

Book Reviews

Political Theory

Constructing the International Economy by **Rawi Abdelal, Mark Blyth and Craig Parsons (eds)**. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 294pp., £15.50, ISBN 978 0 8014 7588 7

Constructivism has become a major approach on a par with rationalism in IR. Nevertheless, constructivism has not gained such currency in the field of international political economy (IPE). Rationalists (particularly in North America) have reached a ‘consensus on theories, methods, [and] analytical frameworks’ (p. 3) and tend to believe that IPE can be best explained by materially derived egoistic interests. Rawi Abdelal *et al.* challenge this prevailing orthodoxy within IPE by laying out four constructivist approaches and shedding light on empirical anomalies that are inexplicable in purely material terms.

These are the paths of meaning, cognition, uncertainty and subjectivity. Each approach is followed by theoretically informed and empirically grounded research. First, the path of meaning shows that human action is not dictated by means–ends calculation and that actors assign identity-derived social meanings to material facts and subsequently make certain choices preferable. Second, the path of cognition demonstrates that individuals reply upon short cuts and heuristics to guide their courses of action. While this approach is informed by cognitive psychology, Francesco Duina (pp. 93–113) and Yoshiko Herrera (pp. 114–33) foreground intersubjective elements that underpin constructivism. In their formulation, cognitive constructs have real social effects when these constructs become shared premises or are taken for granted. Their approach therefore should not be reduced to the cognitive psychology of choice. Third, the path of uncertainty can be categorised into two types. The first one shows that actors did not know what to do

until ‘they invented or were provided with social constructs to resolve uncertainty into a new framework for action’ (p. 135). The second model ‘is to observe counterfactually that in the terms of non-constructivist theories, actors *should have been* uncertain about what to do but were not – and then to highlight the social constructs that reduced their uncertainty’ (p. 135, emphasis in original). Last but not least, the path of subjectivity is inspired by French postmodernist and post-structuralist critical theory.

This approach underlines that discourse frames the way in which the world can be meaningfully thought about or talked about. For critical constructivists, power and knowledge presuppose one another. Charlotte Epstein’s research on the anti-whaling discourse is both enlightening and convincing. This volume seeks not only to facilitate dialogue among rationalists and constructivists but also to encourage exchange among thin and thick constructivists. In addition, it compellingly removes doubt about the usefulness of constructivism in IPE.

Shih-Yu Chou
(University of Sheffield)

Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies by **Kevin B. Anderson**. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010. 319pp., £14.50, ISBN 978 0 226 01983 3

Kevin Anderson’s book is a valuable contribution to a rather neglected area of study in Marx’s corpus: his views on pre-capitalist and non-Western societies that are peripheral to capitalist modernity. A most welcome aspect of this book, which is of interest not only to political theorists but sociologists and anthropologists as well, is Anderson’s careful exploration of little-known writings of Marx. These include his journalism in the *New York Tribune* from 1851 to 1861, his mostly

unpublished notebooks from 1879 to 1882 and the revised theory of history and social development in the *Grundrisse* (1857–8) and the French edition of *Capital* (1872–5).

Two main topics occupy Anderson in this insufficiently charted territory. The first is the evolution of Marx's thinking on pre-capitalist and non-Western societies from the unilinear and at times ethnocentric perspective of the 1840s displayed in *The Communist Manifesto* and the early 1850s *Tribune* articles on the benefits of colonialism for the Indian society, towards a multilinear and dialectical conception of history and social development in later writings on India, China, Algeria, Russia and Latin America. The other is the transformation of Marx's views on national liberation movements and racism from the 1860s onwards. Analysing Marx's evolving support for the Polish and Irish national liberation struggles and the anti-slavery cause in the American Civil War, Anderson argues that Marx conceived working-class solidarity in capitalist countries with progressive nationalist movements and anti-racism to be an important condition of a proletariat revolution in Western Europe itself.

In offering an empirically grounded picture of Marx as a 'global thinker', alert to the political import of nationalism, race and ethnicity, this book forcefully challenges deterministic and Eurocentric representations of Marx and Marxist class analysis. However, not all of Anderson's claims on Marx's implicit recognition of difference and multidimensional paths to socio-political emancipation are as powerful. At times, especially regarding the transformations in Marx's understanding of colonialism and 'Oriental' social formations, Anderson rather wills Marx as an acute 'global theorist' of different societies and political traditions than actually shows it.

What is most striking about this book is its politically pertinent practical value. Exploring late Marx's restriction to Western Europe of the historical inevitability of primitive accumulation in the procession to and the overcoming of capitalist social structures, Anderson furnishes Marxism with renewed relevance in the study of contemporary globalism and alternative ways of resistance to capitalism.

Pinar Kemerli
(Cornell University)

Utilitarianism: A Guide for the Perplexed by **Kristen Bykvist**. London: Continuum, 2010. 176pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 8264 9809 0

Utilitarianism is a new volume in Continuum's series 'Guides for the Perplexed', many of which offer introductions to a particular thinker or a school of thought. Kristen Bykvist sets out to treat the historical roots of utilitarianism and its arguments, although he does not describe in any detail the work of Jeremy Bentham, James and John Stuart Mill or Henry Sidgwick, or their historical context. Instead, this book is concerned with utilitarian theories as we know them today and it focuses on classical utilitarianism. Bykvist captures the relevant concepts through two equations (p. 19):

'Utilitarianism = Consequentialism (nothing but the values of outcomes matter for the rightness of actions) + Welfarism (nothing but well-being matters for the value of outcomes)'

'Classical utilitarianism = Maximizing act-consequentialism + Sum-ranking + Subjective conception of well-being'

The problems and merits of these different elements are discussed in the book. Bykvist shows his personal motivation when he states: 'It may be possible to make revisions within the limits of utilitarianism, since by refuting one version of utilitarianism we have not automatically refuted utilitarianism as such' (p. 2). He evaluates the theory in comparison with virtue ethics, deontological ethics and Kantianism and quickly gives away his belief that many of utilitarianism's shortcomings 'are problems for all plausible moral theories' (p. 3).

Utilitarianism includes a clear introduction, some notes on method (how to assess a moral theory), a good summary, a bibliography and an index. One of the chapters deals with the conception of well-being, another with that of sum-ranking. At the core there are chapters in which normative aspects of utilitarianism (and the other theories) are discussed. Overall it offers easy but fascinating reading.

I agree with Bykvist that a moral theory provides a criterion of rightness; it is not a decision method. Because utilitarianism is at the same time too demanding and too permissive, it cannot be followed

strictly in political life. There is a point where philosophers halt, but policy makers continue beyond that point. Nonetheless, a philosophical background is useful to students and practitioners. Although the book does not discuss this, knowledge of utilitarianism can, for instance, deepen one's understanding of cost/benefit analysis. After all, throughout the centuries utilitarianism has inspired politicians, lawyers and economists. Bykvist's book certainly helps to analyse some of the arguments of political discourse.

Wouter-Jan Oosten
(Sociotext Foundation, the Netherlands)

Marx through Post-structuralism: Lyotard, Derrida, Foucault, Deleuze by **Simon Choat**. London: Continuum, 2010. 224pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 8264 4275 8

Marx through Post-structuralism: Lyotard, Derrida, Foucault, Deleuze not only provides a timely, genuine encounter between these key post-structuralists and Marx, but in so doing it identifies an original post-structuralist approach to Marx. Simon Choat begins with the recognition that Marx has been an enormous influence on the post-structuralists. However, as he notes (p. 35), the question of what the post-structuralists have to say about Marx has rarely been asked. The first chapter charts the territory of previous encounters and situates Choat's contribution in this gap.

Choat's argument is that Marx and these post-structuralists are engaged in the same endeavour – to provide a genuinely materialist philosophy. The Marx we find through post-structuralism is a Marx shorn of his residual idealism. Choat demonstrates how the post-structuralists pursue the critique of idealism beyond Marx, but also thereby hit upon a significant potential difficulty for any genuine materialism: 'how to maintain a critical perspective – and hope for the future – without relapsing into reliance on ontological foundations which have supposedly been repudiated' (p. 54).

Lyotard targets Marx's external grounds for critique, although he equivocates between essentialist ontology and renouncing critique. Derrida deepens the critique of Marx's ontology and champions Marx's contemporary relevance, but he only deconstructs Marx. Foucault's genealogy is a natural companion to Marx's denaturalising historiographical project, although he

too equivocates between an idealist return to origins and political presentism. It is through Deleuze that a Marx freed from teleology emerges most strongly, although it is also in Deleuze that the potential difficulty for any materialism is most apparent.

Given that this theme of a genuine, critical materialism underlies the book, it is a little surprising that only at the end does this really begin to appear (although the potential difficulties are highlighted throughout, as are what materialism rejects). However, because materialism rejects ontology and teleology, it cannot be specified in advance. Choat identifies Foucault's and Deleuze's suggestion that alternatives to the present emerge from the present itself as a way out: materialism must deal with concrete situations, '[i]t cannot determine its content in advance. There are no ready-made formulas' (p. 176). Materialist critique denies absolute normative foundations.

It is beyond Choat's purposes to demonstrate the coherence of this materialism, and although this leaves the reader somewhat unsatisfied, it does so only because Choat is successful in what he does intend: this book presents a very illuminating, accessible and innovative engagement with post-structuralism and Marx.

David Marjoribanks
(University of Kent)

Relativism and Human Rights: A Theory of Pluralistic Universalism by **Claudio Corradetti**. Dordrecht: Springer, 2009. 170pp., £73.50, ISBN 978 1 4020 9985 4

This book is an attempt 'to construct a normative theory of human rights' (p. xi). Drawing on a broad range of fields such as ethics, political philosophy, legal philosophy, social theory, epistemology and the philosophy of language, Claudio Corradetti offers 'a systematic philosophical framing for a post-metaphysical conception of human rights' (p. xv).

The author's aim is to develop an intermediate position between relativistic and objectivist theories of human rights. According to the former, human rights are contingent on a particular context, that is, a given culture or political community. According to the latter, there are certain human rights that are universal.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I discusses relativism and objectivism. Chapter 1 challenges cognitive and linguistic relativism by drawing on the David-

sonian theory against total incommensurability. It is argued that inter-linguistic translatability and epistemic partial commensurability is possible, thanks to 'conceptual bridgeheads' (p. 27) such as colour and space. Corradetti elaborates an account of judgement that is broadly Kantian (p. 28), and develops an understanding of truth and justification in Habermasian terms (pp. 29–30). Chapter 2 questions moral relativism as evidenced in the work of Harman; moral objectivism as expressed in Nagel's *A View from Nowhere*; and the relativist mixed position ('pluralistic relativism') of Wong (pp. 59–62). Corradetti develops the idea of 'pluralistic universalism' against the background of an interpretation of Hegel's notions of ethical life and recognition (pp. 62–9).

Part II advances Corradetti's distinctive thesis. In Chapter 3 Habermas' theory of communicative action is reformulated in terms of the Hegelian notion of 'recognition'. Crucial to Corradetti's thesis is the idea of 'exemplar validity', which produces 'a contextually situated judgment' (p. 74). 'Pluralistic universalism' means 'a normative framework of human rights universalism which concedes a certain degree of variation at different levels' (p. 75). In Chapter 4 Corradetti considers some practical implications of his theoretical approach by looking at the legal dimensions of human rights. Although he argues that democratic institutions are most suitable to his approach to human rights, he criticises 'democratic peace theory' (pp. 143ff.).

This work is certainly an original contribution to human rights theory. The project is ambitious, as it deals with a great range of issues. It is densely argued, which makes it especially difficult reading, aimed principally at specialists. A drawback is that there are several grammatical and syntactical mistakes. The book would have certainly benefited from meticulous proofreading.

Evangelia Sembou
(Independent scholar)

Max Weber's Complete Writings on Academic and Political Vocations by John Dreijmanis (ed.). New York: Algora Publishing, 2008. 221pp., \$24.95, \$40.00, ISBN 978 0 87586 549 2, 978 0 87586 549 2

This volume offers a collection of Weber's academic and political writings, newly translated by Gordon C. Wells (co-translator of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit*

of *Capitalism and Other Writings* (Penguin, 2002) and *The Russian Revolutions* (Polity Press, 1995) as well as a brief introduction by John Dreijmanis. This concise introduction, while providing a sketch of Weber's life for the new reader, may not offer much for the Weber scholar beside the classification of Weber under Jung's theory of psychological types. New translations of Weber's 'Science as a Vocation' and 'Politics as a Vocation' are welcomed, but the significant contribution of the book is to place these alongside 32 of Weber's writings on academia, mostly unavailable in English before now.

The inclusion of the 'Articles on Academia', and their position within the bookends of the re-translated essays, makes this edition of potential interest to many different scholars. Weber scholars will find much of interest in Weber's views of the academic environment in which he lived and worked, his comparisons of the German and American academies and his hopes for the German Sociological Society. The articles also form a documentary history of the German academy from 1908 to 1920, charting Weber's ongoing attempts to justify his charges against fellow academics and bureaucrats, and to defend himself against newspaper critiques. Touching on subjects as diverse as the role of fraternities, the politicisation of academic appointments and the fraught relationship between academic freedom and securing funding, the articles also speak to academics more generally.

For the political theorist, however, perhaps the most interesting issue that the collection raises is how one can negotiate the ideals of academic neutrality as expressed in 'Science as a Vocation' and the ultimate impossibility of being *non-political*, as hinted at in 'Politics as a Vocation'. In this respect the 'Articles on Academia' form the theoretical and textual conjuncture of the essays within this volume, in which Weber struggles to apply a set of values to his own academic career: first casting his own politics out of the lecture hall, and then railing against the politics of the bureaucracy, the fraternities and his fellow academics which seeps back in to replace it. As such, this collection challenges political scientists to consider what is meant by the claim to neutral teaching of political science and theory – a question that should be reflected upon and revisited at every opportunity.

Simon Gilhooley
(Cornell University)

Starting with Mill by **John R. Fitzpatrick**. London: Continuum, 2010. 192pp., £12.99, ISBN 978 0 84706 240 6

Introductions to J. S. Mill are plentiful, so one could be excused for wondering whether the world needs another. John Fitzpatrick's *Starting with Mill* will hardly render the others redundant, but it fills a useful niche. Targeted primarily at first-year undergraduates, it assumes little prior knowledge of any philosophy; thus, the first two chapters are largely devoted to placing Mill's thought in context, with brief but tolerably accurate characterisations of Locke, Hume and Kant, among others.

So much background material in a relatively short book, of course, means that there is less space to devote to a comprehensive survey of Mill's thought. While Fitzpatrick draws where necessary on a range of Mill's writing, including his *Autobiography* and *System of Logic*, only *On Liberty* and *Utilitarianism* are treated in any depth, and discussion of the latter is limited almost entirely to its consistency with the former (there is no discussion of higher and lower pleasures or Mill's infamous 'proof'). Drawing on interpreters such as D. G. Brown and R. B. Edwards, Fitzpatrick argues that Mill was not (as often supposed) a maximising act utilitarian but instead saw the role of morality as primarily being to protect people from certain harms. His liberty principle is, therefore, entirely continuous with his 'minimal utilitarianism'. Obviously, this book is not the place to look for decisive proof of such a revisionary reading, but it is refreshing to see such a sophisticated line in an introductory text.

The fifth and final chapter examines the problem of rights. Unfortunately, much of this is devoted to ad hominem attacks on Kant, though it is indeed interesting that Mill – despite the supposed shortcomings of utilitarianism – was more progressive than his German counterpart on the subjects of race, women and animals. The discussion ends with consideration of some famous examples, such as Williams' Jim and the Indians and the Trolley Problem, with Fitzpatrick arguing that, where rights conflict, a utilitarian approach may be necessary to decide what we should do.

This text would be well suited to those who study *On Liberty* and *Utilitarianism* but have little prior grounding in philosophy, such as first-year PPE students in Oxford. The philosophical novice may,

however, find the number of names thrown at him or her bewildering at times, while those with an existing background in philosophy may wish that more attention was devoted to Mill himself and that alternative interpretations were considered more charitably.

Ben Saunders
(University of Stirling)

Leviathan: Or the Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill by **Thomas Hobbes**, edited and with an Introduction by **Ian Shapiro**. London: Yale University Press, 2010. 583pp., £10.00, ISBN 978 0 300 11838 4

This latest version of *Leviathan* has been edited by Ian Shapiro and includes commentaries by other scholars (John Dunn, David Dyzenhaus, Elisabeth Ellis and Bryan Garsten). It is published by Yale University Press as part of its 'Rethinking the Western Tradition' series.

Leviathan deals with the structure of society and legitimate government, and is regarded as one of the earliest and most influential examples of social contract theory. Hobbes argued that chaos or civil war – situations identified with a state of nature – could only be averted by strong central government. The central thesis of the book is, indeed, very popular and often this work is considered one of the most profoundly influential writings on political thought ever written.

John Dunn, writing on democratic deliberation, explains that *Leviathan* has deeply conditioned the modern mind. In fact, Hobbes often seems 'our philosophical contemporary' because we have entirely absorbed his ideas. This is, in fact, the significance of Hobbes in current political theories. Elisabeth Ellis, in her paper, sums up Hobbes' modern and contemporary reception, particularly in Tuck and Rawls. According to Ellis, nowadays we receive important lessons from *Leviathan*.

David Dyzenhaus' essay develops the relationship between the language of natural law and the Modern Constitutional Theory. According to Dyzenhaus, *Leviathan* is a 'complex argument about how to design an enduring political order' (p. 453). Bryan Garsten shows the importance of anti-clericalism (especially against the Roman Catholic Church) in the Hobbesian project and its influence on secularisation.

Terence Irwin, in *The Development of Ethics* (Oxford, 2008), explains that Hobbes is a central thinker of the

Modern Era, and the philosophers that followed were completely conditioned by his works. Thus Hobbes is the father of the 'Western tradition' within the Modern Era (egoism, anthropology, political individuality). However, in his Introduction to this book Ian Shapiro enforces the mainly political interpretation, excluding links with ethics, anthropology or epistemology. Similarly, while Perez Zagorin sees Hobbes from a Kantian perspective in his latest book *Hobbes and the Law of Nature* (Princeton, 2009), all the contributors to this edition support a contextualist view, following Skinner and Dunn.

To sum up: the main book by Hobbes is edited with the focus on his political profile while also rediscovering the language of politics, against medieval ideas. *Leviathan* remains a classical book because it looks to the future and breaks with the past.

Rafael Ramis Barceló
(Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona)

Capitalism by **Geoffrey Ingham**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008. 284pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 3648 1

Geoffrey Ingham has provided a highly accessible and enjoyable introductory text to the all-pervasive economic system in the modern era with this book. He offers a sociological analysis of capitalism, and the book is split into two main sections. The first part outlines the main ideas of the key classical theorists of capitalism: Smith, Marx, Weber, Keynes and Schumpeter. The basic ideas of these prominent thinkers are deftly outlined and critiqued. Ingham is unapologetic – probably rightly so – for making the 'outrageous conclusion that no social scientist ... has added anything that is *fundamentally* new to our understanding of the capitalist economic system' since these thinkers (p. 2). The second part of the book focuses on the key institutions that comprise and shape capitalism: money, market exchange, the enterprise, capital and financial markets, and finally the state. The chapter on 'Money' is arguably the most significant, as Ingham makes a strong case that it remains the most neglected feature of recent accounts of capitalism. In this way, Ingham's account usefully differentiates itself from and supplements other recent introductory accounts of capitalism such as Fulcher's (Oxford, 2004). The conclusion contains an insightful overview of the 'varieties of capitalism' debate, and it draws together a number of themes to

underscore the duality of capitalism: its dominance and power, and yet its capacity for self-destruction.

One of Ingham's aims is to challenge the assumptions of the neo-liberal era (pp. 196–9, p. 226). It is perhaps rather bemusing, then, that he devotes such cursory space to critiquing the work of Hayek and Friedman in this regard (together they are mentioned directly on four pages in total). This is a missed opportunity as it might have helped further explain how neo-liberalism came to dominate. Ingham tends to use short one-line case studies to underpin his account, and the book would have benefited from some expanded case studies. Additional, more detailed examples, such as his short account of the Enron 'scandal' (pp. 170–2), would assist the reader.

Ingham also tends to assume that the reader possesses a good deal of knowledge of recent capitalist history. It would have been helpful to have more context on episodes such as the 1997 East Asian financial crisis, and for an introductory text there is also a case for including a glossary. Nonetheless, this is a useful and succinct account of capitalism and, particularly, of the unprecedented scale of the current phase of 'financialization' (p. 174). Ingham's book is an important primer on capitalism which, given events since 2008, is a most timely contribution.

Rob Manwaring
(Flinders University)

Lenin: Revolution, Democracy, Socialism by **Paul Le Blanc (ed.)**. London: Pluto Press, 2008. 368pp., £14.99, ISBN 9780745327600

Vladimir Lenin is one of the key figures of twentieth-century political history whose actions in the world of political practice were mediated by a large body of political writing, which also makes him a seminal force in Marxist political theory.

This reader provides a representative collection of relatively short excerpts from Lenin's key works, organised into sections based on the main phases in his career, from his early writing on the development of capitalism in Russia to his final works concerned with combating bureaucracy in the new Soviet state. Paul Le Blanc provides a short introduction to each section, placing the texts in context, a longer overall introduction which reviews Lenin's life and ideas as a whole, and a useful annotated guide to further reading. He

writes in a simple style that is clearly intended for a broad audience, making his introductory material very accessible at the level of first- and second-year undergraduates.

Le Blanc is strongly opposed to the orthodox Cold War interpretations of Lenin, insisting that Lenin's political thought is characterised by a 'commitment to freedom and democracy' (p. 5), and a substantial part of the introduction is devoted to arguing for this interpretation (pp. 21–41).

It is the merit of Le Blanc's book that it includes texts that support his case and others that challenge it: thus we have Lenin in 1899 talking of 'the advanced workers that every working-class movement brings to the fore ... who accept socialism consciously, and who even elaborate independent socialist theories' (p. 124) alongside the famous assertion from *What is to be Done*, published in 1902, that 'there could not have been Social Democratic consciousness among the workers. It would have to be brought to them from outside' (p. 137). Lenin's support of advanced democratic principles, based on universal suffrage, is illustrated by his draft programme for the Social Democratic party of 1895 (p. 85); but we also have the text of his speech supporting the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in 1918 (pp. 280–4).

The weakness of the book is that Le Blanc does not seriously engage with these contradictions, but instead draws selectively from the texts to assemble a static mirror image of the negative Cold War portraits. Far more would be learned about Lenin from a dynamic reading that explored the contradictions in his political thought with respect to both internal logic and interconnection with the world of political practice. But the material is here to permit the start of such a reading.

Brian Slocock
(Independent Scholar)

Politics and Morality by Susan Mendus. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. 130pp., £12.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 2968 1

In this short book Susan Mendus explores the tensions that seem necessarily to arise between personal morality and the morality of official roles, and the resulting problem of 'dirty hands'. While she focuses on the role of the politician, she makes a point of noting that her

argument could be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to non-political social roles. Most of the argumentative energy of the book is spent on the problem of integrity and impersonal moral judgement: can one rightfully perform an action dictated by an impartial morality (e.g. utilitarianism) or by the social role one has assumed (e.g. politician) if that action is in direct conflict with one's most 'fundamental ethical commitments' (p. 36)? For the reader looking for an answer to this question, however, none is given. Ultimately, Mendus claims that the answer will be contextually derived and will differ based on the specific circumstances and actors facing the question. For some readers, this lack of an answer might feel like a bit of a disappointment.

When offering her 'contextual' reply to the central question, Mendus makes the controversial argument that political officials are elected or appointed based on an understanding of both the personality of the person being elected and a background knowledge of the political role itself. I would argue that this does not seem to be commonly the case, and that many politicians are elected or appointed by people (voters, committees, other officials) who lack knowledge of either or both of these important contextual facts. If this is true, according to Mendus, we should not be surprised when our politicians act in ways that make us unhappy, because we chose them blindly.

Mendus has made an admirable attempt to tackle a large number of philosophical puzzles, but often the brevity of the book leaves the reader wishing for more explanation or argument. For example, she argues (following Cheshire Calhoun) that integrity is necessary for personal moral identity, but does not seem to consider seriously the possibility that something other than personally developed moral commitments could suffice to give a person moral identity. It does not seem clear to me that having moral commitments formed by one's commitment to utilitarianism or being a politician are any less fundamental than others that one may hold. There are several other intriguing but underdeveloped claims in the book, but it does an admirable job of exploring the main problems of political morality, and would be a nice introduction for readers unfamiliar with the issue.

Eric M. Rovie
(Georgia Perimeter College, Atlanta)

Untying the Knot: Marriage, the State, and the Case for Their Divorce by **Tamara Metz**. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 205pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0 691 12667 8

Untying the Knot is an exciting and important book, which creates a new liberal theory of marriage. Currently, marriage is controlled and defined by the state; Tamara Metz argues that this is unacceptable. But that does not mean that the liberal state should play no role in this area: the state *should* be involved, but not from a concern with *marriage*.

This is a two-pronged conclusion, and Metz arrives at it through a two-pronged argument. Marriage has two facets: instrumental and constitutive. The instrumental uses of marriage by the state are numerous, and most liberal theory restricts its concern to these. But Metz takes seriously the constitutive aspect, drawing on Hegel. Hegel saw marriage as a transformative ritual, in which the parties shed their old identities and embrace new ones: ones that stress their inevitable interdependence, both with each other and with a community and its values. Crucial to such a transformation is the involvement of an appropriate ethical authority; and for Hegel that authority could only be the state. Metz thinks that a liberal should accept the transformative idea at work here, but deny that the *state* can be an ethical authority. The state does not control other rites of passage, such as bar mitzvah or baptism; neither should it control marriage. Marriage should be a matter solely between individuals and the ethical authority of their choice.

So the state should not recognise marital status, and therefore cannot use it for the allocation of benefits, rights and duties. Nevertheless, the state should continue to support an important *function* of marriage: providing intimate care. To do this, it should establish a new status – Intimate Caregiving Union (ICGU) – within which the instrumental aspects currently associated with marriage would be retained (suitably modified).

