a more tightly structured comparative approach and a clearer, perhaps more generalisable, argument.

Martin B. Carstensen
(Aalborg University)

Building States and Markets after Communism by **Timothy Frye**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 296pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 521 73462 2

For a decade it has been accepted wisdom in the study of post-communist political economy that there is a strong relationship between democratisation and economic reform; the correlation of reform and democracy is abundantly clear. Explanations of this have tended to focus on post-communist institutional design. The problem (round up the usual suspects) is presidentialism, which is easier to capture and more susceptible to corruption than parliamentarism; the outcome is not just less reform and democratic decay, but also greater economic inequality.

Timothy Frye's book builds on this accepted wisdom and seeks to expand it in two main dimensions. First, Frye develops the mainstream argument to develop a better analysis of the difficult cases in the 'middle' of the spectrum of post-communist cases. These cases were difficult to account for in the original institutional argument since they were often – at least for a time – ambiguous as cases of both political and economic change: they were presidential but sometimes uncertainly so, mixed reform with backsliding, and grew more unequal but had institutions and politicians who (at least rhetorically) protested against inequality. These cases – such as Russia – are examples of 'polarised democracy' for Frye. Political polarisation is measured by the 'policy distance on economic issues between the executive and largest opposition faction in parliament' (p. 7). This gap in policy preferences makes reform problematic to conduct and uncertain in its

prospective results so the executive concentrates on delivering to its core supporters. The result in these cases is stalled reform and inequality, just as if they were not democratic at all.

Frye's second innovation is to look more deeply for the root cause of polarised democracy and its economic discontents, to go beyond post-communist institutions, and to trace the effects of polarised democracy down into economic behaviours. He traces the origins of polarised democracy to communist-era institutional legacies and inequality through the influence that these and polarised democracy have on state building, to show how polarisation has an enduring and negative impact on business behaviour and development.

Frye's argument is conceptually clear and well demonstrated through cross-national comparisons and the case studies of Russia, Bulgaria, Poland and Uzbekistan. As he admits in his conclusion, there are still many unanswered questions about the political and economic development of post-communist states, but his book is a major contribution to the literature and should be read by anyone interested in the relationship between political and economic change in the post-communist world and beyond.

Neil Robinson
(University of Limerick)

The Ethic of Traditional Communities and the Spirit of Healing Justice: Studies from Hollow Water, the Iona Community, and Plum Village by **Jarem Sawatsky**. London: Jessica Kingsley, 2009. 288pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 1 84310 687 6

In 2008, before a special session of parliament, the Canadian prime minister formally apologised to aboriginal peoples for the impacts of the Indian Residential Schools System. The apology is part of a three-pronged effort, which also includes a compensation system and a truth and reconciliation commission (TRC), to address the hurtful legacy of a systematic attempt to erase indigenous cultures through assimilation. Each portion of the process is avowedly oriented towards healing. The first TRC national event took place in Winnipeg, Manitoba, where Jarem Sawatsky is head of Peace and Conflict Transformation Studies at the Canadian Mennonite University.

The Ethic of Traditional Communities and the Spirit of Healing Justice has its origins in Sawatsky's doctoral

dissertation but has been rewritten in an accessible form. Within its pages, Sawatsky presents three cross-cultural case studies focused on communities practising healing justice. The case studies unfold aspects of life in Hollow Water, Manitoba, Canada, the Christian Iona Community based at multiple sites in Scotland, and Plum Village, France, which is the home of the renowned Buddhist peace activist, Thich Nhat Hanh. Sawatsky uses the case study data to suggest ways in which healing justice challenges state justice systems, the restorative justice movement and Western forms of governance.

As might be expected, given the monograph's origins, the most developed lessons are offered in the former two areas. Although Sawatsky notes the TRC mission statement in passing, he does not turn to formal Canadian examples to offer insights regarding Western governance. Instead, invoking principles that he asserts need to be applied contextually in individual communities, Sawatsky draws on his cross-cultural research to emphasise the need to avoid the institutionalisation of healing justice. In this light, he suggests that Western governments should focus on cultivating the necessary conditions for healing justice to be undertaken in local contexts. It follows that his governance recommendations are relationally focused on: (1) transforming human–Earth interactions; (2) drawing on sacred wisdom without institutionalising spirituality; (3) shifting the Western justice systems away from costly models of responding to harm; and (4) supporting the growth of small communities. In practice, political transformation on this relational level, although based on accessible principles, would be difficult to implement in large-scale polities. However, it is just such a challenging undertaking, focused on cultivating positive relationships, that Sawatsky demonstrates is at the heart of both healing justice and cultural-political vitality in the communities he has studied.

Christopher Hrynkow
(University of Saskatchewan)

United in Discontent: Local Responses to Cosmopolitanism and Globalization by **Dimitrios Theodossopoulos and Elisabeth Kirtsoglou (eds)**. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010. 186pp., £35.00, ISBN 978 1 845456306

The widespread imprecision found in the portmanteau terms 'globalisation' and 'cosmopolitanism' have engen-

dered accretions of ideological and political recalibration to globalisation and cosmopolitanism which have not been subject to critical empirical and theoretical analysis. This edited anthology addresses this hiatus through seven case studies of obstreperous local communities in disparate geographical locations which, through their subjection to vicissitudes of inequality and dispossession wrought by the neo-liberal processes of globalisation and cosmopolitanism, remain obdurately 'united in discontent'. What is significant, anthropologically, is the anti-global demurrals of subaltern peoples that embody an instrumental, if not contradictory, sedulous adoption of globalism and cosmopolitanism in their attempts to establish a more placid dénouement to the undesirable vagaries of globalisation and cosmopolitanism.

Strathern and Stewart examine how indigenous peoples in Taiwan and New Guinea as well as Ulster Scots use their peripheral concerns to support dispossessed peoples in parallel positions globally. Watson's chapter expatiates how Indonesian magazines such as *Sabili* exhort the 'Muslim world' to resist decadent Western cultural influences, Zionism and colonialism. Edgar and Henig discuss the role of the ideologies behind jihadist night dreams in combating 'hegemonic capitalistic cosmopolitanism' (p. 78). Theodossopoulou and Kirtsoglou explore the Janus-faced Greek anti-globalism characterised by empathy towards Turks and Middle Eastern Muslims on the one hand, but on the other, resentment towards their geographically closer Muslims in the Balkans. In the sixth chapter, Angels Trias i Valls focuses on a non-metropolitan, native town in southern Japan where social inequalities, environmental degradation and attenuation of Japanese national identity have culminated in anti-international and anti-cosmopolitan sentiments. In the penultimate chapter, Goddard sheds light on a ubiquitous, bifurcated form of cosmopolitanism in Argentina perpetuated by neo-liberal economic policies that are widening the gap between the bourgeoisie and working classes. In the final chapter, Gledhill explains how nascent subaltern cosmopolitan visions in Brazil and Mexico are at variance with – but nevertheless entangled in – the cosmopolitics of elites that aggrandise liberal market economics.

From an anthropological perspective, this volume offers a perspicuous and accessible account of the local and global specificities to anti-globalism and

anti-cosmopolitanism which will be ideally suited to students and researchers of anthropology. Nonetheless, the representation of global subaltern communities as coeval 'imagined communities', if discussed in greater theoretical depth, would have been of greater interest to scholars of political theory.

John Lowe
(Independent Scholar)

General Politics

Security, Law and Borders: At the Limits of Liberties by **Tugba Basaran**. Oxford: Routledge, 2010. 160pp., £75.00, ISBN 978-0415570251

Tugba Basaran's book is another addition to the growing list of books examining border spaces where the human rights of irregular migrants are violated by states. Drawing on the work of writers such as Giorgio Agamben and Judith Butler, Basaran examines the development of spaces of exclusion or states of exception. However, while Basaran agrees with these theorists that these border zones provide spaces for liberal states to implement illiberal security practices, she disagrees with their contention that this is an exception to the liberal order. As she argues, 'the problem of security ... is not its exceptionality, but rather its banality. Security is a normal mode of government in the repertoire of liberal democracies' (p. 7).

To examine whether these illiberal states of exception are in fact inherent to liberal politics, Basaran uses three primary case studies: 'waiting zones' in France; maritime interceptions; and Australia's 'Pacific Solution'. These case studies progress from border zones that are physically still within the commonly perceived national borders to the use of third countries, but it is the first of them that makes the strongest case. The idea of a space that is in all but legal terms part of a country, such as the French 'waiting zone' or Australia's excised islands, demonstrates clearly how liberal states implement illiberal policies that target particular populations.

This book, although brief, provides a detailed examination of the issues that surround border zones. Further, rather than just accepting the theories put forward by Agamben and others, Basaran engages with their work and makes some very interesting findings.

Her claims that authors such as Agamben present illiberal practices as an exception to liberal rule, or as 'states of exception', offer an interesting reading of Agamben's work. While states of exception are seen as exceptional, and therefore not inherent to liberal states, Agamben does see the development of these zones as an expected result of liberal politics. Nevertheless, Basaran's critique of his work strikes at the core of liberal theories, demonstrating that rather than being an anomaly, the violation of irregular migrants' human rights in these border zones is an expected result of liberal politics. While this may be controversial, the evidence presented by Basaran shows that, for irregular migrants, the reality of liberal democracies can be an illiberal security zone where their human rights are violated by the state without repercussions.

Andrew Herd
(Australian National University)

Violence and Social Justice by **Vittorio Bufacchi**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 218pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 230 55296 8

Violence, even if sometimes justified, always stands in need of a justification. That is to say, violence is a normative concept. And given the normativity of the concept, accounts of what *is* and *is not* an instance of violence may seem to be more or less subjective. As a response, we may be inclined to accept a relativisation of the concept to various cultures, or else to privilege the standpoint of the victim over that of the perpetrator. But while this may allow us to resist relativisation, it looks less like a way into an objective description than a straightforward value commitment.

As an alternative to either option, Vittorio Bufacchi attempts to set out an 'objective' account, dividing his text between 'a neutral, amoral definition and analysis of the concept of violence' and subsequent chapters that involve 'moral scrutiny', primarily by virtue of relating violence to justice (p. 6). This approach may raise some eyebrows given that it presupposes a rigid fact/value dichotomy or at least a comparatively strict fact/value distinction. First comes the analysis, and only then are value commitments allowed to intrude. As a result, there is something 'old school' about Bufacchi's text (a feature of the text that he shows some awareness of).

The account of violence that he finally arrives at is inclusive. It allows that violence need not be inten-

tional and that it *can* take the form of omissions as well as acts. But while Bufacchi may be right, and a good case *may* be made for the latter claim, such a case is *not* made here. Bufacchi does surprisingly little to justify the claim. Instead, he provides a treatment of the moral difference between acts and omissions *of any sort*. As this occurs in an early and pivotal chapter, it might also be taken as an indication that Bufacchi's two-stage approach is (generously) not as strict as he suggests or (less generously) that it breaks down at an early point in the text.

However, Bufacchi's structural division between analysis and moral scrutiny is not accidental. It helps to motivate, and provides a rhetorical back-up for, his claim that to escape from the taint of subjectivity about violence we should privilege the standpoint of the disengaged, ideal spectator. Such an (admittedly fictional) viewer will be best placed to make judgements about violence. This claim is substantive and philosophically interesting but open to familiar criticisms of the ideal spectator's standpoint.

Tony Milligan
(University of Aberdeen)

Acting in an Uncertain World: An Essay on Technical Democracy by **Michel Callon, Pierre Lascoumes and Yannick Barthe**. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2009. 287pp., £25.95, ISBN 978 0 262 03382 4

The policy challenges that governments must address are increasingly complicated and controversial – 'wicked' – and it has become correspondingly more difficult to identify easily or clearly the most appropriate response to associated problems. Moreover, policy makers can expect their decision-making environment to be characterised by ever-greater levels of uncertainty regarding the 'best' response to a problem, and the likely consequences of their decisions. The difficulties and opportunities generated as a result of having to operate in an environment of expanding uncertainty serve as the focus for this interesting and provocative book.

Using examples such as the problem of climate change and the outbreak and spread of mad cow disease, the authors demonstrate the anachronistic character of the belief in the possibility of 'clear-cut decision[s]' (p. 11): the idea that decision makers can and need only refer to 'indisputable knowledge' to identify

the 'right' response to a policy dilemma (p. 1). Contrary to what was for decades the prevailing wisdom, science and technology cannot provide certainty to policy makers; indeed, science and technology now contribute to the generation of greater uncertainty (pp. 18–9). Moreover, it is increasingly the case – or so argue the authors – that decisions must be made at precisely that moment when uncertainty about both their consequences and, by extension, 'correctness' is the greatest.

One of the best ways to help address the resulting challenges is through greater democratisation of the policy development process. Appreciating that fact requires recognising that the 'knowledge of specialists' does not constitute the only valuable knowledge with respect to addressing policy dilemmas – 'laypersons', too, have valuable knowledge to contribute (p. 10) and they are increasingly demanding and/or required to be involved in the policy development process.

Effectively accommodating such involvement requires that existing political institutions be 'enriched, expanded, extended, and improved' in a way that enables democracies to 'absorb' the uncertainties that characterise the development of public policy (pp. 9–10). Proper reform will generate what the authors label *hybrid forums* (p. 18), which will facilitate dialogue and 'cooperation between specialists and laypersons ... [and provide] visibility and audibility to emergent groups that lack a spokesperson' (p. 36).

The authors' fundamental conclusion – that the current system requires greater democratisation (the 'democratization of democracy') – is standard fare within the scholarship on deliberative democracy. What is noteworthy, however, is the manner in which the authors use the concept of 'uncertainty' to make their case. The result is a study that offers an engaging and useful contribution to the existing discourse.

Shaun P. Young
(York University, Toronto)

Freedom of Information: Local Government and Accountability by **Richard A. Chapman and Michael Hunt (eds)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 156pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 79776

Growing attention has been paid to accountability issues, particularly since the implementation, in the UK, of the Freedom of Information (FoI) Act, which came

into force on 1 January 2005. The growing complexity of contemporary governance, the rise of participatory incentives and the deepening of accountability procedures contribute to a relevant change in the nature of local governance. In this respect, the volume edited by Richard Chapman and Michael Hunt tries to offer a comprehensive review and analysis of the consequences of FoI for local governance.

Although the questions the book raises are not new, it underlines the diversity of strategies and depth of information available in order to promote openness for citizens to know what is being done by their local government. These different approaches comprise both the formal and informal rules of governance, and also the consequences of the leaders' understandings about political accountability – how they appraise their relations with those who elect and keep them in office.

In order to understand fully the complexities surrounding accountability a more sophisticated approach is needed. In fact, the main drawback with this book is the fact that it does not explore the motives for openness, particularly from elected and administrative leaders. Follower dependence – highlighted by the discourse of accountability and transparency – can lead governments to a position of 'imprisonment by events', that is, to do solely what the situation requires or what people demand. Secrecy, confidentiality and political decisions often go hand in hand. This is the difficult equilibrium reinforced by accountability rules in the democratic process.

Nevertheless, the contributors to this volume emphasise that FoI has contributed significantly to openness in government. They also underline the important role played by socialisation and local government culture; it can even surpass formal rules that enforce openness. As the editors claim: 'openness is ... an ongoing activity [and its] success depends upon the extent to which the public ... continue to press for more information' (p. 8).

This book provides evidence of the advances in open government practice at the local level in recent decades. Rules and procedures have been implemented and much more information is now available from local authorities. However, as Chapman and Hunt conclude: 'much still depends, and has to depend, on the good intentions and the sense of responsibility of individual councillors and local government officers'

(p. 144). This book will be of interest to those concerned with the efficiency of accountability procedures and legislation.

Filipe Teles
(University of Aveiro, Portugal)

Property: Values and Institutions by **Hanoch Dagan**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 352pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 1993 7864

This book brings together eight previously published papers (from 1999 to 2009) with two newly written chapters. It sets out to define and defend Hanoch Dagan's own 'legal realist' view of property and its institutional forms.

According to Dagan, the legal realist view is one that avoids the twin dangers presented by an (undifferentiated) 'bundle of rights' account of property, on the one hand, and an updated rendition of William Blackstone's classic idea of property as 'sole and despotic dominion', on the other. A legal realist view of property institutions is pragmatic and built around the mediation of 'three constitutive yet irresolvable tensions: between power and reason, science and craft, and tradition and progress' (p. xix). Dagan recommends that property is best understood as a set of property *institutions* which serve to realise a plurality of values: autonomy, utility, labour, personhood, community and distributive justice. Property institutions do not exist solely (or paradigmatically) to secure the power of owners to exclude. Property is as much (and as definitively) about the power of inclusion as of exclusion.

The substance of the book is given over to the vindication of this approach through a consideration of the work that property institutions do or could do in a series of keenly contested areas: the rights of marriage partners, the management of collectively owned assets, copyright and the public domain and, most contentious of all, the limits of 'takings' under the US Constitution.

Overall, this is a thoughtful and carefully argued collection. It sets out to show how property institutions can deliver desired outcomes across a range of public policy issues and that property does not have to be the enemy of progressive or community-minded forces. It will be of interest to those located in the increasingly well-populated terrain in which the political theory of property and the theory of law coincide. Of particular interest for political theorists of property will be the

chapter in which Dagan considers contemporary neo-Kantian and neo-Aristotelian attempts to provide normative groundings for property institutions which are rejected here in favour of a more pluralist approach. In the end, though, given its attention to case law, the book is perhaps likely to have an appeal that is stronger among students of the law than of the politics of property.

Christopher Pierson
(University of Nottingham)

Democracy without Decency: Good Citizenship and the War on Poverty by **William M. Epstein**. University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 2010. 280pp., £62.00, ISBN 978 0 271 03633 5

In this book William Epstein presents a critique of American social policy, and argues that the failure of successive anti-poverty programmes since the 1960s should be seen not as a thwarting of progressive policies by powerful elites, but as the manifestation of a set of settled cultural and political preferences held by the majority of Americans at all levels of society, including the very poorest. 'Poverty, cultural deprivation, and nagging want endure in the United States because its citizens want it that way' (p. 215).

Epstein's main examples are drawn from the community-based programmes of the 'War on Poverty' and 'Great Society' initiatives of the 1960s and 1970s, although he later broadens his argument by examining social insurance-based retirement and disability benefit schemes, and the work-focused welfare programmes associated with the welfare reforms of the mid-1990s. At one level, these represent very different ways of thinking: the introduction of a national social security scheme in 1935 and the War on Poverty can be seen as examples of an actively interventionist and collectivist approach to social problems, while the post-1996 welfare reforms took the form, in most states, of a retrenchment of public provision. But Epstein argues that in fact all these programmes were grounded in 'the core American value of personal responsibility' (p. 216) – the belief that people, on the whole, get what they deserve and deserve what they get. In this view, personal agency is a necessary and indeed sufficient element in securing any individual's material and moral well-being; and individual 'failure' can ultimately be attributed to personal shortcomings. Americans, Epstein

contends, have never been willing to contemplate the kind of radical political and economic restructuring and redistribution of resources that would be required for real change to take place.