This is a compelling and intriguing proposal. However, I would have liked somewhat more exploration of some of the crucial ideas. If the constitutive aspect of marriage is as important as Metz suggests, then *should* the liberal state leave it uncontrolled? Could it not justifiably control the constitutive acts of deeply illiberal groups, such as many religions? Conversely, if the state determines what counts as ICGU

status, might not that be as badly restrictive of the autonomy of those who choose to live in unorthodox ways as is its concern with marriage?

Nevertheless, Metz's framework is fascinating and fruitful. This is an important and timely book that demonstrates well how political philosophy can throw new light on to this contentious political issue.

Peter Morris
(National University of Ireland, Galway)

Who was Jacques Derrida? An Intellectual Biography by **David Mikics**. London: Yale University Press, 2010. 273pp., £25.00, ISBN 978 0 300 11542 0

With this book David Mikics aims to give the English-speaking audience a long-overdue intellectual biography of Jacques Derrida. This book is addressed to a general rather than academic audience, and it covers a vast territory of biographical facts, an overview of Derrida's major works, and a survey of Derrida's philosophical influences and of the intellectual-political context of his writings and academic career. Shifting between these biographical, philosophical and contextual perspectives, *Who was Jacques Derrida?* is organised around an intellectual periodisation of Derrida's life into five stages: (a) adolescence and early academic career (influences of Sartre, Hegel and Husserl); (b) the origins of deconstruction with *Writing and Difference* and *Of Grammatology* in the 1960s; (c) Derrida's work on Plato, Austin, Nietzsche and Freud in the 1970s and early 1980s; (d) the introduction of deconstruction to North American academia, Derrida's debate with Gadamer and his provocative contributions to the 'de Man affair' and the 'Heidegger affair'; and finally (e) Derrida's turn to politics, ethics and the concept of justice in his work on Marx and Judaism in the 1990s.

Important for this narrative construction are two dichotomies: between philosophy and psychology; and between philosophical scepticism and a position of political and ethical commitment. Mikics depicts Derrida as someone who, at first, unapologetically embraced an anti-psychologist and sceptical stance, and who gradually denounced scepticism and developed an interest in subject/subjectivity. Mikics seeks to demystify Derrida's figure and articulate a balanced position that is critical of some of Derrida's claims and achievements, and appreciative of others. While Mikics favours

a linear biographical style, he also organises his book around 'significant junctures' in Derrida's life.

Who was Jacques Derrida? traces the growing significance of deconstruction since the 1960s (in America and elsewhere) and the intricate paths of Derrida's career in France and abroad, as well as emphasising (perhaps over-emphasising) moments of crisis, disappointment and failure in Derrida's life. While the book offers a comprehensive discussion of Derrida's major texts, it unfortunately excludes other texts and problems that have been central to Derrida's work, and to the reception of his work (for example, the animal trope).

Magdalena Zolkos
(University of Western Sydney)

J. S. Mill by **Dale E. Miller**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. 252pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 2584 3

This book offers a lucid overview of John Stuart Mill's life, intellectual concerns and moral, social and political philosophy. Part I begins with a discussion of the foundations of Mill's thought. This is followed in Part II by an examination of utilitarianism and presentation of Mill's particular brand of it. Dale Miller argues that Mill's account of happiness is hedonistic (pp. 34–5) and his view of pleasure 'externalist' (p. 36). Mill's hedonism is distinctive in that it distinguishes between lower and higher pleasures ('qualitative hedonism', p. 56). Miller suggests that Mill's is a 'rule utilitarianism' (pp. 76–8, pp. 79ff.), not an 'act utilitarianism' (pp. 73–6). He shows that Mill perceives a 'conceptual connection' between 'morality' and 'the appropriateness of punishment' (p. 85). For Mill, 'moral rules' are 'rules that the conscience "enforces"' (p. 88). So, for him, the reproaches of conscience are punishments too (p. 89).

Part III explores Mill's social and political philosophy. It shows that utilitarian considerations lie beneath Mill's view on the value of freedom and his conception of individuality, his political economy and his democratic theory. Part IV then demonstrates that Mill's moral, social and political thought is characterised by optimism about the future, an optimism shared by his contemporaries. However, 'Mill's considerable optimism is tempered by his awareness of the future's contingency' (p. 205). The most important of Mill's hopes is 'the improvement of mankind', that is, the development of humans' intellectual, aesthetic, active and moral faculties (p. 205). Miller argues that 'Mill's utilitarianism is non-

parochial'; Mill entertains the hope that, if human development continues, 'one day people's sympathies will truly be cosmopolitan' (p. 206).

Miller suggests that Mill's thought has a 'utopian aspect'. 'Utopian' need not be understood in a 'pejorative' sense; rather, it is a state of affairs that is 'perfect' with regard to politics, laws, customs and social conditions. Although Mill 'does not believe that politics, laws or customs will ever be literally the best that they could conceivably be', yet a society whose members have all developed their faculties and lead 'genuinely happy lives' approximates this ideal (p. 208). Surely, Mill believed that human progress can only be slow and gradual (pp. 208–9), and that the main impediment to human improvement is 'society's failure to protect individual liberty' (p. 210). Mill's arguments partly turn on 'ethological considerations' (p. 211).

The book is well written, well researched and comprehensive. Persuasively argued, it achieves its objectives in an insightful way. It will certainly be useful to students and scholars alike.

Evangelia Sembou
(Independent Scholar)

The School of Freedom: A Liberal Education Reader from Plato to the Present Day by **Anthony O'Hear and Marc Sidwell (eds)**. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2010. 262pp., £14.95, ISBN 978 1845 401344

A work that supports the cause of liberal education and lifelong learning seems increasingly useful today, especially one in the form of an anthology that chronicles the beliefs and practices of Western philosophers throughout history, from Ancient Greece to the present day. Anthony O'Hear and Marc Sidwell collect and reproduce in this anthology 43 documents by the same number of authors, among them the founders of democracy. Each section is preceded by a presentation of the historical and political context, which is discussed, and by a brief profile of the thinker whose writing is featured.

In the 24-page Introduction the editors offer a thorough examination of the history of liberal education as 'education for freedom' that must be realised in daily educational practice rather than remaining confined to pedagogical theory. They stress that critical awareness and political independence is valued

by all those who see individual freedom based upon the exercise of human reason as a primary good, and who recognise in the Western canon a community of human experience that stretches across millennia.

This appeal to education as a 'common good' and the primary reference to the relevance of the classics as the 'Great Books' (p. 12) puts the editors in connection with the ideas of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, even though the same detachment from the utilitarian perspective is not always maintained.

A merit of this book is its presentation not only of the best-known theorists and intellectuals, but also the most outlandish and least-known traditions: there are of course Plato and Aristotle, but also Cimon of Athens; naturally there are the masters David Hume and Adam Smith, but these are preceded by John of Salisbury and followed by R. H. Tawney.

I notice however the absence of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. While it is true that education is presented as a public good in *The Wealth of Nations*, it is in Smith's moral work that the idea of sympathy was born as a requirement of education itself. It is also important to mention the reprint of Anthony O'Hear's own article 'The Good is Not Reducible to Human Choice', in which the British philosopher rightly points out that knowing the thoughts of the *maitres-à-penser* is a prerequisite for democracy and the possibility of criticism of political systems.

In conclusion, *The School of Freedom* is proposed as a tool for spreading the history of education, which is indispensable for students and specialists in this field. A little more internationalism would be an asset, especially in the final section on current trends. However, the first 230 pages are really essential at a time when mankind is badly in need of liberal ideals.

Mattia Baglieri
(University of Bologna)

A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations by **Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati (eds)**. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2009. 249pp., £20.95, ISBN 978 0 691 13611 0

A Cosmopolitanism of Nations is a new collection of original texts by Giuseppe Mazzini, the political

thinker and agitator who dedicated his life to Italian independence. His collection seeks to address a key political and sociological question that is still of great importance today: what is the proper political role of the nation state?

The introduction by the editors provides helpful background information on Mazzini's writings. Not only do they provide an overview of Mazzini's life, but they also discuss in detail the relevance of Mazzini's thought. Recchia and Urbinati maintain that Mazzini made a critical contribution to the development of modern democratic and liberal internationalist thought. In fact, they make the case that Mazzini ought to be recognised as the founding figure of what has come to be known as liberal Wilsonianism. In other words, Mazzini is the founder of a political thought that sees democratic regimes as maintaining non-violent relations among each other.

This might be a bit of a stretch, however, since Mazzini has been considered the political and philosophical inspiration for many contemporary movements and causes. For example, the philosopher Giovanni Gentile correctly maintained in *I profeti del Risorgimento Italiano* (2004) that Mazzini was a precursor of modern Italian nationalism; while recent research has outlined the influence of Mazzini's thought on the early social and foreign policies of the Italian Christian Democratic party.¹

Mazzini's work influenced many modern political movements including the Polish and the Irish movements of national independence, and therefore it appears that his political thought cannot be relegated only to one restrictive category of political ideology. Apart from this issue of political categorisation the editors do a good job of placing Mazzini's thought in the broader context of the Italian Risorgimento and the history of modern political thought.

Most of Mazzini's important essays and works are included in this collection. The editors also highlight other aspects of Mazzini's thought that are still relevant today. Mazzini was an able organiser and his 'Giovane Italia' movement was probably the first modern mass party in Europe. Mazzini was also instrumental in opposing Marxism and anarchism by developing a movement of workers' cooperatives that was influential in establishing a moderate and reformist movement of farmers and workers. He was at the forefront of the fight against absolutist regimes by linking the national

state to the democratic regime. Key to Mazzini's thought are the issues of national sovereignty and independence. Lastly, Mazzini also influenced philosophical thought with his key concept of 'thought and action', which stressed philosophy not as an abstract doctrine, but one that is linked directly to political action. In sum, this book is a great contribution toward a better understanding of Mazzini's political thought.

Note

- 1 Paolo Acanfora, 'La Democrazia cristiana degasperiana e il mito della Nazione: le interpretazioni del Risorgimento', in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, n. 2, 2009, 177–96.

Paolo Morisi
(Independent Scholar)

Power, Judgment and Political Evil: In Conversation with Hannah Arendt by **Andrew Schaap, Danielle Celermajer and Vrasidas Karalis (eds)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 197pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0350 0

This book comprises several essays by different writers. The starting point for all the essays is the interview given by Hannah Arendt to Günter Gaus in 1964. As the interview concerns Arendt's report on the trial of Adolf Eichmann and her critical explanations on totalitarianism, the essays primarily discuss these concerns in relation to Arendt's essential ideas on morality, philosophy, politics and human life. Although the book generally deals with the relationship between *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa* and focuses on Arendt's conceptualisation of 'power', 'judgment' and 'political evil', the essays cover her whole corpus and reveal crucial details in elucidating her connection between philosophy, truth, totalitarianism, ideology and violence. This makes interesting reading both for those who are just starting to be acquainted with Arendt, and for those interested in a deeper reading of her work.

In the first part, Mack and Deutscher's chapters clarify the difference between political and moral modes of thinking (*imagination* and *judging*) and philosophical and rational modes of thinking (*contemplation* and *reasoning*) with reference to Heidegger for the former and Kant for the latter. Diprose is concerned with Arendt's ideas about responsibility for *consciousness* or *the self* and how to differentiate and compare *personal responsibility* and *political responsibility*. Celermajer pays attention to possi-

bilities of being capable of *judging* and suggests the experience of *friendship* among equals to realise Arendt's ideals of worldliness and plural, political and moral existence. La Caze focuses on the judgement and responsibility of the statesperson, and the suggestion that leaders should make the voices of ordinary citizens heard instead of representing them is itself quite Arendtian. Formosa's reading of Arendt is important in showing the interesting connection between *thoughtfulness* and *thoughtlessness*, to which Arendt seems to have devoted her books *Life of the Mind* and *Eichmann in Jerusalem*.

In the second part, while Curthoys marks Arendt's understanding of history in comparison with that of Ernst Cassirer, Heidegger and Kant, Malpas attempts to bring in Orwell and Camus in relation to Arendt's arguments about truth, politics and democracy. Murphy and Karalis consider Arendt's America in order to discuss her ideas on freedom, constitution, power, violence and humanism, while Schaap not only highlights the a/anti-political nature of politics of need for Arendt, but also questions the possibility of politics of need with specific reference to Rancière.

Onur Kara
(Middle East Technical University, Turkey)

John Stuart Mill – Thought and Influence: The Saint of Rationalism by **Georgios Varouxakis and Paul Kelly (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 178pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 55518 0

Originating as conference papers, the ten essays in this volume – as is often the case in such circumstances – are a mixed and variable entity. But Mill is such a perennially fascinating thinker that any collection is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature. The emphasis of the contributors is very much on Mill as an intellectual; his links with numerous causes – the broadening of the parliamentary franchise (especially for women), a solution to the Irish question, land tenure reform, the radicalisation of the Liberal party and so on – scarcely feature.

As well as summarising the essays of each of the other contributors, the editors in their introduction outline some of the fluctuations in Mill's influence since his death in 1873. They conclude that in the last decade interest has grown in Mill's ideas on international relations, notably those stated in 'A Few Words on Non-intervention' (1859). It is not a theme devel-

oped by other contributors, other than Peter Singer, while he is more concerned with the relevance of Mill to the issues of animal rights and euthanasia. There is also an element of the present day in both Donald Winch's short though insightful essay on Mill's ecological views and Martha Nussbaum's treatment of how Mill's feminist thought remains relevant.

The essays by Bruce Kinzer and Frederick Rosen are rooted in the nineteenth century. Kinzer discusses the influence of the French editor Armand Carrel on Mill's journalism while Rosen suggests why, in spite of their friendship, Mill in his own work on logic largely ignored George Bentham's *Outline of a New System of Logic* (1827). Terence Ball begins his essay with *A System of Logic* (1843) in which Mill proposed to develop a science of 'ethology', the formation of character. Although such a study was never written, Ball argues that, rather than abandoning his ideas, Mill incorporated them into some of his other writings.

The three other essays are the work of professors of philosophy. Jonathan Riley engages with Mill's concept of the higher pleasures, Wendy Donna explores the ethical elements of Mill's philosophy and John Skorupski explains why he regards Mill as the greatest philosopher of liberalism.

David Martin
(University of Sheffield)

On Žižek's Dialectics: Surplus, Subtraction, Sublimation by **Fabio Vighi**. London: Continuum, 2010. 208pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 8264 6443 9

Rather than approaching Slavoj Žižek as the 'Elvis of cultural theory', *On Žižek's Dialectics* instead treats his work with the critical respect owed to a philosopher of substance, stripping away the famous pop culture bells and whistles to focus instead upon the bare, almost mechanistic heart of the Slovenian's theoretical project. For this act, putting the man to the test, he is to be applauded not only by those who already respect Žižek's writings, but also by those who remain sceptical or downright cynical about them. Indeed, it is clear that the subject himself appreciates it, as Žižek describes in a blurb his 'pleasure and anxiety' at the manner in which, reading the work, he felt 'the author understanding me better than I understand myself'.

The book is split into two parts. The first focuses upon the Marx–Lacan axis, explicating the apparent

'homology' between surplus value and surplus enjoyment (*jouissance*) whereby the latter supersedes the former. While capitalism seeks to turn all surplus into value, this task is argued to be impossible since said surplus – the 'indigestible remainder of the process of valorization' (p. 2) here understood, *qua jouissance*, as correspondent to a void or lack – is at once the 'ghost in the machine' that drives capitalism's permanent revolutionising *and* the material basis of capitalism's own limit.

The second part seeks to develop the political opportunities this position raises for a leftist politics. Looking to the potential inscribed in Žižek's conception of subjectivity, Fabio Vighi draws out its linkage to his conception of 'the Act', positing a process of subtraction and sublimation (unplugging, and reconfiguring, the socio-symbolic order). To this end, he argues, the left should look for 'brothers' in the very surplus produced by and excluded from the dynamics of capitalist value formation: that is, the 'human waste' of the lumpenproletariat (slum dwellers, etc.).

A tough book at times, this is far from an introductory text and will be all but impenetrable for anyone without a more-than-working understanding of key Lacanian (and Marxist) concepts. The general turgidity of Lacanese does not help in this regard, of course. Nonetheless, this is a serious work and required reading for those wishing to grasp the philosophical underpinnings behind the 'flash' of Žižek's rhetoric which power his substantial intellectual enterprise (and it is infinitely more interesting for this).

David S. Moon
(University of Sheffield)

The Ethics of Torture by **J. Jeremy Wisniewski and R. D. Emerick**. London: Continuum, 2009. 164pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 8264 9890 8

It is probably an unfortunate fact of our current global political climate that books on torture are being published at an extremely rapid rate. There have been, maybe surprisingly, several (limited) philosophical defences of torture, but this book stands clearly on the other side of the issue. The co-authors have crafted a fairly comprehensive discussion of the ethics of torture with the intention of defending an absolute prohibition on the practice. The use of torture, according to the authors, degrades and destroys the human perspective of both the tortured *and* the torturer, as well as

delegitimising the institutional frameworks of systems that endorse or permit it. Torture fails to achieve its stated objectives (usually to gain information) effectively and often results in sub-optimal outcomes. Several different defences of torture are considered, including the popular 'ticking-bomb' defence, and the literatures of disciplines beyond philosophy are plumbed for insights on the methods, value and consequences of torture. Ultimately, however, the authors cannot find any reasonable moral ground upon which torture can stand.

The cross-disciplinary nature of the text is very helpful. Instead of merely focusing on the thought experiment of the ticking bomb, the phenomenological effects of torture are considered by examining the psychological and biological harms caused by torture. At other points, approaches from sociology and critical theory are drafted in to support the arguments against torture, although these seem to be somewhat less successful, if only because they rest on so many fragile assumptions about dramaturgical roles and the nature of Habermasian 'lifeworlds'. Nonetheless, credit should be given for attempting not merely to refute the standard consequentialist justifications for torture, but for offering new approaches.

At other points, some of the central assumptions the authors seem to bring to the table may leave some readers out in the cold: the generally Kantian approach to agency, and a specific reading of how Kant thinks agents value agency itself, for example, might alienate some. The assumption in favour of 'moral primitives' is controversial, although the authors admit as much. However, I would acknowledge that if there were moral primitives, a prohibition on torture might be on the shortlist of possible inclusions. These are minor concerns, however, and do not detract from what is ultimately a satisfying rejection of the pro-torture arguments, and an excellent addition to the torture debate.

Eric M. Rovie
(Georgia Perimeter College, Atlanta)

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

International Relations

A History of Diplomacy by **Jeremy Black**. London: Reaktion, 2010. 312pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 86189 696 4

Diplomacy, like counter-insurgency, has recently become a hot topic – and for similar reasons. In the 1990s, it was often assumed that globalisation would soon make traditional forms of negotiation and communication between states redundant as the peoples of the world marched together towards liberal democratic consensus. In the 2000s, however, the recrudescence of ideological and cultural conflict has led some to point to what we seem to have lost: older forms of diplomatic wisdom about toleration, calculation and accommodation. Former diplomats like Daryl Copeland or Shaun Riordan have pressed the case for the revitalisation of diplomatic establishments to cope with these new challenges, while international relations theorists have tried to distil the essence of the diplomat's traditional craft for use in the contemporary world.

This book fills another niche, but works towards similar ends. The prolific Jeremy Black provides a synoptic account of the evolution of diplomacy from the late medieval period to the present, drawing on both primary and secondary sources. Rightly, he takes umbrage at the 'Whiggish' way the history of diplomacy is normally written, as an unfolding story of growing professionalism and sophistication, and at the Eurocentricity of conventional narratives.

Black's history is instead episodic and sometimes a little disjointed. Within the chronological chapters, it jumps about from diplomat to diplomat, place to place, even decade to decade. Black rejects the idea that diplomacy is merely what resident embassies do; instead, he includes legates and envoys, mere messengers and grand colonial officers. He has to do this, of course, to let non-Europeans into the story prior to the nineteenth century, but the book benefits from the move, providing a far more rounded picture of diplomatic interactions with the non-West than the standard accounts.

Towards the end, the book gets breathless. We move from the establishment of the UN to the creation of the PLO in a mere two pages. The big international events sometimes obscure the diplomacy, tempting

Black into judgements that lack a cutting edge. The statement 'the situation in 1900–70 was particularly in flux and was seen as such by the diplomats of the period' (p. 216) is true, but elides too much too quickly. This is a rich book that takes some patience to read, but one from which both diplomats and scholars will profit.

Ian Hall
(Griffith University, Brisbane)

Self-Enforcing Trade: Developing Countries and WTO Dispute Settlement by **Chad P. Bown**. Washington DC: Brookings, 2009. 282pp., £20.99, ISBN 978 08157 0323 5

Among the many important developments of the World Trade Organization (WTO), arguably the single most important accomplishment is the creation of a new dispute settlement system which is essential to the effective implementation of WTO agreements. Like any good work, *Self-Enforcing Trade* begins with a single question: what is the relationship between developing countries and the WTO dispute settlement mechanism? It broadens from there to include many subsidiary questions that are important in their own right.

The book is divided into eight chapters supplemented with several tables, figures and appendices. The introductory chapters provide readers with background on the establishment of the WTO and position of developing countries throughout. The author then describes the WTO dispute settlement system through analysis of an actual case study, namely the EC–Bananas III dispute. Following this, Chapters 4–8 analyse such fundamental issues of the WTO dispute settlement system as frequency of initiating disputes, countries involved either as primary litigants or third parties, non-governmental organisation intervention and the role of the Advisory Centre on WTO Law in assisting developing countries. Chad Bown addresses whether there is a bias against developing countries in their use of the WTO dispute settlement system. His approach is to examine economic, political and legal impediments to effective participation through a self-developed model which he refers to as the extended litigation process. These impediments include, for example, trade volume, insufficient human resources, collecting information about market access, financial

constraints, the absence of private sector involvement, and political spillovers through the elimination of bilateral aid.

Bown provides some fairly comprehensive research of developing countries' participation or lack thereof in the WTO dispute settlement procedures, as well as a discussion of unresolved hurdles, especially information generation on violations of WTO commitments, which prevent them from effective participation. The author further proposes the establishment of a new institution – called the Institute for Assessing WTO Commitments – designed to monitor WTO compliance, flag up violations of potential interest to developing countries and assist them in generating data and information. This proposal is not necessarily convincing because other and perhaps more important reasons prevent developing countries from effective participation, such as the lack of technical expertise, litigation costs and post-ruling implementation – specifically, if a developed country loses a case. However, the author is to be applauded for raising these issues and for illuminating them with intensive research and great analytical insight. *Self-Enforcing Trade* is an important contribution and will serve as a useful reference text.

Bashar H. Malkawi
(University of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates)

Going Nuclear: Nuclear Proliferation and International Security in the 21st Century by **Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote Jr, Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller (eds)**. London: MIT Press, 2010. 474pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0 262 52466 7

This edited collection of works – nearly all of which were published previously in *International Security* – seeks to examine two of the most pressing questions in international security: why do states want nuclear weapons, and what can be done to prevent or slow their spread and possible use? Although the essays are diverse and deal with numerous different aspects of the nuclear proliferation problem – and can readily be studied individually – the work as a whole would seem to suggest that a greater understanding of domestic variables, international norms and the 'supply side' of nuclear proliferation are fundamental if we are to avoid the horrific possibility of these weapons being used in the future.

The book is split into four parts, each dealing with a slightly different aspect of the nuclear problem. The chapters in Part I look at why states choose to acquire nuclear weapons. They include Scott Sagan's essay on conceptual frameworks for understanding why states build the bomb, an analysis of why nuclear proliferation has been less rapid than expected by William Potter and Gaukher Mukhatzhanova, and also a strong case for why we need to focus on the 'supply side' of nuclear proliferation by Matthew Fuhrmann. The contributions in Part II by Sumit Ganguly, Samina Ahmed and S. Paul Kapur go on to focus more specifically on the sources and consequences of nuclear proliferation in South Asia. The essays in Part III by Peter Liberman and Ariel Levite look at why certain states have chosen to give up the bomb, and at the prospects for broader nuclear reversal. In Part IV, various different contemporary proliferation challenges are addressed, including the risk of nuclear terrorism by Matthew Bunn, and the possibility of an Israeli strike on Iran's burgeoning nuclear facilities by Whitney Raas and Austin Long.

By drawing on the comprehensive and varied expertise of a number of leading experts in the field, and by looking at a whole range of issues associated with the spread of nuclear weapons, this book is a key addition to how we understand and think about combating and containing the most destructive weapons on the planet. Although the work does not cover everything – and the absence of a discussion about North Korea is particularly noticeable – it is nevertheless a comprehensive historical, conceptual and political overview of one of the most important problems in contemporary international politics.

Andrew Futter
(University of Birmingham)

The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies by Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer (eds). Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 482pp., £125.00, ISBN 978 0 415 46361 4

This *Handbook* consists of 41 state-of-the-art articles written by 50 leading scholars in the field of security studies. It is worth stressing that the *Handbook* is based on a relatively broad definition of the field, moving beyond the narrow traditionalist view of security. According to traditionalists, security studies should

focus almost exclusively on territorial security; the main object of the study should be external military threats to nation states. The *Handbook*, however, discusses a wide variety of threats (e.g. economic and environmental) as well as various referent objects beyond the nation state (e.g. humans, international organisations). The editors convincingly argue that the types of threat now facing different political actors are much wider and more complex than has traditionally been assumed.

The book is divided into four key parts. These are: theoretical approaches to security (which introduces the basic paradigms such as constructivism and realism); contemporary security challenges (e.g. terrorism and cyber-threats); regional security challenges; and confronting security challenges (this part discusses the different instruments designed to counter security threats, for example humanitarian interventions or coercive diplomacy). The *Handbook* places great emphasis on theoretical debates, which are discussed in an accessible style, and the scope of issues, themes and problems analysed is impressive.

However, there are some conspicuous omissions in the book. One could wonder why there are no separate entries on Africa and South America in Part III, which is devoted to regional issues. I also think that the book would be better if the question of Islam was analysed in more detail, especially in the European context. One could also expect to read more on nationalism, in particular the relations between security and national and ethnic minorities. In many parts of the world we observe the process of 'securitisation' (and de-securitisation) of various minorities; for example, right-wing politicians in Europe play the ethnic minority card by targeting Muslim minorities as a threat to national security and even state integrity.

Raising these questions is in no way intended to downgrade the value of this book. Quite the reverse, for in my opinion the *Handbook* will be extremely useful for scholars and students of international relations, security studies, peace studies and for all professionals working in the field of international politics. The *Handbook* is clearly written and is relatively free of technical jargon, so that it can be read by all those interested in security issues.

Krzysztof Jaskulowski
(Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities)

Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Neopluralism by **Philip G. Cerny**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 336pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 19 973370 5

Philip Cerny's *Rethinking World Politics* brings multiple strands of research and writing together on comparative and international political economy to present an argument of how world politics has changed to favour the power and influence of transnational and trans-governmental networks over that of national governments.

The first third of the book lays out the case that transnational neo-pluralism involves the shift from *raison d'état* to *raison du monde* as a key organising principle and logic of world affairs. State and societal actors transcend national borders and controls to act, transact and coordinate national regulatory and policy activities internationally. Power becomes not a distributed, divisible set of resources, but something that is constructed through networks that include government actors who must transcend their national interests somewhat in a horizontal network in order to have influence.

Part II sets out the link between national and transnational politics and how the latter has changed public policy. In this section, Cerny focuses on tying in his previous work on the competition state into a discussion of how its policies and development are overdetermined by network activity taking place at a global level. He also explores at length Foucault's concept of governmentality as a reference point for conceptualising the complex relationship between the networks of neo-pluralist activity he identifies, which form a superstructure of global governance, and the formally independent national governments responsible for steering the application of regulation and public policy on the ground. The result is a spectrum of national variants of neo-liberalism, with more or less social variants.

Part III considers the implications of this for world politics. Cerny portrays global politics as currently in a state of flux with a number of possible outcomes, but the Foucauldian discussions in Part II underpin an expectation of continued governance without government beyond the state.

Those looking for answers to where we are heading might be disappointed at the lack of a clear outcome.

However, this is an important and readable book for those seeking a coherent overview of a complex field that brings the relationship between domestic policy changes and global political activity into sharper focus, and sets out to understand better not just that there are networks out there in the Slaughterian sense, but that those networks favour specific economic and social policy choices worldwide.

Shawn Donnelly
(University of Twente, the Netherlands)

Multinational Military Intervention: NATO Policy, Strategy and Burden Sharing by **Stephen J. Cimbala and Peter K. Forster**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 233pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 1 4094 0228 2

Stephen Cimbala and Peter Forster set out to explain how member states of the NATO alliance distribute burdens in multinational military interventions. The authors attempt to present a wider definition of burden sharing than the previous literature, going beyond calculations of direct financial and operational military contributions to include other political, economic and military burdens that states take on in the course of military interventions. The primary argument is that NATO burden distribution is determined by the extent to which each member's vital interests are at stake in a given crisis. The key area of burden sharing is the distribution of risk, which represents the willingness of each state to take casualties in combat.

The authors examine five case studies of military cooperation between NATO states (though not necessarily NATO operations): Lebanon in 1982–4, the 1991 Gulf War, the Balkans, Afghanistan and nuclear proliferation. Each case study outlines the crisis and the response of NATO members, and provides a description of the distribution of burdens, in most cases paying particular attention to political burdens, such as generating domestic support and leadership challenges in the alliance.

The book's approach is useful in that it identifies and explains a number of seldom discussed burdens for states involved in multinational military operations, which provides for a wider theoretical view of the costs and benefits that alliances must determine how to share prior to embarking on a military expedition. The authors waver, however, between examining the reasons for why states intervene, based on collective action theory, and how states share the costs of the intervention. The

theoretical confusion leads to uneven analysis in the cases studied, as it often seems that each case is based on different theoretical questions. The case selection is also problematic. While the book is about NATO burden sharing, only two of the five cases deal with NATO operations, and the fifth case, nuclear proliferation, is difficult to justify as a military intervention.

Cimbala and Forster's book is primarily useful for its chapters on NATO disputes in the Balkans and Afghanistan, where the empirical aspects are well developed. The uneven nature of the theoretical analysis, however, means that the book falls short of being an innovative contribution to the literature on NATO burden sharing. It is also problematic in that the book does not discuss NATO as an organisation, preferring instead to focus on relations between the United States and European allies.

Christopher Griffin
(Université de Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle)

Responsibility to Protect: The Global Moral Compact for the 21st Century by **Richard H. Cooper and Juliette Voinov Kohler (eds)**. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 288pp., £42.50, ISBN 978 0230609020

What the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) means has become increasingly clearer and debates about its core tenets are now largely redundant. Nonetheless, questions about its utility remain. References to R2P now pepper Security Council resolutions and the earnest declarations of statesmen, but it is debatable whether this constitutes anything more than hortatory platitudes.

In *Responsibility to Protect: The Global Moral Compact for the 21st Century* Richard Cooper and Juliette Kohler have collected an impressive array of contributions which for the most part avoid the all too common 'isn't-R2P-a-great-idea' type of offering that rarely goes beyond banal, moralistic exhortations. Many of the contributors acknowledge their support for R2P but offer an unflinching analysis of the obstacles to its realisation and an acknowledgement that for all the publicity surrounding it, R2P has a long way to go before it can be deemed to constitute an effective norm in international relations. As Cooper and Kohler argue, 'the major stumbling blocks ... have not been lifted' (p. 248).

While Gareth Evans advances his standard emotive appeal for better behaviour, other contributors offer

constructive critiques which tackle head on the major obstacles facing R2P. Cherif Bassiouni offers a superb analysis of the structural limitations within the international legal architecture which militate against the enforcement of R2P: 'Legal experience', he warns, 'demonstrates that the enunciation of rights without concomitant remedies are pyrrhic pronouncements, and that remedies without enforcement are empty promises' (p. 41). Susan Mayer similarly argues: 'without major changes in the UN, R2P will go the way of the genocide Convention' (p. 56) while Lee Feinstein and Erica De Bruin caution against imagining that increased rhetorical support for R2P constitutes grounds for celebration (p. 189). Pace, Deller and Chhatpar perhaps capture the dilemma most succinctly: 'The promise of R2P will have failed if governments begrudgingly admit that such a commitment exists, only to resist its application to specific conflicts' (p. 225). There are a number of excellent case studies which add further evidence of the limited application of R2P and while certain contributors advance the argument that global civil society can pressurise states into acting in the interests of suffering strangers, this idealism is countered by others, such as William Schulz, who, though not fatalistic, point to limitations of this strategy (p. 146).

The book's general focus on practical prescriptions based on realistic assessments makes a refreshing change from the many earnest, idealistic and ultimately unhelpful exhortations that dominate the literature. This edited collection constitutes a significant addition to the literature on R2P and is essential reading for anyone interested in this important topic.

Aidan Hehir
(University of Westminster)

Ethnic Conflict by **Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff**. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009. 232pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 7456 3931 4

In their well-written new book, Cordell and Wolff investigate the causes, consequences and responses to ethnic conflict in the modern world. The book is subdivided into two short introductory chapters followed by Part I, which presents theories of ethnic conflict and develops a framework for understanding the causes, and Part II, which analyses responses to ethnic conflict. Based on an examination of theories – insecurity, 'greed', social-psychological motivations –

and acknowledging the international dimension, the authors offer a synthesis; a 'multi-level analysis of the phenomenon'. Cordell and Wolff believe that 'ethnic conflicts are not natural disasters that simply happen, but that they are man-made; that is, they are the consequences of deliberate choices made by individual human beings, be they leaders or followers', and which are grounded in people's motivations (p. 44). They extract their framework from various heterogeneous cases drawn from Georgia, Rwanda and the Philippines to illuminate ethnic conflict as a function of motive, means and opportunity of the protagonist. They then analyse the conflict in Macedonia, applying the 'prism of the level-of-analysis approach' to a number of factors and actors involved (p. 70). The authors conclude that these cases 'are all in some way as different from one another as they are similar' (p. 75).

In Part II Cordell and Wolff examine a wide range of different approaches to ethnic conflict. They also attempt to explain the success and failure of international conflict regulation, followed by a chapter devoted to international intervention with cases from Burma, Congo, Sudan and Kosovo. Next the authors present actual conflict settlement in theory and practice, followed by a description of violent 'alternatives' to consensual conflict settlement (pp. 171ff.), including genocide, forced assimilation and ethnic cleansing. The main conclusion of the book is: 'what we developed conceptually, and found empirically, is that the motives, means and opportunities of the immediate conflict parties are dependent upon a wide range of factors at the local, state, regional and global level', and that these factors and their interplay have to be examined in order to understand differences and similarities between ethnic conflicts. Cordell and Wolff conclude that 'settling ethnic conflict is a continuous challenge in war-torn societies, and post-conflict reconstruction is a complex yet necessary task that is integral to the successful settlement of any conflict' (p. 196).

Although they analyse several approaches to conflict regulation, the authors do not mention a tool which, to a certain degree, has proved to be successful in settling or at least containing ethnic conflict in Europe: namely, plebiscites after 1918.

The strength of the book is that it covers ethnic conflict as a global phenomenon. However, it might be disputed whether the anatomy of ethnic conflict is necessarily the same in Africa as in Asia or Europe. Finally,

it is odd that the issue of the Roma minorities is hardly addressed at all. Nevertheless, Cordell and Wolff have written an interesting book on the issue, which contributes to the further development of the field.

Jorgen Kuhl
(A. P. Moller Skolen, Schleswig, Germany)

The Liberal Way of War: Killing to Make Life Live by **Michael Dillon and Julian Reid**. London: Routledge, 2009. 196pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 0 415-95300-9

Using the work of Michel Foucault on bio-politics as a starting point, Dillon and Reid analyse the liberal rule and way of war in the context of the information age and argue that these are changing and must be reinterpreted. Instead of the traditional focus on individual rights and economics, liberal (security) strategies now take as a new point of departure the reproduction and protection of life (the human species being the referent for security – think of human security and humanitarian interventions for example). These strategies include waging wars to make life live, but go much beyond to encompass the control of life at the individual level (including molecular, through the informationalisation of life).

To the authors, realist or liberal internationalist accounts of the international system are not plausible explanations for the violent or controlling behaviour of liberal democracies today; but the pathologies of liberal bio-politics are. Their insights offer a valuable framework for understanding the changing nature of liberal security discourses, but this does not account well for the variations between liberal regimes or for non-liberal polities. Arguably, statesmen who decide to wage war may have another referent for security than the human species, and modern history consistently shows that they do. Greed, ambition and access do often act as more powerful referents than making life live.

Providing a thoughtful post-structural critique of the liberal way of war, this is a book that should be read. Unfortunately, its unnecessarily complex prose – which is at times impenetrable to anyone unfamiliar with abstract philosophical concepts – too often detracts from the centrality of the argument. More careful editing of the text would have provided greater clarity and made it more accessible to those who are unfamiliar with the complex intricacies of debates in political philosophy.

Further, the argument could be of great interest to practitioners, if only it were more accessible and devoid of jargon. While it is important to address academic colleagues thoughtfully, explanations and theories that can hardly reach those in the 'real world' of policy making – no matter how coherent, interesting or illuminating – run the risk of never being exploited beyond the narrow confine of the academic world. And that, at times, is detrimental to the building of a better world.

Stéphane Lefebvre
(Defence R&D Canada)

The Power of Words in International Relations: Birth of an Anti-whaling Discourse by **Charlotte Epstein**. London: MIT Press, 2008. 333pp., £16.95, ISBN 978 0 262 55069 7

Charlotte Epstein's highly accessible and theoretically innovative book is not (quite) about anti-whaling discourse. Certainly, the book is rich in analysis of the discourses that brought about the relatively recent hegemony of anti-whaling discourse; but to say that this book is *only* about whaling would be a mistake. Rather, *The Power of Words in International Relations: Birth of an Anti-whaling Discourse* is a book about discourses. Using global discourses about whaling and anti-whaling during the twentieth century as a case study, this book explores how discourses are made, how a variety of discourses emanating within states, activists, popular culture and policy makers interlock, and how these discourses reproduce images that constrain and make possible international actions. In sum, this is a book about the power of words in international relations.

Starting from the ambition of taking 'a critical step out of what the discourses actually say, in order to observe what they do' (p. 13), Epstein first investigates the power of the whaling order. She highlights that material interests are not as important as we might think they are to the decline of modern whaling. Drawing upon Foucault and Bourdieu, she undertakes a sophisticated analysis of how whaling practice reinforced a conceptualisation of a sovereign nation state contributing to a society of states modern enough to organise whaling activities successfully. Part II explores the creation of a doxa about anti-whaling, highlighting the effects of discursive power in welding together several meta-narratives which support the notion that whaling should be limited and even banned. The final part serves

to highlight how and why anti-whaling discourse has remained dominant, stressing the importance of image making in shaping a range of practices in international relations. Clearly structured and dripping in detail, it is easy to see why this book was the 2009 runner-up for the International Studies Association's Harold and Margaret Sprout Award for environmental studies.

Epstein's attempt to weave theory 'into the analysis of the case itself' (p. ix) is structurally ambitious, and while this is generally carried out quite well, there are moments of slippage. For instance, in Chapter 7, which details the development of anti-whaling campaigns, the reader is left wanting more elaboration on the theoretical point being made in the chapter. Nevertheless, this small criticism does not detract from the overall power of the book, which is of use to scholars concerned with environmental politics, discourse analysis, NGOs and international institutions.

Laura McLeod
(University of Manchester)

Rethinking Realism in International Relations: Between Tradition and Innovation by **Annette Freyberg-Inan, Ewan Harrison and Patrick James (eds)**. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 305pp., £15.50, ISBN 978 0 8018 9286 8

Tracing its origins (at least) to the writings of Thucydides, realism has come to be perceived as the cornerstone of the discipline of international relations. The stature of the realist tradition has allowed it to dominate not only the ivory towers of academe, but also the bunkers and boardrooms of applied foreign policy making. Many commentators have noted, however, that the end of the Cold War undermined the supremacy of realist thought in the observation of world affairs. Apart from failing to anticipate the fairly peaceful implosion of the 'evil empire' of the former Soviet Union, contrary to realist dogma in the post-Cold War era it was intra-national affairs that became increasingly anarchic, while the pattern of international interactions turned out to be generally marked by order.

Thus, a plethora of post-positivist and critical approaches sprang up to fill in the alleged analytical gaps in realist ratiocination. At the same time, realist scholars themselves began a soul-searching exploration into recalibrating the realist canon to match the

changed realities. In this setting, the volume edited by Freyberg-Inan *et al.* offers a timely and much-needed outline of the current state of the art in the realist conversation. On the one hand, the collection addresses the uncertainty surrounding the continuing relevance of realism for explaining and understanding global life. On the other, it offers a primer of the various pathways that realism might take.

The volume is divided into three distinct sections. The first one details the analytical innovations in the realist paradigm. The theoretical overview attests to the ongoing resilience and adaptation of the realist framework. The second part of the volume illuminates the way contemporary realist thinking grapples with the complexity of global life. The contributors to this section offer analyses of the practical application of realist propositions to current problems. Finally, the third part of the volume offers an ontological and epistemological reflection on the content and practices of the realist paradigm.

This collection provides a competent overview of the considerations currently animating the realist conversation. Such a valuable contribution to the study of world politics would benefit both the student and practitioner of international relations. The editors' knack in bringing together such a wide range of perspectives, positions and ideas, coupled with their skill in reflecting critically on their various implications, makes this endeavour both rare and extremely worthwhile. The volume will therefore be very useful to anyone dealing with or interested in the contemporary realist take on global life.

Emilian Kavalski
(University of Western Sydney)

The Legal Foundations of Inequality: Constitutionalism in the Americas, 1776–1860 by **Roberto Gargarella**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 273pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 521 19502 7

Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China by **Turan Kayaoğlu**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 237pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 521 76591 6

As the rule of law has become an increasingly fraught area of global politics [cf. pages 357–365 in this issue], so

political scientists might profitably familiarise themselves more closely with legal history. Unless we are to adopt mistakenly the ahistorical view of law as merely a technical mode of governance, then legal history can tell us much about the rule of law as it currently obtains. The difficulty is which account(s) of law's multifaceted history are likely to be useful to the contemporary study of politics and which are less so. The temptation is to focus on the synthetic broad accounts (which is no criticism), such as the well-known histories by Harold Berman or Martti Koskenniemi. However, detailed treatments of particular periods or jurisdictions may also offer insights useful to those seeking to contextualise and historicise our current valorisation of the rule of law. The two books under review here examine particular issues of legal history, but in exploring them they offer something of interest to contemporary political analysis.

Roberto Gargarella examines the early political history of constitutionalism in the Americas, seeking to understand how an early legal commitment to egalitarianism was undermined and betrayed. Given the (now global) influence of American constitutionalism (criticised at length by authors such as Stephen Gill), Gargarella's book offers a picture of the early shape of that influence. Constructing his history as a tripartite struggle between radical, conservative and liberal constitutionalism, the author presents a detailed description of the debates in the century following the Revolutionary Constitution of 1776. For Gargarella, the history of radical constitutionalism is one of relative failure; however, although the political intent of the radicals was largely frustrated, they did prompt and spur discussion of forms of legal governance that would become increasingly influential. Indeed, this move towards a view of law that supports radical ends, against monarchies and other ruling groups, itself produced a reaction in the form of a conservative constitutionalism. This counter-movement was built on elitism, moral certainty and a culturally centred notion of tradition, rejecting Enlightenment notions of rights. In Gargarella's assessment this undermined equality and as such impeded political economic development across the Americas. However, in those countries that managed to find a middle way – Gargarella's liberal constitutionalism – this detrimental impact was largely avoided. This leads the author to reflect on the egalitarian promise of radical constitutionalism during the late eighteenth and

early nineteenth centuries in the Americas, and to conclude that while liberalism was able to fulfil some of the early radical promise of constitution building, it would take an extra-legal political move towards democracy actually to establish liberal constitutions across the continent.

Turan Kayaoğlu's book focuses on an altogether different issue: the assertion of extraterritorial sovereignty by imperial powers in the nineteenth century, and what it illuminates about the history of sovereignty more generally in international relations. Understanding sovereignty as an initially European construct, the author assesses the expansion of extraterritorial legal imperialism as the extension of power at the expense of putative non-Western territorial sovereignty. However, as this history reveals, such extraterritoriality was neither stable nor uncontested. However, as legal systems started to resemble (through reorganisation) the European or Western model of legality (or rule of law), the 'need' to exercise extraterritorial sovereignty to ensure legal structures that delivered ends regarded as justified and legitimate by European states faded. As this suggests, subject states swapped one legal imperialism (that of the extraterritorial courts) for another (reform into a Westernised notion of the rule of law). The author balances a general account of the subject with three case studies across the nineteenth century and early twentieth century intended to illuminate this argument: Japan, the Ottoman Empire and China. Most usefully, the conclusion carefully analyses how these issues can still be detected in the current politics of American law beyond the borders of the United States itself. Sadly, while suggestive, the conclusion leaves the reader wanting to see a little more clearly where Kayaoğlu takes us, for instance, in the debates around the legalisation of global politics. However, overall this is a concise presentation of a historically grounded argument about sovereignty's emergence and articulation which will repay careful reading, and will undoubtedly be of interest to a wide range of scholars of international relations.

Thus, of the two, Kayaoğlu's book is perhaps the more important to read; it offers a number of further developments in a field of work that has focused the minds of many, most obviously those writers working from some form of English School perspective (as the endorsements by Richard Little and Hendrik Spruyt

attest). Nevertheless, Gargarella's book also presents an interesting historical period, where American constitutionalism was already establishing its regional influence, and as such it usefully complements accounts that discuss such an influence in the last 50 years. While not a vital purchase for those interested in Gill's 'new constitutionalism', Gargarella's book will offer some useful historical context to ensure their analyses do not remain too present-centred; Kayaoğlu's book should become a touchstone for contemporary discussions of sovereignty.

Christopher May
(Lancaster University)

The Dead Hand: Reagan, Gorbachev and the Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race by **David E. Hoffman**. London: Icon Books, 2011. 576pp., £20.00, ISBN 978 184831230 2

David Hoffman is an investigative reporter, former Editor of the *Washington Post*, who knows his subject and the archives and the land of the former Soviet Union to such an extent that he is able expertly to weave together a detailed chronicle of the Cold War through the eyes of the American and, especially, Soviet Cold Warriors involved.

Reporter that he is, this is a book written for general readers in the style of a ripping yarn as he turns from the sudden outbreak of anthrax sickness – and its cover-up – in a secret town run by the Soviet military for the development of chemical weapons to the famous defection by Oleg Gordievsky; from the unexpected and uncontainable explosion at Chernobyl in April 1986 to the improbable friendship between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev as they each realised that there was no future to the arms race or, indeed, to the planet should the stockpiling of nuclear warheads continue.

The details are fascinating and the first chapters immerse the reader in the web of Cold War mentalities on both sides of the divide. We are given insights into Ronald Reagan's deep dislike and distrust of the Soviet Union, but also his heartfelt desire to remove the threat of nuclear Armageddon from the world. We learn that the Soviet apparatchiks had an intense distrust of the Americans and the West and continued to develop biological weapons after the treaty to stop doing so in 1973, because they sincerely believed that

the Americans would do the same. And we learn that they also believed in a first strike from the US because of an emotional fear of invasion born of two such attacks, first from Napoleon in 1812 and then Hitler in 1941.

The style is polished, the content authoritative and the attention to detail staggering to the point of overload: we are told, for example, that when Gorbachev telephoned the dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov in December 1986 to give him permission to return from exile to Moscow, the latter was sitting watching television with his wife (p. 278). But this is a minor quibble and perhaps inevitable, given the author's meticulous research in the US and Russia, talking to veterans of the achingly slow negotiations, those who worked in the poorly designed and crumbling research facilities in the Soviet Union, personal advisers to Reagan and Gorbachev, and high-ranking officials in their respective administrations. No stone is left unturned.

Two elements stand out in the narrative thread which will make this book a fascinating and useful read for scholars of international relations, despite its style intended for a lay audience: the continuing nightmare of global destruction now that the Soviet Union has gone while its hidden stockpiles of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons remain; and the important role of individuals in dictating often momentous events.

Take Gorbachev, for example, the joint architect of the nuclear disarmament programme: what would have happened if his predecessor, Yuri Andropov, had not 'showed the wisdom of a true "tsar", finding Gorbachev and dragging him out of the provinces' (p. 238) to take high office? And what could have been the consequences when, in September 1983 and not long after the shooting down of a Korean Airlines flight by Soviet planes, the missile defence unit outside Moscow picked up a red alert of nuclear missiles en route from the US to the Soviet Union, if one intensely brave official had not decided (correctly) to overrule the alert as a computer error and tell the Kremlin it was a false alarm (p. 11)? The potential alternative chain of events truly does not bear thinking about.

Rene Bailey
(University of Nottingham)

The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of Science and Its Implications for the Study of World Politics by **Patrick Thaddeus Jackson**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 268pp., £23.99, ISBN 978 0 415 77627 1

Whether international relations can be studied scientifically, and what it means if it can, cuts right to the foundation of what IR is and can be. In the murk of debates about 'science' versus 'tradition', 'explaining' versus 'understanding', 'critical' versus 'problem-solving' theory and 'quantitative' versus 'qualitative' methods, several interconnected but distinct controversies in IR research have, unfortunately, been thrown in together. The result has been interesting, but may have reached a point of diminishing returns. That is why Patrick Jackson's book, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations*, should be required reading. The book clarifies these debates and positions them clearly within the philosophy of science, while making an engaging and refreshing argument for engaged pluralism.

The book begins by analysing the status and definition of science with reference to IR. The task, for Jackson, is to define 'science' in such a way as to distinguish it from partisan political argument or artistic endeavour, while at the same time being broad enough not to exclude, by definitional fiat, significant bodies of IR scholarship. He begins with the simple truth that there is no consensus among philosophers of science as to what exactly defines 'science' and what can demarcate it from non-science. Instead, Jackson provides an ecumenical definition of science, which hinges on a systematic elaboration of conclusions from prior assumptions or claims, an openness to public criticism and an 'intention to produce worldly knowledge'.

Jackson's major innovation is to distinguish IR theories according to their 'philosophical ontologies', which results in a four-fold typology. He classifies these philosophical ontologies as neo-positivism, critical realism, analyticism and reflexivism. Each is then explicated in an individual chapter. A final chapter reiterates the central thesis: that in the absence of a consensus on the philosophical basis of scientific inquiry, IR needs to accept a diversity of opinions on what constitutes valid knowledge production, and to proceed to find ways meaningfully to contrast these divergent positions. At

times Jackson takes the liberty of some pretty heavy-going philosophical exegesis, but it is perhaps in the nature of such a book to have to stray rather far from bread and butter empirical IR research. The lively style helps to keep the reader engaged. This is a balanced and lucid account which, if it reaches the audience it deserves, will greatly improve the 'science' of IR, in all of its multiple and diverse forms.

Matthew Stephen
(Social Science Research Centre, Berlin)

Securing Freedom in the Global Commons by **Scott Jasper (ed.)**. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. 293pp., £18.95, ISBN 978 0 8047 7011 8

Securing Freedom in the Global Commons is the first book-length study of security throughout the 'global commons'; that is, the maritime commons, international airspace, outer space and cyberspace, while Antarctica is explicitly excluded. Thus the focus is on those parts of the global commons that are most important for international trade, communications and connectivity, and for strategic purposes. The volume is timely, as freedom and security in the commons are increasingly under pressure from certain states, terrorism and such illegal activity as (maritime) piracy and cyber crime.