Epstein makes an interesting case for seeing public policy, in a relatively open society such as the United States, as a generally reliable indicator of popular wishes. His arguments are always vigorously expressed, but they are not always quite as tightly marshalled as they might be, and it would be interesting to know when the manuscript was completed: it feels like there may have been a few years between completion and publication. Nonetheless, this book will be of interest to students of American social policy, and will give food for thought to readers in countries, such as the UK, that have looked to the US for social policy ideas.

A. P. Connell
(University of Wales Institute, Cardiff)

Nuclear Energy and Global Governance: Ensuring Safety, Security and Non-proliferation by **Trevor Findlay**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 259pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 49364 2

This well-researched book provides a detailed analysis of the contemporary state of the global nuclear energy infrastructure, planned expansion and system of governance. Trevor Findlay's analysis is noteworthy in that he makes a compelling case that the so-called *nuclear renaissance* is more likely to be a *nuclear revival* at best. He provides a very thorough outline of the drivers and constraints that influence the nuclear revival and offers an overview of the conventions, treaties, agreements and organisations that influence the safety and security of the nuclear industry and also that of the non-proliferation regime. In doing so, he indicates the strengths and weaknesses of this system and draws conclusions regarding future concerns. Findlay's scope is global and he examines the existing nuclear states as well as providing a very comprehensive review of those countries that have announced their intention to develop a nuclear power capability. Findlay categorises the weaknesses and strengths of these potential nuclear powers and in doing so is able to provide compelling assertions about the merits of each case. This book is relevant for people concerned with security studies, energy security, nuclear weapons proliferation and international relations.

Findlay's analysis is comprehensive and he succeeds in providing an insightful examination of the nuclear revival and the prospects for future growth as well as the safety, security and proliferation issues that might ensue. The book is extremely useful as a single source to help understand the labyrinth of agreements and institutions that contribute to the development and governance of the global nuclear industry. Findlay effectively explains the *ad hoc* manner in which this governance structure has evolved and, to the extent possible, provides a clear view of this structure. It is interesting to note that while this book was published prior to the dramatic events at the Fukushima nuclear plant in March 2011, Findlay notes the potential negative impact of such a disaster on the revival. Findlay's points are well argued throughout the book and he provides a rich analysis of the contemporary global nuclear energy architecture and governance. Overall, the book is well organised and well written, although it unavoidably makes extensive use of acronyms, which sometimes become burdensome. The list of acronyms at the front helps to overcome this problem, however.

Peter F Johnston
(Defence R&D Canada)

Security and the Environment: Securitisation Theory and US Environmental Security Policy by **Rita Floyd**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 215pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 521 19756 4

Securitisation theory has become a popular analytical framework with which to approach the study of 'new' security issues, and studies on environmental securitisation have been particularly popular. *Security and the Environment* uses securitisation theory to analyse and evaluate evolving US environmental policy focusing on the Clinton and Bush administrations; it then uses this to propose revisions to securitisation theory. The key revisions proposed by Rita Floyd concern allowing 'insight into the intentions of securitising actors' and facilitating 'moral evaluation of securitisation and desecuritisation' in the environmental security sector (p. 1).

Security and the Environment puts forward a normative agenda for evaluating good and bad securitisations on the basis of their consequences, linking this to securitisation in the environmental sector. Ultimately, 'securitisation has no intrinsic value; what matters are the

consequences of securitisations alone' (p. 7). As such, Floyd rethinks environmental security policy in securitisation terms, looking at when securitisations in this sector are 'morally right' and 'who or what should benefit from an environmental security policy' (p. 121). The normative argument put forward by Floyd suggests that the only justifiable beneficiaries of environmental securitisation are human beings. Consequently, 'only environmental security as human security is morally permissible, because only here are human beings the beneficiaries of the security policy' (p. 8).

Overall, Floyd successfully highlights some key problems with securitisation theory and goes on to rectify them, through a rich empirical analysis of US environmental security policy backed up by interviews with a number of key actors. She provides an improved and more nuanced understanding of securitisation in the environmental sector, both in normative terms and in terms of policy analysis, unpacking some of the concepts that are oversimplified or under-theorised in original securitisation theory, including de-securitisation. The normative contribution to securitisation theory using consequentialism is particularly interesting and Floyd succeeds in taking us some of the way down the path of developing a normative securitisation theory. It would be interesting to see more engagement with the relationship between security and environment, including the work of Trombeta. The study would also benefit from at least some engagement with the audience of securitisation, as audience acceptance is usually considered a key part of successful securitisations. On the whole, however, this book is a well-written and interesting contribution both to securitisation studies and to environmental policy and security, aimed at scholars, practitioners and students of security, environment and US foreign and environmental policy.

Jonna Nyman
(University of Birmingham)

Military Culture and Education by Douglas Higbee (ed.). Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 311pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0757 7

Douglas Higbee's motivation for commissioning contributions to *Military Culture and Education* 'comes from a strong sense that there is significant overlap – and significant tensions within this overlap – between

academe and military culture with which we haven't yet come to grips' (p. 4). This is a cogent argument, for while much has been written regarding military culture and academic culture as separate entities, relatively little discourse has occurred regarding their numerous 'intersections' (p. 4).

Higbee first discusses differences between the two cultures. While the military values authority, physical force, utilitarianism and realism, academia encourages free thinking, plurality, tolerance, theory and creativity. Yet Higbee argues that even these areas of division counter-intuitively encourage some degree of overlap. Higbee notes that academics have been employed by the military to design 'Human Terrain Systems' (p. 2) for combat troops, to aid cultural adaptation, and that this 'crossing over' (p. 3) has created significant discord in academic circles. Ironically, similar discord exists between officers regarding the value of academic study to soldiers. Another form of quasi-overlap concerns the massive *role diversity* of both cultures. More obvious intersections between the cultures include hierarchical structuring, the use of ID badges, meritocratic practices and the vocational idealism that exists within the higher ranks.

The contributors to the book investigate all these aspects in three parts: 'Intersections in and Out of the Field'; 'Military Academies and Humanistic Inquiry'; and 'Teaching in Professional Military Schools'. The approach taken could be described as informed, qualitative, opinion pieces. This is surprising since the authors in question are experts within their fields, yet their arguments here are predominantly not evidence based – even though they are sometimes treated as such. Rather, they are memoir based, reducing their academic value. However, this approach does have advantages. First, the subject matter is interesting and this is complemented by ethnographic elements within some chapters. Second, a personal approach does not detract from the human aspect as a scientific approach might. Third, expert opinions are important and could be considered as primary evidence for future research.

This book is easy reading, though not in a pejorative sense. It is well written and well formatted and would be a thoroughly enjoyable folksy read for military historians, education professionals and laymen. The book will spark future empirical research, yet it is difficult to ignore the fact that some of this research could have

been performed within the book itself if it were not for the weak-inductive and 'analysis-lite' approach.

Mark Rice
(Coventry University)

Thinking about Leadership by **Nannerl O. Keohane**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 297pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0 691 14207 4

This book concentrates on the basic theoretical dilemmas related to leadership. The author, combining her extensive theoretical and practical experience as president of two institutions of higher education and as a political theorist, successfully conducts the narrative by posing well-selected questions related to the topic.

As the title suggests, *Thinking about Leadership* is devoted to pondering on the essence of leadership. In particular, the considerations focus on the determinants of leadership. In this context, the objectives as well as motives of leaders are addressed. Additionally, the process of forming leaders and reasons for their success are depicted, taking into account personal determinants of the process and their background. The function of supporters, who constitute an indispensable element in leadership relations, is also enunciated.

Two important contemporary issues are considered in the book, namely, the question of how gender influences the leadership process, and the function of leadership in a democracy. The former issue is delineated from the perspective of different modes of leadership by men and women, as well as the increasing role of women in politics, while the latter is concerned with the relationship between leadership and this form of wielding authority. The final chapter is devoted to a concern that is very rarely addressed, namely, relations between leadership and ethics; in particular, the impact of ruling on leaders' conduct in the ethical framework.

Readers of this book will appreciate the well-structured and well-thought-out exposition on the issue of leadership. The articulate language and deftness at rendering intricate particulars of political life on to the level of general considerations will make the book accessible for those starting out to study leadership, and it will also prove useful for advanced researchers.

The author intended her book to be a voice in the debate on the core of leadership, and as such it accomplishes its objective thanks to synthetic discussions organising our knowledge on the issue. However, in many

cases the general character of the discussion contributes to the sense of paucity and numerous discussion threads are only hinted at; consequently, the author's research questions are not always answered. One has to assert, however, that the arguments are plausible. The manner in which dilemmas connected with the theory of leadership are presented is noteworthy and thus this book ought to be read by those interested in this issue.

Maciej Hartliński
(University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland)

The Future of Political Science: 100 Perspectives by **Gary King, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Norman H. Nie (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009. 304pp., £21.99, ISBN 978 0415997010

King, Schlozman and Nie's *The Future of Political Science* can be regarded as both one thing and another. On the one hand, it is an exposition of the outlook and desires of its 102 contributors; on the other hand, it is an exposition of the impact of Sidney Verba's career within political science. The book is a collection of short essays (each limited to approximately 1,000 words) from various authors who have each previously worked with Verba at various points in their careers. The essays focus on what issues and/or topics the authors wish to see addressed within or outside the discipline. Contributors were asked to frame their essays in response to one of two questions posed by the editors: (1) To what as-yet unanswered question should your area of political science devote more effort? (2) What is one finding, substantive or methodological, from political science (or a specified sub-field within political science) that you wish were more widely known – by, for example, the media, public officials, voters, academics in another discipline, or other political scientists? (p. xiv).

While summaries of each essay are beyond the scope of this review, each piece aims to provoke inquiry and reflection into the subjects being addressed by each contributor. Furthermore, the essays are linked to each other by the utilisation of three organisational devices: by hand selection, an automated algorithm and the clustering of essays around common themes and authors (p. xvi). As such, one may read the book in a multitude of ways, depending on one's interests and needs.

The book contains utility for a wide audience, whether one's interest resides in seeking to understand

the contemporary status of the discipline, its future outlook or potential avenues for further inquiry. Therefore, while students of political science (graduate or undergraduate) may particularly enjoy these essays for their insights into the future of the discipline (as expressed by the book's contributors), scholars and non-academics may also expect the book to generate sincere thought and reflection on the current relationship between the discipline and society. As such, the text succeeds in constructively engaging the discipline's current limits and future possibilities in a manner that can be read by both scholars and non-academics alike.

Nicholas Knowlton
(University of Florida)

International Law Reports: Volume 137 by **Elihu Lauterpacht, Christopher Greenwood and Karen Lee (eds)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 768 pp., £155.00, ISBN 978 0 521 76549 7

This volume continues a tradition, which started in 1919, of reporting significant public international law cases. It contains sixteen cases (reported in full or in short notes) that were decided between 2004 and 2009 in the United Kingdom, the United States and the European Court of Human Rights. The major themes covered by these cases reflect the major international security controversies marking that five-year period: the legality of detention without trial of terrorist suspects; the admissibility of evidence obtained by torture; the deportation of unwanted aliens; the use and prohibition of torture; habeas corpus jurisdiction; the right to derogate from treaties obligations; and the applicability of the Geneva Conventions. Because the cases selected have been those with important ramifications, they all – in my view – should be read by international legal scholars and international and national security scholars and practitioners.

As a permanent record of important public international law cases, this volume, like its predecessors, serves an apparently useful purpose. However, given that the cases reported were immediately available at the time of their release, either from the tribunals themselves or professional service providers such as WestLaw, Lexis-Nexis or legal information institutes, and that the editors do not discuss (to situate them in time and place) or analyse (for their effect and impact) any of the cases reported, the question must be raised whether dissemi-

nating law reports in this format continues to make sense. While I agree with the selection of cases made by the editors, the majority of the cases they selected are clearly dated; they are also a very small sample of the massive number of decisions made in the course of five years, many of which were also of significance. To enhance the usefulness of future volumes and for the better benefit of readers, I would suggest to the editors that they provide the overall context within which each case was decided and that they also offer critical comments on the effect and impact of each decision on the practice of international law and statecraft. That way timeliness will be less of an issue and the volume will have a comparative advantage over other reporting avenues.

Stéphane Lefebvre
(Carleton University, Ottawa)

Managing in a Political World: The Life Cycle of Local Authority Chief Executives by **Steve Leach**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 210pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 230 24562 4

Steve Leach's book navigates the complex terrain of the exercise of executive authority at the local level and the relationship between chief executives and politicians. There have not been many studies of this relationship and particularly of the involvement of chief executives in the local government political process. In fact, being at the interface of the political and the administrative spheres suggests that this role is particularly complex. Poul Mouritzen and James Svava have already approached this theme with their 2002 book, *Leadership at the Apex*, which provided a comparative analysis across Western local governments. However, *Managing in a Political World* pays particular attention to the task of chief executives in the UK and explores the way their role is performed.

The author seeks to draw an important distinction between managerial logic and political logic, arguing that conflict can emerge. As Warren Bennis has suggested in his 1989 work, *On Becoming a Leader*, this dichotomy reflects important differences, and he argued that the political leader is the one who innovates, inspires trust and has a long-range perspective whereas the manager is the one who maintains, focuses on structure and control, and takes a short-range view. This approach holds managers as followers, while leaders are

seen as entrepreneurs. Steve Leach avoids this outlook, claiming that administrators are also expected to exercise influence and are key players for the sake of effective governance. Therefore, the nature of decision making sets new problems, as it is expressed through a tension between political decisions and technically informed ones.

There are good reasons to pay attention to this book. Bringing local government to the forefront, it explores the key aspects of chief executives, their relationship with political leaders and – especially – the challenges faced when dealing with political change. The book underlines and explores this sophisticated immersion of the executive leader in the world of politics, and provides relevant clues on how problems are dealt with. In-depth interviews were the main source of data used for analysis but it does not rely solely on this information, since it takes into account some of the most significant scholarship. Nevertheless, the most complex intricacies of previous research and theory are not offered. Overall, this book appeals to a wider audience and is not only an important input for current knowledge on the theme, but also a relevant contribution to the ongoing debate of local governance reform and the devolution agenda.

Filipe Teles
(University of Aveiro, Portugal)

Rethinking the Public: Innovations in Research, Theory and Politics by **Nick Mahony, Janet Newman and Clive Barnett (eds)**. Bristol: Policy Press, 2010. 179pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 1 84742 416 7

The term ‘public’ is often used uncritically in political discourse and policy practice. This edited volume seeks to demonstrate ways of rethinking not only the public, but also the qualities of ‘publicness’ across a range of topical areas. Featuring a new generation of scholars, the collection represents the latest instalment of the ‘Publics Research Programme at The Open University’ (p. 2).

The book criticises totalising narratives of ‘decline or proliferation of publicness’ (p. 170). On the one hand, it challenges the pessimistic ‘idea of a singular public domain or a set of institutions in retreat in the face of neoliberal pressures and the corruption of public culture’ (p. 2). On the other, it warns against the uncritical celebration of innovative forms of public

action that allegedly fulfil ‘the classic promise of the public sphere’ (p. 2). Instead, the book illustrates how publics are not fixed, pre-existent entities, but contingent assemblages that are permanently negotiated on the ground. Accordingly, the authors deploy a conceptually rich lexicon to analyse processes of addressing, convening, summoning, mediating, becoming, constituting, personalising, representing and performing publics and publicness.

The book travels at ease across local, national and transnational spaces, including case studies in the UK, Canada, India and Brazil. The chapters cover, in turn: the mediation of publics in participation experiments; personal publics and the politics of parenting; the role of new and old media in the construction of publics; the micropolitics of welfare in local community work; the relationship between citizenship and education policy; the configuration of publics in fisheries’ governance; the mediation of global publics through NGOs’ platforms; and the evolution of public action in the Brazilian lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender movement.

The editors’ chapters manage to bring coherence to a book that is wide-ranging in topics and approaches. As a whole, the collection succeeds in providing brief exemplars of a ‘multiplicity of new subjects, objects and mediums of publicness’ (p. 172). Every chapter has something to offer, but they are unevenly engaging, and although they are research led, many lack detail on the research process.

All in all, the book is a refreshing call to rethink the public across disciplines, and will be useful to researchers at different stages. However, although it demonstrates interesting analytical lenses to recast the topic, it leaves to the reader the challenge of unravelling the practical implications that this line of inquiry may have beyond academia.

Oliver Escobar
(University of Edinburgh)

Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited by **Pippa Norris**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 336pp., £23.99, ISBN 978 0521127448

Back in 1999, Pippa Norris edited the seminal volume *Critical Citizens*, arguing that citizens in contemporary liberal democracies have become more critical toward political authorities. According to the authors in that

volume, however, such a more critical outlook should not be equated with a lack of political trust. More than a decade later, this argument has been met with increasing scepticism, as turnout during elections has continued to decline, while trust levels seem to have eroded in a number of countries, giving rise to the electoral breakthrough of populist parties. In this new volume, Norris updates and qualifies her argument to some extent, based on the fifth wave of the World Values Survey (2005–7). These new results confirm the notion that there is no general decline of political trust in liberal democracies. Nevertheless, Norris still argues that there is evidence for a widespread form of ‘democratic deficit’. This deficit is a result of the fact that expectations about democracy have continued to rise, while satisfaction about the way democracy functions has, at best, remained stable. As such, the author argues, this gap between expectations and evaluations still exerts pressure on the relation between citizens and the state, and she concludes that political institutions should act in a more democratic manner to address the democratic deficit.

This volume offers an important contribution to the current debate about an alleged decline of political trust in liberal democracies. Norris covers a wealth of topics and investigates the impact of education levels, democratic stability, government performance, media content and other indicators. Most of the material, however, is based on the World Values Survey, covering 93 countries. This is a unique data collection, and the volume uses the material in a sound and clear manner. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the notion of democratic aspirations often boils down to a single survey question on how important it is to be governed democratically. While the use of the ‘rising aspirations’ argument is innovative and sheds a new light on the discussion, it would have been enlightening if the author had gone a step further in the conclusion. Can these aspirations actually be met? The author rightly notes that it is not government performance as such that seems to be an element to solve the problem, but rather the democratic quality of the process. But how exactly political institutions can be reformed to meet these rising expectations remains underdeveloped in the current volume.