The book consists of thirteen concise chapters (216 pages of text) and is divided into three parts: the global security environment ('determinants of security'); challenges to freedom in the commons; and support structures for 'thinking across commons'. A common theme throughout the book is the growing interconnectedness between the four domains listed above. In particular, exploitation of the maritime and air commons, especially strategically, is increasingly reliant upon secure access to space and the ever more ubiquitous cyberspace. The book is explicitly US-centric, with all the authors either serving in the US military or working in the American military education or defence industry sectors. Perhaps as a consequence some chapters reek more of US doctrine or policy than academic analysis.

Although the introductory chapter attempts, correctly, to distinguish between the global commons and the total extent of the four geophysical domains (for example, the seas are far more extensive than just those parts beyond the sovereignty of coastal states that make

up the maritime commons, or 'international waters'), some chapters are rather casual in their application of this point. James Kraska's succinct chapter on the relevant 'indistinct' legal regimes suffers no such confusion, though, while the chapters on sea control and cyberspace control are also highlights. Strangely, given the book's focus, the chapter on ballistic missile defence offers only a general overview of the topic, with but a single sentence dedicated to China's development of an anti-ship ballistic missile intended to restrict US freedom in the maritime commons of East Asia.

Although a useful first effort, this book is not entirely successful in providing a truly integrated assessment of strategic freedom in the global commons. Kraska's concluding argument linking security in the commons to the maintenance of a liberal world order could perhaps have been profitably pursued throughout as the book's conceptual glue. It is hoped that further, and better, books on this topic will follow.

Chris Rahman
(Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security, University of Wollongong)

'More than an Ally': Contemporary Australia-US Relations by **Maryanne Kelton**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 238pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7367 5

Maryanne Kelton's book examines the policy approach of the Australian Conservative government of John Howard (1996 to 2007) to its major ally, the United States. Her starting point is Howard's election campaign promise of 1996 to turn away from Labor's multilateral and regional focus and to upgrade the bilateral alliance with the US. Kelton emphasises Howard's mediation of the international and domestic challenges the government faced (interpreted as threats) while seeking to survive electorally. The book aims to analyse how and why the Howard government sought to upgrade the alliance relationship, and to assess the results of those efforts.

To do so, Kelton employs seven case studies of engagement with the US, ranging from trade issues (the Howe leather dispute of the late 1990s, Australian engagement with the biotechnology and pharmaceutical industry, the steel tariffs of 2002-3 and the Australia-US Free Trade Agreement signed in 2004) to security-related issues (the 1999 East Timor interven-

tion, the *Collins* class submarine project and Australia's involvement in the Iraq War). By using a range of case studies broader than the usual focus on purely security alliance-related issues, Kelton clearly demonstrates the challenges faced by the Howard government as it sought leverage through the perceived similarity of culture and values for substantive gain in the consideration of Australia's interests.

Kelton's conclusion is clear that, as the minor power in the bilateral relationship, Australia's interests came second where they came into conflict with US domestic interests. As demonstrated by several of the trade dispute case studies, even the Howard government was eventually forced to retreat from bilateral negotiation with the US to the cover of the multilateral international rules-based system. However, when interests do converge, such as in the East Timor case study, the assistance of the great power can be very useful.

As the conclusion shows, even the Bush/Howard relationship – surely the closest between two leaders of the alliance partners for many years – was unable to ensure priority for Australian interests. Kelton concludes that Australian and US interests need to coincide to ensure reciprocity, no matter how much enthusiasm one side may feel for the other.

Kelton's book is a useful addition to work on the Australia–US alliance because of its broad range of case studies that demonstrate the Howard government's efforts to prioritise and 'upgrade' the relationship. The case studies show clearly the effort the Howard government committed to the alliance relationship and the tangible return those efforts achieved.

Lucy Roberts
(University of Western Australia)

The Puzzles of Politics: Inquiries into the Genesis of Transformation of International Relations by **Friedrich Kratochwil**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 288pp., £25.99, ISBN 978 0 415 58102 8

Friedrich Kratochwil's contribution to the discipline of international relations is quite unique. He is one of the most important pioneers in constructivism and one of the very few IR scholars able to cross the disciplinary boundaries separating international relations, international law, philosophy, political and social theory, and language. His *On Rules, Politics and Knowl-*

edge (2010) shed significant light on to the way in which norms, knowledge and international relations related to one another. *The Puzzles of Politics* is a collection of Kratochwil's journal articles and book chapters plus one conference paper. Some of these pieces are less well known, though not less important, because his constructivist approach stands in opposition to a positivist understanding of social science upon which US mainstream constructivism is premised. Kratochwil has written an introduction/intellectual biography for the book which elucidates the specific context in which his writings and his framework are placed.

The volume comprises four parts. Part I is entitled 'defining the approach' and Part II is 'writings on international law'. The third section addresses epistemology. In his work Kratochwil tackled the great debates in international relations and questioned US conventional constructivists who privilege epistemology (what one knows) over ontology (what exists). His criticism of mainstream constructivism is particularly pertinent, and his concern is to liberate constructivism from positivism. A decade ago Kratochwil observed that 'the "reasonable middle ground" that emerges from [Alexander] Wendt's engagement with unreconstituted Waltzian realists, with the somewhat disoriented political scientists of the mainstream, and with rational choice believers, might actually succeed in becoming the new orthodoxy' (p. 154). His words of warning rang true. Part IV of the book deals with 'drawing boundaries: the inter/external and the private/public nexus'. These articles reflect the author's intellectual career spanning three decades.

There are, however, a few minor issues with Chapter 8, 'Constructing a New Orthodoxy' (pp. 153–80). First, Kratochwil mistakes Wendt, a self-declared scientific realist whose avowedly positivist approach to social and political studies was well known, for a scientific realist. Consequently, Kratochwil's critique of scientific realism is a bit misdirected. Second, according to John Searle, scientific realism is a type of ontological position that does not impose specificity concerning what theories should look like, nor does it imply one correct representation of reality. Kratochwil does not substantially draw upon the philosophy of social science in this piece or spell out that both constructivism and positivism are anti-realist in orientation. Despite this, the book is written in an accessible way and it provides

important insights into international law, constructivism and international relations.

Shih-Yu Chou
(University of Sheffield)

Causes of War by **Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson**. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. 281pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 1 4051 7559 3

Despite Thucydides' statement that 'we must realize that war is inevitable',¹ the discipline of international relations has arisen in response to the need to prevent wars. Looking at the phenomenon of war from many angles, Jack Levy and William Thompson examine some of the leading theories of both inter-state war and civil war.

For the authors, the question of the causes of war is one of great complexity. To answer this question, the book is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter provides an introduction to the study of war, answering questions about what war is and how it should be analysed. The authors define war as 'sustained, coordinated violence between political organizations'. In the following chapters the book attempts to examine different levels of analysis about the causes of war, showing that 'level-of-analysis framework is not a theory of war but instead a typology of the causes of war' (p. 14). The 'level-of-analysis' scheme itself consists of four levels: system level, dyadic or interaction level, state and societal level and decision-making level, and this last again contains two sub-levels, namely individual level and organisation level. For each level of analysis, the authors have summarised the leading theories and supplied some historical examples.

Causes of War thus represents a basic reference text which analyses the causes of war through a theoretical approach and so contributes to the literature of IR theory. The authors' use of dyadic or interaction level provides a totally novel treatment of the idea of studying war, reflecting the bilateral interactions between pairs of states that distinguish between the international system and various regional systems nested within it. Overall, this is a book of great breadth in its dimensions with regard to war and its related causes, and it provides a plausible analysis of such causes along with a compelling depiction of them. The book's main strength is that it articulates so many causes of war within a multi-level analysis framework. However, despite offer-

ing some strong arguments regarding the causes of war, it is also a book with its own limitations in the methodology for testing such theories.

In summary, this book can be considered as a useful source specifically for international relations students and researchers, and it may also be of interest for scholars, policy makers and strategists.

Note

1 *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Heinemann, 1956, p. 253.

Alireza Rezaei
(Islamic Azad University, Hamedan, Iran)

International Political Economy: Contrasting World Views by **Raymond C. Miller**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. 274pp., £22.99, ISBN 978 0 415 38409 4

The number of textbooks in the field of international or global political economy has increased substantially in the last couple of years. Raymond Miller's new book is a further addition to this increasingly competitive market. The book is structured around three contrasting world views of IPE: first, the free market; second, institutionalism; and third, Marxism and historical materialism. Following an introduction, one chapter is dedicated to each of the three theoretical explanations and is followed by another chapter applying the ideas to real-world events and examples. The book concludes with a summary and review.

The quality of the book comes from the outstanding organisation of a vast range of ideas. It is easy to read and the widespread use of detailed contemporary illustrations, which are matched up to the three contrasting world views, make it seem fresh. Review questions at the end of each section summarise the content covered and as the book progresses and new ideas are introduced they are compared with the theories explored earlier. Another excellent feature is the series of tables which present a snapshot of how particular ideas are related.

Unlike other recent IPE titles, the book is not concerned with deep and meaningful intellectual debate to redefine what IPE now means in terms of different disciplinary foci or to justify the use of multidisciplinary methodologies. It does not attempt to provide an extensive critique of one particular literature or present an application of IPE ideas into new contexts using new

research findings. Nor does it try to explain how IPE means different things in different parts of the world.

Experienced scholars of IPE will already be familiar with much of the material that Miller includes. One unique feature of the book is the 'multi-centric organizational' school of thought which is a label that the author has given to a familiar bundle of institutionalist ideas including the work of Veblen and Polanyi and the more recent work of Galbraith. This approach works very well, although you do not have to buy into all of Miller's terminology or classifications completely to appreciate the clarity they provide.

This is an excellent book for students, and the range of content covered is impressive; thus it would be of relevance to a substantial proportion of many IPE courses. The strongest feature is the high quality of the writing combined with balanced and fair scholarship, making it ideal for undergraduates; but it could also be used by postgraduates alongside more advanced reading.

Andrew Steven Gunn
(University of Leeds)

Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: Ethics and Liberal Democracy by **Seumas Miller**. Oxford: Blackwell, 2008. 222pp., £15.99, ISBN 978 1 4051 3943 4

In a historical context that is marked both by the rise of terrorism and the decline of (the faith in) the role of philosophical reason in politics, Seumas Miller's book, suggestively covered by a reprint of Goya's *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*, calls back philosophical reasoning for the treatment of the questions concerning terrorism and counter-terrorism with the intention of informing public policies in relation to these questions.

The book consists of seven chapters. By surveying cases such as al-Qa'eda, the IRA, the ANC and Hamas, Chapter 1 provides an overview of contemporary terrorism and counter-terrorism as they pertain to liberal democratic states. Chapter 2 develops a politically sensitive definition of terrorism which takes into account whether the regime targeted is a liberal democratic or authoritarian or even totalitarian one. Chapter 3 follows the implications of this definition in terms of the question of moral justification of some forms of terrorism. The conclusion Miller draws is that there are certain forms of violent action, for example killing

non-violent human rights violators such as the political leaders or security personnel of totalitarian states, which should be considered either as non-terrorist acts or as morally justified acts of terrorism. Chapters 4 and 5 elaborate the idea that there are two basic frameworks to counter-terrorism. In the context of well-ordered non-totalitarian states at peace, a 'terrorism-as-crime framework' is to be applied. That is, the actors of terrorist acts are to be subjected to a criminal justice process analogous to that of ordinary criminals. In the context of the theatre of war, a 'terrorism-as-war framework' is to be applied. Thereby, terrorists are treated as unlawful war combatants and their fundamental rights such as 'rights to life' and 'rights to freedom' are put at stake. Chapter 6 deals with the question of torture as an instrument of counter-terrorism. The upshot is that one-off acts of torture in extreme emergencies might be morally justified while the routine use and legalisation of torture are not acceptable. The last chapter discusses the contemporary dilemma that advances in biological sciences might be used to develop weapons of mass destruction by terrorist organisations. Miller argues for a middle-course approach between perilous all-permissiveness and the impeding censorship of scientific activities.

Although one might disagree with Miller's positions on particular issues, his book is seminal in its suggestion of re-establishing the political role of philosophical reason for dealing with the problems of our age.

Mehmet Ruhi Demiray
(Middle East Technical University Turkey)

The Problem of Force: Grappling with the Global Battlefield by **Simon W. Murden**. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2009. 233pp., £48.95, ISBN 978 1 58826 649 1

In *The Problem of Force*, Simon Murden offers a sweeping, yet parsimonious, analysis of the use of force in the context of the 'war on terror' unleashed by the United States in the aftermath of 9/11. In doing so, he seeks to explain why the use of force by the United States against insurgents in Afghanistan and against the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein failed to engineer a desired end state and defeat al-Qa'eda. He argues that the failures of the United States can be attributed to its misunderstanding of the changing nature of warfare, now characterised by what he calls the *glocal* insurgency

(‘a global-level mission and movement, locally networked and conducted’, p. 2). To succeed eventually against such an insurgency, Murden considers it essential to have a deep knowledge and understanding of the insurgents’ social network and of the complex social settings. He further argues that, aside from the necessary use of force to ensure security, any resolution of a *local* conflict necessitates a winning of the hearts and minds (through reconstruction, reconciliation and assimilation) and the development of an effective system for long-term governance.

Using this triangular modelling, Murden’s narrative and analysis of the interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq convincingly show that neither of them were well conceived or executed, whether at the tactical, operational or operational-strategic levels. The war on terror started as a war of attrition, whereas what was needed was a more manoeuvrist approach which combined force with political-social-economic approaches applied more broadly.

Particularly insightful, in my opinion, are Murden’s concluding observations about the potential longer-term impact of the 2008–10 financial crisis on globalisation and, as a consequence, a reassertion of the organising power of the state. Should this trend be confirmed, it would affect the practice of war as we currently anticipate it by opening up new possibilities of inter-state, regional, limited and proxy wars. But as the global economy recovers and the United States remains pre-eminent militarily, ‘the forces of liberalizing globalization and its asymmetric discontents’ (p. 206) will likely continue to clash. Murden’s contribution is a useful addition to a growing body of work assessing the failures of the war on terror under President Bush which offers solid analytical insights into the use of force in asymmetric conflicts.

Stéphane Lefebvre
(Defence R&D Canada)

Deadlocks in Multilateral Negotiations: Causes and Solutions by **Amrita Narlikar (ed.)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 320pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0 521 13067 7

This book edited by Amrita Narlikar does not focus on understanding how agreements are achieved – unlike much of the literature on negotiation analysis – but rather on the problem of deadlocks that hinder

agreements being reached. The aim of the volume’s contributors is to investigate the causes of deadlocks and to find solutions for how they can successfully be broken.

The approach chosen by Narlikar is presented in the introductory chapter where the anatomy of deadlocks is examined. This includes applying a definition, a typology, six hypotheses explaining causes of deadlocks and six sets of solutions offered for breaking through them. This introduction is then followed by ten chapters which are divided into two parts. The first part consists of four chapters looking at theoretical and methodological insights covering various disciplines such as history, economics, political science, international relations and law. The remaining six chapters in the second part then function as empirical case studies covering a number of issue areas: trade negotiations (WTO and the Doha Development Agenda), US climate change negotiations, and security issues (UN Security Council and Kosovo negotiations). The book’s conclusion then outlines all the findings, revises the hypotheses and solutions and offers an agenda for future research.

At the start of the volume the Introduction offers a comprehensive account of the anatomy of deadlocks. The definition and typology are complemented with presentation of the levels of analysis (domestic or international) and the central actors involved. Novel here is the focus on multilateral negotiations, although the stated hypotheses are not so innovative. Nevertheless, the chapters comprehensively examine the way the hypotheses are applied in a number of cases, illustrating their role in the negotiation process and, more importantly, the actual outcome of this process. A definite asset of the book is the interdisciplinary exchange and the mixture of methodological approaches in the applied case studies, including game theory, liberal theory and institutionalist approaches.

This well-written book has a coherent structure and is exceptionally timely given the current deadlocks across various worldwide negotiations. Hence, this volume is of great value to practitioners and analysts involved in negotiation processes and to students and academics of the above-mentioned disciplines interested in understanding why multilateral deadlocks occur and how to resolve them.

Aukje Van Loon
(Ruhr University, Bochum, Germany)

Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene? by **James Pattison**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 284pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 19 956104 9

Those who advocate the 'Responsibility to Protect' often claim that its strength lies in its focus on the *rights of victims* rather than the *rights of interveners*. With this in mind, critics may question the need for a text that focuses solely on the question of who should intervene. Indeed, the author himself is aware of such a critique, yet he defends his position based on the premise that 'humanitarian intervention will sometimes be necessary' and when it is, we need to know: 'who has the right to intervene?' and 'who has the duty to intervene?' (pp. 12–3)

In addressing these questions, James Pattison presents an accomplished theoretical analysis which engages with debates on humanitarian intervention, international law, just war theory and institutional reform. However, it is the author's use of what he refers to as 'the Moderate Instrumentalist Approach' that lies at the heart of his thesis, and it is here where concerns arise. Essentially, the approach utilises the concept of legitimacy to assess which actors possess 'an adequate degree of legitimacy'. This is derived from the author judging the potential effectiveness of different actors in international relations so as to determine which actor is morally preferable. This then leads him to construct a 'legitimacy hierarchy' in which NATO sits at the apex of the pyramid, states and willing coalitions on the second tier, the UN on the third tier, regional organisations one below and finally private military companies at the bottom. (As Pattison acknowledges, a mix of these may be best.)

The idea that NATO stands as the most legitimate actor may concern many readers, and perhaps rightly so, for it is the author's vague understanding of legitimacy that provides a problematic analytical foundation. Pattison claims that a vague understanding is needed to aid flexibility, yet he fails to flesh out how his moral focus relates specifically to international law, and much more importantly, there seems to be a grave omission regarding the roles that consensus and power play in the construction of legitimate authority. One cannot help but feel that an entire chapter dedicated to the concept of legitimacy, and how it relates to the concept of *international* legitimacy, would

have aided the author's analytical grounding. At the same time, this conceptual concern should not detract from the fact that this book provides a specialised analysis of a highly important subject matter. Therefore, I would recommend this text to all those who want to take the debate surrounding humanitarian intervention – and the responsibility to protect – one step further.

Adrian Gallagher
(University of Sheffield)

Diplomatic Theory of International Relations by **Paul Sharp**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 339pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521 75755 3

Paul Sharp's contribution to the 'Cambridge Studies in International Relations' series is a work that examines international relations from the point of view of diplomatic practice, instead of the traditional method of looking at diplomacy through the lens of international relations. By understanding the context and tools of diplomacy we can gain a better understanding of what is essential in international relations.

The text is structured into four parts. In the first section, Sharp analyses three traditional approaches to international relations – the radical, rational and realist traditions – and argues that although they provide accounts of what drives diplomacy and the diplomats themselves, the internal context and tools of the practice are left a mystery. In the second chapter we find the heart of Sharp's argument: that international relations are best understood as relations of separateness. When diplomats find themselves wanting to engage and immerse within a culture in order to understand and work effectively with it at the same time as desiring to remain separated, they are in relations of separateness. These types of relationship with other groups are not exclusive to diplomacy; we find them in broader international relations and in human relations. Sharp explains that due to working within and with relations of separateness, the diplomats' goal is not to solve issues, but rather to manage relations in such a way that discussions of the issues at hand can persist. In the third section, Sharp asks whether international relations requires or presupposes diplomacy and diplomats and argues that while it does not, the nature of human relations brings it about quickly. In the final section of the book, Sharp applies his approach to what are argu-

ably some of the most difficult problems in international relations, what he calls the problems of rogue states, greedy companies, crazy religions and dumb publics.

This work offers an innovative way of looking at international relations from the starting point of diplomatic practice. As a result, the structure of this monograph is such that the reader might be best served by skipping the first part that discusses the inadequacies of other theories and beginning at Sharp's substantive argument in the second section. The large-scale problems that international relations deal with necessitate a multiplicity of angles of observation.

Irene Ariño de la Rubia
(University of South Florida)

After the Globe, Before the World by **R. B. J. Walker**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009. 356pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 0 415 77903 6

R. B. J. Walker has been challenging and redefining the study of international affairs for over three decades now. His most recent monograph confirms his deep engagement with the current content and practices of international relations theory. The growing complexity of global life has questioned the validity of the Westphalian model. In particular, the proliferation of agency below and above the state level has encouraged commentators to look for new frameworks to explain and understand world affairs. Yet, as Walker insists, the mere substitution of the term 'international' with 'world' or 'global' politics will not suffice. Instead, one needs to delve into the meaning and lenses that these notions imply.

Walker's book thus offers a poignant exploration 'of what it means to distinguish between an international politics and a politics of the world and, once this distinction is enacted as an array of constitutive contradictions, to frame claims about political possibilities and impossibilities – about freedoms, necessities, equalities, securities, and sovereign authorities – that work by mobilizing accounts of political temporality promising to take us from one form of politics to the other, while insisting, for very good reasons, that the promise can never be kept' (p. 1).

Relying on his inimitable style, Walker takes his readers on a riveting journey into the meaning and

practices of politics in an increasingly complex and unpredictable global life. His intention is 'to open up a range of difficulties' that depict the international structure of contemporary political life 'less as an expression of spatial distinctions between competing sovereignties, than as an expression of claims about temporality and history enabling constitutive discriminations between those who belong within the world of the international and those who do not' (p. 99). In this context, according to Walker, political action rests on 'a specific array of contingent claims' that make possible the 'other ways of becoming otherwise in worlds that do not end where we have learnt to draw the line with such elegance, and with such violence' (p. 258).

Walker's monograph is, therefore, a must read for anyone passionate not merely about the theory, history and practice of world affairs, but also concerned with the meaning of the political in global interactions defined by turbulence. The original framework and sharp analysis exhibited by Walker make his work invaluable for the purposes of teaching, theorising and grasping the shifting patterns of contemporary political life.

Emilian Kavalski
(University of Western Sydney)

Getting Out: Historical Perspectives on Leaving Iraq by **Michael Walzer and Nicolaus Mills (eds)**. Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 158pp., £19.50, ISBN 978 0 8122 4216 4

In their seminal *Thinking in Time*, Richard Neustadt and Ernest May showed how history can be useful to decision makers. *Getting Out: Historical Perspectives on Leaving Iraq* takes historical examples and uses them to consider American disengagement from Iraq. The book is divided into two sections. The first contains pithy case studies of previous withdrawals, covering: Britain and the American colonies; the US and the Philippines; Britain and India; the US and Korea; France and Algeria; the US and Vietnam; and Israel and Gaza. It then considers how the US became embroiled in Iraq, and how to depart.

As Michael Walzer says in his introduction, 'Every withdrawal is managed, first of all, in the interests of

the soldiers and citizens of the imperial or occupying power' (p. 3). However, *Getting Out* succeeds in looking beyond this, focusing frequently on the moral dimension. This is especially evident in Rajeev Bhargava's assessment of the relative responsibility of the British government and the Indian National Congress for Britain's precipitate departure in 1947 and the violence that followed. Particular concern is shown for 'people who might be at risk if left behind' (p. 2), with Todd Shepard's description of the fate of the pro-French *pieds noirs* (of European origin) and *harkis* (Arab members of French self-defence units) in Algeria providing a harrowing example of the risks.

The main substance of the argument is found in the second section. It begins with an excellent essay by Nicolaus Mills on the effects of 9/11 on US society, illuminating the context in which the invasion of Iraq was launched. In terms of solutions, Brendan O'Leary forcefully advocates a federal structure based on the 2005 constitution, though working more closely with Turkey and especially Iran as suggested could prove problematic. O'Leary is also damning of the current Iraqi prime minister: 'For the United States to invest wholly in [Nuri al-] Maliki would be as foolhardy as investing with Bernard Madoff after the warning signals were evident' (p. 128). Few, however, would quibble when George Packer concludes that 'The best way to prevent Iraq returning to chaos is to leave slowly' (p. 142).

Getting Out is well written and accessible (even footnotes are absent – perhaps owing to the book's origins in the quarterly magazine *Dissent*). It manages both to illustrate how diverse historical examples can inform present-day decision making and to provide a concise introduction to the situation in Iraq with particular emphasis on moral issues.

Andrew Holt
(Loughborough University)

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

Comparative Politics

The Coordination of Public Sector Organizations: Shifting Patterns of Public Management by **Geert Bouckaert, B. Guy Peters and Koen Verhoest**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 326pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 230 24015 5

After several decades of public sector reform inspired more or less by the ideas of new public management, an increasing process of fragmentation with regard to institutions of government and bureaucracy has been observed. Increased autonomy and 'agencification' were meant to solve problems of political interference and efficiency, but they also created new ones. These problems are currently discussed in terms of deficient control and coordination from the centre, of government-wide targets and central guidance. This led to a need for better coordination and gave rise to a range of reaction patterns in order to balance the centrifugal tendencies of these autonomous units. Set against this background, this comparative study aims to identify the trajectories of centrifugal specialisation and coordination of national public sector organisations in seven selected countries: Belgium, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. The authors focus primarily on the coordination of public sector organisations and not on public-private cooperation or outsourcing mechanisms.

The first part of the book addresses the need to investigate causes, mechanisms and instruments under a renewed interest in the coordination of public sector organisations. Methodologically, the three basic mechanisms of coordination (that is, hierarchy-type, market-type and network-type) are introduced convincingly, although the selection of the seven national administrations chosen for study could have been justified more fully. The second (major) part offers thick descriptions of shifting patterns of public sector coordination in the selected countries between 1980 and 2005. During this period, the classification of phases is seen largely in parallel with different governments (cabinets). While this is a helpful strategy for breaking down the complexity of the material, it also raises the question of the (in)dependence of bureaucratic reform cycles from 'politics', that is, changing political majorities and objectives.

In the third part of the book the different 'movements' of reform phases are projected on to a two-dimensional graph along the axes of high/low levels of coordination and consolidation and high/low levels of organisational proliferation. The dynamics between the drive for specialisation and the need for coordination in the selected countries are visualised and discussed with the help of this two-dimensional graph. The book depicts a range of patterns of organisational coordination through market and network mechanisms and points to the use of renewed hierarchy-type mechanisms. For example, government-wide planning can improve coordination between public organisations. Moreover, it can help establish criteria in order to settle conflicts or to signal preferred approaches and shared resources which should facilitate cross-agency cooperation. In the final chapters, country-specific patterns relying on hierarchy, market and network types of coordination are discussed. However, the chapter explaining the different national patterns remains rather short, which indicates the lack of a more elaborated framework of causal analysis. For this reason, generalisation of results is rather limited. The merit of the book is primarily its in-depth, qualitative exploration and description of administrative reform patterns in the tension between specialisation and coordination in the selected countries.

Thomas Krumm
(University of Chemnitz)

Regulating Lobbying: A Global Comparison by **Raj Chari, John Hogan and Gary Murphy**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010. 196pp., £60.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 7937 5

This book is the first of its kind. It looks at regulation of lobbying globally in a comparative fashion, studying it both from a descriptive and an explanatory perspective. The authors give us a picture of the history and context of political systems that have lobbying regulations and then explore these forms of legislation. Concepts are defined clearly. Numerical values are given to political systems with regard to how stringent the regulations are, and a theoretical classification of the regulatory environments is provided. Next, the authors present the results obtained from surveys and elite interviews in order to understand the effectiveness and consequences of regulation.

The analysis shows that despite the existence of loopholes – even in the most strictly regulated political systems – as regulation becomes more robust, so transparency and accountability increase. The authors argue that the time and resources spent by interest groups in highly regulated systems is a trade-off for benefits such as legitimacy and better lobbying strategy. The book also tries to explain why non-regulated political systems have not embraced such forms of legislation and suggests that there is a considerable likelihood that political systems with no such legislation may see substantial changes in the future. Examples of the questionnaires have been provided at the end of the book for researchers looking for ideas on designing surveys for similar research, which also improves our knowledge of the issue.

The book is a brilliant example of the usefulness of combining quantitative and qualitative methods. Having obtained results from quantitative research, which enabled the authors to classify and make the first analysis, qualitative research allowed them to dig deeper into the subject to explain phenomena that emerged as worthy of exploration.

The authors argue that since their aim was not to conduct a large-N study, but just to provide an illustrative framework, it did not matter that they could not get enough responses to run a statistical analysis. However, this may raise doubts about the validity of the analyses in the book. Researchers should strive for effective statistical designs to improve our knowledge in this important field. Moreover, in-depth interviews should be conducted with more people from different parts of the globe, regardless of the kind of political system they come from, so that a balanced and strong analysis can be made. This book is a must read for students of lobbying and democratic governance, as well as interest groups, public administrators and politicians.

Direnç Kanol
(University of Siena)

Governing Ethnic Conflict: Consociation, Identity and the Price of Peace by **Andrew Finlay**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011. 151pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 49803 6

Andrew Finlay's *Governing Ethnic Conflict* represents both an attempt to trace the genealogy of

consociationalism as an approach to conflict management and a sustained critique of that approach. Drawing upon the now vast literature on consociationalism and on two case studies – Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina – Finlay outlines the intellectual history of this controversial yet popular mechanism of managing ethnic conflict, which he argues is predicated on an outmoded understanding of culture and ethnicity. He then develops an effective critique of its operation in his selected case studies.

Finlay seeks to go beyond what he terms the ‘old critique’ of consociationalism, which focuses on the ways in which it institutionalises and reifies antagonistic identities. Such a critique, Finlay argues, misses the point that the very aim of consociationalism is to make societies more plural as the basis for stable democracy. Utilising Foucault, Finlay argues that consociationalism is a form of liberal governmentality that seeks to ‘make ethnicity itself normative’ and to ‘close down the space for other ways of being’ (p. 10). His critique is all the more effective for drawing on powerful examples from the Northern Irish case, which has previously been held up as an example of a liberal consociation that supposedly does not assume predetermined identities, in contrast to the widely criticised corporate consociationalism practised in Bosnia.

Some readers will be disappointed by Finlay’s failure to articulate a clear alternative to consociational conflict management. He appears to reject transformationalist approaches on the grounds that they share consociationalists’ assumptions regarding ethnic pluralism and differ only in seeking to transform rather than institutionalise identities. Finlay instead offers a discussion of lessons of the Northern Irish labour movement of the mid-twentieth century and of the possibilities offered by dis-identification, but it is unclear what the wider applicability of these might be. Consociational institutions are often adopted during times of violence, when the belligerents whose demands they are adopted to satisfy possess the means to inflict widespread suffering. However strong the normative case against consociationalism may be, more attention clearly needs to be devoted to identifying practicable alternatives. On a more prosaic level, Finlay’s book suffers from his excessive use of direct, extended quotations, which take up a significant proportion of its relatively short length. While these are sometimes necessitated by the nature of the analysis, often they are employed where paraphrasing or

more selective quotation would be more appropriate. These criticisms aside, however, *Governing Ethnic Conflict* is a valuable addition to the ever-growing literature on consociationalism and deserves a wide readership.

Laurence Cooley
(University of Birmingham)

The Rise of Regionalism: Causes of Regional Mobilization in Western Europe by **Rune Dahl Fitjar**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009. 180pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 415 49475 5

This book seeks to examine the broader issue of regionalism in Western Europe. Based on his doctoral research, Rune Fitjar presents a bottom-up perspective on the topic in order to generalise some of the explanatory factors into a broader theory that captures the causes of variation across both time and space within Western European regionalism. The book’s main theoretical problematic is to find out ‘what makes regionalism and regional identities occur’ (p. 5). The author uses a nested analysis design which combines a cross-sectional and a longitudinal analysis and which utilises both quantitative and qualitative research methods to make a deeper examination of why regionalism varies across both *time* and *space*.

Fitjar divides his research into two broad parts. In the first part, the cross-sectional analysis considers five broad explanatory factors – cultural distinctiveness, globalisation, Europeanisation, regionalised party system and economic development – in order to define which factors are the most relevant in explaining variation in levels of regionalism across 212 Western European regions (space dimension) by using four surveys from the 1990s and 2000s. In the second part, the longitudinal analysis tests the model thus designed to examine how well it is capable of predicting variation in regionalism across time in two selected case studies, Scotland and Rogaland, across 40 years (time dimension).

The author finds that in both cases there is a close relation between economic development and regionalism across time, leading to the conclusion that there is a causal relationship between prosperity and regionalism. The model also shows that levels of regionalism are significantly higher in economically developed regions with distinctive party systems and a regional language, and in regions that are closely integrated into the European Union. The author also tests the role of

economic prosperity in regionalism in five other Western European states – Spain, Italy, Belgium, France and Germany – as well as in the case of Slovenia's secession from Yugoslavia in 1990–1.

Even though this book addresses some of the shortcomings in the extant literature by employing a different research design to most previous work in this field, there needs to be further research to test the model developed in the book. The author himself notes that 'the outcome in this book is [of] an explanatory rather than a conclusive nature, and the main contribution is the development of an approach that future studies in the field can build on to produce new and more secure insights into how regionalism works' (p. 150). All in all, this book is both theoretically and empirically well informed and a good source of reference for those who are interested in regionalism, federalism and comparative regionalism.

Ali Onur Ozcelik
(University of Sheffield)

The Challenges of Ethno-nationalism: Case Studies in Identity Politics by **Adrian Guelke (ed.)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 257pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 22410 0

This edited volume is a collection of papers on issues related to ethnic identity in contemporary politics. The overall argument underlying the articles the book comprises is that ethno-nationalism poses dramatic challenges to the new world order that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union. As Guelke argues in the introductory chapter, the end of the Cold War – marked by the dissolution of the two blocs – released all the ethnic conflicts that had previously been restrained by the dominant class struggle, and therefore there is a need to examine 'how ethnic political mobilisation played out in a variety of circumstances' (p. 2).

The volume is divided into three parts. The first part presents six individual case studies from a wide range of geographical areas, namely: Bolivia, Cyprus, post-Soviet Russia, Ukraine, India and Catalonia. The second part focuses on the ethnic conflict in Northern Ireland from three different perspectives. The final part consists of three comparative analyses. Two of these again include the Irish conflict and its peace process within the comparison. The third comparative study is a thoughtful attempt to examine the features of federal systems

around the world and their disputed effectiveness in accommodating ethnic conflict.

Given the breadth of the subjects dealt with in this volume, it is difficult to point out a specific focus of study. Indeed, it draws together very different methodological approaches as well as levels of analysis, ranging from political parties to people, elites and the media. Furthermore, the case studies are selected from very diverse societies, thus offering different viewpoints on ethnic cleavages in various contexts. Although the selection of countries might appear to be too biased towards the Irish case, on the whole the volume maintains a solid comparative framework.

Far from being a drawback, the variety of perspectives on the study of ethno-nationalism presented in this volume is likely to reveal the complexity of this phenomenon. However, it does seem tricky to hold together contributions concerning the behaviour of political actors in divided societies with – for instance – Gorbenko's study of photographic representations of the Orange revolution in the media in Ukraine (ch. 5). Nevertheless, this book sets out to unravel the multifaceted nature of ethno-nationalism in the new world order just by broadening the scope of the analysis to different levels and contexts.

To conclude, the volume stands out as an intriguing framework of research which decidedly contributes to comparative research on ethnic and identity politics.

Linda Basile
(University of Siena)

Deconstructing Sexuality in the Middle East by **Pinar Ilkkaracan (ed.)**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 218pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7235 7

This insightful multidisciplinary volume contains essays on sexuality in the Middle East from contemporary political, legal, social and religious aspects with contributions by leading activists, scholars, sociologists and psychologists in the region. The book addresses controversial sexual issues including extramarital sex, adultery, honour crimes, rape, homosexuality, female genital mutilation, sexual abuse, sex education and sex in the media, literature and art.

Pinar Ilkkaracan, as a psychologist and leading activist on discrimination against women, focuses on both political and social aspects of sexuality in the region. In her introductory chapter she considers the direct

relationship between the lawmaking procedure and society, especially during the period of Turkish Penal Code reforms. In a comparative analysis in the following chapter, Sherifa Zuhur then examines the legal aspect of sexuality. Zuhur's main argument is centred on the necessity of reforms in the legal codes, especially in cases of honour crimes, rape, adultery and abortion. In two separate chapters, Stefanie Eileen Nanes and Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian each look at rape and honour crimes from a regional perspective. Nanes addresses the campaigns to eliminate so-called crimes of honour in Jordan during the 1990s and the response of the state and the public to these campaigns (p. 81). Shalhoub-Kevorkian analyses rape from a more sociological and psychological perspective, and uses qualitative research methods to support her arguments. A large part of the chapter is composed of excerpts from interviews conducted with rape victims, and does much to highlight the contradictions and dilemmas of disclosing rape in conservative societies (p. 189).

The complexity of disclosing sexuality receives further attention in the essays by Azzah Shararah Baydoun, Hamed Shahidian and Achim Rohde. Arguments concerning sex education in Lebanon are the main focus of Baydoun's essay, whereas Shahidian aims to illustrate sexual disclosure in scientific, medical and psychological contexts in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Rohde, on the other hand, focuses on feminist and sexual disclosures in media, art and literature during the 1970s and 1980s in Iraq. In Rubina Saigol's chapter, the central themes are notions of nationality and sexuality in Pakistan, paying particular attention to sexual desire and sexual violence. In the final chapter, Leyla Gulcur and Pinar Ilkcaracan reflect on the sex industry in Turkey after the dissolution of the Soviet Union with direct observations and interviews.

This informative and analytical study draws on substantive evidence from Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Palestine and Turkey. The book is mostly oriented towards examining women's sexuality rather than sexuality in general. This in-depth examination of controversial sexual issues in the Middle East is aimed at readers with a specific interest in or background knowledge about Middle Eastern countries, Islam and women in the Middle East.

Ferya Tas
(Brunel University)

Corporate Social Responsibility: Comparative Critiques by **Ravi K. Raman and Ronnie D. Lipschutz (eds)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 280pp., \$85.00, ISBN 978 0 230 22077 5

In the midst of the current financial and environmental crises the discourse of corporate social responsibility (CSR) has shown enormous resilience, and it is continuously reshaped and deployed to legitimise self-regulating markets. In their timely edited volume, Ravi Raman and Ronnie Lipschutz re-politicise the meaning(s) and practices of CSR in the current era of neo-liberal globalisation. Two main arguments emerge from the volume. The editors contend that CSR can be conceptualised as a form of optional morality – distinct from shared ethics – that is tied to the interests of the corporation (pp. 244–8). Furthermore, they posit that the effects of CSR initiatives, such as codes of conduct, private monitoring, business–community relations, micro-finance schemes and responsible lobbying, have hardly altered the regulatory structures that facilitate capital expansion at the expense of social and environmental protection.

Besides the editorial introduction and conclusion the volume contains twelve original chapters which appraise, in great detail, the contradictions of CSR interventions in advanced capitalist economies, emerging market economies and less developed countries. One obvious strength of the book lies precisely in the breadth of case studies contained therein. These range from corporate volunteerism in Canada to the dynamics of ethical trade in South Africa. The intention of assembling multicultural and cross-country contributions (p. 2) has largely been met, yet one might have expected some form of interlocation between chapters that analyse the same countries (e.g. Peru or India) and regions, to make the comparative objective alluded to in the title of the volume much more obvious.

Theoretically, the volume aims to constitute 'a body of critical scholarship' (p. 17), and indeed, some refreshing analyses of CSR have been framed as historical materialist critiques (chs 2, 8 and 12). Other chapters employ conceptual frameworks derived from specific disciplines (chs 6 and 13), while the majority fall within what might be labelled a critical empirical tradition. A more incisive digression on the interdisciplinary nature of the contributions as well as on the

nature of the critical endeavour pursued in the volume would certainly have added greater clarity and coherence to the theoretical ambition mentioned in the introduction.

Volumes that shed light on the relations of power which underpin the discourse of CSR, as opposed to legitimising the business case for CSR and its growing industry, are rather rare. As such, this edited collection is an important addition to scholarly inquiries seeking to understand what CSR means in practice, who benefits from it and whose interests it serves.

Catia Gregoratti
(Lund University)

The Evolution of Modern States: Sweden, Japan and the United States by **Sven Steinmo**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 288pp., £19.99, ISBN 978 0521145466

In this book, Sven Steinmo contributes to the contemporary debate about the sources of institutional change through a broad analysis of how Sweden, Japan and the United States have adapted to the challenges of globalisation. The book's comparative analysis is grounded in a rejection of the idea that globalisation leads to a 'race to the bottom' between national welfare states. For Steinmo, countries are complex, adaptive systems that change in different ways when facing similar global challenges. As its title implies, *The Evolution of Modern States* draws on evolutionary theory to emphasise contingency and even unpredictability. Empirically, the book offers three 'evolutionary narratives' about the economic, fiscal and social policy development of Sweden, Japan and the United States. In his analysis, Steinmo stresses the role of political institutions but he also acknowledges the role of factors like geography, population change and the role of ideas. For him, such factors matter in different ways depending on the (changing) context. As for institutions, they are described as contingent and evolving constructions rather than rigid 'structures'. Drawing on this evolutionary framework, the book explains why Sweden successfully adapted to the challenges of globalisation and population ageing while Japan has so far failed to reinvent itself to meet such challenges. As for the United States, it has gradually drifted away from egalitarianism to adopt a growth model and regressive

tax policies that have exacerbated economic and social inequality.

The Evolution of Modern States is a fascinating and provocative book that offers new and important insights about both institutional change and globalisation. The book is well written and the empirical chapters are detailed enough to back the author's claims. There are, however, a few slight flaws. First, the author says too little about the role of federalism in the contemporary United States, and the discussion about the 'nation' as the unit of analysis does not take into account the existence of multinational states like Belgium and Spain, which may adapt differently to globalisation than mono-national states. Second, although the 'evolutionary narratives' featured in the three empirical chapters are captivating, the claim that scholars need to draw extensively on evolutionary theory to explain institutional change is not entirely convincing, as some of the evolutionary concepts used by Steinmo seem artificially grafted on to the analysis. Despite these minor faults, Steinmo's excellent book remains a model of creative and engaging scholarship that anyone interested in institutional change will want to read.

Daniel Béland
(University of Saskatchewan)

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

General Politics

The De-radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements by **Omar Ashour**. London: Routledge, 2009. 224pp., £80.00, £24.95, ISBN 978 0 415 48545 6, 978 0 415 58834 8

Although armed Islamist movements have manifested themselves across the globe many times in recent decades, research of the phenomenon is susceptible to being too contextually limited due to its emphasis on two sorts of transformation, namely, their support of violence (radicalisation) and their changing attitude towards democracy (moderation). Omar Ashour

negotiates this challenge by outlining a third process of transformation in which he studies 'the causes of de-radicalization of specific armed Islamist movements ... and ... the particular conditions under which successful de-radicalization can take place' (p. 3).

The main argument of the book is that a process of de-radicalisation could occur as a result of a combination of variables such as charismatic leadership, state repression, selective inducements by state and other actors, and social interaction within the movement and between the movement and the other. After reviewing the literature on the processes of change within Islamist movements (ch. 2), the book's theoretical synthesis unfolds in Chapter 3. The theoretical framework is substantiated by individual studies of the Muslim Brotherhood (ch. 4), the Islamic Group and al-Jihad (ch. 5) in Egypt and cases of successful (e.g. the Islamic Salvation Army) or unsuccessful (e.g. the Armed Islamic Group and the Salafi Group for Preaching and Combat) de-radicalisation in Algeria. The book concludes with a chapter in which Ashour compares and contrasts the causes of de-radicalisation of armed Islamist movements.

The theoretical framework and arguments of this book are well reasoned and accessible to readers with limited knowledge of armed Islamist movements. Also, in contrast to the common perception of Islamist movements being static and monolithic, Ashour's innovative take on the classic literature about the radicalisation of social movements enhances the accessibility of his arguments. On the other hand, despite the qualitative comparative research method, detailed historical coverage of the cases and Ashour's experience and command of the region's culture as a researcher, the theory and its application across different movements and countries make it somewhat difficult for a coherent set of ideas to emerge. This minor criticism notwithstanding, the book brings to our attention a serious and very timely subject – the de-radicalisation of armed Islamists – and provides an analytical approach to understanding the multiple transformations that these movements have undergone over the decades and how we can benefit from such experiences to cope with armed Islamist movements.

A. Tolga Turker
(Istanbul AREL University)

Unlearning or 'How NOT to be Governed?' by **Nader N. Chokr**. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009. 92pp., £8.95, ISBN 9781845 401641

The overall tone of Nader Chokr's essay strikes a pessimistic note as he describes inherent failures in government and in prevailing education systems. Chokr challenges traditional and contemporary philosophies and ideologies of democracy. Within his challenge Chokr discusses his issues with education and learning. In a vague way he then continues by reviewing his radical and inclusive 'democracy to come' – a democracy in which citizens play an ever-more important active role as they challenge, question and create laws and institutions. In moving to this idea of 'democracy to come', citizens must evolve to a new kind of education – education-as-paideia – which entails educating the whole person and developing citizens into critical thinkers. Highlighting these ideas throughout the essay, Chokr offers analysis and criticism of modern democracy and education systems. Despite describing the failure of these systems, he offers little specificity or clarity in his vague and underdeveloped plans for change.

That said, Chokr's work provokes the reader, particularly those in the education world, to re-examine their assumptions concerning the ways that education can empower citizens. The education system should challenge students more and help them learn and refine critical thinking skills. Additionally, many current democracies are dominated by a political elite, causing average citizens to have little interaction with politics. However, while Chokr highlights flaws in our current systems, his major assertions lack completeness. He does not elaborate or clarify several of his central ideas, leaving readers to wonder what new information he is trying to offer. He cites the work of numerous reputable authors and philosophers, but seemingly only to give his own assertions greater clout. Perhaps Chokr was warning us about the essay all along, writing that the questions he does answer are in an 'indirect and sketchy manner' (p. 24). Maybe the thoughts that Chokr's essay provokes in readers is enough of a goal, yet how do we change the status quo and ultimately go about unlearning and striving for education-as-paideia?

Jamie Mussante
(George Mason University)

Whom Can We Trust? How Groups, Networks, and Institutions Make Trust Possible by **Karen S. Cook, Margaret Levi and Russell Hardin (eds)**. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010. 348pp., £38.00, ISBN 978 0 87154 315 8

Trust in Risk Management: Uncertainty and Scepticism in the Public Mind by **Michael Siegrist, Timothy C. Earle and Heinz Gutscher (eds)**. London: Continuum, 2010. 294pp., £29.99, ISBN 978 1 84971 106 7

The issue of trust is at the forefront of political, economic and social life these days. Companies and governments claim to be trustworthy, and fret when consumers and citizens appear to disagree. For their part, scholars have extensively studied trust in recent years. Yet while our understanding has moved forward, many uncertainties remain. How should we define trust, does it have different forms, and where does it stand in relation to analogous concepts like confidence? What are the causes of trust, and the criteria used in assessing trust, or trustworthiness? How far is trust underpinned by information and knowledge about the body being evaluated? What are the implications of trust, both immediate in form (in terms of cooperation, say) and more distant (the knock-on effects on democratic and economic performance)? How should we assess and measure trust? Both these books extend what we know about trust by addressing some of these important questions.

The book edited by Karen Cook *et al.* asks on what basis we trust others and with what consequences for social and economic relations and outcomes. Chapters here examine patterns of trust within and between social and ethnic groups, seeking to explain why 'in-group' trust tends to be higher than 'out-group' trust. Using experimental and large-scale survey designs, the chapters seek to determine how far trust arises from particular features of groups, such as identity and norms, reciprocity expectations and socio-economic position. Other chapters examine the basis of trust in more 'vertical' relations, between doctors and patients and citizens and courts, for example. Key questions here are the kind of criteria that people employ in judging whether or not to trust, and the way that various 'short cuts' – informal norms, social categories and assessments of other institutions – are drawn on to

reach trust judgements when information may be limited or when people may be unable to process it. Finally, various chapters address the consequences of trust, in particular whether trust underpins economic performance and cooperative relations between citizens and groups. One of the ironies of a book dedicated to exploring trust is the finding that trust may not matter for outcomes quite as much as is thought.

The focus of the volume edited by Michael Siegrist *et al.* is on trust in the context of social risk. Issues such as genetically modified crops, mobile phones and environmental pollution all entail significant potential risks to citizens and consumers. Those individuals need to be able to make sense of these risks, and in particular the risk assessments reached by scientists and other experts. Researchers have long observed that public acceptance of these risks often relates only weakly to technical risk assessments. Instead, members of the public often appear to judge risk on the basis of their trust in those making risk assessments or those responsible for the risk. In exploring the relationship between trust and risk assessment, Siegrist and his collaborators are particularly exercised by the type of judgements and mental processes that citizens use in forming trust evaluations. Several chapters examine the antecedents of trust, considering how far trust depends on perceptions of how well an actor is performing and how far on less cognitively demanding perceptions of whether an actor shares one's basic goals and values. The 'morality route' to trust suggests that trust is quite durable and not, as is often thought, quick to dissipate in the face of a particular event or revelation of poor performance. There are important implications here for public organisations concerned to stimulate greater public trust in what they do.

Each of these books arises from a broad research programme and spans academic disciplines. The Cook *et al.* volume continues the excellent series of publications arising from the Russell Sage Foundation's programme on trust, and draws on perspectives from political science, sociology and economics. The volume by Siegrist *et al.* is the latest in a series of articles and books by social psychologists that examine how trust affects risk assessment. Both books contain a mixture of broad reviews of the literature and more specific primary analysis, alongside abstract reflections on the nature and usages of trust and empirical investigation. Both also demonstrate the virtues of interrogating trust

by moving beyond large-scale surveys to draw on more interpretative qualitative processes and, even more, on experimental methods. While well and clearly written, both books are fairly 'heavy duty' and likely to be of interest primarily to researchers and advanced post-graduates. Many of the findings on trust reported in these books are drawn from contexts outside core politics, and explored by researchers outside political science. Nonetheless – or maybe as a result – both books have much to say to political scientists who are concerned to understand the nature of trust in governmental actors and institutions.

Ben Seyd
(University of Kent)

Terrorism and the Politics of Social Change: A Durkheimian Analysis by James Dingley. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 203pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7822 9

James Dingley takes an interesting approach to the theoretical study of terrorism. He argues that understanding terrorism requires studying sociology and social anthropology because, he argues, terrorism arises from a disruption in a society's social order and political violence is a *normal* response – not one caused by a psychological disorder of the terrorist. In fact, Dingley suggests quite persuasively that terrorists are normal, ordinary people who are reacting to threatened change in the world that they know and cherish, and which they therefore fight to preserve.

Dingley carefully and slowly develops this understanding of terrorism, beginning with the evolution of political violence as it changes alongside the progress of society. In pre-modern societies, violence is the 'norm' for dealing with problems with neighbours and strangers alike. Violence is an essential aspect of the primitive man. As the modern world developed and became less savage, men began to regulate violence, creating standardisations of behaviour in war and systematically placing violence outside society.

In relating the historical development of political violence, Dingley focuses on the Enlightenment period and Romanticism. Out of Romanticism came the rise of nationalism which led to the development of modern terrorism, the biggest example being Nazi Germany. The Enlightenment brought modernisation and industrialisation to the world and with that came

social upheaval and a threatening end to the traditional way of life. Dingley argues that when one feels this threat to one's valued social stability a natural reaction is violence. Terrorism, then, is a socio-cultural phenomenon.

Chapters 5 and 6 contain the heart of Dingley's argument, presenting four case studies as his main examples: Northern Ireland, ETA in the Basque region of Spain, the Tamils in Sri Lanka and finally Islamic fundamentalism. Dingley brings an interesting first-person perspective to the cases of Northern Ireland and Islamic terrorism, in particular, having been a resident of both Ireland and Iraq. After laying out the bulk of his argument in Chapter 5, Dingley turns to Durkheim to complete his sociological discussion. Durkheimian thought argues that society, religion and order are all one, and contingent on each other. Dingley's argument of the development of terrorism fits perfectly with Durkheim's interpretation of society and he convincingly completes his argument through Durkheimian thought.