Marc Hooghe
(University of Leuven, Belgium)

The Judge as Political Theorist: Contemporary Constitutional Review by David Robertson. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 432pp., \$30.38, ISBN 978 0691144047

The aim of David Robertson’s *The Judge as Political Theorist* is to provide a ‘modern constitutional review’ of the judicial system because courts as they are understood make legal statements about issues which should be seen from the broader perspective of state policies (p. 1).

The author explores a number of countries which he compares with the United States and asks whether judges in democracies are politicians. Robertson attempts to provide a glimpse of the judge’s mind, if you will. He states that even though judges rely on precedent, they are ‘policy-oriented political actors in very much the same way that congressmen are’ (although this depends on context). Judges function within policy frameworks and are loosely restricted by ‘doctrine and procedure’, and Robertson argues that today ‘courts are not different from other institutions in the world’ (p. 22).

For instance, when a state’s policy is to abolish money laundering, it is the judges who link the thin line between policy and the law (p. 23). In the case of South Africa, Robertson states that ‘almost every decision of the South African Constitutional Court’ is hinged on a revelation in terms of its duty in serving to build a new ‘non-racist’ society (p. 28). In another case, readers are drawn to the role played by the German Federal Constitutional Court when the judges were used to outlaw the Communist party (p. 71). The author’s discussion presents the need to understand when judges at the highest echelon of the judiciary are bribed, cajoled or threatened into submission about making absurd judicial rulings which serve the bidding of the political class. Is this a bad omen for democracy? That is a question Robertson should have raised.

Other chapters explore the role of the constitutional courts in France, Canada and South Africa, and Robertson also analyses details applicable to countries in Eastern Europe. The ‘new democracies’ have seen the need to create constitutional courts with definitive roles (p. 84). Robertson describes these roles as the attempt to deal with a past characterised by the abuse of human rights (p. 141). To him, public policy is a ‘matter of interpreting a statute’ as construed by the

courts (p. 241), and he asserts that ‘no rights are absolute’ (p. 281).

The author concludes that constitutions are valuable and he sees constitutional review as a major part of modern democracy (p. 383). The book raises questions about the modern role of judges, but readers are left to wonder whether or not judges really are influenced by real politics in modern democracies. The book is fascinating for some of its arguments in relation to the position of judges in liberal democracies and will be of interest to scholars of both law and politics.

Kawu Bala
(Attorney General’s Ministry, Belmopan, Belize)

The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality by **Ayelet Shachar**. London: Harvard University Press, 2009. 273pp., £29.95, ISBN 978 0 674 03271 2

For the most part, people inherit the citizenship of their parents, as a consequence of either bloodline or birthplace. Ayelet Shachar is puzzled by our use of these arbitrary and archaic criteria to allocate the precious good of political membership, especially as the hereditary principle has long been discredited elsewhere in social, political and economic life. She mounts the case against our current practices by developing an innovative and illuminating analogy between birthright citizenship and inherited property. On her account, material wealth and political membership are the two most important distributable goods, and each person’s initial share of each plays a crucial role in shaping their life chances. The transfer of these goods should therefore be subject to principles of intergenerational justice. Perhaps optimistically, Shachar thinks that the case for an inheritance tax on property is now widely accepted. Consequently she argues that the time is ripe for a birthright privilege levy, in which those who gain undeserved advantages by virtue of their inherited citizenship status compensate those who are excluded. The first half of Shachar’s excellent book builds a compelling case in favour of such a levy, while the second half defends and outlines an original theory of citizenship acquisition.

Shachar provides a comprehensive, and in places innovative, critique of existing citizenship practices. Unlike many others who share her concerns about bounded membership in a world of radical inequality,

she rejects proposals for open borders, as well as those for de-territorialised or transnational reconfigurations of citizenship. Even readers who are unconvinced by Shachar’s objections to these theories are likely to find her presentation of the issues helpful. An important underlying idea, which is perhaps not given enough attention, is that these more radical theories are incompatible with the collective good of democratic citizenship. Not so for Shachar’s favoured principle of citizenship acquisition – *jus nexi* – which says that entitlement to membership has to do with having a ‘real and effective link’ (p. 165) with the political community. Although something like this principle is already implicit in both legal and social practices across a variety of jurisdictions, Shachar makes a strong case for its being considered as a genuine rival to the more familiar principles of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*. *The Birthright Lottery* is an important and timely contribution to the literatures on global justice, immigration and citizenship. Although its most important contribution consists in the two provocative arguments advanced, it is also an extremely readable and engaging introduction for those who are new to the field.

Andrew Shorten
(University of Limerick)

Future Ethics: Climate Change and Apocalyptic Imagination by **Stefan Skrimshire (ed.)**. London: Continuum, 2010. 290pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 4411 3958 0

In 2007, the influential *Bulletin of Nuclear Scientists*, citing the twin threats of nuclear weaponry and climate change, moved its Doomsday Clock to five minutes before midnight. On the surface, the implication of this action for future ethics seems clear; it was a recognition that a catastrophic ‘tipping point’ brought about by climate change had joined, or, in the wake of Al Gore’s *An Inconvenient Truth*, even surpassed, thermonuclear holocaust as a potential apocalyptic destroyer of earthly life.

However, as many of the thirteen contributors to *Future Ethics* demonstrate, in its Judeo-Christian roots, the apocalyptic imagination concerns more than just the destruction invoked by media clichés. While destructive elements are certainly at play within apocalyptic imagination, as is brought to the surface in

this volume, such a way of imagining the future can also look to interconnected revelatory, redemptive and transformative roots. For instance, Roman Krzrniac's contribution, invoking the successful anti-slavery movement in the nineteenth century, calls upon policy makers to foster a much neglected empathy across geopolitical space and intergenerational time as a way to motivate transformative climate change action. Similarly, viewing a potential atmospheric collapse as an opportunity for critical thinking regarding possible futures, Sarah Amsler's chapter counsels us to retain a participatory lens to address climate change, rather than surrendering decision-making power to politicians in the name of expediency during this time of ecological crisis. In addition, a number of the contributors suggest that the threat of apocalypse resulting from inaction can help shift a dominant culture which, as a result of a linear version of progress underlying policy choices, is now unconscious of finitude.

As can be expected from such a project, there are points of disagreement among the contributors. For example, in contrast to most of the other contributors, Peter Scott proposes rejecting apocalyptic imagery in favour of an anti-climate change praxis supported by political representation of non-human interests. Nonetheless, it is worth engaging with such interchange, allowing readers to be stimulated by the subtleties (which cannot be recounted here) of sometimes conflicting arguments. In the light of potential disruption to the human project by atmospheric change, taking into account the key issues named by the contributors to *Future Ethics* at the level of political action, theory and practice holds out the promise of a more sustainable geopolitical climate: a promise brought about, at least in part, by what may be considered a positive, though still eerie, exercise of the apocalyptic imagination.

Christopher Hrynkow
(University of Saskatchewan)

Challenges of Ordinary Democracy: A Case Study in Deliberation and Dissent by Karen Tracey. University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 2010. 264pp., £53.50, ISBN 978 0 271 03689 2

This book offers an in-depth case study of communication dynamics in the context of local education governance in the US. The author confronts normative

arguments from currently fashionable democratic theory (participatory, deliberative) with empirically grounded reflections on 'ordinary democracy'. Ordinary democracy refers to what myriad groups of citizens and officials do every day, mostly at the local level, as they engage with policy issues. The book illuminates how they perform communicative actions, construct and struggle with public issues and negotiate democratic practice through interaction. Therefore, ordinary democracy 'begins with existing institutions and describes what is occurring within them' (p. 4), especially in terms of 'communicative conduct' (p. 5).

Tracey's research spans the late 1990s, and focuses on the Boulder Valley school district (Colorado), which provides a rich case study in terms of public discourse. Using interviews and media and document analysis, the author deploys 'grounded practical theory' rooted in communication studies to analyse the 'socially consequential activities' embodied in 'talk-focussed practices' (p. 217). This approach shines a light on a dimension often neglected in studies of participatory and deliberative democracy, namely, communicative action in public meetings.

Accordingly, the author analyses the interaction between citizens and elected school board officials through the lens of their speech performances. She illustrates how opposing concepts of democracy are invoked on the ground, and therefore ideas about appropriate democratic practice emerge as at least as contested as the very issues to be solved (ch. 3). She also studies the role of the media, mainly local newspapers, in fostering public deliberation through civic journalism (ch. 5). Most interestingly, the author zooms in on the micropolitics of spoken exchanges, offering an enlightening account of how dissent is performed and citizen input recorded (ch. 4), how personal attacks and platitudes play a 'useful' role (ch. 6) and how policy making is underpinned by highly consequential 'fights over words' (ch. 7).

The volume, which joins others in foregrounding the critical role of emotions in democratic engagement, concludes with a call for 'reasonable hostility' as the 'communicative ideal of local governance' (p. 203). The concept seeks to strike a compromise between rules of civility that actually strangle passionate engagement, and adversarial dynamics that end up hindering collective problem solving. The idea may leave both deliberative and agonistic democrats wanting further elaboration.

All in all, the well-written stories in this refreshing book demonstrate that participation and deliberation scholars, lately much focused on extraordinary democratic experiments, can learn a great deal from researching sites of ordinary democracy.

Oliver Escobar
(University of Edinburgh)

Knowledge Democracy: Consequences for Science, Politics and Media by **Roeland J. in 't Veld (ed.)**. Heidelberg: Springer, 2010. 397pp., £117.00, ISBN 978 3 642 11380

Knowledge Democracy draws attention to the production and utilisation of knowledge in a participatory, democratic process. The book contains articles by scientists, policy makers and media representatives, many of whom attended the international conference 'Toward Knowledge Democracy' in August 2009 in the Netherlands.

With the development of the internet and rise of cyber-interaction among people, knowledge democracy has been conceptualised as the production and dissemination of knowledge via the participation of stakeholders, scientists, bureaucrats, lay groups and politicians. As the book states: 'When knowledge is democratic it means that it is free [and] that everybody can access it. Knowledge democracy is sharing information and transparency in decision-making. Knowledge utilization by participants is expected to be guaranteed because they helped to produce it' (p. 28).

The process of knowledge production and its utilisation will require participation from different parts of political institutions and public organisations. Roeland in 't Veld *et al.* consider such participation to be much easier than it used to be now that the internet with its social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Wikipedia, Hyves, etc. has created more opportunities for including people in this process. It is more available for all parts of society to share and discuss their ideas in order to affect policies and the decision-making process. However, this is not without drawbacks, for as stated on page 325: 'In theory, social networks provide a great platform for knowledge exchange and interaction among citizens and between politicians and citizens, as examples such as Wikipedia and the Obama campaign show. But in practice this does not happen automatically. When it is left to non-professional citizens and

individual politicians, the quality of the discussions and interaction is shown to be very limited'.

The role of bottom-up media should not be neglected, but it is more open to 'inflation', and it also greatly depends on the level of education in society. Primarily lay groups, stakeholders and other civil organisations will have more opportunities to get their voice heard via social networks. In sum, *Knowledge Democracy* presents a quintessential picture of knowledge democracy and gives us some well-framed and practical examples from different parts of Europe.

Kemal Ozden
(Fatih University, Turkey)

Cosmopolitan Regard: Political Membership and Global Justice by **Richard Vernon**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 222pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 521 74437 9

Cosmopolitans and their critics disagree about the compatibility of the duties of citizenship and those of global justice. In his subtle and tightly argued *Cosmopolitan Regard: Political Membership and Global Justice*, Richard Vernon argues that the two are compatible, and – more provocatively – that 'obligations to co-citizens and to outsiders rest on the same footing' (p. 2). This claim is advanced by way of an innovative twist on the theory of a hypothetical social contract, dubbed 'iterative contractualism'. As members of particular political societies, each of us is complicit in exposing one another to special kinds of risk. It is our complicity in the vulnerability of our fellow citizens that entitles us to make special demands on compatriots, since each person has a 'pre-contractual and general right not to be disregarded in the making of arrangements that are potentially to one's disadvantage' (p. 193). Because this kind of concern ('cosmopolitan regard') is general, it can also ground external duties of justice. In particular, 'a group of people can legitimately set out to confer special advantages on each other if others, outside that group, are free to do the same in their case' (p. 104). As a consequence of this 'iterative proviso', Vernon argues that our enjoyment of the benefits of political association is conditional on being willing to aid the victims of failed or abusive states and refraining from harming the society-building work of others.

A distinctive feature of Vernon's treatment is his view that duties of global justice consist mainly in

enabling all 'to enjoy contexts in which they too can create flourishing civil societies' (p. 137). Some of the implications of this are worked out during the final three chapters, which feature illuminating discussions of humanitarian intervention, international criminal law and global political economy. The material here supports Vernon's own suggestion that his position is more demanding than the Rawlsian one but less demanding than some of the robustly egalitarian cosmopolitan views canvassed in recent work (p. 105). No doubt there is much to be said in favour of the conclusions Vernon reaches, but it is not clear that the iterative proviso itself is adequate to justify any particular principles of global justice. Nevertheless, the discussion in these passages, as elsewhere, is consistently stimulating, and is an excellent reference point for scholars interested in the wider literatures on the topics. Not only does this book open up new and important avenues in the debates surrounding membership and global justice, but it does so with great care, depth and precision.

Andrew Shorten
(University of Limerick)

Britain and Ireland

The Europeanisation of Whitehall: UK Central Government and the European Union by **Simon Bulmer and Martin Burch**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009. 272pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7190 5516 4

Bulmer and Burch provide an authoritative account regarding the impact of UK membership of the European Union (EU) upon the Westminster model of British governance. Centrally, how has the Westminster model changed since UK–European economic and political integration?

Britain's relationship towards EU membership has loosely been characterised as reactive rather than proactive. This reactive approach prevented the UK from being able to shape EU structural development, thereby creating an early structural incompatibility between EU and Westminster styles of governance.

As an institution, the confrontational style of parliament contrasts with those of several proactive European nations which are more familiar with coa-

lition governments and policy compromise. This incompatibility is partly accounted for by British and French hesitations towards early UK membership of the Common Market, leading to a prevailing 'us and them' mentality across the British political spectrum.

Bulmer and Burch reveal a permanent and significant shift in the UK executive style that has become favourable towards continued integration with the EU. This thesis argues that the Westminster model became too large to govern affairs locally across the UK, yet too small to manage the economy fully in a globalised world. This suggests devolved government in two directions: the hollowing out of powers from Westminster towards the EU to enable UK markets to remain economically competitive, while simultaneously devolving power towards Scottish and Welsh executives to maintain national identities.

The authors present the results of a sustained period of primary and investigative research *vis-à-vis* the practical and theoretic changes in the governing methods of the British government. Their research included in excess of 200 elite interviews of UK and European political figures, who provide significant insights into the changing nature of British and European politics. Their authoritative analysis also garners its significance from the breadth and depth of the primary research, which is extensive.

Undoubtedly this book will be of significant interest to scholars of the European Union; however, it should also be of interest to students of British politics given its scope and clear domestic relevance. This is a valuable work, given that the arguments explain how UK membership of the EU has significantly pushed the Westminster model to approach relations with the EU positively despite political arguments over UK membership.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Huddersfield)

The Political Thought of the Liberals and Liberal Democrats since 1945 by **Kevin Hickson (ed.)**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010. 224pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0719079481

The history of the Liberal party, more recently the Liberal Democrats, since 1945 has been a roller-coaster ride. Consequently, the party has received

much less attention from academics than has been paid to either the Labour party or the Conservatives. This multi-authored book is a commendable attempt to fill the gap. The volume contains thirteen chapters by a distinguished team of academic and political contributors.

The least stimulating offering is the opening chapter by Roy Douglas. Ostensibly an analysis of 'classical liberalism', it is really little more than a potted history of the Liberal party after the Second World War. Mark Garnett examines the role of British liberalism as a 'centre' ideology, pointing up the danger that the Liberal party might well be viewed by the electorate as 'merely a greener version of the two main parties' (p. 46). Richard S. Grayson argues the case for the emergence of a 'social liberalism' (as distinct from an 'economic liberalism') in the wake of the publication of the seminal publication *The Orange Book: Reclaiming Liberalism* in 2004.

The second section contains six essays on finite themes. Matt Cole looks at constitutional reform under the three heads of electoral, parliamentary and judicial reform. Russell Deacon's theme is the campaigns for devolution and decentralisation, focusing on Wales, Scotland, local government and community politics. Duncan Brack examines the emphasis on 'political economy', attributing a dynamic new change of direction under the leadership of Jo Grimond between 1956 and 1967. The theme of Bruce Pilbeam is 'social morality', which includes an assessment of crime and civil liberties and the family and sexuality. Alan Butt Philip looks at Liberal party support from the late 1940s onwards for European integration, the United Nations and the role of the nation state, and self-determination and human rights.

The present reviewer was most impressed by the timely analysis of Andrew Russell's article on 'political strategy'. With unconscious irony, given the events of the May 2010 general election, he writes: 'The state of the third party in Britain has improved dramatically since the end of the Second World War. They have seldom seemed likely to form a government but there have been times when they have threatened a significant breakthrough – and they remain a feasible coalition partner in the event of a hung parliament' (p. 147).

The final section, 'Commentaries', comprises three short pieces by Liberal MPs Vince Cable (currently Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills in

the coalition government), David Howarth (now retired from parliament) and Steve Webb on more contemporary themes. These contributions are rather more impressionistic and less academic in tone.

Unfortunately, there is an overlap between some of the chapters. Stricter briefs and a more frequent intrusion of the editorial pen might well have eliminated some of the repetition. But the volume tackles a previously neglected theme and will be well received.

Graham Jones
(National Library of Wales)

The Politics of Northern Ireland by **Joanne McEvoy**. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. 194pp., £9.99, ISBN 978 0 7486 2501 7

This book focuses on the contemporary politics of Northern Ireland. In eight thematic chapters it explores issues such as the theoretical perspectives on this enduring conflict, its historical background, profiles of the key political parties and paramilitary groupings, political solutions tried, British and Irish government policy and aspects of the so-called 'peace process'. Engaging and detailed, the book is essentially a primer for those unfamiliar with what Sir Winston Churchill once called 'the integrity of the quarrel' between British unionists and Irish nationalists.

Perhaps most refreshing for a book of its type, *The Politics of Northern Ireland* does not settle into the intellectual sophistry of other introductory texts on Britain's most violently destabilising political issue. Here we see the corrective advanced that 'the conflict is not about religion'. Instead, argues Joanne McEvoy, 'it is about national identity whereby the nationalist community looks to the Republic of Ireland as the "motherland" whereas the unionist community looks to Britain as their patron state' (p. 8).