Dingley's book provides an innovative approach to the study of terrorism and will be a great asset, especially to modern Western students trying to understand the phenomenon of terrorist violence.

Erin Hemlin
(George Mason University)

Protection for Exporters: Power and Discrimination in Transatlantic Trade Relations, 1930–2010 by Andreas Dür. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 246pp., £24.95, ISBN 978 0 8014 4823 2

In *Protection for Exporters* Andreas Dür focuses on the patterns of transatlantic trade liberalisation that have emerged over the past 80 years. In order to explain the haphazard pattern of progressive liberalisation that has emerged in US–European trade relations he presents his so-called 'protection-for-exporters' argument, the idea that exporters will 'mobilize against losses inflicted on them by the discriminatory trade policies of foreign countries' (p. 3). Dür seeks to explore this central hypothesis by presenting us with seven case studies that cover distinct historical periods and which focus on the reaction of US exporters and policy makers (and, to a lesser extent, their counterparts in Europe) to preferential liberalisation undertaken across the Atlantic. This takes us from the system of British

imperial preferences and the post-war deadlock in transatlantic trade negotiations to the formation of the European Economic Community, its successive enlargements and the single market programme, with the final substantive chapter focusing on the competition for emerging markets between the US and EU in the 1990s and 2000s.

While the author claims to be offering 'a novel argument' (p. 14), his contribution is largely to refine existing approaches in the endogenous trade literature. Although he challenges the assumed dominance of import-competing interests in trade policy making, he still builds his framework on the prevailing rational choice understanding of 'collective action problems', where interest groups mobilise in response to losses. As a result, his insights are very similar to those offered by a number of approaches in political economy that have sought to model the sensitivity of exporters to foreign discrimination. More importantly, and as Dür himself recognises, his focus on the transatlantic axis 'is more difficult to sustain from the 1980s onward' (p. 215) given the rise of other major players in the international trading system. This has meant that the book's two final empirical chapters (covering the past 30 years) present evidence that is not entirely consistent with the theoretical insights advanced by the author. That being said, the 'protection-for-exporters' argument is elegantly presented and offers a generally convincing account of preceding episodes in US and European trade policy making. Moreover, the author deploys a rigorous qualitative 'process-tracing' methodology that helps him test his hypotheses on interest group influence without needing to turn to formal econometric modelling. Consequently the book remains relatively accessible and is likely to appeal not only to trade policy scholars and practitioners, but also to the interested lay reader.

Gabriel Siles Brügge
(University of Sheffield)

Save the World on Your Own Time by **Stanley Fish**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. 189pp., £10.99, ISBN 978 0 19 536902 1

In *Save the World on Your Own Time*, Stanley Fish enters the hotly contested debate surrounding the present course of higher education in the United States. Fish

does not side with the right or the left but argues that both sides are asking the wrong questions because their politicised manipulation of the academy misunderstands the fundamental purpose of university education. Fish repeatedly expresses his thesis that the distinctive role of the academy is to 'introduce students to bodies of knowledge and traditions of inquiry' and to 'equip those same students with the analytical skills ... that will enable them to move confidently within those traditions and to engage in independent research' (pp. 12–3).

Fish argues against liberal professors who moralise instead of teach, against conservatives who demand increased conservative course content, and against governments and corporations that tie funding to an agenda. His solution is for all parties to recognise that the university is not a political platform for convincing students to adopt certain values; in the case of politically sensitive issues, Fish urges that professors should 'academicize' the material, by which they 'detach it from the context of its real world urgency ... and insert it into a context of academic urgency, where there is an account to be offered or an analysis to be performed' (p. 27). If material is consistently academicised in this way, then professors will not moralise, the academy will not be further assaulted by politicised factions, and the university will be better able to fulfil its actual educational mandate.

This text is characteristic of Fish's recent writings on the role of the academy whereby he skilfully reframes the debate to reveal and question the hidden presuppositions of both sides of the university controversy, which is becoming increasingly complex due to conflicting views of the university's purpose. This complexity causes Fish to include apparent asides on issues such as the role of campus administrators, proper sentence construction and deconstruction's goals; yet these issues arise because the university has strayed from its role with the result that professors do not respect administrators, proper grammar is not taught, and deconstruction is wrongly characterised as the tool of a liberal political agenda. Fish urges that we must resist treating the university as a site for political initiation and value its distinct and central purpose of educating and equipping students.

Kelly C. Macphail
(Montreal University)

Guns and Butter: The Economic Crisis and Consequences of Conflict by **Gregory D. Hess (ed.)**. London: MIT Press, 2009. 323pp., £22.95, ISBN 978 0 262 01281 2

Emergence from a conference always brings with it the sense that a vital session has been missed; when a book emerges from a conference this sense can be even more palpable: which contributions did not make it in? *Guns and Butter: The Economic Crisis and Consequences of Conflict* stems from a 2005 CESifo seminar of the same name, but the work is still highly relevant. All of the chapters make intriguing contributions to the understanding of conflict through the prism of political economy. This view is justified eloquently by Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, who argues: 'The state is the wrong unit of analysis; states, after all, do not make war, people do' (p. 16). The areas of conflict tackled are routes to war, terrorism and the costs of war, but within each section the chapters are remarkably different. Ethan Bueno de Mesquita's work on splinters forming in terrorist groups has a rigorous approach in common with Stephen Shepherd's analysis of how terrorism has affected urban structures, but the themes they cover are remarkably different. Similarly, Edward Glaeser's propositions on the behaviour and attitudes to war of incumbent and challenger politicians, who benefit personally despite costs borne by fellow citizens, is distinct from Kai Konrad's work on the expropriation of investors' assets.

Although most of the authors in this collection relate their work to historical or contemporary examples, the chapters are result-driven rather than discursive, and they centre on mathematical formulae. This makes the book less accessible for non-economists, and it is not so easy to find clear conclusions as it can be in political science texts. Similarly, as some chapters look at the causes of conflict and others at their effects, it is hard to close the covers with either an overall impression of the arguments made or with a sense that debate has taken place – each contribution can easily be read in isolation. Nonetheless, this book is of immense value for anyone seeking to understand war and violence and the motives that lead people to make the choices that cause them.

Robert Spain
(Independent Scholar)

Understanding Policy Success: Rethinking Public Policy by **Allan McConnell**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 265pp., £22.99, ISBN 978 0 230 23975 3

As Allan McConnell ably demonstrates, identifying 'successful' public policies can be an extremely complicated task. With *Understanding Policy Success: Rethinking Public Policy*, McConnell hopes to explain why that is and, in so doing, help to fill a gap in the existing scholarship and provide an analytical framework that will facilitate a clearer and more useful understanding of the idea of policy 'success'.

McConnell begins his task by offering a very helpful review of relevant available research, noting that while there is a 'paucity of literature' that directly addresses the question of 'what constitutes policy success?' (p. 10), there is also much that can be learned from existing scholarship that focuses on related issues such as what constitutes a policy 'failure' or 'good practice' in policy making.

He then presents an 'initial analytical framework for examining success' (p. 29), one that both distinguishes between *foundationalist*, *anti-foundationalist* and *realist* definitions of policy 'success' and which identifies three different spheres of success: process, programmatic and political. Such an approach, he argues, allows one to recognise policy success both as a matter of 'fact' and of 'interpretation', and as something that can be realised in different ways. It is not, he contends, an "all or nothing" phenomenon; indeed, both complete success and total failure are uncommon (p. 55). Moreover, determining success 'requires [that] judgements and choices ... be made' concerning the significance one assigns to different criteria for measuring it (p. 81), which suggests that the idea of 'success' is, to some extent, *constructed* – in other words, it is a matter of perception (p. 102).

In Chapters 6 to 8 McConnell examines various practical and political considerations that influence policy makers' decisions and the way in which they publicly discuss 'success'. He also addresses a number of questions that have yet to be substantively engaged with by academics, but which are of critical importance to policy makers, such as 'are we more likely to learn from success or failure?'; 'are the conditions for securing success universal?'; and 'can we accurately predict success?' McConnell concludes his study by offering

some arguments as to why it would be beneficial to use his 'policy success heuristic' 'as both a supplement ... and a direct alternative to established models of the policy process' (p. 220).

This is an edifying and engaging book that represents an extremely useful contribution to the existing scholarship. It is essential reading for all who have an interest in the analysis and development of public policy.

Shaun P. Young
(University of Toronto)

Hijacking Sustainability by **Adrian Parr**. London: MIT Press, 2009. 209pp., £16.95, ISBN 978 0 262 01306 2

Prior to the global recession, policy makers and economists stressed the notion of fostering 'competitiveness' as a priority for politicians and business leaders. Any change in taxation, social protection or legislation was agonistically picked apart on the basis of how it would impact on competitiveness. This trope has now been replaced with sustainability: we are told by the architects of socio-economic policies that policy must now be sustainable. Similarly, business ideas were re-branded by prefixing established practices with the word 'strategic': human resource management became 'Strategic HRM'; marketing became 'Strategic Marketing'. Gradually, we are seeing the rapid replacement of the term 'strategic' with 'sustainable'. 'Sustainable' is fast becoming the 'signifier' of all that is good.

Hijacking Sustainability offers a welcome analysis of the process by which the dominant logic of late capitalism has commandeered the concept of the sustainable. There is an asserted attempt by the corporate-military complex to appropriate growing general interest in sustainability. Adrian Parr outlines the toxic nature of this attempt by highlighting the ways in which representing products or activities as sustainable is an exercise in deploying affective power where consumers feel that they are participating in sustainability culture, but ultimately passively absorb the green-washed agendas of others.

Parr's project is massively ambitious as she intertwines critical theory and insights from design, geography, critical theory, political economy and the study of cultural production to demonstrate how a manufac-

tured representation of sustainability in various spheres is annexed and used as a means to govern the agency of those who participate in sustainability culture. The utilisation of the production of sustainability culture is unpacked at the beginning and provides a leitmotif throughout the text. It is a particularly vivid technique which illuminates Parr's explorations of how designers, film producers, political groups and the military have absorbed the hunger for sustainability, often in a way that is at odds with the original intent of ecological discourse.

One of the flysheet testimonials for *Hijacking Sustainability* claims that Parr's writing is 'shrill and eloquent', but there is nothing of the former here. *Hijacking Sustainability* is powerful and erudite while remaining accessible. Parr constantly interjects throughout her text, deepening and clarifying her explanations. Business thinkers and political leaders who genuinely wish to engage with the sustainability agenda must put aside the prescriptive guides to enterprise sustainability and green capitalism that are beginning to populate our bookstores; everyone else should read this now.

John G. Cullen
(National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

Participation and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century City by **Jenny Pearce (ed.)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 263pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 22944 0

Jenny Pearce's edited book addresses two interesting and challenging questions of participatory research: (1) '[what are] the ways non-governmental public actors made use of new spaces of participation at the municipal level?'; and (2) 'how [have] they interacted with government actors?' (p. ix) As used in the book, non-governmental public actors does not just mean NGOs, but a broad range of formal and informal social actors such as advocacy networks, campaigns and coalitions, trade unions, peace groups, social fora, rights-based groups, social enterprise, fair and ethical trade groups, business in the community initiatives and social movements. Based on a modified version of cooperative and participatory approaches which Pearce, a director of research, calls 'co-producing knowledge' methodology, the book argues that participation can be feasible and meaningful for democracy if we are prepared to view it

as 'a dynamic experience of social interaction which continuously brings out the best of each participant rather than reproduces the domination of one over the other' (p. 252).

Participation and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century City is original, noteworthy and well organised. It is the outcome of two years of research by a team working in six cities: three in the UK (Manchester, Bradford and Salford) and three in Latin America (Porto Alegre in Brazil, Medellín in Columbia and Caracas in Venezuela). With their diversity in terms of size and location, these six cities are good sites for experiments and case study research. Each municipal area is large enough to contain examples of non-governmental public action and its relationship to other actors at the local level, especially government agencies. In order to understand their case studies, the research team develop two broad innovation frameworks with practical and theoretical implications. These are: 'participatory governance' – participation through associations, or a mixture of direct and indirect participation; and 'participatory democracy' – the direct involvement of all citizens in the decision-making process.

By selecting three cities in the UK, where several community empowerment programmes have been initiated and implemented, and three cities in Latin America, where direct participatory innovations such as participatory budgeting programmes are the highlight, the contributors to this volume succeed in their goals of learning more about the potential for greater participative democracy. However, by excluding from their experiments some cities in North America and other parts of Europe where different models of participatory innovations can be observed such as internet discussion fora (in the US and Estonia), a (near-) randomly selected Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform (in British Columbia) and direct legislation (in Switzerland and California), the book may overstate the claim that its findings present a complete picture of participatory patterns across 'the North and the South of the Western Hemisphere' (p. x). Apart from this shortcoming, this well-written book is suitable for policy makers, non-governmental activists, scholars and students.

Stithorn Thananithichot
(King Prajadhipok's Institute, Thailand, and
University of Utah)

Reasserting the Public in Public Services: New Public Management Reforms by **M. Ramesh, Eduardo Araral Jr and Xun Wu (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 228pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 54739 0

'The states are back' (p. 1) ... 'the pendulum is swinging again' (p. 210). Combined with the title, which begins with the 'reassertion of the public', this book looks very promising, but it should be noted that the public is often defined in terms of the state and so the book mostly argues about the reassertion of the state.

Reasserting the Public in Public Services is a successful collection of examples of market failure from various sectors (health, transport, electricity, water) from all over the world (including New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Brazil) but mostly from Asia (China, Hong Kong, Vietnam). The book is highly critical about new public management (NPM)-oriented deregulation and privatisation policies, which is why re-regulation is the main argument in the book. However re-regulation should not be confused with the direct involvement of the state. Instead, it is related to meta-governance and soft steering at a distance (p. 25).

As underlined by the last chapter, the book supports an 'evidence-based reform agenda' (p. 219) and the evidence supports the argument that the market fails. The book also breaks the link between efficiency and privatisation – that is, efficiency is not a positive function of privatisation and deregulation – and opens the door for public service. However, public administration is not only seen as a 'service producing system' (p. 60) but also as providing legality and legitimacy.

Considering the 2008 financial crisis, the book is very timely in calling the state back in. Yet, what is interesting is that contracting out is used as a negative example in Chapter 3, while it is used as a positive one in Chapter 10 (termed 'proactive planning') regarding the reassertion of the state. So it seems that the book does not impose one type of state regulation.

The authors do succeed in convincing the reader that there is a need for and inclination towards state regulation. However, this does not necessarily mean that state regulation would be for the public. The book reveals the contingent nature of service provision; that is, that not only markets but also the state may fail. At this point the book brings the state back in, but without taking away the market. So the book restores

the position of the state in the governance model, but does not reject governance itself.

Hasan Engin Sener
(Akdeniz University, Turkey)

Global Catastrophes and Trends: The Next Fifty Years by **Vaclav Smil**. London: MIT Press, 2008. 307pp., £19.95, ISBN 978 0 262 195867

Vaclav Smil sets out to examine the major factors and events that might shape the world in the coming half-century. He does this using a multidisciplinary approach incorporating quantitative analysis, economics, political science, biology, geology, sociology, demographics and physics. Smil argues that the world might be changed by rapid calamitous low-probability events and also by the evolution of contemporary trends. He expands these themes by examining the potential for catastrophic events such as collision with space-borne objects, massive volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, earthquakes, pandemic viruses, antibiotic-resistant bacteria, terrorism and the outbreak of major war.

Smil also explores the evolution of the current global power structure and how it might develop in the next 50 years. To do this he examines trends in the United States, Russia, China, Europe, Japan, the Muslim world and, to a lesser extent, India; and he offers an insightful view of how the geopolitical status of these countries, regions and groups might develop. Smil also impressively analyses the future of human energy consumption and the closely linked issues of climate change and the human impact on our biosphere. Finally, he suggests how we might quantify risk and how policy makers might act to be better equipped for future challenges.

This book should appeal to a wide variety of readers within academia, industry and government. It is a forward-looking, scholarly study that informs the reader and encourages critical questioning at the same time. The author accomplishes what he has set out to do extremely well. His approach is unique in that it does not rely on hyperbole and, while it makes use of quantitative analysis, it does not get bogged down in models that distort the analysis. In parts, Smil offers examples of some such efforts that have proved hopelessly inaccurate. Nor does he attempt to play the oracle and thus he avoids making any specific predictions.

It is worth noting that Smil examines the potential for a disruptive volcanic eruption in Iceland in his book, which was published in 2008, and that an eruption did indeed take place in Iceland in 2010, interrupting air travel as per Smil's analysis. The book is remarkable for its breadth and the author's thorough research, and it benefits from Smil's extensive and wide-ranging analytical career. It is well written and should be considered essential reading for anyone interested in futures analysis.

Peter F. Johnston
(Defence R&D Canada)

Traitors: Suspicion, Intimacy, and the Ethics of State-Building by **Shakira Thiranagama and Tobias Kelly** (eds). Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. 272pp., £29.50, ISBN 978 0 8122 4213 3

The central proposition of *Traitors: Suspicion, Intimacy, and the Ethics of State-Building* concerns the reproduction of social and political order as caused by the identification and prosecution of treason (p. 2). The contributors' arguments seek to explain how modern states are built upon the opposing concepts of betrayal and loyalty and continuing acts of treachery which are central to the state's development (p. 3).

The editors highlight that the analytical approach utilised throughout is infused by the analysts' moral evaluations, hence avoiding claims of moral objectivity or neutrality. While the contributions do not risk moral relativism, the authors arguably rely too much on the moral aspect of nation building when considering how relationships between citizens and the state are maintained. Reflections on the economic and political aspects of state building figure minimally.

Nevertheless, elements of political analysis are evident in some of the chapters. Whitecross describes the intimate nature of political power in Bhutan (pp. 68–88); Mookherje explores the morally ambiguous nature of state accountability in Bangladesh (p. 61); Buur considers the role of Xiconhoca (seen as the traitor of society) as a regime-legitimising tool in the context of post-independence instability in Mozambique (pp. 24–48).

Within the theme of institutional creation and control of traitor identities, Strauss rightly points to the invocation in Taiwan of a link between securiti-

sation as a cornerstone of state building and the differentiation of *treason* versus *loyalty* (p. 91). Moreover, as Thiranagama highlights, the political practice of eliminating traitors can be employed as a means to claiming political sovereignty, as in the case of Sri Lanka (pp. 132–3).

The volume engages with the idea that ethnicity is instrumental in understanding relationships in post-colonial contexts, for example with regard to the elusive nature of the concept of ethnicity in relations between Tutsis and Hutus in Burundi (Turner, p. 111). At the local level, the definition of the traitor figure is significant both for the promotion of a specific moral code, for example in South African townships (Jensen, p. 152), and for continuously redefining borders of intimacy in everyday life, for example in Palestine (Kelly, pp. 169–87). Analyses of the social aspects of intimacy engage with the inherent tension between adhering to wartime ideological commitments and the attempt to move beyond the context of war (Rastegar, p. 199), as well as with the task of reconstructing historical narratives in order to understand the formation of moral norms (R  v, pp. 200–226).

The book only briefly considers the reintegration of traitors and outsiders into society. Feuchtwang briefly discusses the theme of judgement and argues in favour of judgemental decisions reached after due investigation, as opposed to totalising summary justice (pp. 232–6). Nonetheless, the themes encountered in this edited collection approach the subject of state building and nation building from a perspective that represents a new, relevant and original contribution to the existing literature on the nature of the relationship between the nation and the state.

Elisa Randazzo
(University of Westminster)

National Intelligence Systems: Current Research and Future Prospects by **Gregory F. Treverton and Wilhelm Agrell (eds)**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 294pp., £45.00, ISBN 978 0 521 51857 4

This edited volume examines underlying intellectual substructures of intelligence aimed at improving the performance of real-world institutions. It does not focus on the organisation of intelligence. As the product of a conference sponsored by the Swedish

government its contributors offer five distinct national perspectives. The objective is to develop an established set of methods and standards and an ongoing scientific discourse, and to identify where intelligence stands as a profession in the age of homeland security and the fight against terrorism. Terrorism is the ultimate challenge to intelligence, adjusting its capacity to its targets' vulnerabilities.

The eleven chapters are divided into three sections: (1) defining the field, theory, historiography and changes after the Cold War; (2) research on new challenges, methods and threats; and (3) intelligence, politics, oversight. Four themes run through the volume: risk in gathering data from non-state actors; expansion in the consumption of intelligence ranging from military, businesses and political to police; increased kinds and varieties of intelligence; and the diffusion of boundaries between intelligence and law enforcement, home and abroad, and private and public. Conclusions identified include: the lack of comprehensive theories; the unclear relations between providers and users of intelligence; and the predominance of bureaucratic organisations driven by information collection.

This volume is essential reading, contrasting Cold War intelligence of 'need to know' secrecy with today's homeland security and counter-terrorist world of 'need to share' among intelligence agencies and decision makers. Its major contribution is in being forward looking, whereas most literature is historical. It shows intelligence gathering and analysis as part of a state's political process, and having immense impact on the international community, on nations and on individuals.

The book describes Cold War intelligence, where the central threat was the Soviet Union, as being state-centric, with too little information about the leaders' decision-making process. In contrast, in today's world of transnational and unpredictable small radical terrorist groups, intelligence offers too much information in a stew of fact, fantasy and disinformation. The balance between security and civil liberties is topical and the volume excellently highlights that terrorists build their capabilities based on states' vulnerabilities. Intelligence of knowing yourself is as important as knowing the enemy. According to the authors, the fundamental challenge is to transform from an experience-based proto-science to a science of intelligence in being. They conclude by opening up realistic prospects for further research, showing that in this

environment mystery framing is deductive: the analysis begins where the evidence ends.

Glen Segell
(London Security Policy Study)

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

Britain and Ireland

Riotous Citizens: Ethnic Conflict in Multicultural Britain by Paul Bagguley and Yasmin Hussain. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 193pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 4627 3

Riotous Citizens provides a theoretically-led empirical examination of the Bradford, Oldham and Burnley riots of July 2001, which have not been subject to rigorous sociological analysis. The strength of this work lies in the authors' use of qualitative data to theorise the riots within the temporally specific sociological contexts of the BNP's rise in popularity and New Labour's mandated discourse of 'Community Cohesion' and 'tough on crime' stance. The nuanced critique of the international literature on crowds, riots and public disorder in the first chapter would interest the readership of *Political Studies Review* in so far as the crowds they are concerned with theorising are often simplistically reified and essentialised into something manageable by government officials and scholars for political analysis.

In the second chapter, the conditions that gave rise to the riots in Burnley and Oldham set the scene for the ensuing thoughtful and engaging analysis that is subsequently devoted exclusively to the Bradford riot. The emphasis on urban Bradford is justified by the severity of sentences handed out to the rioters, relative to the riots in Oldham and Burnley as discussed in the seventh chapter. The focus on Bradford and the diversity of rioters is worthy of interest as the authors de-emphasise their youth and shift their political gaze to adult agency in refuting the erroneous pervasive view that the Bradford rioters were mostly youths.

Nevertheless, a much deeper discussion about the political differences *vis-à-vis* the spatial-temporal specificities of Burnley and Oldham would have been helpful. The fourth chapter provides a profile of the rioters and illuminates the dynamics of the crowd and differences in actions. The subsequent chapters discuss the broader political context of the Bradford riot, the tenuous relationship between the police and the local Pakistani community (ch. 6) and the effects of the 2001 riots and events of 9/11 and 7/7 for British Pakistanis (ch. 7). Following a discussion of British Pakistanis' attitudes to citizenship and national belonging in relation to generational differences in Chapter 8, the authors conclude in Chapter 9 that government reports have failed to explain the riots.

The book is well written and clearly intended for scholars, and students will find it accessible and invaluable. It can also be readily recommended to non-academic audiences seeking a greater understanding of the 2001 riots and how distinctive yet very similar crowds emerge across different periods of time.

John Lowe
(Lincoln University, New Zealand)

A View from the North: Life, Politics and Faith seen from England's Northernmost Constituency by Alan Beith. Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumbria University Press, 2008. 272pp., £18.99, ISBN 1 904794 27 0

Alan Beith, the Liberal MP for Berwick upon Tweed, has written an interesting book that traces the author's political life. The book offers a detailed account of Beith's 35 years as MP for England's most sparsely populated, northerly constituency. The book not only details constituency life and issues but also covers key historical moments in the growth of the Liberal party.

Regarding the history of the Liberal party, the book covers its electoral development including the key Lib-Lab-Pact agreement made with the Labour party in 1977. It details how this agreement made the party electorally viable once again, positioning itself as an alternative to the Tory party and its pro-capitalist, pro-free market economic policies. An interesting section of the book covers the author's work overseeing Britain's intelligence and security services for more than a decade as a leading member of the UK

Intelligence and Security Committee. For example, Beith details how the committee has been proactive in seeking a constant flow of information from the intelligence agencies rather than letting them rely on occasional requests for information. It details how the committee has been open and forthcoming about its activities, including publishing a detailed annual report on its investigations. Lastly, the author details how the committee increased its capacity to conduct in-depth investigations of the security services through specialisation and by increasing its staff.

In other parts of the book Beith touches upon further issues of interest, such as the role of religion in public life and the meaning of liberalism in contemporary politics.

Paolo Morisi
(Independent Scholar)

Public Services Inspection in the UK by **Howard Davis and Steve Martin (eds)**. London: Jessica Kingsley, 2008. 160pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 1 84310 527 5

This is a short management handbook, edited by management scholars, for policy makers and managers. Although the edited chapters offer academics and students a useful empirical introduction to the policy debates and developments in an important aspect of British public service regulation, the primary focus is on the immediate practical concerns of public policy.

The main empirical chapters provide a useful overview of the historical evolution, contemporary developments and future challenges of inspection, encompassing local government, social care, education, health and criminal justice. We receive a compact and informative history of inspection practices covering key turning points like the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, which arranged for the inspection of workhouses, and the County and Borough Police Act of 1856, which created an Inspectorate of Constabulary to conduct annual efficiency checks. More recent reforms since the 1980s are treated in greater detail, with concise accounts of the changing character of inspection processes, and special attention is given in each chapter to the impact of devolved inspectorates in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. There is also a chapter on the rise of 'holistic' inspection methods within the past ten years.

Most authors make the not unfamiliar argument that there has been a shift towards 'managerialist' regulation over the past twenty years. Inspectorates must not only measure whether services achieve basic standards but also become 'critical friends', advising organisations and managing the improvement of services (p. 63). The final chapter summarises the book's observations and makes recommendations, most pertinently that the speed of change inspectorates go through is too great, and needs more careful consideration.

Disappointingly, however, there is piteously little critical engagement with the key concepts surrounding inspection. Notions of risk, choice, accountability and user involvement are frequently referenced in relation to improving inspection but barely reflected upon in a systematic manner. Similarly, the connected issue of declining public satisfaction with services is noted (p. 30), but never pursued thoroughly. Most chapters concentrate on a description and practical evaluation of New Labour reforms which, given the coalition's current overhaul of public services, seems rather outdated.

The only chapter offering a proper critical analysis is John Clarke's section on 'performance paradoxes'. Identifying five 'paradoxes' within the logic of policy regarding inspectorates, Clarke argues that the professional 'objectivity' of inspectorates cannot 'square the circle' of political influence (p. 132). Had his critical, interrogative analysis been pursued further, this book might have had more profound insights to make.

Matthew Wood
(University of Sheffield)

Blair's Successful War: British Military Intervention in Sierra Leone by **Andrew M. Dorman**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010. 159pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7299 9

With so much attention being focused on British involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq during the best part of the last decade, it is easy to forget the successful British involvement in Sierra Leone during 2000. The intervention – the largest unilateral British action since the Falklands war in 1982 – successfully defeated the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) insurgency, restored the UN peacekeeping mission, led directly to successful democratic elections in 2007, and would also play a key role in ending Charles Taylor's despotic and tyrannical regime in Liberia. In fact, as Andrew

Dorman argues, it may be through this successful intervention in the former British colony – just a year after the famous ‘Chicago Speech’ on the ‘Doctrine of International Community’ – that Tony Blair’s subsequent international adventurism needs to be understood.

In this short book Dorman provides a comprehensive overview of how Sierra Leone descended into violence, why the Lomé Peace Agreement and the imposition of UN peacekeeping forces failed, and how British forces were able to evacuate ‘Entitled’ personnel from Freetown, defeat the RUF insurgency, restore the UN mandate, rescue hostages being held by the West Side Boys during Operation Barras and rebuild the Sierra Leone army. Although much of the book focuses on the military aspects of the British involvement, Dorman is also able to draw wider conclusions about the importance and transformative impact of the war. In particular, he argues that the war was probably ‘too easy’ and therefore an ‘artificial’ example from which to draw lessons. These dynamics, Dorman suggests, along with the general good fortune experienced during the campaign, played a key role in influencing the decisions about Afghanistan and Iraq that would follow.

As well as providing a deep and interesting account of British military tactics before, during and after the war, the book is also an important addition to our understanding of how Tony Blair – a man who entered office with little foreign policy experience and a heavily domestically focused agenda – was transformed by the success in Sierra Leone, and why he would go on to take Britain into two prolonged and costly wars during his remaining time in office. Consequently, this book will be of interest to those seeking a better understanding of how and why Britain ended up in Afghanistan and Iraq, but also to those focused on military strategy and the evolution of interventionist doctrine within the British Army.

Andrew Futter
(University of Birmingham)

Britishness: Perspectives on the British Question
by **Andrew Gamble and Tony Wright (eds)**.
Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. 173pp., £17.99, ISBN
978 1 4051 9269 9

Britishness is a book intended to draw together a range of views on the ‘British question’, at least partly in response to Gordon Brown’s (now doomed) Britishness

project, which sought positively to conceive a Britishness based on ‘values’ and ‘economic success’. Post-recession the ‘economic success’ aspect cannot be said to have held water, while the ‘values’ basis of Britishness underpinning Brown’s project may also be disputed, as many of these supposedly ‘British’ values – liberty, responsibility, fairness – are mainstays of most societies, certainly in terms of their *self*-conception (p. 4). But if Brown did not quite get it right, this volume contains an array of alternative perspectives that address three key questions – ‘what is Britishness?’, ‘should it be promoted?’; and ‘if so, by whom?’ – which may be of some help.

For some of the contributors here Britishness is a non-issue. Bernard Crick’s contribution makes clear his belief that attempting to define Britishness is often ‘folly’, but also draws on Arthur Aughey’s work to suggest that such a definition is not a precondition to saying something useful about Britain (p. 149). Aughey’s own contribution in this volume focuses on the ‘constitutional wager’ of devolution, exposing the ‘narrative of disintegration’ that devolution brings with it, but finishing with a seven-point argument in favour of the Union called ‘Putting the British case’ (p. 144). The ‘future of the Union’ is also the focus of contributions by Robert Hazell, who presents a five-point plan to ‘defend the Union’ (pp. 110–1), and Charlie Jeffery, who predicts a ‘continuation of the centrifugal dynamic of the UK’s strangely disconnected union’ (p. 120). Elsewhere, chapters focus on the possibility of a positive role for the state in fostering a sense of British identity, the importance of the BBC in notions of Britishness, and YouGov polling evidence on perceptions of Britishness.

In all, given the number (fourteen), length (around ten pages) and eclectic range of perspectives of the papers contained within this volume, it will probably function most effectively as a ‘taster’ book; something that will stimulate the reader’s interest in ‘the British question’. Unfortunately, the return by many authors to the theme of Gordon Brown’s ‘Britishness’ project certainly dates the book, while there are some issues – such as the role of Britain’s welfare state, monarchy, religion and the arts in conceptions of ‘Britishness’ – that are not touched upon.

Harry Cheesman
(Institute of Advanced Studies IMT, Lucca, Italy)

Choosing the Labour Leader: Labour Party Leadership Elections from Wilson to Brown by **Timothy Heppell**. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010. 264pp., £52.50, ISBN 978 1848853812

Choosing the Labour Leader is the latest book on UK leadership contests by Timothy Heppell, who previously published a similar book on the Conservative party. Like the earlier book, this one examines the ideological divisions and institutional features of leadership elections since the 1960s. There are separate chapters on all the contests from Harold Wilson's election in 1963 to Gordon Brown's in 2007. Heppell asserts the importance of ideology in most contests and notes that the left enjoyed some success under the old selection system of parliamentary ballots (e.g. Wilson in 1963 and Michael Foot in 1980). A tripartite electoral college, which split votes between MPs, party members and trade unionists, was formed in 1981 and was expected to help the left. In fact, its cumbersome nature helped entrench serving Labour leaders and proved no impediment to the Labour right, as Blair's victory in the 1994 leadership election showed. Indeed, Heppell argues that with the exception of Kinnock's election in 1983, the electoral college largely worked against the interests of the Labour left. However, the 2010 contest, which took place too late to be covered in this book, countered that trend.

Throughout the book, Heppell builds his arguments on a strong evidential base, although there are few new factual discoveries. He makes use of a range of sources, including elite interviews, archives and newspaper reports. The interviews in particular offer some interesting splashes of colour to the narrative.

The focus on a single party, with in-depth coverage of individual leadership contests, ensures a structure that has both strengths and weaknesses. The main strength is that the narrative is detailed and it is possible to chart continuities and changes in leadership elections over the years. One weakness is that there is no comparative element: it is hard to say what is unique to Labour and what is common to most parties. The principal weakness of this book, however, is that it does not cover the 2010 leadership election. That inevitably means that the content is not quite as fresh as it would have been had publication been six months later. The 2010 contest revived ques-

tions about the legitimacy of the electoral college, given that Ed Miliband owed his victory to trade unionists, winning only a minority of MPs' and party members' votes. Nevertheless, there is plenty of material in this book that will prove useful to students of the Labour party and leadership elections.

Thomas Quinn
(University of Essex)

The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910–1950 by **James R. Lothian**. Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009. 512pp., £50.83, ISBN 978 0 268 03382 8

James Lothian has written an important book on the cultural and political history of the English Catholic community. He maintains that although Catholics were a minority, their intellectual and political leaders were culturally and politically relevant as they introduced into British political life the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. The author explains that after the Great War the Catholic community, inspired primarily by papal encyclicals and by Hilaire Belloc's ideology, was deeply influential both as a political and ideological/cultural force.

At the political level the Catholic community gave birth to a number of organisations such as the Distributist League and the Catholic Social Guild which influenced British politics. These organisations not only unified Catholic voters but also influenced the policies of the major parties, especially Labour, by advancing policies in support of family unity, the just wage and widespread property ownership by medium- and small-level craftsmen and industrialists.

At the cultural level, especially through the writings of G. K. Chesterton, Catholics advanced a number of key issues including opposition to the welfare state and hostility to eugenics legislation and capitalism. At the more practical level, through the work of the sculptor Eric Gill and the Dominican father Vincent McNabb, Catholics created a number of autonomous art and craft and rural communities attempting to put displaced industrial workers back to work during the economic recession of the 1920s.

According to Lothian, Belloc was the key architect in the creation of a pugnacious and outspoken Catholic community. He was Chesterton's main mentor and

friend, shaping the ideological core of the Distributist movement. The two shared a common view of British history and their historical works share an opposition to the prevailing 'Whig' interpretation of history, which saw the Reformation as a progressive movement for England and the world. Both argued that the Reformation had very negative socio-economic effects, and that it was largely driven by a desire for profit rather than by true theological differences.

Lothian's work is very impressive and provides a more complete and less ideologically driven overview of British Catholic political activism in the twentieth century than, say, Jay Corrin's *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* (2008).

Paolo Morisi
(Independent Scholar)

Northern Ireland 1968–2008: The Politics of Entrenchment by **Cillian McGrattan**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 230pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 23891 6

Cillian McGrattan's book 'takes its impetus from the idea that the present influences how we see the past' (p. 1). This is an important and honest observation, especially given the antagonism plaguing Northern Ireland during the 'Troubles'. Indeed, these divisions are often thought to colour the political choices of 'rival' Protestant unionist and Catholic nationalist communities. What makes McGrattan's book intellectually intriguing is his view that 'even in an ethnically divided society such as Northern Ireland, ethnic divisions need not be the driving force behind political change and outcome' (p. 185).

Historians would certainly agree that the past is complex and multilayered. Many may even concur with McGrattan's clarion call for a more rigorous approach based on careful scrutiny of archival sources. However, where McGrattan's methodological approach may generate heated debate is in his opposition to those who allow prejudices to guide their interpretations of the past. The latter point is especially important in societies where political elites have (re)invented history for the consumption of their supporters, often in a bid to backfill present-day political and ideological positions. Both unionists and nationalists have been guilty of perpetuating an insular and self-referential discourse built on this particularist reading of the past.

McGrattan cautions us that 'at this juncture of Northern Irish history, the received wisdom about the past could easily be reproduced for another generation' (p. 188). It is in McGrattan's circumspection that we see echoes of the work of historians Tony Judt and Lawrence Stone, as well as the philosopher Paul Ricoeur.

One example of how McGrattan challenges 'conventional wisdom' is in his analysis of nationalist politics. For instance, he disputes the view that the SDLP underwent 'greening' in the late 1970s. Instead he argues that 'the present study points to a distinctive nationalistic emphasis within the party during its formative years and points to more continuity between the SDLP and traditional, pre-Troubles Irish nationalist thinking' (p. 184). This has important implications for our understanding of the party, including helping to explain how John Hume outmanoeuvred Gerry Fitt in 1979 as well as the party's skin-thin commitment to socialism. McGrattan also demonstrates persuasively how unionists found it difficult to stomach compromise with a party that was strongly committed to 'the traditional end-goal of gradual reunification' (p. 184).

Overall one of the book's real accomplishments is its blend of empirical breadth and depth with the methodological dexterity offered by his path-dependent approach. I would certainly recommend it to students and scholars interested in Northern Irish politics, history and the politics of deeply divided societies more generally.

Aaron Edwards
(Royal Military Academy Sandhurst)

The Careless State: Wealth and Welfare in Britain Today by **Paul Taylor**. London: Bloomsbury, 2010. 230pp., £30.00, ISBN 978 1 8496 6001 3

The Careless State joins the growing number of books that have appeared in recent years discussing the causes and effects of growing inequalities of wealth and power in the Anglo-American world. However, it differs from works such as Wilkinson and Pickett's *The Spirit Level* and Toynbee and Walker's *Unjust Rewards* in placing those inequalities explicitly in the context of neo-liberalism, and in relating them to changes in the role and nature of the state. The state, Paul Taylor argues, has been hijacked by a closed and self-serving international

business elite, whose influence and values have corrupted every area of public, social and intellectual life.

The overall argument of this book – that a decent and sustainable level of modest wealth for all is in every way a better basis for society than extremes of fantastic wealth and hopeless poverty – is of course anything but new, but it is one that bears repeating. Taylor acknowledges some of his forebears, showing a particular regard (which this reviewer shares) for Thoreau; and one can also see, for example, echoes of Tawney in his contempt for the vulgarity of great riches. He makes his straightforward argument with great vigour in extremely clear and accessible prose, which constantly displays his passion and anger at the condition to which the contemporary Anglo-American state has sunk.

But this is really a book for the intelligent general reader rather than an academic book. Quite apart from some obvious proofreading errors – for example, David Henry Thoreau for Henry David, Andrew Gillingham for Andrew Gilligan – the referencing is very light, and a number of potentially interesting comments have attributions such as ‘one writer said’. This has the advantage of maintaining the flow of the argument but it is frustrating for the more academic reader. We do not really get the detailed critical analysis that we might expect from an academic work, and some of the proposals for reform – for example, measures to contain excessive property prices in rural areas – are essentially first drafts.

None of this (apart from the proofreading errors) is necessarily a defect in the book; merely a suggestion that Bloomsbury has misplaced it. It has something important to say and says it well, and as such, it deserves and could attract a much wider readership than the Bloomsbury Academic imprint with its £30 price tag might indicate. It is to be hoped that a popular paperback edition will follow.

Andrew Connell
(Independent Scholar)

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

Europe

War, the State and International Law in Seventeenth-Century Europe by **Olaf Asbach and Peter Schröder (eds)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 273pp., £65.00, ISBN 9780754668114

There are a vast number of references to the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the Westphalian system in contemporary international relations literature, but there are fewer scholarly studies of the ideational and diplomatic contexts that gave rise to that peace settlement (the classic works by Conrad Eckhardt and, more recently, by Lucien Bely being notable exceptions). Asbach and Schröder's edited volume is an attempt to redress that imbalance. Bringing together a collection of essays that were originally presented at a June 2008 conference hosted by the German Historical Institute in London, it provides an English-speaking audience with access to new scholarship on Early Modern Europe. Indeed, many of the authors are German and therefore, naturally, have drawn heavily – if not exclusively – on German sources. (Natural also in that Westphalia was a response to a war fought largely on the territory of modern Germany.) While readers might be familiar with some of the contributors, such as Benno Teschke and his neo-Marxist interpretation of the early modern state, others are less well known, which marks the great value of a work such as this.

As the title suggests, the volume is divided across three themes – war, the state and international law – which are treated separately in several chapters but also – correctly, in my opinion – identified by various authors as interlinked. The discussion of the scholarly debates surrounding the causal relationship between war and the state provide a valuable introduction to the Early Modern era. However, as Harald Kleinschmidt points out, the international system at that time comprised not only states, but also various non-state actors engaged in contractually defined relations. The influence of religion is underscored by several chapters that look at the origins of modern international law, the roots of which lie in the treatment of natural law in the works of Hobbes, Grotius and Pufendorf.

Perhaps one of the most interesting chapters is the study of the Holy Roman Empire as a system of states. Christoph Kampmann argues that the combatants in the Thirty Years War had much more limited objectives

than is generally acknowledged. The war lasted as long as it did not because of sectarian rivalries, but rather due to political objectives (often defined by idiosyncratic views of major figures), including the pursuit of a just peace, which was difficult to achieve. The concluding chapter by Olaf Asbach draws attention to the continuing relevance of this history to modern international affairs: a modern order 'which was first generated in early modern Europe and is, despite all contemporary differences, still dominant at the present time' (p. 250). As this volume suggests, the heterogeneity of modern international politics, in terms of actors, values, beliefs and objectives, was born in the era of the Westphalian peace.

As with any edited collection, the chapters are of uneven quality. In certain chapters, the language and writing style make some of the ideas that inform the analysis less accessible on first reading. In most cases, however, the reader will enjoy the scholarship of the contributors to this volume and will acquire a much enhanced awareness of the essentially subjective elements that underlie what so many theorists posit is an objective state system.

Ben Lombardi
(Defence R&D Canada)

In Pursuit of Sustainable Development: New Governance Practices at the Sub-national Level in Europe by Susan Baker and Katarina Eckerberg (eds). Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. 234pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 415 41910 9

Drawing upon and contributing to discussions of sustainable development in a range of European nations, the authors examine sustainable development measures at the sub-national level in reference to several key themes. The central focus of the book is twofold: to evaluate sustainable development measures (in terms of environmental and social implementation); and to explore to what extent these have been put in place using new governance tools and mechanisms. Governance of sustainable development in the selected EU member states (Germany, Spain, Ireland and the Netherlands) as well as Norway is examined in terms of multi-level governance, governance networks and public-private partnerships. The authors adopt these governance perspectives in analysing the implementation and success of sustainable development measures,

for example, the ways in which Local Agenda 21 (LA21) policies have been implemented in Spain, as well as the different implementation strategies for sustainable development at the regional and local level in Norway, the Netherlands and Ireland. Attention is also given to the differing governance models that implementation of these strategies entails.

To this end, the authors undertake an examination of sustainable development measures and their implementation through different governance perspectives. They employ networks and multi-level governance frameworks to examine and explain the roles of key actors involved in the delivery of sustainable policies in the case study areas. This framework builds upon studies of sustainable development and governance (particularly within EU studies) and, importantly, makes a clear distinction between sustainable development and the environment. This underlines the book's useful contribution to the governance literature by applying these debates to an examination of sustainable development. Debates around urban politics and regeneration (especially in the UK) have focused before on these modes of governance, but the authors provide a substantial contribution to the literature by applying this analysis to notions of how sustainable development is implemented and governed in a range of countries.

The editors and authors succeed in their aims of highlighting sustainable development measures in a range of case study areas, conducting an analysis of sustainable policies across various tiers of governance, and making this distinct from previous environmental politics and urban politics studies. For any student or scholar of sustainable development and governance or public policy, this is a worthwhile and engaging study.

Rory Shand
(University of Plymouth)

The Role of the European Union in Asia: China and India as Strategic Partners by Bart Gaens, Juha Jokela and Eija Linnell (eds). Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009. 260pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7790 1

The aim of this volume is to assess the strategies adopted by the European Union towards China and India since the 1990s, with the purpose of providing policy recommendations for a more effective pursuit of Europe's goals and interests in Asia. The book is the

result of a collaborative effort led by Finnish, Danish and Swedish research institutes, bringing together contributions by European as well as Chinese and Indian scholars.

A number of analytical themes run throughout the book, such as the distinctive actorness of the EU as compared to China and India, the role of mutual perceptions and the impact of regional and multilateral dimensions of global governance. The first chapter, by Timo Kivimäki, investigates the impact of regional constructs on relations between the EU, India, China and to a certain extent the United States. The following section – consisting of four contributions by Juha Jokela, Bart Gaens, Stig Toft Madsen and Mikael Mattlin – analyses the European approach to Asia, with separate chapters on the Europeanisation of EU foreign policy towards Asia, the development of the EU's Asia Strategy and ASEM, and on Europe's policies towards India and China.

While these chapters offer a view from Europe on the strategic partnerships between the EU and the Asian giants, the next five chapters look more specifically at Chinese and Indian policies and their implications for Europe. Zhang Tiejun presents an assessment of Sino–European relations focusing on the asymmetries between these two actors, while Bates Gill and Linda Jakobson analyse, respectively, the evolution of China's approach to multilateralism and global governance, and the nature and consequences of Beijing's 'energy diplomacy'. A chapter by Rajendra Jain is devoted to India's approach to Europe and its perception of the EU as a normative power. Finally, Claudia Astarita looks at Sino–Indian relations, with a view to the role that could be played by the EU.

This volume is certainly of great interest, given the topicality of its subject matter. Although the coverage is quite broad, some readers might find it to be rather Eurocentric and significantly skewed towards the Chinese side of EU–Asia relations, somewhat to the detriment of the analysis of the EU's partnership with India. While not strongly held together by a common framework, most chapters are relatively rich in theory and they all offer sound policy recommendations. Consequently, the book will certainly appeal to scholars and practitioners alike.

Salvatore Finamore
(University of Cambridge)

Political Leadership in France: From Charles de Gaulle to Nicolas Sarkozy by John Gaffney. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 258pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 00181 7

This book offers a very interesting analysis of how different French presidents have exercised power in France since the Second World War. General Charles de Gaulle came to power in 1958 to face the political crisis created by the collapse of the Fourth Republic. The Republic had a weak assembly parliamentary system of government supported by a multiparty system which was characterised by considerable ideological polarisation. The leaders of the Fourth Republic had been unable to confront the Algerian crisis as the political parties continued to bicker among themselves. Facing exceptionally grave circumstances, de Gaulle rose to power and quickly established a direct relationship with voters, thus bypassing the political parties. As the author asserts, the focus on an exceptional individual meant that de Gaulle was able to confer a very particular style of leadership on the new Fifth Republic. De Gaulle's institutional reforms transformed the political system by limiting the negative influence of the political parties and by increasing the scope for personal leadership and the emphasis upon the referendum and direct democracy. The general reforms had a transformative effect on the Republic's institutions and for the role of political parties. The five presidents who came after de Gaulle – Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing, Mitterrand, Chirac and Sarkozy – have each capitalised upon their own political 'persona' and their relationship to the French people. In addition, they have maintained continuity with de Gaulle by continuing to emphasise the role of the president within the French political system.

The political parties on both right and left have continued to play a more limited role and they no longer enjoy the predominant role that they had in the Fourth Republic. The institutions of the Fifth Republic have also increased the role that voters have in deciding critical policy issues through the use of the referendum. De Gaulle used the referendum to solve the Algerian question and to enact the new constitution. In 2005, President Jacques Chirac submitted to referendum the issue of whether France should ratify the proposed treaty for a Constitution of the European Union. The

result was a victory for the No campaign with 55 per cent of voters rejecting the treaty, thus dealing a blow to Chirac's presidency. This outcome shows the double-edged sword of the referendum and the fact that voters of the Fifth Republic do not necessarily rubber stamp presidential policies.

Paolo Morisi
(Independent Scholar)

Changing Government Relations in Europe: From Localism to Intergovernmentalism by Michael J. Goldsmith and Edward C. Page (eds). London: Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science, 2010. 304pp., £75.00, ISBN 978 0 415 54846-5

Changing Government Relations in Europe is a continuation of an earlier work¹ in which Page and Goldsmith sought to provide a snapshot of the situation in unitary states in Western Europe for a deeper understanding of the changing dynamics of intergovernmental relations. The main contribution of the first book was to underline the North–South distinction in Western Europe in terms of those countries' central–local relations. In today's globalised and more Europeanised setting, the two scholars have produced a revised version of their work which aims to explore what has changed in the nature of central–local relations in European countries as a result of external and internal changes over the last twenty years.

While they have remained loyal to the analytical research framework designed in the original version, Goldsmith and Page have broadened the empirical case selections by including some Central and Eastern European countries and states from a federal tradition. The countries examined in this volume are Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Contributors for the case studies were required to conduct their research in conjunction with the analytical framework which rests on understanding such factors as variations in the *functions* performed by local authorities, the *discretion* they have in performing those functions and the *access* they have in policy debates at the national level (p. 5). Each contribution also includes a conclusion that summarises the findings and lessons learned for each case study. In order to assess the

importance of function, Goldsmith and Page use a quantitative approach which assesses the local government's share of public expenditure and its share of public employment. Measuring the other two variations – discretion and access – relies more on qualitative assessments.

Even if testing the same model twenty years later has not brought about any theoretical innovation, the expansion of case studies from seven to thirteen and changes in both the exogenous and endogenous settings has produced different outcomes. These outcomes are as follows: the clear distinction between North and South apparent in 1987 does not account for the present-day system of intergovernmental relations; the importance of the intermediate level is clear but central control over the localities remains important; and national differences between case countries have become more diverse than in 1987.

While Goldsmith and Page's three-variable functions, discretion and access model does help researchers to understand the nature of intergovernmental relations in Europe, it also has some limitations. From the outset, the model could be considered as too simple to analyse the complex and dynamic process of changing intergovernmental relations in Europe. It also downgrades the role played by the EU, while placing a major emphasis on national governments. Nonetheless, this edited volume is still highly crucial for students and scholars of local government, urban politics, EU studies, public administration and regionalism.

Note

1 Page, E. C. and Goldsmith, M. J. (1987) *Central and Local Government Relations: A Comparative Analysis of Western European Unitary States*. London: Sage.

Ali Onur Ozcelik
(University of Sheffield)

Europeanization and National Politics by Robert Ladrech. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 38pp., £24.99, ISBN 978 1 4039 1875 8

Robert Ladrech's book provides an introduction to the concept of Europeanisation, its methods of analysis and, more broadly, the various approaches used to study it so far. It also presents a macro-level evaluation of the nature, extent and consequences of the Europeanisation of member states.

Alongside an introduction and a conclusion the book includes a conceptual and methodological chapter devoted to establishing a framework of analysis, and eight empirical chapters which focus on the (non-)impact of European integration on three dimensions of domestic change: the polity dimension (national executives, national parliaments, centre–regional relations and national courts); the politics dimension (political parties, interest groups and social movements); and the policy dimension (national policy and foreign policy). In each of these eight chapters there is a section on the post-communist experience, where the links between sources of change and effect are structured around different parameters. The conclusion brings together all of the arguments and makes a number of claims: that EU member state relationships, as redefined by Europeanisation, are gradually giving rise to a distinct EU polity; that there is a visible (although at times modest and indirect) impact on all three of the dimensions examined, with a plexus of domestic specificities mediating change; and that Europeanisation leads to a depoliticisation of politics but also exacerbates an anti-politics sentiment.