We find, however, that the fault-lines of division between nationalists (who are mostly Catholic) and unionists (who are mostly Protestant) run deep. Diametrically opposing cultural traditions ensure that ethnicity remains a powerful adhesive, which reinforces the divisions between the two main communities (p. 9). Consequently, the opportunity for cross-cutting political cooperation has been rare, limited to a bi-communal labour tradition and, more recently, by the measured electoral gains of the Alliance party (pp. 60–2). What is especially encouraging about McEvoy's

book is an appreciation of the nuances of divisions within unionism (p. 45), the ‘pragmatism’ of the British government (p. 95) and the explanatory value of consociational theory (pp. 16–9, p. 138, p. 140).

The author knows this topic well and, as a result, has produced a balanced, thoughtful and cleverly structured primer for the non-specialist. McEvoy is respected for the theoretical dexterity she brings to bear on our empirical understanding of conflict in deeply divided societies. This book showcases this serious scholarly approach in a way that is both accessible and informative.

The Politics of Northern Ireland is aimed at students in further and higher education who are new to the Northern Ireland ‘Troubles’. Undergraduates will find it an invaluable read, while teachers and lecturers will find the overview and key issues section at the outset of each chapter useful for focusing the minds of their students. Ancillary guides at the end of each chapter on key learning points, likely examination questions and further reading are also helpful.

Aaron Edwards
(Royal Military Academy Sandhurst)

State of Emergency: The Way We Were: Britain, 1970–1974 by **Dominic Sandbrook**. London: Allen Lane, 2010. 768pp., £30.00, ISBN 978–1846140310

While surveying Britain in late 1973, Dominic Sandbrook observes that for the prime minister, Edward Heath, the post-war consensus and the welfare state ‘would never be glad confident morning again’. But just a page later Sandbrook fastens his attention on the song at number one in the charts, Slade’s ‘Merry Xmas Everybody’. He tells us that its chorus urged listeners to ‘Look to the future/It’s only just begun’. These two passages are emblematic of the period. The first confronts us with a nation in which the political status quo was unravelling, while Slade’s refrain captures a mood of optimism and a readiness to explore possibilities exhibited by many of Heath’s compatriots.

In tandem with his account of politics in Heath’s Britain (which embraces, *inter alia*, sectarian strife in Northern Ireland), Sandbrook examines the ‘declinism’ that captured the imagination of many commentators at the time. He notes that they could find evidence of decline not just in the economy’s dismal performance but also in the failures of the England football team,

and in the tawdry outputs of the film industry (e.g. *Confessions of a Window Cleaner*). But alongside the spirit-sapping subject of decline, Sandbrook sets the eagerness with which many Britons explored the political and cultural opportunities open to them. For example, he examines the way in which the feminist movement gave expression to ‘ideas of liberation and self-realization’. He chronicles a set of developments that show the politics of emancipation and life politics to be features of the political scene in the 1970s. We can see the politics of emancipation at work in the Equal Pay Act 1970 and other anti-discrimination legislation, while life politics informed the widespread readiness of women to turn away from gender stereotypes.¹ Sandbrook finds in these strands of feminist thought ‘a genuine sense of utopian excitement’. He finds a broadly similar outlook in more humdrum contexts. For example, it is on display in the enthusiasm that residents and commentators expressed for the new towns that sprang up in the 1970s. Thus we find the editor of *Architectural Association Quarterly* describing Milton Keynes as ‘the nearest thing we shall get to utopia’.

The two strands in Sandbrook’s exposition provide some support for the conclusion that the country he describes was, for some at least, an example of a realistic utopia in the sense specified by John Rawls. For as Rawls puts it in his *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*,² a realistic utopia exists in circumstances where people live out their lives in a framework that enables them to explore the bounds of practicable political possibility.

Notes

- 1 For more general discussion of the politics of emancipation and life politics, see A. Giddens (1998) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 44.
- 2 2007, pp 10–1.

Richard Mullender
(University of Newcastle)

Options for Britain II: Cross Cutting Policy Issues – Changes and Challenges by **Varun Uberoi, Adam Coutts, David Halpern and Iain McLean (eds)**. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. 206pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 1 4443 3395 4

The problems facing an analysis of social policy in Britain today are the ever-changing political circum-

stances bedazzling social actors. The lack of stability creates a sense of perpetual flux that challenges books of this nature.

This book is an extension of an earlier assessment of the Conservative period of governance conducted in 1993. As with the approach of the original volume, this book applies the same broad structure to the New Labour period, evaluating a wide range of social policy issues and determining their success or failure.

This evaluation enables conclusions regarding policy success or failure to emerge, and also goes forward to propose recommendations for future policies based on the economic conditions at the time of writing. This, sadly, presents the authors of this well-researched book with an unenviable problem, given the rapid changes to the global and national UK economy since those recommendations were determined. For example, the assessment of NHS policy assumes a continuation of finance on the final New Labour Budget, which makes its recommendations for future policy redundant given the recent coalition Spending Review and austerity realities facing the nation. Indeed, the NHS is facing challenges that this book could not have anticipated, making its recommendations potentially redundant. This is not to detract from the valuable analysis of New Labour social policy, but the ability of the book to pose meaningful projections for future social policy becomes limited. Indeed, many of the book's assumptions assumed a mono-party electoral result and did not consider a non-single party outcome from the general election, which challenges those projections.

The areas covered in the book will be of significant value to those interested in social policy and British politics more generally. Specific areas covered include social justice, tax policy, the state and gender. The book will be of particular interest to scholars of New Labour, given the work's focus from a non-partisan analytical approach.

It is likely that a second edition of this book would be of value, with a postscript contextualising the coalition's trajectory. Yet given the ongoing shifts in the implementation of social policy, it may still suffer from the same problem; that of dating at an accelerated rate when compared with similar books historically. It would not be unreasonable to expect an *Options for*

Britain III to arrive at a swifter pace than the eighteen years between the first volume and this one.

Andrew Scott Crines
(University of Huddersfield)

Europe

Cohesion Policy and Multi-level Governance in South East Europe by **Ian Bache and George Andreou (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 124pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 415 59419 6

Cohesion Policy and Multi-level Governance in South East Europe is an important addition to the field, which aims at assessing the impact of EU cohesion policy and related pre-accession instruments on the development of more compound polities in Southeast Europe and the promotion of multi-level governance in particular.

The book begins with a discussion on the conceptual themes that are employed throughout the volume: simple and compound polities, Europeanisation and multi-level governance. Schmid's simple-compound polity distinction is adapted in relation to multi-level governance arrangements that Type I and Type II governance, respectively, relate to the dimension of state structures and the nature of policy-making processes. This leads to the key hypothesis of the volume that the states affected by EU incentives and pressures are likely to move towards more compound polities. Taking into consideration the link between EU cohesion policy and multi-level governance, the effect of Europeanisation is investigated in two dimensions: the vertical dimension focuses on the system-wide architecture of the case study states through regionalisation (Type I multi-level governance), whereas the horizontal dimension stresses the proliferation of pluralistic processes through partnership and the promotion of task-specific governance arrangements (Type II multi-level governance).

Empirical evidence is drawn from a comparative case study approach on seven Southeast European states: Bulgaria, Croatia, FYR Macedonia, Greece, Romania, Slovenia and Turkey. These states share the common feature of a simple polity in which power and influence are traditionally more concentrated in a single level and mode of governance, in contrast with

the EU as a highly compound regional polity. While there are high levels of variation between the selected case study states, it is clear that EU cohesion policy and related pre-accession instruments have had the general effect of making these polities move towards a more compound situation, with the central government remaining prominent. In relation to the EU cohesion policy's contribution to promoting multi-level governance, the horizontal dimension of proliferation of pluralistic processes and the promotion of task-specific governance arrangements appears more pronounced in comparison with the effects on the vertical dimension of system-wide multi-level governance.

To conclude, this book offers provocative insights and intensive empirical data about the influence of EU incentives and pressures on domestic governance structure and processes, as well as its particular contribution in promoting multi-level governance. The focus on this specific region of Southeast Europe provides substantive implications for the further development of Europeanisation in a broader context. With its well-presented arguments and informative coverage, this is a valuable contribution to the field and is highly recommended to a wide public of academics and practitioners.

Jing Pan
(De Montfort University, Leicester)

Rethinking Germany and Europe: Democracy and Diplomacy in a Semi-sovereign State by **Simon Bulmer, Charlie Jeffery and Stephen Padgett (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 243pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 23655 4

As the international financial meltdown impacts heavily on European markets, many commentators have raised questions about the survivability of the euro and, sometimes, even of the European project. It stands to reason, therefore, that understanding political and social developments in one of Europe's most important players and certainly its most powerful economy would greatly assist in grasping the consequences of the current crisis. The current volume does, in part, address that need. But it also goes beyond just situating Germany in Europe, although that is unavoidable since the relationship between Berlin and Brussels (as a symbol of post-war continental partnerships) is symbiotic. However,

the book attempts to do more than just repeat that common view. It is also explicitly an effort to understand and gauge the impact of what the editors and contributing authors view as a 'gathering crisis' in the German political system itself.

The book is divided into two sections. The first examines democracy and governance in post-war Germany. It provides readers with an overview of the Federal Republic as it grapples with a political transformation that has been exacerbated by the systemic pressures associated with reunification. The German citizen's slowly eroding identification with a political party and the increase in pluralism in German society, not to mention the impact of immigration and multiculturalism (neither of which is discussed in the book), have undercut the consensus that characterised the politics of earlier decades. This is nowhere better seen than in the controversy that surrounded the Schröder government's passage of its economic reform plan, Agenda 2010, and the impact that the plan has had on the fortunes of the Social Democratic party. It is also reflected in the efforts by Angela Merkel to modernise the Christian Democratic Union since she became Chancellor in November 2005.

The second half of the book looks at Germany's role in Europe. These chapters offer a variety of insights. Germany has discovered that the post-Cold War, enlarged European Union is a more challenging environment where the assertion (frequently much like Britain) of national perspectives has led Germany to accept the inevitable frictions with long-standing partners. It has also generated a new willingness to adopt a more robust approach to international policy, even if the record demonstrates a greater inclination for EU-led as opposed to US-led missions. For all its problems (i.e. political gridlock, declining party membership, uncertain leadership), Berlin is not Weimar. It is a fully functioning democracy which is undergoing internal change and which has distinct national interests. But as the decision not to support military intervention in Libya demonstrates, those dynamics mean that there is still some unpredictability present in Berlin's policies. This volume will help readers answer the question of why that is so.

Ben Lombardi
(Defence R&D Canada)

Developments in French Politics by Alistair Cole, Patrick Le Galès and Jonah Levy (eds). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 316pp., £22.99, ISBN 978 0 230 53700 2

In this fourth volume on 'Developments in French Politics', Alistair Cole, Patrick Le Galès and Jonah Levy provide a systematic assessment of developments during the presidencies of Jacques Chirac and the early tenure of his successor, Nicolas Sarkozy, from May 2007. While the latter's presidential activism at home and abroad in dealing with difficult issues such as university and social security reform and the drafting of a new European Union treaty appeared somewhat at odds with that of his predecessor, this volume dispels the notion that the Chirac presidencies were simply a 'lost decade' (p. 2), stifled by – among other things – the apparent inability of mainstream parties to engage the electorate, or of French republicanism to solve, for example, economic stagnation, exert geopolitical influence or integrate minority and disadvantaged groups into society.

Instead, the logically structured contributory chapters, which cover the general vista of French politics, revisit the Chirac presidencies with hindsight and provide illuminating evidence to signal how reform under Chirac was, in fact, greater than first thought. While such analysis must admittedly be considered in light of Chirac's cohabitation with the Plural Left coalition government from 1997 to 2002, it suggests that reform in France should not be over-simplified as a Sarkozy-related phenomenon. As a result, this approach allows for an informed, if early, assessment concerning the extent of continuity and change between the two presidencies from institutional, structural and behavioural perspectives.

As with the previous volumes, *Developments in French Politics* is clearly written, accessible and never soporific. It addresses with clarity the main challenges faced by French politics in the decade preceding 2008, as well as how such challenges have been addressed. This fourth volume therefore represents a welcome addition to the series and must be considered essential reading for undergraduate courses dealing with facets of contemporary France. Supplementary reading lists to accompany each chapter and a comprehensive bibliography also provide important sources for those wishing to research the key debates further.

John Ballance
(University of Leeds)

Shaping the Post-Soviet Space? EU Policies and Approaches to Region-Building by Laure Delcour. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011. 194pp., £59.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0224 4

Region building is an often neglected subject in the literature, and yet ironically for the European Union (EU), it is its preferred tool for engaging with the wider world. Laure Delcour attempts to redress this situation by exploring the EU's policies and approaches to region building in the former Soviet Union – a 'region' that until the end of the Cold War had been a '*terra incognita*' (p. 1) or 'blind spot' (p. 23).

In *Shaping the Post-Soviet Space*, Delcour analyses the EU's engagement with the post-Soviet space 'as a test of Europe's capacity to promote one of its core foreign policy objectives – support to regional cooperation – and to raise a distinctive profile in the international arena' (p. 2). She argues that the post-Soviet space represents an exception to the EU's traditional approaches towards region building, and questions the premise that the post-Soviet space represents a 'region' at all, in particular distinguishing between three sub-regions, to each of which the EU adopts a divergent approach: the Western newly independent states and Southern Caucasus states within the European Neighbourhood Policy; Russia; and Central Asia (p. 12). She argues that the EU's actions in its region-building approaches and policies in the post-Soviet space are guided by security concerns, and that it has preferred bilateral approaches which can be explained by a combination of factors, both exogenous (e.g. Russia, p. 150) and endogenous (e.g. member state interests).

Delcour adopts a rigorous methodology and identifies three separate independent variables that could affect the dependent variable, region building, a term used to refer to both the promotion of inter-regional and intra-regional cooperation (p. 12). The book is structured into eight chapters which follow in a logical progression by identifying the analytical framework guiding the research (ch. 1), the historical evolution of the EU's policies (chs 2 and 3), the EU's approaches to each of the identified sub-regions (chs 4 to 6) and explanations for why the post-Soviet space represents an exception (chs 7 and 8).

This book makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of region building, but also goes much further by highlighting the real complexities of EU

foreign policy behaviour. Chapter 7 is especially interesting in its exploration of the ‘consistency’ of EU policies. Its strengths lie in its empirically grounded research as opposed to being theoretically guided. Overall, this is a thoroughly enjoyable book which would be highly recommended to academics as well as policy makers.

Vicki Clayton
(University of Reading)

The Politics of Security in Modern Russia by **Mark Galeotti (ed.)**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 233pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7408 5

This edited book explores the peculiar development of security politics in Russia during the Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev presidencies. Many attempts to write about Russia’s security have been made. This book outshines them all for its insightfulness, originality and comprehensibility. The volume is a brainstorming mosaic, in which American and European scholars highlight the most intellectually demanding and challenging issues of security in Russia. The contributors not only provide a convincing interpretation of perplexing configurations – the traditional nuts and bolts – of Russia’s security politics in terms of traditional issues of national security such as army and police modernisation, nuclear arms and security funding, but they also problematise non-traditional security issues in the context of Russia – civil–military relations, informal economies, and terrorism and organised crime. The book is an outstanding example of Western academic research in terms of demonstrating an insider’s understanding of the identity of the Russian state as a great power. Based on tough Western criticism, this original scholarship evaluates the opportunities and vulnerabilities of the Russian state in the past and in the near future.

The book includes nine chapters which cover civil–military relations, defence spending and reform of the military and the police, Russo–Chechen conflicts, terrorism and organised crime, nuclear security, and political processes affecting security power structures. Graeme Herd conceptualises security threats and challenges projected by the Russian leadership based on a detailed exploration of national doctrines and strategies from 2000 to 2009. Mark Smith questions whether there is any advantage in the phenomenal freedom

to manoeuvre in decision making that Putin and Medvedev established under the *hyper-presidential* regime (*electoral monarchy*). Given the authority of *siloviki* in security politics in Russia, Bettina Renz further unpacks the puzzle of an exceptional civil–military arrangement in Russia’s security politics. She argues that, although far from the Western ideal, a politically meddling military in Russia is supported by the public, which favours ‘strong hand’ management of security. Under such conditions a military takeover is not imminent.

This volume pays particular attention to analyses of the South Federal District, which contains the most tormenting conflicts that Russia has been involved in since independence. C. W. Brandy investigates the events of the two Russo–Chechen wars and Moscow’s attempts to establish political control in the region. He argues that the reinvention of Russia’s traditional politics in favour of the ‘stick’ rather than the ‘carrot’ and the *chechenisation* of counter-terrorism operations (re-employment of amnestied *boeviki* in the fight against extremists) have contributed to the rise of local distrust and antagonism. Mark Galeotti argues that Putin’s approach to terrorism based on tough military policies has not so much combated the problem as produced incentives for the development of the underground economy.

If one wishes to learn about the state of Russia’s military and police, inquire about the perceptions of threats and challenges developed by the Russian leadership, and discover the interplay of powers at war in Chechnya, this book is one of the most comprehensive and up-to-date sources available, which also makes connections to other original scholarship and data sources that researchers of Russian politics should consider.

Yuliya Zabyelina
(University of Trento)

Changing European Employment and Welfare Regimes: The Influence of the Open Method of Coordination on National Reforms by **Martin Heidenreich and Jonathan Zeitlin (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009. 255pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 415 48278 3

Heidenreich and Zeitlin’s edited volume focuses on the open method of coordination (OMC) as an imple-

mentation tool in European employment and welfare policy. The volume asks whether this tool has been effective in reforming national employment and welfare systems. The OMC has been successful, the editors argue, at inspiring 'substantive changes in national policy agendas' (p. 3). These changes are analysed in the volume by placing emphasis on different issues: transnational learning and discursive diffusion; supranational adaptation pressures and national institutional trajectories; and domestic actor constellations and political dynamics. In short, the book explores the way in which OMC processes influence – or not – national reforms in key policy areas.

The volume places particular emphasis on the importance of past policy practice, examining the path dependency of existing policies and the extent to which the OMC radically changes that or whether it allows for reform within existing policy paths. The chapters contain a great variety of contributions which explore these issues within the 27 EU member states. However, there is an old-Europe bias throughout the book, with some chapters repeating this geographical focus, and Southern and Eastern European countries being under-represented. The book is aimed at a specialist audience of postgraduate students and researchers.

The authors offer a timely analysis of European employment and welfare policy by considering the extent to which the OMC is encouraging policy convergence within national reforms in these two policy areas. The novelty of these chapters lies in how policy influence is not just understood as leading to policy change but in a much broader sense. Jonathan Zeitlin, in the last chapter, considers the way in which this influence manifests itself in two key areas: through substantive policy change (appearing in cognitive, political or programmatic shifts) and via procedural shifts in governance and policy-making processes (which, crucially, involves the participation of non-state actors and the near institutionalisation of policy networks) (pp. 216–26).

With an increased role within European policy making the OMC is proving to be a policy-making and implementation tool widely used in policy areas where the EU does not necessarily have regulatory control. It represents an effective tool in policy-making processes suited to soft-law procedures, yet it is also a victim of similar shortcomings. A key problem is the

irregularity of funding procedures for such policy areas; sometimes good intentions alone are not enough.

Mònica Clua-Losada
(Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona)

EU Conflict Management by **James Hughes (ed.)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 142pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 56747 3

This edition aims at exploring the consistency, coherence, politicisation and effectiveness of EU conflict management through a variety of case studies. The structure of the book is based on an introduction and eight chapters that explore different cases of EU conflict management. The audience for this work is scholars and students in political science, particularly those specialising in EU politics and conflict management.

The book is a welcome contribution to the academic debate. Several authors have successfully addressed a variety of cases and aspects of EU conflict management and have added to an empirically rich work. After a comprehensive introduction to the policy and conceptual debate and the main themes of the edition, the book begins with a convincing cross-examination of the EU's role in Northern Ireland and Kosovo. The following EU enlargement-focused chapters discuss the (in)effectiveness of Brussels as far as a credible conditionality strategy is concerned (Western Balkans, Bosnia), as well as the interesting aspect of *post-accession* conflict management (Cyprus). Unfortunately, the chapter on the Federal Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is comparatively weaker, with a rather unclear methodology (uncertainty about whether the EU's role is tested with reference to the name dispute or the ethnic conflict) and, often, a failure to distinguish the EU/US leverage. The study of Moldova and Georgia as European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) cases is empirically substantial, but a series of interesting arguments that are proposed are not sufficiently advanced (e.g. how does the absence of conditionality and/or the disputed status of the territories in question implicate the role of the EU?). Finally, the chapter on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict offers robust analysis and policy suggestions, while the final part on Africa, albeit slightly descriptive, is a welcome investigation of the EU's conflict management in the region and its increased politicisation.

Overall, the book provides a well-written and well-informed input to the discussion on EU conflict man-

agement. Minor criticisms would include the lack of signposting between the chapters and the lack of a concluding section, which would go a long way towards a more coherent edition. Furthermore, the absence of any reference to the Lisbon Treaty and its relevance for EU conflict management (probably due to publication timing, just after the Treaty came into force in late 2009) is also noticeable. Nevertheless, the book does provide a comprehensive and critical account of recent EU conflict management and as such it not only holds significant relevance to the post-Lisbon era but, certainly, adds to the existing debate and literature.

George Kyris
(University of Manchester)

The European Union and the Baltic States: Changing Forms of Governance by **Bengt Jacobsson (ed.)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009. 194pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 415 48276 9

In today's world, nation states are involved in many governance activities and are increasingly embedded in the wider European and global environment where they must follow different kinds of scripts (i.e. ideas, rules, models, standards and recipes) that are institutionalised in a broader setting. This edited volume takes up this challenge by investigating the complex interrelationship between Europe and the three Baltic states: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Anchoring the Europeanisation framework into the organisation theory tradition, the aim of the book is to build and illustrate a theoretical account of the micro-processes by which EU rules are interpreted, deciphered and translated into national contexts by governing bodies through regulative, inquisitive and meditative activities (p. 99). The main focus is on the changes in central state administration.

This book has nine chapters written by scholars from different disciplines. The introductory chapter outlines the theoretical perspective, sets the context and highlights the book's main arguments. The theoretical framework comprises three main strands: first, regulative (directives, standards, recommendations, soft rules), inquisitive (auditing, evaluations, comparisons and rankings) and meditative (discussion and best practice fora, seminars and conferences) activities; second, consideration of states as scripted and permeated by

logics of rule following; and third, adaptation as a continuum which extends from weak forms of agency (implementation, modification) to stronger forms (learning, innovation).

Chapter 2 presents alternative ways of interpreting Europeanisation with the themes of bounded rationality, processes of preference formation, logics of appropriateness, states as complex and fragmented organisation, limits of instrumentality, and states as organisations influenced by developments in their environments. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with two general governance mechanisms – monitoring and twinning – and their use. While monitoring is analysed as a ritualised procedure and an inquisitory mechanism for scrutinising the states and constructing EU accession as a soon-to-be-true fact (p. 57), twinning is evaluated as a meditative process which by virtue of its specific characteristics and procedures encourages mimetic behaviour in public administration (p. 79). Focusing on discussions among experts in the three Baltic states, chapter 5 examines how they adapt their public management policies to modern scripts. Chapter 6 investigates the influence of the EU on the creation of labour market policies that have been mostly operated through open coordination. Both chapters conclude that the adaptation processes in these three countries have varied due to the specific domestic factors.

Chapters 7 and 8 focus on the adaptation process in parliaments and parties, where there are no written and compulsory rules but examples that could be used as models. With regard to the parliamentary EU scrutiny mechanism, softer and more meditative forms of governance have been influential in explaining convergence between new EU member states. On the other hand, engagement in transnational networks and the socialisation of party elites and officials through meditative activities have affected the policy and programmatic development of the Estonian Social Democratic party, which has gradually transformed itself into a standard European social democratic party. Finally, chapter 9 answers a challenging question, which has probably puzzled the reader throughout the book: is there any room for resistance? Since the contestations and discussions are already connected with the rules and models, resistance can be learned or, as the book puts it, 'resistance also tends to be scripted' (p. 20). The chapter ends with a quest for passion and politics in the European project, which

may offer more areas for meditation about possible ways to resist (p. 173).

In sum, through theoretical interrogation of the scriptedness of states and discussion of a range of important case studies, the volume has largely achieved its aim of exploring how states adjust to the rules and ideas of the EU and other rule makers in the market.

Digdem Soyaltin
(Free University Berlin)

Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away by **Dejan Jović**. West Lafayette IN: Purdue University Press, 2009. 419pp., £49.95, ISBN 978 1 55753 495 8

Dejan Jović is Director of the Centre for European Neighbourhood Studies at the University of Stirling, Scotland and currently an adviser to the president of the Republic of Croatia, and consequently his book stands out as an indispensable work on the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia. The volume primarily focuses on analysing the ideological and constitutive aspects of the Yugoslav state, and it argues that ideological crisis was the key cause for the Yugoslav dissolution. The author proffers an innovative and well-argued account of the Marxist notion of the 'withering away of the state' by analysing the emergence, implementation, crisis and collapse of this ideological notion in socialist Yugoslavia. Interestingly, he approaches the topic first by presenting and criticising existing explanations for the break-up of Yugoslavia before finding them inadequate and continuing by arguing and substantiating his own views on ideological crisis and collapse. Thus Jović successfully presents a critique of other approaches to the Yugoslav dissolution and also examines the Yugoslav case in historical perspective from three particular standpoints: adoption of the last constitutional compromise of 1974, the implementation crisis of the respective constitutive model and, finally, the roots of the 1980s ideological disintegration that instituted the Yugoslav downfall.

This contribution on Yugoslavia is certainly a success because the author has managed to offer a markedly different view of the Yugoslav crisis and downfall, thus raising an important critique and re-evaluating already accepted and established accounts on Yugoslavia. Most notably, Jović rejects the very popular, and certainly widely perceived, factor of ancient ethnic hatreds, among other things, as having

led to the break-up. *Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away* is an innovative piece, especially if other volumes covering the same topic are taken into consideration. The author's skilfully conducted analysis supported by a multitude of sources – official documents as well as his personal archives from the time when he was a journalist – offers a challenging and well-substantiated approach to Yugoslavia by advancing innovative thinking on the topic. The book is well written and easy to follow, and consequently will be of interest to an audience much wider than mere academic circles.

Vladimir Đorđević
(Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic)

External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor by **Sonia Lucarelli and Lorenzo Fioramonti (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 233pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 48100 7

The fall of the Berlin Wall provided the push for nearly two decades of unprecedented integration in Europe and the enlargement of the European Union (EU) to 27 member states. Such unique political, economic and social amalgamation has begun to shape the processes of international affairs. Thus, while some commentators have tended to describe the EU's external relations through the prism of its normative power, others have tended to interpret the lack of veritable military capabilities as an indication that Brussels is a 'force for good' in global life. Consequently, the establishment of a President of the EU and a High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy by the Lisbon Treaty are underpinned by such conviction in the virtue and legitimacy of the EU's global outreach.

However, how do other actors perceive the EU's role in global politics? The volume edited by Sonia Lucarelli and Lorenzo Fioramonti draws one of the most comprehensive pictures of such external perceptions of the EU. The collection is divided into two parts. The first details the views on the agency of Brussels of individual states. The seven chapters included in this section depict the attitudes of the US, Russia, China, Iran, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, India, Brazil, South Africa and Mexico. The second part of the volume outlines the perceptions of different international organisations and institutions. The

chapters included in this section discuss the positions of the World Bank, the United Nations, the African Union, non-European diplomats based in Brussels, and non-Western media outlets such as Al Jazeera.

Such a diverse spectrum of perspectives provides a thorough and comprehensive account of the external perceptions of the global agency of the EU. The volume's exploration queries whether the EU can 'bridge the gap' between its self-projections and external perceptions (p. 218). The contributions to this collection seem to indicate that while this question increasingly gains prominence for external observers, Brussels still does not seem to be able to provide a coherent answer. In this respect, the volume makes an important contribution to the study of the global agency of the EU. It offers discerning perspectives on the explanation and understanding of international attitudes to the EU as a global actor. The collection will be invaluable for the purposes of teaching and theorising the shifting patterns and perceptions of European international relations.

Emilian Kavalski
(University of Western Sydney)

Variiegated Neoliberalism: EU Varieties of Capitalism and International Political Economy by **Huw Macartney**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 186pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 60150 4

Variiegated Neoliberalism: EU Varieties of Capitalism and International Political Economy is the latest book that views EU integration through the prism of neo-Gramscian analysis. Taking Van Apeldoorn's highly regarded *Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle over European Integration* (which focuses on the ERT – the European Round Table of Industrialists) as its precedent, Huw Macartney highlights the emergence of strong financial-market actors who have shaped the processes of the European capitalist order in the twenty-first century and generated a contingent 'Variiegated Neoliberalism', which is permeating integration processes. While this pertains to the EU as a whole, the focus is on Britain (Atlantic), France (Gallic) and Germany (Rhenish) to represent the dominant factions of capital driving these processes. The distinction highlights the contingent nature of changes and the spatial differentiation to be overcome when considering integrative initiatives.

The theoretical developments that underpin the analysis are primarily focused upon a critique and development of the 'Varieties of Capitalism' (VoC) literature, and 'Transnational Neo-Gramscian Historical Materialism'. The author attempts to overcome the state-centrism of VoC analysis, highlighting the over-reliance on path dependency when faced with transnationalising forces. Instead, Macartney offers a nuanced understanding of EU integration through the concept of 'Variiegated Neoliberalism', highlighting that while path dependency may exist to a degree, the neo-liberal turn in the EU must not, and should not, be considered a monolith. Neo-liberal integration is taking place in a variiegated manner, sympathetic to national contingencies feeding into a contested transnational realm where a new common sense may prevail.

This is complemented by a neo-Gramscian approach which takes care to avoid overdetermination in all areas of analysis, especially those concerning the efficacy of ideas. Instead of using Cox's triangulated notion, Macartney presents an approach which is also three-pronged, though seemingly in a circulatory manner, which takes the form of: (1) historical impulses under capitalism; (2) fractions of capital and their agency; and (3) the common sense that prevails. While this latter approach is a strong one, the brief criticism of Cox comes in the concluding sections of the book, and there is a feeling that without prior familiarity with neo-Gramscian approaches, the reader may get lost in some of its concepts which could receive greater treatment in the first section.

The above is a minor criticism, as the theoretical and empirical elements are innovative. The concept of 'Variiegated Neoliberalism' should become integral when considering the processes of integration and the capitalist order in contemporary Europe.

Jamie Jordan
(De Montfort University, Leicester)

Italy Today: The Sick Man of Europe by **Andrea Mammone and Guiseppe A. Veltri (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 257pp., £25.99, ISBN 978 0 415 56160 0

The book edited by Mammone and Veltri seeks to provide an interdisciplinary and comprehensive picture of contemporary Italy and of the political, economic

and social decline it is experiencing. To this end, several structural and unresolved problems of Italian society are highlighted by known experts and young researchers. It is worth noting that the figure of Silvio Berlusconi is ignored, in line with the idea that 'although there are few doubts that Berlusconi's ... influence might have aggravated some of the dark shadows over the country, many such problems were already part of the Italian social fabric' (p. 9).

The approach adopted by the authors is mainly qualitative and descriptive, sometimes enriched by empirical data (e.g. Moury's chapter on the use of common manifestos for coalition governance). The work is divided into five parts covering different aspects of social life, and each chapter is dedicated to a specific issue. After the introduction by the editors, attention is first given to the functioning of the Italian party system and its links with society, the Church and media in terms of reciprocal influence. The second part covers the themes of the legacy of political conflict, ideological confrontation and fascism today. The third part deals with the immigration issue from the viewpoints of both politics and the Catholic Church. The question of the *Mezzogiorno* (Southern Italy) is the topic of the subsequent two chapters. Finally, the economic sphere is taken into account.

After reading the book, what appears is a variegated set of reasons for the current Italian crisis. The main goal of the editors is achieved, on the whole, since the work succeeds in giving broad and stimulating examination and evaluation of this situation. Moreover, the book has the merit of compensating for the lack of academic studies on the contemporary internal problems of Italian society, which is a subject too often left to journalists. This work could be the first step towards more theoretical research on the topic.

In sum, written in a very accessible and clear language, *Italy Today* is a valuable source of information and interest not only for the community of scholars familiar with political science, but also for all those who want to understand why Italy appears to be, in the eyes of many analysts from within the country and outside, 'the Sick Man of Europe'.

Michelangelo Vercesi
(University of Pavia)

The Political Economy of the European Union: An Institutional Perspective by **Dermot McCann**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. 214pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 3891 1

The Spatialities of Europeanization: Power, Governance and Territory in Europe by **Alun Jones and Julian Clark**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 182pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 1 84472 167 2

One of the most striking aspects of teaching on EU courses in the past year or two has been the growing dissatisfaction felt by students about the literature. The absence of three key areas from much EU scholarship – political economy; the politics of knowledge and space; the securitisation of freedom – has been keenly felt. Therefore, it gives considerable pleasure to see these monographs published at this time. As can be inferred from the titles, McCann addresses the first of these areas and Jones/Clark the second.

The subtitle to McCann's monograph is 'An Institutional Perspective', and this underpins his approach. For him, there is a need to deploy the underutilised conceptual tools provided by comparative political economy in order to 'examine the impact of EU policy on the political economic governance of member states' (p. 4), and especially those domains (product, financial and labour markets) often taken to be key for the 'national' character of different capitalisms (p. 5). A key debate here is the extent to which deepening economic integration since the 1980s, along liberal lines, has catalysed a transformation of various national capitalisms. McCann suggests two key conclusions: (1) the capacity of defenders of non-liberal capitalism to resist the liberalisation of their economies is considerably greater than might initially appear (p. 21), meaning that this is a highly political and not inevitable process; (2) the crises of the last few years suggest that such resistance may well grow, given the market-shaping rather than market-making nature of many of the measures taken, especially at the national level (pp. 181–2).

McCann's analysis is subtle and sophisticated, yet also broad enough for it to be an excellent general text, for it highlights the centrality of political economy approaches to the study of European integration. In addition, each chapter concludes with recommendations for further reading, which means that it is most certainly accessible for advanced under-

graduate as well as postgraduate students, not to mention doctoral and academic researchers. Where McCann falls down is with his problematic conceptualisation of institutions, which is rooted in the comparative political economy literatures within which he situates the book. This in effect assumes that the liberalisation of European political economies can be achieved only *against* and not *through* institutions; as a result, there is too great an emphasis on institutional coherence and durability.

Jones and Clark address precisely these issues, alerting us in the process to the potential of geographical perspectives. In particular, they move beyond the limitations inherent to most political science conceptualisations of Europeanisation, which favour typologies that invariably share a common assumption: Europeanisation is an independent variable which has ‘impacts’ on various dependent (and often domestic) variables. They convincingly show how and why we need to go much further when thinking about Europeanisation as a process, focusing on ‘the triptych of power-governance-territory’ in order to ‘examine the ways in which Europeanization unfolds in different spaces at different times’ (p. 147).

This enables Jones and Clark to make two key moves, which are of considerable significance for EU scholarship. First, they contend that Europeanisation is intrinsically heterarchical and not hierarchical (p. 149); second, and perhaps most importantly, it is argued that ‘“EU-ization” is merely a contemporary inflexion of a much older, continent-wide suite of Europeanization processes’ (p. 149). Political scientists often adhere to especially the first in principle, but their formalistic conceptualisation of institutions has prevented them from achieving this in practice. In other words, the essence of ‘politics’ is contested throughout the book, and highlights the need for EU scholars to engage much more deeply with political geographers who, as in other areas (such as the study of globalisation and neo-liberalism), are showing the way.

The direct challenge posed by Jones and Clark, combined with the geographical concepts underpinning their intervention, means that this book is better suited to postgraduate level and above. However, given the aforementioned student dissatisfaction with EU scholarship, it should prove suitable for many advanced undergraduates who are keen to stretch themselves (as should the authors’ numerous journal articles). This

is helped by Jones and Clark’s emphasis on elite political practices ‘operating at a variety of scales and levels’ (p. 64; see also ch. 3), meaning that there is considerable overlap between political geography and political science in terms of what is being discussed. The difference is that Jones and Clark are more adept at doing so.

To summarise, McCann focuses on political economy and domestic institutions of governance, while Jones and Clark’s more complex approach entails a thorough revision of some of the concepts the literature has taken for granted. While not without their own limitations – in addition to the above remarks on McCann, Jones and Clark unnecessarily downplay the role played by the transnationalisation of production chains, especially since 1989 and again after 2004 – taken together these books present a significant advance on much EU scholarship. Therefore, they are essential reading for researchers and students.

Ian Bruff
(University of Manchester)

The Theory of Multi-level Governance: Conceptual, Empirical, and Normative Challenges by **Simona Piattoni**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 301pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 19 956292 3

Simona Piattoni’s book offers an exceptional innovative insight for the development of theorising multi-level governance. It addresses the theoretical, empirical and normative issues in relation to the construction of multi-level governance theory with particular reference to the European Union. The book is divided into three parts that are respectively dedicated to one of these challenges.

The most distinctive feature of this book is the theoretical elaboration of multi-level governance (Part I). Based on the conceptual and historical analysis, Piattoni emphasises the importance of theorising multi-level governance simultaneously in politics (political mobilisation), policy (authoritative decision making) and polity (state restructuring) terms. A multidimensional analytical space is generated by capturing the development that challenges traditional territorial and jurisdictional boundaries in centre–periphery, state–society and domestic–international dynamics. Theoretical implications drawn from the concept of multi-level governance imply crossing these three analytical

boundaries. The author argues that the core of multi-level governance theorisation is the simultaneous activation of all three dynamics, which distinguishes it from other conventional governance arrangements. This provides the basic theoretical framework of analysis for the subsequent empirical and normative investigations in the rest of the book.

The second part of the book assesses the empirical relevance of the concept of multi-level governance in relation to its theoretical significance in practical terms. The applicability of multi-level governance is tested in three different policy settings: a distributive-redistributive policy (cohesion), a regulatory-distributive policy (environment) and a regulatory-constitutional policy (higher education). There is a special focus on two member states, the UK and Germany. This is followed by Part III, which is entirely dedicated to the normative approach to exploring the input and output legitimacy of multi-level governance, and how it contributes to the overall democracy of the European Union. It is argued that multi-level governance arrangements, characterised as a loosely coupled structure, are able to secure coordination among public and private actors at different territorial and jurisdictional levels, and reduce the risk of falling into the 'joint decision trap' due to their flexibly structured nature.

The highlight of this book is the development of a multidimensional framework of analysis of multi-level governance theorisation. This makes it an innovative and valuable contribution to the further completion of multi-level governance theory. To capture the distinctiveness of multi-level governance in simultaneously theoretical, empirical and normative terms, the author uses an ambitious yet successful approach. Hence, it deserves more attention and should provoke serious debate and further research in this field.

Jing Pan
(De Montfort University, Leicester)

The Political History of European Integration: The Hypocrisy of Democracy-through-Market by **Hagen Schulz-Forberg and Bo Stråth**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 233pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 57883 7

The aim of this book is to provide a new theoretical interpretation of the history of European integration, with a particular focus on the relation between the

integration process and the question of European democracy.

The way in which Hagen Schulz-Forberg and Bo Stråth try to reach this goal is, first, by clearly rejecting any teleological perspective on the EU, emphasising 'its fragility and contingency towards the future' (p. 1). Following this approach, the authors use the historical data to propose a new interpretation of the history of European integration. They identify three fields of contradiction that influenced the entire integration process, namely, tensions between: (1) rhetoric and institutional reality; (2) enlargement and deepening integration; and (3) market integration and social disintegration. Using the idea of Reinhart Koselleck about the sequence of critique-crisis-hypocrisy, the authors try to demonstrate that after the failure to improve the federal structure of Europe, the European political elite have focused their attention on promoting a rhetoric focused on the idea of a democratic Europe. This idea of a democratic Europe emerged in the 1980s, when neo-liberal ideas on the market were hegemonic and according to which democracy in Europe was believed to follow with market integration (for this reason the authors talk of the hypocrisy of 'democracy-through-market').

The theoretical framework of the book is noteworthy and extremely accurate; it is innovative and well sustained by extensive use of the historical data. The originality in the approach is demonstrated by the idea that the EU's current difficulties are mainly connected to the breaking of the link between the market and the social dimension, and the EU's inability to build an effective European public sphere able to express and manage the conflicts that have emerged in European societies. With this approach the authors are able to explain the failures in European institution building and the difficulty in reaching a democratic supranational regime. The arguments are very interesting because they also suggest a good explanation of the inability of European institutions to manage the great economic crises of 2008.

Written in a very clear style, the book offers a new and useful analytical tool both for historians and for political scientists devoted to the study of European integration.

Eugenio Salvati
(University of Pavia)

State Building in Putin's Russia: Policing and Coercion after Communism by **Brian D. Taylor**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 359pp., £65.00, ISBN 9780521760881

Brian Taylor's book examines the main theme of Putin's first stint as president between 2000 and 2008. These years were characterised by the rise to power of the *siloviki*, politicians and administrators who had served or were serving in one of the 'Power Ministries' (essentially the armed forces, intelligence and security services). The usual approach to the rise of the *siloviki* is either to chart their rise against the decline of democracy in Russia and/or to see their ascent under Putin as a re-division of the spoils of privatisation in their favour as they recouped on the losses they had suffered to other groups in the 1990s. Taylor's approach is a little different. He is not unconcerned with the quality of Russian democracy or the economic division of spoils, but he is more interested in whether or not the rise of the *siloviki* and the centralisation of power in the Kremlin under Putin raised the capacity of the Russian state and improved the quality of governance. This is a fair test of Putin's rule since it was always his declared aim to make the Russian state great again by, among other things, restoring the trust of citizens in it, and because the resolution of the 'stateness' problem in Russia has been presented by Putin apologists as a condition for the (eventual) development of democracy.

Taylor looks at how the state's coercive capacity was developed under Putin through reform of the 'Power Ministries' and through the spread of their personnel into other areas of administration. Most of the book is a detailed study of these changes in centre-periphery relations, personnel politics, the provision of security in the North Caucasus and state-society relations. The overall picture – the depressing, but absolutely correct, picture of a failure to improve the quality of governance in Russia – is presented in a *tour de force* conclusion which compares developments in Russian governance to countries with similar pasts (post-communist states), incomes and economic structures: Russia's coercive state capacity has grown a little but its state quality is poor, indeed generally much poorer than what might be predicted for a country with its characteristics. In short, Putin failed in his first term; there was a change in style and emphasis between the Yeltsin and Putin eras, but not a great shift in

performance. This is an essential book: everyone interested in Russian politics should read it, especially Vladimir Putin.

Neil Robinson
(University of Limerick)

The Influence of the European Union on Turkish Foreign Policy by **Ozlem Terzi**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 165pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 9 7546 7842 7

Europeanisation – a theme that has for far too long been bound up with the experience of the European Union (EU) member states – has become a commonly used theoretical approach for studying the EU and its influence on future and non-member states. In this vein, *The Influence of the European Union on Turkish Foreign Policy* offers a detailed and cautionary examination of the change in foreign policy as a result of the transformative power of the EU since 1999 when Turkey was given candidate membership status. Employing an issue-specific and actor-centred approach, Ozlem Terzi focuses on the constructivist aspects of Europeanisation and addresses the transformation of the policy makers' mindsets, values and perceptions with regard to appropriate behaviour in different areas of foreign policy.

The book consists of eleven chapters which are written in an accessible and clear style. The first two chapters act as an introduction, outlining the main argument and the content and structure of the book. Here the author also provides a clear overview of the Europeanisation literature and a sound conceptual background, and orients her readers with several theoretically driven questions. Excluding these two chapters the book is split into two parts. The first part explores the Europeanisation of different actors involved in the process of policy making – the governing and opposition parties, the military and civil society. The second part addresses the Europeanisation of foreign policy practices in problematic cases, and finishes with a summative conclusion revisiting the theoretical questions.

The central argument addressed throughout all the chapters is that most of the major changes in actors' position and the transformation of foreign policy substances in Turkey can be related to the requirements of eventual EU membership. The second major concern of the book is that the change in Turkish foreign policy towards its neighbouring countries in the direction of a

more soft-power-based and dialogue/solution-oriented approach illustrates a learning process and effective norm internalisation which at the end paves the way for the redefinition of national interests (pp.136ff.). The author points to recent efforts by the AKP (Justice and Development party) government towards finding a comprehensive solution to the Cyprus question, seeking a rapprochement with Armenia, aiming to resolve disputes with Greece in the Aegean, and a dialogue-oriented policy towards Iran, Iraq and Syria to support her argument. Terzi rightly reflects the AKP's attempts to develop a multidimensional and cooperative foreign policy, which was also greatly influenced by Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's 'strategic depth' perspective.

Overall this book is a significant contribution to the literature dealing with the domestic impact of the EU in candidate countries on a sensitive policy area, which has traditionally been the *domaine réservé* of nation states. Nevertheless, a more systematic evaluation of elite socialisation, which might have manifested itself in a detailed discourse analysis, would have further enhanced this volume. The book's other weakness is that it poorly conceptualises the interaction between domestic factors and external ones while tracing the EU's impact on actors' positions and foreign policy outcomes. That said, this book addresses numerous technical, political and strategic issues and provides an insightful and empirically based analysis for anyone interested in Turkish politics, foreign policy and Europeanisation research.

Digdem Soyaltin
(Free University Berlin)

Transforming the Dutch Welfare State: Social Risks and Corporatism Reform by **Mara A. Yerkes**. Bristol: Policy Press, 2011. 166pp., £65.00, ISBN 9781847429636

As is well known, the Dutch political economy was the poster child for 'Third Way' discourse in the late 1990s. However, within a few years the descent into recession and the explosion of anti-immigrant sentiment accompanying Pim Fortuyn's rise to prominence led to a sharp decline in commentary on the Netherlands. Although scholars have continued to publish on specific social policy and/or political processes, more encompassing studies have been in short

supply. Therefore, Mara Yerkes' impressive book is to be welcomed, for she adopts an integrated approach to both the transformation of the Dutch welfare state and the evolving (and often differentiated) perceptions of social risk accompanying such changes. In this she draws on literatures studying industrial relations, social care and labour market regulations in order to highlight the crucial role played by corporatist institutions across a range of institutions. Moreover, her book is highly topical, covering developments up to the present.

Drawing both on actor-centred frameworks (Scharpf) and on more recent conceptualisations of institutional change (Streeck/Thelen), Yerkes explores her topics and case studies with considerable aplomb and subtlety. Furthermore, the explicit incorporation of social risk into her analysis, which overcomes wider issues in the field – there is a tendency either to neglect this crucial aspect of welfare reform trajectories or to downplay the often contradictory nature of such processes – pays off handsomely. Here the chapters on childcare protection and employability are particularly impressive for their nuanced handling of complex and ongoing processes of change.

On the downside, the very institutionalism that delivers the goods is also the main limitation of the book. For instance, the highly instructive table on pages 34–6 on social mechanisms for reform trajectories covers 'institutions', 'actors' and 'process'. Although this is commendable for being so explicit and clear, there is little reference here or elsewhere to the wider socio-historical context. As such, for Yerkes institutional transformations are in effect engendered by processes *internal* to institutions, giving us an institutional reductionism that is characteristic of the wider literature. A more holistic approach, rooted in the integration and not the separation of institutions and their socio-historical context – for instance, the highly transnationalised nature of the Dutch political economy and the 'common-sense' notions of 'economic necessity' that flow from this – would have greater purchase. Nevertheless, this is an important and timely book on a country that continues to be key to helping us to understand institutional transformation in contemporary capitalisms.

Ian Bruff
(University of Manchester)

Islamization of Turkey under the AKP Rule by **Birol Yeşilada and Barry Rubin (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 128pp., £85.00, ISBN 978 0 415 56056 6

This edited volume brings together a collection of papers that contribute to our understanding of the Justice and Development party's (AKP) ideology, support base and policies since taking office in 2002. In the opening chapter Yeşilada and Rubin provide an introduction to the polarisation between the liberals, who perceive AKP as a reformist movement, and the sceptics, who adopt a more cautious view. Relying on World Values Survey data, Yeşilada and Noordijk claim that rising religiosity and intolerance in Turkey can be traced back to 1995 and have become more visible and prevalent during AKP's rule. Kalaycıoğlu demonstrates empirically that the economic performance of the AKP government between 2002 and 2007 played a more direct role in its electoral victory than cultural, primordial or ideological factors. Bilge-Criss relates AKP's populist approach in foreign policy to the Islamisation of Turkish society through the activities of the Gülen movement. However, this relationship, if it really exists, is not well substantiated. Şen focuses on the enlargement of the religious field in Turkey through state-sponsored institutions since the 1970s, and through the adoption of neo-liberal economic policies leading to the rise of a new religious, conservative middle class in Anatolia, which developed into the support base of the AKP. Karaveli argues that an important aspect of Turkey's politics during the last decade has been the alliance between liberals and Islamist conservatives against the Kemalist political establishment. However, he also claims that both Kemalist secularism and its liberal critics have engaged with religion, tradition and parochialism, thereby undermining individual liberties and leaving the promise of the Enlightenment unfulfilled. Sözen analyses AKP's foreign policy and highlights the recent paradigm shift in Turkish foreign policy with reference to neo-Ottomanism and the Davutoğlu effect.

This book includes a variety of fascinating papers shedding light on the history, ideology and domestic and foreign policy of the AKP. It fills a gap in the literature, as the number of high-quality, non-ideological, scholarly works is quite limited. The objective nature of this volume may be the reason why it is

not entirely clear from the authors whether Turkish society is supporting AKP for the sake of economic stability or because of increased tendencies towards religious conservatism or even Islamisation. A conclusion drawing together all the themes explored in various chapters would have been useful. Nonetheless, this is a fundamental work for those interested in Turkey, the rise of the AKP and its policies in office and it would also serve as a supplemental teaching text in graduate or undergraduate courses on contemporary Turkey.

Şakir Dinçşahin
(Yeditepe University, Turkey)

The Americas

The US Economy Today by **Edward Ashbee**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010. 252pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7190 8235 1

I have to say, I was a little daunted after my initial flick through Edward Ashbee's *The US Economy Today*, which at first appeared crammed with charts, figures and dense terminology, but I need not have worried. This is an excellently presented introduction to the last century of American economic policy and theory, the aim of which is to familiarise readers with its terminology and trends in order that they may better understand the current financial crisis.

Ashbee impresses from the first with a very helpful chapter explaining the concepts of GDP growth and recession, employment, the factors of production and the business cycle. With this grounding, Ashbee moves on to chronicle the prevailing economic paradigms of the twentieth century in the next few chapters. Beginning in an era when government intervention in the economy was minimal, he guides us through the transformations that took place after the Great Depression, the New Deal, the New Economics of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, the malaise of the 1970s, Reaganomics and the boom and disastrous bust of the Clinton and Bush years.

The latter chapters are more thematic than historical, dealing with trade, mobility and inequality. Ashbee is even-handed on such issues as NAFTA and diplomatic when measuring the US economy against its European counterparts.

While there is nothing startlingly original in Ashbee's contribution, it will no doubt prove popular with stu-

dents, primarily for its clarity. The Laffer Curve, the Gini Coefficient, monetarism and the causes of the Great Depression and of the current global recession are just a handful of the issues with which Ashbee deals without oversimplification and without baffling the uninitiated reader. His Notes sections are treasure troves of further information which are as attention grabbing as the body of the text. His use of bullet points is a simple but very effective method of structuring his arguments and the charts and figures he employs supplement the text without disturbing the flow of the book.

Despite its focus being the US economy, this is a book that can really instil confidence in those readers whose knowledge of economics in general is limited. I know that I will certainly be consulting Ashbee's book when I need a clear, precise explanation of a difficult issue.

Rob Griffiths
(Independent Scholar)

State Power and Democracy: Before and During the Presidency of George W. Bush by **Andrew Kolin**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 262pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 230 10935 3

The key to American politics is the generational exercise of amnesia, combined with a two-party system that fosters a team mentality despite the lack of true policy difference between the putative opponents. Thus did supposed American liberals decry certain Bush-era laws as smacking of a police state mentality, all the while forgetting the Clinton administration's 1996 Anti-terrorism Act, the FBI's war on the civil rights movement and President Wilson's draconian suppression of labour unions.

According to Andrew Kolin, whose *State Power and Democracy* is required reading for all interested in the ongoing erosion of democracy in the United States, elements of a police state have manifested themselves throughout American history, beginning at the founding of the nation, when state power was first employed anti-democratically against African Americans, Native Americans and the poor, just as the US Constitution was being constructed to weaken popular political participation by means of a bicameral legislature and lifetime Supreme Court appointments. Nineteenth-century American imperialism, best exemplified by the Spanish-American War, 'was the cover for spreading

antidemocratic practices worldwide' (p. 25), while ostensible national emergencies, such as the First World War and various 'red scares', increasingly provided cover for the elimination of due process at home. Kolin even takes on liberal icon Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who oversaw illegal wiretaps on so-called 'subversive' groups, increased deportations and passed what amount to sedition acts. Most of the book, however, is devoted to tracing how the post-war military-industrial complex eroded democracy at home and abroad, with each administration adding another layer of executive power and privilege, until the US became a formal police state with the passage of the Patriot Act, which manifests 'the idea that the government's purpose in civil society is to control thought and action' (p. 150).

Despite a few small errors (IWW stands for Industrial Workers of the World, not International Workers of the World, for example), *State Power and Democracy* proves itself a compelling book by demonstrating that exercises of authoritarianism – far from being periodic divergences from an American ideal – are instead standard operating procedure. In many respects, the book's brevity makes it all the more powerful, for Kolin can only scratch the surface here, but his outline of American political history is so complete and so damning that it leaves no administration unindicted for crimes against democracy. Anyone who wants to understand (and perhaps begin to dismantle) the current American police state needs to read this book.

Guy Lancaster
(Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture)

The Whites of Their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History by **Jill Lepore**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 207pp., £13.95, ISBN 978 0 691 15027 7

The Tea Party, the conservative movement that has so vehemently opposed President Barack Obama's agenda since 2008, is a white revolution: not because all of its members are WASPs, but because they live in awe of the deeds of the Founding Fathers (white men), the entirety of which they do not fully appreciate.

So argues Jill Lepore in *The Whites of Their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History*, a thoroughly interesting mix of Revolutionary history and contemporary observation. In the lead-up to the passage of President Obama's health care

reforms, Lepore tailed some of the organisers of and participants in Boston's Tea Party. Sitting in on their meetings and walking with them at their rallies, she sees that their interpretation of the Revolution and the founding goes beyond being selective.

While all sides have drawn emotive analogies to the Revolution (at no time more so than around the bicentennial in the 1970s) the Tea Party manipulates that history. Its followers devoutly believe that, were Adams, Franklin and their colleagues alive today, they would join the Tea Party and continue the Revolution. They co-opt the Founding Fathers, forgetting their misdeeds, ignoring the pains of slavery and cherry-picking the sources. In doing so, they turn the history of the Revolution into the 'one continued lye' that Adams and Jefferson predicted it would become.

The Whites of Their Eyes is a rounded, excellently written (even poetic) account of the American Revolution in Boston, interspersed with snapshots from 2010. That Lepore walked out of her door and went to see what was happening makes hers a particularly interesting account of the Tea Party (although, of course, her assessments are backed up by a vast array of interesting sources).

That being said, Lepore does expend a lot of energy on issues that are not directly relevant to her thesis. As interesting as the story of Benjamin Franklin's troublesome nephew is, one feels the time would be better spent elaborating on the central argument. Lepore's view that historians abandoned their posts and allowed anti-history to thrive is a much more serious issue and, I think, deserved more space.

I very much enjoyed reading Lepore's book and I would advise anyone with an interest in the American Revolution and/or the Tea Party to pick it up soon, especially if they have a particular interest in the history of these movements in Boston.

Rob Griffiths
(Independent Scholar)

The Myth of Voter Fraud by **Lorraine C. Minnite**. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 298pp., £18.95, ISBN 978 0 8014 4848 5

Even in countries that like to promote themselves as paragons of democracy, claims of voter fraud often gain considerable attention. However, the evidence base for such claims is often unclear at best and based on little

more than hearsay and unfounded claims. Such claims are often partisan and aimed at promoting certain interests at the expense of others. Lorraine Minnite examines these issues in the US. She argues that there is a myth of voter fraud in modern American elections. She carefully defines voter fraud, suggesting that it is 'the intentional, deceitful corruption of the electoral process by voters. Intent to commit fraud is essential; it distinguishes fraud from error' (p. 36). She provides a well-argued rational choice calculus both for why individual voters might commit fraud and for why partisan organisations make allegations of voter fraud. She argues that while voters have little rational incentive to commit voter fraud, partisan organisations most certainly do have incentives to foment the impression of such fraud. She tests claims of voter fraud with actual evidence. Most accusations in practice relate to errors in electoral administration, which is complicated by the complex and often contradictory nature of federal and state electoral laws. Some voters fall foul of such complexity, yet this is far from proving intent to commit extensive voter fraud. Such cases, however, allow partisan groups to claim the need to tighten electoral laws further – often by introducing largely irrelevant identity requirements – thus increasing further the complexity and potential for confusion.

Minnite is clear in assessing the consequences of these allegations. She argues that they are fomented primarily by Republican groups. The consequence is that minority groups and the underprivileged have their democratic right to vote increasingly and systematically restricted. Of course, these groups tend to vote Democrat. There is thus a highly partisan edge to what are unsubstantiated claims of voter fraud. Minnite has written an urgent and important book in exposing the myth of voter fraud. While it examines the US case, it is of much broader relevance in highlighting what is a problem in numerous democracies. If representative democracy means anything, it is vital that every vote is counted and that groups of voters are not systematically excluded. Going to the heart of this issue, the book is therefore highly recommended and deserves a wide audience not only among political scientists and commentators but also among electoral administrators.

Alistair Clark
(Newcastle University)

Asia and the Pacific

Contemporary India by **Katharine Adeney and Andrew Wyatt**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 280pp., £20.99, ISBN 978 1 4039 4313 2

This brief introduction to contemporary India, part of the 'Contemporary States and Society' series by Palgrave Macmillan, sets itself the difficult task of reducing the diversity of modern India to some 245 pages. In their task the authors succeed admirably, combining the most up-to-date information with sufficient historical contextualisation.

The first chapter provides the reader with a fairly comprehensive, if somewhat terse, history of India from the Mughals to the end of the Raj in 1947. This chapter serves the authors well by situating non-specialists in the historical context of modern India, and is a constant reference point throughout the remainder of the book. The authors argue that three legacies of India's history are of significant relevance to understanding contemporary India: the fundamental importance of nation building in Indian politics; the divisive nature of communal politics in the late colonial period; and the tensions between the centre and the periphery (pp. 35–6). Throughout the book, the authors amply demonstrate how India has developed over the last 60 years with particular reference to the above three legacies of history.

The organisation of the chapters is logical, and there is significant cross-referencing between topics that fail to sit solely within just one chapter. Caste, class, gender, nationalism, political economy and foreign policy are but a few of the key topics that Adeney and Wyatt address in an accessible and erudite fashion which provides a solid grounding for further reading on contemporary India.

The authors' clarity, simplicity of style and structure is furthered by the use of dialogue boxes to provide extra information and points of interest. This is a welcome feature that is not overused and the same can be said for the illustrative tables and diagrams. Both the further reading section and the bibliography provide the reader with ample scope for further investigation of both India's history and its development into contemporary India.

To condense the variety and heterogeneity of modern India and attempt to account for its develop-

ment in so few pages is a task that the authors accomplish with some measure of success, and as such this book is a perfect starting point for uninitiated students of politics and for those history students wishing to follow the development of India after 1947. The authors provide a laudable, concise and informative introduction to contemporary India and its historical antecedents.

Matthew Carnell
(University of Sheffield)

The Currency of Power: The IMF and Monetary Reform in Central Asia by **André Broome**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 219pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 24005 6

This book seeks to see how far the International Monetary Fund (IMF) can influence economic policy choices using Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan as cases. André Broome aims to correct over-exaggerated accounts of the IMF's power and of the power of its leading country members. Instead, he aims to 'see like the IMF' as he puts it (p. 10), to look at how the organisation interacts with states and attempts to shape their economic policy through persuasion. The three Central Asian cases are, it is claimed, good test cases of the IMF's power since each was engaged in reform, each asked for advice and loans, and they started with similar institutional arrangements.

The results of Broome's survey are not going to be surprising to anyone familiar with the history of Central Asia: Kyrgyzstan followed IMF advice more than Kazakhstan, which followed it more than Uzbekistan. The reason, as Broome rightly argues, was that the degree to which the IMF's advice chimed with local needs and political reasoning varied across the three cases. The IMF's power to shape policy is therefore contingent on local politics. The wishes of the IMF's more powerful members are not simply brought to bear on the economic agendas of states that seek its advice. Broome argues that the role of IMF officials in interpreting how countries should be treated mediates interests and ideology and plays a major role in shaping how states access funds. Broome's findings on how the IMF works are more interesting than his discussion of Central Asia.

The explanation for why Central Asian states reacted to the IMF in the manner that they did is a bit thin.

Local conditions, in particular different elite and economic structures, are not really discussed in depth. This makes the book a little lopsided and unfocused as a comparison of the factors that influence how states interact with the IMF. It also makes it harder to see what kind of understanding the IMF had of what was going on in the region. Did its officials understand the politics of the region as well as the technical issues surrounding monetary reform? How did the lenses of their preferred policies shape that understanding? Getting some grasp of these issues needs some larger understanding of the region's politics and the differences within it, and also would allow for more comparison with other areas. Broome's book is therefore a useful guide to the limits on IMF influence.

Neil Robinson
(University of Limerick)

Vietnam: Rethinking the State by **Martin Gainsborough**. London: Zed Books, 2010. 224pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 1 84813 310 5

This book has a clear message for students of the state in Vietnam: do not become preoccupied with what was swept away in the reforms; instead, focus on what has survived. Through analysis of the entrenched or retrenched power structures, and the institutions, norms and behaviours that have persisted in the same or modified form, the book aims to illuminate the nature of the state and the relationship between the state and the political. The attempt is largely successful. The theoretical coverage is impressively broad, and it marshals empirical data collected over a decade. The author's depth of knowledge about Vietnam is manifest throughout.

The first chapter addresses the steadfastness of the Communist party, which remains unchallenged despite dramatic socio-economic changes in the country. This fundamental question is followed up with a case study on the distinctiveness of Ho Chi Minh City. Chapter 3 focuses on major corruption cases and asks what these cases reveal about the workings of the state. Chapter 4 addresses the puzzle of rapid equitisation in the late 1990s. Chapter 5 demonstrates that 'state retreat' is rather more complicated than simply offloading shares in state companies. In chapter 6 the focus turns to the Vietnamese countryside and the impact that the processes of globalisation are having there. Chapter 7 looks

at strategic behaviour in the National Communist Party Congress held every five years. The final substantive chapter asks why neo-liberal ideas about the state have had a relatively weak influence on the direction of reforms and on the state. A concluding chapter draws together the book's various themes and findings in a discussion of what the Vietnam experience tells us about the nature of the state and power.

While not exactly jaunty, the book is well written and a pleasurable read. Although it is, in places, quite dense, it remains largely accessible to undergraduate and postgraduate students. The text boxes and other populist touches belie a serious and well-presented case study in which state scholars and political scientists interested in elite behaviour will find something useful. Last, but not least, it is an excellent primer for those with an interest in contemporary Vietnam.

Jonathan Sullivan
(University of Nottingham)

Trapped Giant: China's Military Rise by **Jonathan Holslag**. London: Routledge and International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2010. 160pp., £9.99, ISBN 978 0 415 66989 4

Trapped Giant provides an engaging snapshot of the growth, present condition and possible future state of Chinese military capabilities, as well as the responses of regional powers. Jonathan Holslag offers no new insights into Chinese strategic thinking or intentions – he is happy to rely on the analyses of Alastair Iain (not Ian – p. 25) Johnston and prominent Chinese scholars like Wang Jisi. Instead, he concentrates on detailing Chinese military doctrine, hardware and projects in research and development.

For Holslag, China's 'military rise' is fundamentally concerned with challenging American primacy in areas close to its coastal 'heartland' and with a broader range of possible threats to its security in the wider 'belt of uncertainty' which 'includes most neighbouring countries'. China, he argues, has a 'strong sense of geopolitical claustrophobia' (p. 21) which conditions its foreign and security policies, as well as a deep-seated conviction that the world is in transition towards a new multipolar order.

The first half of the book explores China's emerging challenge to American maritime power in East Asia and the reactions it has provoked. Holslag details China's

attempt to acquire assets capable of cowing regional competitors like Japan and Taiwan and deterring possible American interventions in areas close to the Chinese coastline. Better surveillance technologies, submarines, aircraft and various kinds of missile all figure prominently in these efforts.

The second half looks at Asian responses. Japan, India, Russia, Australia, South Korea and Vietnam have all moved to modernise or extend their capabilities with China in mind – all of them attempting to balance, in the words of one Korean analyst, ‘without letting it look like balancing’ (p. 104). These ‘secondary balancers’, as Holslag terms them (p. 22), cannot confront China on their own, but could in combination with others or the United States.

Such a short work inevitably has gaps. For example, Holslag says little about Chinese military modernisation aimed at countering threats from states with which it shares borders or, therefore, about the particular anxieties of India, Russia and Vietnam. The book also lacks a clear conclusion, but again this is understandable given the dynamic condition of the Asian security order. Holslag sees a ‘concert of powers’ as one way out of present dilemmas, though not a panacea. Like most analysts of the region, he fears that the ‘worst-case scenarios’ (p. 139) are far from being the least likely.

Ian Hall
(Australian National University)

Normalizing Japan: Politics, Identity and the Evolution of Security Practice by **Andrew L. Oros**. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. 282pp., £23.50, ISBN 978 0 8047 7066 2

Normalizing Japan challenges assumptions that Japan is on the cusp of a transformation in security identity that would see the country renounce its post-Second World War identity of domestic anti-militarism, which emerged as a result of domestic and international political compromises during the immediate post-Second World War years and coalesced around 1960. It is important to point out that this book is not just targeted toward Japan specialists. Indeed, Andrew Oros’ contribution to constructivist literature through his challenging of realist theories of international relations and rationalist understandings of domestic politics combine to make *Normalizing Japan* an important

addition to international relations and comparative politics scholarship.

Oros argues that security identities, defined as ‘a set of collectively held principles that have attracted broad political support regarding the appropriate role of state action in the security arena and are institutionalized into the policy-making process’ (p. 9), provide a useful framework for explaining policy change, although not specific policy outcomes. Through three carefully crafted case studies which explore limitations on arms exports, countering the militarisation of outer space, and missile defence, Oros emphasises that neither realist approaches to international relations nor rationalist approaches to domestic politics can adequately explain the remarkable degree of continuity in Japanese security policy over time (pp. 32–3). However, there is an important caveat to Oros’ principal argument. The author does not claim that security identities necessarily dictate predetermined policy outcomes and he reminds the reader: ‘a focus on Japan’s security identity of domestic antimilitarism alone is not enough to understand security policy outcomes in Japan ... But, [it] does provide a useful framework for developing a full explanation for policy change’ (p. 32).

Oros posits that Japan’s security identity of domestic anti-militarism contains three central tenets: no traditional armed forces; no use of force by Japan except in self-defence; and no Japanese participation in foreign wars (p. 5). While these central tenets have often found themselves under challenge, it is emphasised that none of them are likely to be abandoned in the near future. Indeed, even policies that seem to cut against the aforementioned central tenets, such as Japanese rear-area assistance provided during the war in Afghanistan and humanitarian assistance provided during the Iraq War in 2004, have reified the core tenets of domestic anti-militarism through force restrictions that limited Japanese participation in these conflicts to non-combat roles (pp. 181–6). In sum, the value of this book is twofold. The first lies in its empirical richness and description of compromises reached among domestic and international actors, while the second reflects its contribution to constructivist theory through charting the institutionalisation and evolution of Japan’s security identity.

Christopher K. Lamont
(University of Groningen)

China, Europe and International Security: Interests, Roles and Prospects by **Frans-Paul van der Putten and Chu Shulong (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 216pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 58580 4

In the growing literature on China–Europe relations, relatively few publications so far have devoted much attention to the role these two actors can play together in the field of international security. As such, the volume under review, which balances diverse perspectives from both European and Chinese authors, constitutes a welcome addition to this evolving field of research. The book is centred around three main questions: (1) How do Europe and China view each other's security roles? (2) In which direction is the bilateral security relationship developing? (3) How are China's and Europe's changing roles affecting international security? Each of the eleven chapters of this volume deals with one or more of these questions.

Although the book is not formally divided into thematic sub-sections, it is possible to group the chapters according to some common ideas and approaches. The issue of mutual perceptions is tackled specifically in the first two chapters, authored respectively by May-Britt Stumbaum and Zhang Yanbing, which highlight the centrality of Europe and China for each other's security outlooks. Two chapters deal with the role of other key security players in the dynamics of China–Europe relations: Chu Shulong and Chen Songchuan consider the importance of US–China–Europe triangular relations in the global security structure, while Feng Feng examines the role played by Russia, China and Europe as the three main Eurasian strategic actors. Two chapters, by Wang Bo and by Xuan Xingzhang and Yang Xiaoping, take a broader view on China–Europe security relations, the former by outlining the role of conventional and non-conventional security issues, the latter by looking at long-term hegemonic cycles. Finally, several authors present detailed case studies of China–Europe security relations, such as Nicola Casarini on cooperation in the field of space and defence technology, Gudrun Wacker on East Asian security, Willem van Kemenade on the Iranian nuclear dispute, Janka Oertel on UN peace operations, and Susanne Kamerling and Frans-Paul van der Putten on Somali piracy and maritime operations in the Indian Ocean.

As the editors to this volume suggest, China–Europe relations have not yet realised their full potential impact

on international security. This publication is nonetheless timely, as it draws readers' attention to current dynamics and developments whose importance cannot be overestimated. This book speaks equally to scholars and policy makers, and it should appeal not only to those interested in China–Europe relations, but also more generally to those involved in the field of security studies.

Salvatore Finamore
(University of Cambridge)

The Korean State and Social Policy: How South Korea Lifted Itself from Poverty and Dictatorship to Affluence and Democracy by **Stein Ringen, Huck-Ju Kwon, Ilcheong Yi, Taekyoon Kim and Jooha Lee**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 137pp., £32.50, ISBN 9780199734351

Less than 60 years ago, South Korea seemed to be a poor country with a bleak economic and social future. Today, South Korea is the tenth largest economy in the world and one of the most widely admired 'Asian Tigers'. In contrast to fellow Asian Tigers like Hong Kong and Singapore, however, South Korea has also created a comprehensive social insurance system, which has expanded in response to democratisation and the 1997 'Asian Crisis'. In this book, Stein Ringen and his Korean colleagues explain why South Korea succeeded in creating a strong economy and a genuine welfare state. According to them, the most important factor to explain these historical developments lies in the nature of the mixed governance system put forward by South Korea's post-war military rulers, especially President Park Chung Hee, who stayed in power from a 1961 *coup d'état* to his assassination in 1979. Instead of crushing civil society, Park and his successors sought the support of, and collaborated with, businesses and voluntary organisations to modernise the economy and deliver increasingly comprehensive social benefits. In South Korea, post-war authoritarian presidents used both soft and hard power to preserve their authority but also to modernise the economy in the name of a powerful nationalistic creed according to which the country's stance in the world should be restored after years of war and, before that, Japanese colonial domination. By mobilising society, the authoritarian state – despite its dark and cruel side – paved the way for economic development and

welfare expansion, which continued after democracy progressively supplanted dictatorship between 1987 and 1997.

Grounded in a solid knowledge of the Korean economy, history, politics and society, this book represents a convincing introduction to economic and welfare state development in South Korea. The book is concise and clearly written while the main argument about the nature of policy governance during the authoritarian years is backed by strong empirical evidence. The sequence of government regimes and the nature of the Korean welfare state are well explained so that even readers unfamiliar with South Korea will find it easy to read this most informative book. From a scholarly perspective, one could lament the lack of a systematic theoretical framework or the book's sometimes triumphalist tone. However, despite these minor shortcomings, *The Korean State and Social Policy* remains the best possible introduction to South Korea the economic success story, and also the lesser known but surprisingly large welfare state.

Daniel Béland
(University of Saskatchewan)

Struggle against the State: Social Network and Protest Mobilization in India by **Ashok Swain**.

Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 158pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0867 3

Ashok Swain's book focuses on the rise and growth of social movements in post-independence India and he presents case studies on the states of Kerala and Orissa as examples. Within Kerala, Swain looks at several protest movements, such as the massive literacy campaigns run by the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad, established in 1962. Today, Kerala is considered to be the most literate state in India with a literacy rate of 90.92 per cent (p. 55). Similarly, as an important example of social movements in India, the author describes a protest movement in Plachimada, Kerala, against Coca-Cola, which involved tribal women staging sit-ins in front of the company's plant to protest against its using the groundwater, leading to a government shutdown of the plant.

In Orissa, Swain predominantly discusses increased Christian missionary and Maoist activities. Christian missionaries in India, especially Orissa, have been accused of converting local tribal populations to Chris-

tianity, which has led to large-scale communal violence instigated by Hindu extremists. By using and comparing first-hand data collected in 1997 and 2007, Swain shows that there has been an 8.6 per cent increase in the population of Christians in Orissa. Hindu groups have been reconverting the tribal population to Hinduism and the author argues that both conversion and re-conversion increase network capital among the tribal populations. With regard to Maoists, due to the prevalence of poverty and deprivation, Swain argues that Maoists are able to mobilise and raise tribal populations to fight for their rights, which, Swain argues, gives the tribal population a sense of community (pp. 101–2).

Overall, the book is a good addition to the literature on social movements in India. Its relevance cannot be missed in the wake of the protest by Gandhian Anna Hazare against corruption in India, which led the Indian government to agree to introduce a strict anti-corruption bill – with inputs from members of civil society – in the Indian parliament.

However, the book seems to lack theoretical grounding. It talks throughout about social movements and mobilising people for a cause, yet Robert Putnam's work on social capital is not mentioned at all. Nonetheless, in the age of Twitter and Facebook, Swain's book can be a starting point for further research on social networks through technology in India.

Pradeep Thomas Joseph Antony
(University of Aberdeen)

China's New Diplomacy: Rationale, Strategies and Significance by **Zhiqun Zhu**. Farnham: Ashgate,

2010. 248pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0167 4

China's New Diplomacy: Rationale, Strategies and Significance provides a comprehensive exploration of China's diplomacy since the early 1990s through six region-specific case studies and a reflection on wider international responses to China's increasingly global presence. The book aims to answer three principal questions: why has China practised New Diplomacy since the early 1990s? How has China implemented its New Diplomacy? And what are the implications for international political economy? (p. 5) In response to the first question, Zhiqun Zhu charts four significant changes in China's foreign policy since the early 1990s which include: a shift from passive to active diplomacy; from an emphasis on 'bringing in' foreign currency

through diaspora investment to 'going out' and investing and securing access to natural resources abroad; from exercising hard power to expanding soft power; and emphasising 'peaceful development' as a new guiding principle in foreign policy (p. 216).

Throughout the book, Zhu maps how these significant changes in foreign policy were implemented in the context of regional case studies which include Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, Central Asia, the South Pacific and Southeast Asia. Following Zhu's regional case studies, international responses to China's New Diplomacy are charted in chapter 8, which focuses on the responses New Diplomacy has provoked on the part of a wide range of states from Europe to the United States and Australia.

Zhu's regional case studies provide rich detailed accounts of Beijing's growing, and at times controversial, global presence. For example, Zhu describes the development assistance that China provided to Sudan and which included the establishment of an agricultural research centre, the construction of a hospital, improvements to the Roseiris Dam and the facilitation of a seminar on cotton growing (pp. 31–2). However, Zhu also recognises the controversy surrounding such assistance. As Zhu points out, 'China's willingness to deal with authoritarian regimes such as Sudan, Zimbabwe and Angola, to overlook corruption, and to ignore safety and human rights conditions may undermine democratic institutions and efforts to promote transparency and good governance in developing countries' (p. 41).

One central theme of this text is an eloquent challenge to scholars and policy makers who see China as an emerging threat (p. 19). In respect to China–US relations, Zhu concludes that China continues to regard itself as a developing nation and is unwilling to mount a challenge to American hegemony (p. 209). Furthermore, Zhu points out that, even in the context of past tension, Japan has forged increasingly close cooperation with China in the post-Koizumi era; however, Japan's increase in financial aid to Africa and the South Pacific is also noted as part of an effort to maintain influence in the face of Beijing's growing presence in these regions (pp. 203–4). In addition to growing cooperation between China and Japan, Zhu also emphasises that both South Korea and Australia, two traditional American allies, have continued to cultivate good bilateral relations with China (p. 204). Given Zhu's obser-

vation that New Diplomacy's rationale is economic rather than ideological (p. 215), it is not surprising that Beijing would seek to cultivate good relations with its Pacific neighbours.

In sum, this book is rich in empirical detail and will be of great interest to a wide range of scholars and policy makers who seek to understand China's global influence.

Christopher K. Lamont
(University of Groningen)

Other Areas

Privatizing Welfare in the Middle East: Kin Mutual Aid Associations in Jordan and Lebanon by **Anne Marie Baylouny**. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 2010. 301pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 253 22195 7

Anne Marie Baylouny's work covers the emergence and implications of unique civil society organisations in the Middle East created by the demand of the middle class for collective insurance once welfare services were dropped by the state after liberalisation. Kin mutual aid associations are creating networks and alignments among smaller groups in society formed around selective solidarities rather than citizenship or national identity. Recreating heritage identities with new institutional formations, these organisations factor in the social, political and economic situation of the middle class.

Kin associations provide welfare services for the middle class associated with life-cycle events, economic risk and employment opportunities in the absence of conventional alternatives. These are not charities, given that their services do not usually serve basic humanitarian needs. Instead, mutual aid associations pool resources from members creating collective insurance and economic opportunities in the absence of state services or membership of professional associations.

Baylouny combines methods in her approach. She uses data gathered from interviews and surveys with kin association members in addition to other knowledgeable sources, obtained during two fieldwork trips to achieve unique in-depth knowledge. She also utilises primary and secondary data to support her independent sources. Although Lebanon and Jordan are the two cases observed, Baylouny's work covers the emerging trend of kin associations and the privatisation of welfare

as a global phenomenon in her theoretical approach and review of the literature.

The case selection presents two questions. First is whether Lebanon and Jordan are representative or too unique to carry significance for the population of Middle Eastern countries. Second, given that Jordan and Lebanon maintain diverse populations with historically different relationships to the state, how would kin associations differ in Middle Eastern countries with more homogeneous populations? Despite these questions, Baylouny's results not only highlight the correlation between the rise of kinship association and economic liberalisation, but also provide a strong and convincing argument for a clear causal relationship.

Although the topic is relevant in the fields of political economy, sociology, anthropology and area studies, any reader would require only limited experience in any of these disciplines to gain insight from this work. The book maintains a flow with topics organised into chapters with a clear purpose which support the main arguments. Given the book's accessibility and subject, it is a useful read for policy makers and professionals in the international development industry, as well as scholars and students with similar research areas.

Edward Gaier
(Independent Scholar)

The Politics of AIDS Denialism: South Africa's Failure to Respond by Pieter Fourie and Melissa Meyer. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 231pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0405 7

South Africa was expected to combat HIV/AIDS much as it did apartheid; the Rainbow Nation's response was the focus of the world. However, the fascination soon turned to frustration as claims of denialism were levelled against successive South African governments. As branches of the sciences coalesced around the facts regarding HIV/AIDS, counter-claims gained serious purchase in South Africa; claims so contrary to logic and objectivity that the denial hypothesis has been vociferously posited. Fourie and Meyer attempt to test the validity of this hypothesis by contextualising it and then applying Stanley Cohen's typology of denial. Their efforts reveal insights into the politics that lead to denial.

The history of the South African epidemic is presented along with the accusations of denial. Following

this, the authors unfurl the nature of the epidemic and long-wave events, its roots in South Africa, reasons for its severity and the impact of HIV/AIDS in the country. A theory of denial is then formulated and applied to governmental responses to the epidemic.

The primary value in this study comes from its broader focus. Many recent attempts to probe the denial hypothesis have concentrated on the Mbeki government's policy response but Fourie and Meyer reach back to take in additionally the Mandela and apartheid-era governments. In doing so they reveal that Mbeki – universally blamed for the severity of the epidemic – has become a 'scapegoat' (p. 1). The long-wave nature of HIV/AIDS that led to the flood of AIDS deaths during Mbeki's tenure suggests mishandling by previous governments too. The authors slice through the rhetoric surrounding policy to show the complex nature of the very politics of denial and in doing so they illuminate the failure of previous administrations to face the reality of HIV/AIDS.

Such a revelation should have a profound effect on future studies into incidents and claims of denial. For students and academics investigating quixotic policy making surrounding social ills, this study provides a pertinent reminder that taking into account history and context proves sagacious. Furthermore, Fourie and Meyer have shown how easily official denial can go undetected, that denial is always political, and that there is a 'denial-blame synergy' (p. 199). For any student of, or those working in, policy response this study is an invaluable tool, shedding light on the subtleties of denial with the hope that this can lead to efforts to prevent it.

Adrian Gray
(Lancaster University)

Social Welfare and Religion in the Middle East: A Lebanese Perspective by Rana Jawad. Bristol: The Policy Press, 2009. 315pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 1 86134 953 8

Rana Jawad's work attempts to highlight the positive contributions made by religious welfare organisations (RWOs) in their ability to provide services and welfare for vulnerable populations in Lebanon, and it further suggests that RWOs should play a larger role in social policy throughout the region.

In her coverage of RWOs Jawad asks: 'does religion have a relevant public role to play in the pursuit of

human wellbeing?’ and ‘can religion offer as convincing a solution to social problems and human prosperity as the (welfare) capitalist state has?’ (p. 7) She asserts that ‘the stance taken in this book is that social policy can in fact offer a new and potentially transformative understanding of the political and social dynamics of the Middle East, indeed that religion and social policy can work together in positive symbiosis’ (p. 4).

Jawad also assumes the difficult challenge of approaching the topic of religion and social policy in a region with an academic bias towards issues of security and terrorism. Although attempting to divorce a subject of study from popular topics and obsessions, even in academia, is quite difficult, she successfully and appropriately narrows her focus to relevant factors for her research.

In addition to using interviews with administrators and recipients of a variety of religiously based welfare organisations in Lebanon, Jawad’s work balances empirical qualitative research with the non-empirical subject of religious identity and spirituality of key actors. Her data emerged from previous in-depth qualitative research conducted in Lebanon and as a result the majority of the book covers the RWOs of Lebanon, with supplemental observations from Turkey, Iran and Egypt. The organisation of a complex and multifaceted study with multiple research tasks into coherent chapters and subsections provides the reader with a great deal of clarity for linear reading of a complex argument.

At the macro level, Jawad’s work is limited by its dependence on one case to force readers to question the drive of secular modernism in development and social policy. However, at the micro level, the explanatory and exploratory nature of RWOs makes it an indispensable resource for academics interested in the revival of religion in social policy as well as professionals in the international development field looking for descriptive insight into religiously based civil society.

Edward Gaier
(Independent Scholar)

The South African Intelligence Services: From Apartheid to Democracy, 1948–2005 by **Kevin A. O’Brien**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 301pp., £75.00, ISBN 9780 415 43397 6

Kevin O’Brien chronicles the history of the South African intelligence services during the apartheid era.

This extraordinary period provides an ideal lens for viewing the transition to democracy and South Africa’s changing place in the world order. Taking in studies of the security architecture of the African National Congress, its partner the South African Communist party, and other liberation movements, alongside that of the state ‘securocracy’, allows O’Brien to answer questions on the evolution of security policy and practice; these can then be brought to bear elsewhere by students of national and regional security issues (p. 29).

The author takes us from an amusing anecdote at a meeting in Lucerne prior to the dismantling of apartheid, as the Cold War drew to a close, to a discussion on the abilities and role of the South African security service today and in the future. Noting South Africa’s position as ‘regional/continental superpower and peace-maker’, along with a requirement for vigilance at a time of ‘domestic extremism’, O’Brien poses pertinent questions on the ability, capacity, competence and aptitude of the state intelligence services to perform these roles (p. 232).

Chronologically laid out, this study moves seamlessly from the birth of the South African national security service, following the departure from the Commonwealth, to the modern day and muses on the near future. With a succinct yet informative history of the security apparatus under British rule, the author has given students enough to answer the most relevant questions and offers points of reference for further, in-depth studies. Naturally, no historical analysis of such a turbulent time and an intricate bureaucracy could claim to be conclusive and authoritative, but O’Brien has done an admirable job with a complex subject matter.

From his prominent position as security analyst to the Canadian government, O’Brien has produced a study aimed primarily at students. Its *forte* is its critique of security architecture within transitional states. At a time when extremism is a target for national security services worldwide, this timely study of the national intelligence services, and their opposition, in a country that has undergone violent change in the last 50 years makes a worthwhile contribution to the body of knowledge. As is noted, ‘in intelligence matters there may be more continuity with the past’ than many would admit (p. 234), and O’Brien shows that this is the case.

Adrian Gray
(Lancaster University)

The Words and the Land: Israeli Intellectuals and the Nationalist Myth by **Shlomo Sand**, translated by **Ames Hodges**. Cambridge MA: Semiotexte, 2011. 264pp., £11.95, ISBN 978 1 58435 096 5

In this book, iconoclastic Israeli historian Shlomo Sand aims to elucidate the role of Zionist and Israeli intellectuals in the history of the Jewish national movement and the Israeli state. Following the success of his controversial *The Invention of the Jewish People*, in which he dealt specifically with Zionist historiography and the myth of Jewish exile, Sand aims to write a history of the Zionist intellectual field, which 'has not yet been the object of any serious study' (p. 33).

In his approach to this subject, while not explicitly citing Pierre Bourdieu as an influence, Sand nevertheless adopts a view of intellectuals as agents of cultural and symbolic capital to be read in a political and institutional context. The book therefore begins with a lengthy autobiographical preface, in which the author positions himself within the Israeli political and intellectual context. Sand later applies this approach to the complex history of Zionist intellectuals. In the first chapter he provides a critical narrative, from the inception of political Zionism in the nineteenth century to the early 2000s, in which he explains intellectual trends through the lens of changes in the political climate, institutional constraints and the requirements of a nascent national movement. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Sand is critical of intellectuals of the Zionist left for their continual support of Israeli colonisation of the West Bank, preferring 'land to words' (p. 98). He follows this overview with three chapters dealing with more specific topics: the modern Hebrew language as a political creation, which inevitably carries ideological baggage; the use of analogies to the Holocaust by Israeli intellectuals in the first Gulf War; and finally, a discussion of post-Zionism, an intellectual movement of which Sand, perhaps reluctantly, is part (p. 15).

The book is well written, and despite a few odd choices by the English translator, Sand's prose is fluid and skilful. However, at many points the reader is left unsatisfied by the cursory treatment given to the subject matter, and the book would have benefited if the arguments had been more detailed. The clearest example of this problem is in the first chapter, where the attempt to cover 150 years of intellectual history in 50 pages results in a rather banal narrative. The other

chapters, specifically the one dealing with the Hebrew language, benefit from their narrow focus and are thus better argued and more convincing. Overall, this is certainly a book that would be of great interest to readers interested in an intellectual history of Zionism and Israel. To specialists, it at least offers an insight into contemporary post-Zionist thought, if not to the history of Zionism itself.

Lior Erez
(University College London)

Evolving Nationalism: Homeland, Identity and Religion in Israel, 1925–2005 by **Nadav G. Shelef**. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 296pp., £15.50, ISBN 978 0801476754

Nationalisms are not stable, unchanging entities, but rather dynamic, evolving ideologies. In *Evolving Nationalism*, Nadav Shelef demonstrates this argument using three different Zionist movements – Labour Zionism, Revisionist Zionism and Religious Zionism – as case studies. Shelef lists three possible mechanisms that account for changes in nationalist ideologies: 'rational adaptation' (i.e. an ideological modification driven by changes in the political reality); 'elite imposition' (i.e. a 'top-down' change of ideology initiated and promoted by a movement's leadership); and 'evolutionary dynamic'. This third mechanism is manifest when 'a new rhetorical variant of a nationalist ideology is so successful, that it is promoted at the expense of the old ideological formulation until ... the new version displaces the old one' (p. 11).

The book has two parts. The first part (chs 1–3) analyses in detail the deep changes in the three movements' geographical definitions of their homeland. The second part (chs 4–6) examines further ideological changes within and among the aforementioned movements, regarding the desired collective national mission, the perception of the appropriate national identity and the desired state and regime. Shelef does not only demonstrate how deep these changes have been; he also shows how these changes developed, arguing that these deep ideological shifts can usually best be explained by evolutionary dynamic rather than by rational adaptation or elite imposition.

In the concluding epilogue Shelef briefly examines the possible implementation of his findings on three other political phenomena: Turkish nationalism, Pales-

tinian nationalism and religious fundamentalism. He thus prepares the ground for further research along these lines of analysis.

The usage of biological perceptions and terminology in the social sciences is often besmirched – and not without reason. Shelef's book, however, provides a good example of a serious, positive usage of such a biological, 'evolutionary' perception. This well-written book will appeal to various readerships. Chapters 1–5 provide a very good history of the evolution of the main streams of Zionist thought. Students of political science may find a specific interest in the book's prologue and epilogue, which clearly explain the theoretical background for 'evolutionary dynamic' and the possible implementation of Shelef's findings.

Last but certainly not least, this book should be read by both automatic opponents and automatic supporters of 'Zionism', for it shows very clearly that there is no one thing called 'Zionism' but rather numerous and at times very different Zionisms, none of which has been, nor is, a stable monolith, but is instead an ever-evolving ideology.

Dan Tamir
(University of Zürich)

Peacebuilding and Rule of Law in Africa: Just Peace? by **Chandra Lekha Sriram, Olga Martin-Ortega and Johanna Herman (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 262pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 57736 6

Building the liberal peace in post-conflict societies, such as Rwanda and Sierra Leone, is becoming firmly predicated on the rule of law. The authors note that peace building and peacekeeping efforts contain an increasingly important rule of law element and analyse the impact of such activities, the reforms promoted and policy alternatives. This study sets out to traverse this ground, analyse past and current efforts and glean insights to offer recommendations for future attempts to build the liberal peace.

Although not the first to enter such territory, Sriram *et al.* interrogate traditional justice methods in Africa. Realising the limits on both the application of 'state

systems of justice' and any current analysis of the 'central role' traditional justice mechanisms play, Obarrio offers an anthropological perspective on the issue of 'traditional justice as rule of law in Africa' (p. 23). The imperative in defining this ground becomes obvious as the following chapters unfold. Richmond presents a critique of what he terms the 'liberal peace consensus' (p. 44), while Pulver assesses the role played by the United Nations in lifting the rule of law to become an 'essential' element of post-conflict peace building (p. 60).

Ndulo follows with a section conceptualising a framework within which the promotion of the rule of law, and activities surrounding it, can operate. While discussing 'protections' and 'oversight mechanisms' is not new ground, it is done clearly, insightfully and comprehensively by Ndulo (p. 88). Chapters 6 to 10 cover case studies of the promotion, and implementation, of the rule of law in post-conflict societies such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Darfur, as well as the two countries previously noted.

The editors combine to offer 'lessons learned and policy insights' (p. 197). Acknowledging the diverse and vast experiences that the promotion of the rule of law offers in this comparative study, the authors admit that no single set of prescriptions can be offered. While this is admirable in itself, it allows them to concentrate on finer details to identify 'cross-cutting themes, patterns and recurrent challenges' and offer guidance to policy makers (p. 197). Finally, reflecting on the lessons learned – the 'poor fit' of liberal peace building with the countries engaged – the authors have compiled a study that maps a path for scholars and policy makers alike through the mire of liberal peace building and rule of law promotion.

Adrian Gray
(Lancaster University)

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