The analysis is both advanced and clear. Ladrech synthesises perspectives and extracts from this synthesis solid theoretical argumentation and literature-based empirical pointers. Crucial to the book's success is the very careful treatment of the issue of causality. Ladrech fulfils the expectations generated by his initial claim that 'the prime concern of any Europeanization research agenda is ... establishing the causal link, thereby validating the impact of the EU on domestic change' (p. 2). Indeed, the operationalisation of Europeanisation, 'as the change within a member state whose motivating logic is tied to an EU policy or decision-making process' (p. 2), is precise enough to avoid conceptual stretching and flexible enough to trace indirect and complex causal links.

However, one main drawback can be detected. The analysis precludes a consideration of the EU's ideological character in terms of the dominant conceptions and interests that shape political norms, institutional design and policy making at the EU level. By downplaying questions that are significant for understanding a potential normative direction imposed by the EU on member states' ideological fabrics, the analysis runs the risk of being conceived as too 'technocratic' for political scientists interested in much more than strategic action.

In spite of this limitation, which appears to be a characteristic of most of the work done on Europeanisation so far and is in no way particular to Ladrech's analysis, the book deserves to be not only a point of reference for scholars of Europeanisation and EU politics more broadly, but also a handy compass to navigate through the wealth of research on Europeanisation in the last fifteen years or so.

Giorgos Charalambous
(Frederick University, Cyprus, and University of Cyprus)

The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament by **Juliet Lodge (ed.)**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 327pp., £65.00, ISBN 978 0 230 23040 8

This is the latest book in what is effectively a series on European Parliament elections. As with the previous ones, it is divided into three parts: introduction, country case analyses and conclusion. Compared to previous editions, both the introduction and the conclusion are shorter, certainly in terms of total chapters. In the introductory section, the first chapter is a clear summary by Richard Corbett of the role and activities of the European Parliament in the previous five-year term. This is followed by a chapter that assesses the parliament–voters linkage, in particular the (limited) effects of new technologies on improving communication and mobilisation. The third chapter assesses the various party groups, including the new group formed by the British Conservatives. A comparative analysis of voter turnout would have been beneficial in this introductory part.

The core of the book, as always, is formed by the chapters analysing the European Parliament election in each member state. By necessity these are brief, averaging nine pages each, with Germany being the longest at twelve pages. These country chapters generally follow a three-part structure of assessing in turn the background, the national campaign and the results. The Estonia chapter also includes analysis of its electronic voting system, the first such use in a European Parliament election. These chapters are very well written, highly informative and clear. For example, the chapter on the United Kingdom classifies each of the 25 parties running in Great Britain both on ideology/issue focus and on support for or opposition to European integration. Of course, one of the realities of elections to the European Parliament is that

national parties conduct them. Consequently, some discussion is provided of each national political situation, but this should be seen as valuable – certainly for those countries of whose party politics the reader lacks familiarity.

The conclusion consists of just one chapter, but it is a highly useful one that looks at the framing (European versus national) and salience of various issues in the campaign, based on scoring from each country chapter author. Only climate change, economic issues and the Lisbon Treaty were framed more as European than as national issues. Inasmuch as European Parliament elections remain largely ‘second order’ elections conducted by national parties, the country-by-country focus of this comprehensive book remains quite valid. In summary, this is still the ‘go to’ source for information and analysis of the most recent European Parliament election.

Alan Siaroff
(University of Lethbridge)

The European Union and the Global South by **Fredrik Söderbaum and Patrik Stålgren (eds)**. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2010. 318pp., £55.95, ISBN 978 1588263018

This volume edited by Fredrik Söderbaum and Patrik Stålgren aims to explain variations in the role of the EU with respect to distinct Global South counterpart regions (Africa, Asia and Latin America) and in divergent policy fields (economic cooperation, development cooperation and security cooperation). Primary research questions, laid out in the introductory chapter, are whether and how the EU is to be regarded as a global actor and what role its strategy of region-to-region relations (inter-regionalism) plays.

To answer these questions the book is divided into five parts. The first part begins with a chapter by Hettne who comprehensively describes the EU as an actor, its foreign policy relations and the interregional model. Chapter 3 by Grimm is a more in-depth contribution which primarily analyses the EU’s relations with developing countries and the three above-mentioned policy areas. The next chapters focus on economic cooperation, development cooperation and security cooperation, respectively. In Part II (‘Economic Cooperation’) Farrell analyses the EU–Africa relationship including policy coordination among EU

member states. Santander then analyses EU–Mercosur inter-regionalism in Latin America and reveals that economic competition with the US has influenced this relationship immensely. Farrell investigates the EU’s external relations towards Asia and approaches the particularly timely aspect of Asian emerging powers that have an influence on the EU as a global actor.

Part III begins with a chapter on Africa where Söderbaum and Stålgren highlight the EU’s relations and actorness towards Africa with regard to development cooperation. The nature of development cooperation in Latin America is investigated by Haglund Morrissey, followed by a chapter by Grimm on the EU’s changing relations with Asia. Part IV contains two chapters, the first of which, by Smis and Kingah, focuses on conflict management and the internal problems faced by the EU in its strategy towards the Great Lakes region. Internal coordination problems on the part of the EU also feature as one of the main problems in the chapter on the EU’s strategic approach to conflict management in Columbia, by De Lombaerde, Haghebaert, Ramirez and Vranckx.

All in all, this book encompasses a complex and sometimes contradictory account of the EU’s relations in the Global South which should be read by anyone with an interest in the EU’s development as a global actor.

Aukje van Loon
(Ruhr University, Bochum, Germany)

Cultures of Power in Post-communist Russia: An Analysis of Elite Political Discourse by **Michael Urban**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 216pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 521 19516 4

Michael Urban’s *Cultures of Power* picks up on the pioneering work that he did in the Soviet era when he delved more deeply and imaginatively into Soviet political discourse than any other scholar. Then, Urban used official Soviet texts – speeches, party documents, etc. – to show how the political world was constituted and how the power of the Communist party was called into being to resolve tensions within the Soviet system. Now, Urban examines how cultures of power, the combination of networks of actors and the subjective interpretations of the political world that they share and

contest are expressed as 'discursive strategies ... by means of which actors on the field of politics stake out positions yielding access to desired things ... to various forms of capital' (p. 4). This is done through interviews of an impressive array of leading political figures. These are divided into cohorts by the era in which they accessed power or opposed it: this gives groups for the Gorbachev era, the Yeltsin era (divided in two for his two administrations), the democratic opposition party Yabloko and the Putin era. The interview materials are then analysed around themes – social relations, community, morality, competence and revolution – that are each the subject of one of the book's substantive chapters.

The focus of the empirical material is very much on the views of the 'establishment' and one element of the opposition, rather than on all dimensions of Russian political discourse. But this does not stop Urban from showing that the discursive space of Russian politics is highly fragmented and that elite discourse is disconnected from society. The main finding of the book is that ideas about accountability, community and approval are missing from elite discourse. Oppositional and societal discourses – whether the liberal ones that Urban studies or the others that one might find in nationalist movements, etc. – are disconnected from elite discourses because there is no notion of a sovereign people through which they can connect and influence each other.

This is a very inadequate summary of the rich material in Urban's book, both theoretical and empirical. Urban's arguments and ideas about Russian politics and the continued weakness of democracy in Russia are novel and explore a type of data that is missing in other studies of Russian politics. As a result the book fills a huge gap and should be read by anyone interested in the development of the Russian political system.

Neil Robinson
(University of Limerick)

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

The Americas

Leading Them to the Promised Land: Woodrow Wilson, Covenant Theology, and the Mexican Revolution, 1913–1915 by **Mark Benbow**. Kent OH: Kent State University Press, 2010. 224pp., £46.50, ISBN 978 1 60635 025 6

Partially influenced by IR theorist and historian E. H. Carr, the materials presented during my political science degree asserted that Woodrow Wilson was a naïve idealist, especially with regard to his foreign policy. Without purposefully addressing any utopian idealist categorisation of the president, fellow historian Mark Benbow implicitly challenges Carr's thesis by characterising Wilson as a 'long-term realist'. Theology plays a role in each historian's analysis. Carr is influenced by theological ethicist Reinhold Niebuhr's *Immoral Man and Moral Society*, as represented by the realist argument that Wilson failed properly to account for the realities of power, corruption and a self-interested humanity (i.e. theologically, the problem of sin). *Leading Them to the Promised Land* employs covenant theology as a framing to explore Wilson's motivations for his actions surrounding the Mexican Revolution. In the process, while retaining the general premise that Wilson's theological-ethical world view motivated his foreign policy, Benbow undercuts some of the foundations for Carr's critique.

Specifically, Benbow connects Wilson's brand of American Presbyterian Christianity to covenant theology. Such political theology is based upon the notion that a populace and its leaders enter into free agreements with a higher power as a witness. In contrast to the 'Big Stick' and 'Dollar' diplomacy of his predecessors, Benbow shows how Wilson syncretised his concept of constitutionalism, a belief in the primacy of an emancipated citizenry's popular will and covenant theology, to form his foreign policy convictions. Further, in departing from Carr, Benbow convincingly argues that Wilson's particular application of covenant theology took the reality of sin very seriously. This is evidenced by Wilson's efforts to ensure constitutional checks on executive power holders as a key plank of his 'mission'-oriented faith in democracy, and his justification for the use of force as a sometimes necessary means to foster good governance in a 'fallen' world.

Benbow's connections between covenant theology and Wilson's foreign policy are sometimes a bit forced or awkward. However, the strong point of this monograph is not so much its innovative interpretive lens as the case study material. Benbow's research in the latter regard is instructive and generally well presented. There are a few instances of repetition and disordered emphasis that may be attributable to shifting text without appropriate redaction. Such stylistic issues aside, reading *Leading Them to the Promised Land* will inform a nuanced understanding of both Wilsonian idealism and the president's perception of the Mexican Revolution during his first two years in office.

Christopher Hrynkow
(University of Manitoba)

The Presidential Appointee's Handbook by **G. Edward DeSeve**. Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 2009. 123pp., £13.99, ISBN 978 0 8157 1833 8

In this compact handbook, Edward DeSeve argues that presidential appointees must master six key competencies and navigate the complexities of the US federal government in order to achieve their policy goals. DeSeve is a former chief financial officer of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development and a former deputy director for management at the Office of Management and Budget. He uses his government experience to help presidential appointees learn how to balance 'the day-to-day struggles and compromises with a broader interest in serving the public' (p. 83). Although Trattner and McGinnis have already explored this topic in *The 2004 Prune Book*, DeSeve offers a fresh perspective that will appeal to new and prospective presidential appointees, senior government executives and military leaders in the US.

DeSeve asserts that presidential appointees need to understand how to exercise leadership and produce results in a highly bureaucratic environment. Consequently, the book is divided into two parts. The first part examines management concepts and frameworks that are 'essential for effective performance' (p. 1). Chapters 1, 4 and 5 introduce three critical components of leadership: 'leading for results', 'leading others' and 'leading yourself'. The remaining three chapters explain the fundamentals of creating change, enhancing technical knowledge and maintaining a global perspective. The second part provides 'a road map' to help presidential

appointees understand the inner workings of the US federal government. Chapter 7 summarises the core principles of the American Constitution, Chapter 8 describes the intricacies of the US legislative process and Chapter 9 discusses executive branch directives and the budget process.

DeSeve reminds us that presidential appointees must be skilled managers and skilled politicians. He presents key management practices and government processes, includes clear and helpful examples and features advice from past presidential appointees. DeSeve acknowledges that most presidential appointees 'come to their jobs with strong backgrounds and skills', but he points out that successful appointees develop the 'ability to accept the things that cannot be changed, the courage to change the things that can be changed, and the wisdom to know the difference' (pp. 2–4). Given that 'the streets of Washington are littered with potholes', it is surprising that DeSeve oversimplifies many important government processes in Part II (p. 83). Nevertheless, government and military leaders should carefully consider DeSeve's perspective on the skills and knowledge that they 'might need to serve the president and the nation' (p. 4).

Steven D. Cohen
(University of Maryland)

An Outsider in the White House: Jimmy Carter, His Advisors, and the Making of American Foreign Policy by **Betty Glad**. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. 398pp., £20.50, ISBN 978 0 8014 4815 7

The late Betty Glad's *An Outsider in the White House* is an exhaustively researched and comprehensive assessment of Jimmy Carter's foreign policy record. Based on extensive archival research and interviews with scores of participants, the book focuses on the gap between the president's good intentions in promoting human rights and his failure to recognise the limits of that approach to great power politics. At the core of the volume Glad systematically analyses the impact of Carter's advisory system and the institutional clash between traditional national security interests and new human rights priorities. Personifying this conflict were Cyrus Vance (secretary of state) and Zbigniew Brzezinski (national security adviser), who sharply disagreed over fundamental policy issues. An ardent Cold Warrior and indefatigable bureaucratic actor, Brzezinski used his

considerable tactical skill to outmanoeuvre Vance, who sought to implement the more idealistic side of Carter's approach to foreign relations. In one of the many ironies Glad fruitfully explores, Carter rode to the White House largely by framing himself as an outsider. Once there, however, he was forced to rely on the consummate insider, Brzezinski, who 'saw the Soviet Union as a megalomaniac state bent on world domination' (p. 25). This view was eventually adopted by Carter himself, despite the fact that this 'muscular stance' damaged the president's efforts at promoting human rights and nuclear arms limitation (p. 279).

Based on new evidence, Glad's most revealing example of this gap between good intentions and bad consequences concerns El Salvador. In the midst of that country's escalating political violence, the Catholic archbishop Oscar Romero urged President Carter to cease providing military assistance to the junta that had seized control of the government in late 1979. With Carter's tacit approval, his advisers urged Pope John Paul II to pressure Romero to end his outspoken opposition to the murderous regime in power. This isolation helped lead to Romero's assassination shortly thereafter. 'If human rights are the soul of US foreign policy', Glad concludes, 'then the Carter administration sinned in dealing with El Salvador' (p. 250).

Foreign policy specialists will find much to appreciate in this book. By focusing on the role played by Brzezinski in shaping Carter's policy, Glad makes a distinctive contribution to the growing literature on that topic. *An Outsider in the White House* is a fitting capstone to a lifetime of scholarly achievement.

Kirk Tyvela
(University of Wisconsin)

Boundaries of Obligation in American Politics: Geographic, National, and Racial Communities

by **Cara J. Wong**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 264pp., £16.99, ISBN 978 0 521 69184 0

Boundaries of Obligation focuses on two questions. First, how do Americans imagine their communities? Second, to what extent do these imagined community boundaries affect political obligations felt towards those within and outside the community? Cara Wong provides an important first step towards answering these questions by presenting extensive empirical evidence for three types of community within the United States:

those based on geographic, national or racial boundaries. Notably, and in contrast to much other work in the field, Wong does not base her analysis on externally defined community boundaries, but on how these are imagined by the people.

Thoroughly grounded in literature from across the social sciences, the book begins with a comprehensive conceptual discussion alongside an empirical examination of the validity of Wong's main variable – group closeness as a measure of a sense of community. She then presents and discusses the results of her creative but careful analysis of nine national and regional public opinion surveys. For each community type, Wong shows that Americans draw the boundaries of their imagined communities differently and, crucially, that how these boundaries are drawn affects their political attitudes and participation 'above and beyond ... interests, ideology, and values' (p. 202).

Among other things, Wong demonstrates that feelings of belonging to geographic communities are multiple and overlapping and that both the perceived community as well as the intensity of attachment may vary between and within individuals (pp. 108–9). She shows that imagined national boundaries are often more exclusive than those described in citizenship laws (p. 127), and are based not only on ancestral attributes but also on attitudes and behaviour (pp. 147–8). Finally, she illustrates that feelings of a sense of community and political obligation can, and often do, cross racial boundaries (pp. 191–3). In each chapter, Wong is careful to point out and analyse potential intervening variables and alternative explanations.

Despite Wong's attention to detail and the wealth of survey analyses, *Boundaries of Obligation* is well written and easy to follow. This insightful book is recommended for scholars and students of all levels across the social sciences who are interested not only in state or elite definitions of community, but also in how ordinary people imagine and act on it.

Anaïd Flesken
(University of Exeter)

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

Asia and the Pacific

Piracy and the State: The Politics of Intellectual Property Rights in China by **Martin K. Dimitrov**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 307pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 521 89731 0

This book is a classic example of the Prussian general Karl von Schmidt's statement that 'The form of government is unimportant – the spirit everything'. While the question of piracy has a global dimension, its entrenchment in a particular country is always circumscribed primarily by the political will of the government and, second, by the nature of governance. The core rationale for this empirically and qualitatively interesting book by Martin Dimitrov is to decipher and decode the effective ineffectiveness of China's state agencies in combating piracy and other violations of intellectual property rights (IPR).

Written in an interesting academic style, the focus is on China because this communist nation is one of the largest perpetrators of IPR violations globally and there is a need for a 'comprehensive empirical study' (p. 17) of China's IPR enforcement regime. In the course of his study, Dimitrov uncovers some provoking and perplexing findings: the highly reactive nature of Chinese enforcement agencies; the apparent difference in treating patent infringements *vis-à-vis* other IPR infringements such as copyright and trademarks; jurisdictional ambiguity; and the increasing role of private investigators who come between right holders and the Chinese enforcement agencies.

From a political standpoint the author also makes references to cultural factors within the Chinese system as it operates under the highly bureaucratic communist system, namely, *hongbao* (bribes) and *ban'an fei* (case handling fees). Methodologically, the author's research is based on a combination of secondary sources of (empirical) data alongside information from semi-structured interviews. Regrettably, this approach does not always give the researcher sufficient insight into providing solutions to the problem.

Three major drawbacks stand out in this book: (1) the lack of a clear exposition of specific cases that the author has encountered, so as to make it useful for students of IPR and political science; (2) the unin-

formative and incomprehensible format of comparing the communist Chinese state with countries like France and the US; and (3) the absence of any solutions to countering the ineffectiveness of the IPR regime in China, either through cross-country comparisons or through suggested changes to the system of political governance. As the author warns the reader at the start, there are countless 'pitfalls of routine enforcement of laws governing IPR in China' (p. 4), but this is a story without a lesson to accompany it.

G. Narasimha Raghavan
(Jansons School of Business, Coimbatore,
Tamil Nadu State, India)

Japan's Remilitarisation by **Christopher W. Hughes**. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2009. 186pp., £9.99, ISBN 978 0 415 55692 7

With a peace constitution and US–Japan alliance constraining its potential military ambitions, Japan lived peacefully with its neighbours and created an impressive economic miracle in the post-Second World War world. At the turn of the twenty-first century, however, as the security environment in East Asia changed – particularly with the rapid rise of Chinese power, North Korea's nuclear programmes and the emergence of a more self-assured Russia – Japan embarked on rapid remilitarisation under the administration of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi (April 2001–September 2006). This book by Christopher Hughes engages in the debate on Japan's post-Koizumi security stance. In order to address the question of whether Japan has entrenched its military position or continued on the remilitarisation path since 2001, Hughes looks at several key areas of Japan's security policy: defence expenditure, the size and power-projection capabilities of the armed forces, civil–military relations, military–industrial complexes, external military and alliance commitments and domestic institutional and normative military constraints.

Taken together, the book presents a set of comprehensive and objective indicators that point towards Japan's continuing remilitarisation (p. 19). It offers evidence that Japan's security policy is undergoing long-term structural change, predisposing it towards a more aggressive military stance, and that domestic political machinations including the peace movement have not

halted this process. Japan has faced growing demands from a series of global and regional crises, from its US ally and from domestic constituencies to contribute more actively to international military affairs, and Japan's defence expenditure has consistently exceeded the traditional limit set in the 1980s of 1 per cent of gross national product (p. 39). These developments in Japan are puzzling since Japan's continuing remilitarisation has important ramifications for international security.

Although the author is not sending an alarmist warning that Japan will necessarily become the kind of state it was between 1931 and 1945, his findings compel us to take a new and sombre look at Japan – a peaceful nation after the Second World War which is now set upon a long-term trajectory that will see it assuming a more assertive regional and global security role in the years ahead. Japan's new security policy has a direct impact on the East Asian power balance and security landscape; among other things, it runs the risk of further stimulating Sino-Japanese rivalry. While other countries should approach a remilitarising Japan more cautiously, Japan needs to recognise the concerns of its neighbours as a result of its remilitarisation. The book has been carefully researched and is clearly written and I would recommend it to all who are interested in Japan and East Asian security.

Zhiqun Zhu
(Bucknell University, Pennsylvania)

Democracy and Development in India: From Socialism to Pro-business by Atul Kohli. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. 447pp., £54.95, ISBN 978 0 19 5697933

Written over a period of almost three decades, *Democracy and Development in India* is an outstanding collection of essays by Atul Kohli which discuss the paradigm of development and democracy as well as the changing relationship between the state and capital in India from a historical perspective. The essays show that over the last three decades the state and the ruling class in India have abandoned socialist ideology and have instead enthusiastically embraced a pro-capitalist neo-liberal ethos and practices which have had 'negative implications for pursuing redistributive policies in India' (p. 14). Following the Weberian state-society and com-

parative frame of analysis, the essays in this collection advocate a social democratic model of development where economic growth is accompanied by redistributive reforms and social justice.

The book has fifteen essays divided along three themes: political change, political economy and uneven regional development. In the first part, the essays discuss the complex dynamics of political change and power management in India. According to Kohli, the hegemonic 'Congress system', which provided political stability by accommodating diverse ethnic and regional interests and helped consolidate socialist democracy during the Nehru period, began to decline during the period of Indira Gandhi, whose 'personalistic and populist politics' weakened India's democratic institutions (p. 7). With this, various ethnic and regional political parties began to emerge, which resulted not only in the 'growing fragmentation' (p. 9) of political society but also in increasing political instability in India.

The second part of the book discusses 'the political determinants of growth and distributional patterns in India' (p. 105). Kohli explains the growth upsurge in India as 'a product, not of liberal policies adopted in 1991, but of a growing state-capital alliance' (p. 13) that began around 1980. Although this alliance has accelerated economic growth, it simultaneously widened inequality across classes and regions of India. In the final part, Kohli employs a comparative analysis of the various types of Indian state – neo-patrimonial (Bihar), social democratic (West Bengal) and developmental (Gujarat) – and the politics of regional development, and concludes that a 'parliamentary-communist' or 'social democratic' regime provides the best hope 'for facilitating redistribution within the framework of democratic capitalism' (p. 249).

The essays are well argued, theoretically original and amply substantiated by empirical evidence. The only problem, however, is that most of these essays were written long ago and have not been updated. Today's India is very different from that of the 1980s. Despite this, the volume's use of comparative methodology and state-society analysis makes it an important contribution to the literature on political sociology and comparative politics.

Sarbeswar Sahoo
(Indian Institutes of Technology, Delhi)

The Politics of Extremism in South Asia by **Deepa M. Ollapally**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 239pp., £17.99, ISBN 978 0 521 69912 9

This book is a timely contribution to understanding the current turmoil in South Asia, which in recent years has witnessed dramatic political and economic transformation. The events of 11 September 2001 have resulted in the region becoming part of the strategic interests of the United States. Pakistan has become an important military ally of the US in its fight against the Taliban and other terrorist organisations and the US has also been providing large-scale economic and developmental aid to Pakistan to revive its economy and check the rise of Islamic extremism, which has now begun to exert greater influence in regions beyond the subcontinent.

What explains religious extremism in South Asia, a region that did not previously have a history of religious conflict, particularly in the pre-colonial period? The author challenges the view that associates extremism with religion and ethnicity and provides an alternative explanation by critically analysing the 'geopolitical identity' that has provided fertile ground for the rise of extremism in South Asia. By analysing various recent armed conflicts in the region, Deepa Ollapally argues that 'external forces have exerted a good deal of influence on domestic structures and orientations in South Asia' (p. 51). She acknowledges Peter Gourevitch, the Harvard-based international theorist, for his work on the role of international forces in domestic politics.

Each case in the book is analysed separately and various explanations such as poverty, state repression, religious doctrine and state initiative are explored, although Ollapally downplays religious factors in all cases. She attributes an important role to the state in fashioning geopolitical identities, particularly in states with contested sovereignties and insecure elites such as Sri Lanka and Pakistan. However, the attempt to historicise the region's syncretic past is somewhat sketchy, which could have been easily avoided.

Nonetheless, this book is an important contribution to understanding the reasons behind the violent conflicts that have become part of daily life in Pakistan. It also enhances our understanding of what factors have prolonged the pressing Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, two of the world's nuclear powers; why

Afghanistan is reeling under brutal armed conflict; what led to the emergence of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) and long-running violent conflict in Sri Lanka; and how various competing political ideologies have been negotiated in Bangladeshi politics. The book's prime target appears to be policy makers in the region, but it will also be useful for scholars of South Asian politics and international relations.

Taberez Ahmed Neyazi
(University of Kyoto)

Obstacles to Democratization in Southeast Asia: A Study of the Nation State, Regional and Global Order by **Erik Paul**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 230pp., £57.50, ISBN 978 0 230 24181 7

This book provides a comprehensive survey of contemporary socio-political issues concerning the region of Southeast Asia as well as the nations within it. Erik Paul analyses the extent of challenges to democratisation in the region and seeks to reframe democratisation from the perspective of historically embedded obstacles. He also links these obstacles to ASEAN's institutional failures to promote human rights, a common market and a regional community, along the lines of the far more advanced European Union.

Obstacles to Democratization in Southeast Asia consists of seven substantive chapters and commences with an analysis of the notion of sovereignty in the face of immensely profound structural and supranational factors such as regionalisation, global integration and the prospect of a global state. This concept of sovereignty is linked with various obstacles to democratisation such as intra-national variables (struggles of class and race) and globalisation, and the author then advocates an ASEAN that 'would be transformed into a UN regional parliament' (pp. 28–9). Chapter 3 contains an extensive account of the seemingly insurmountable contemporary socio-political and economic tribulations currently faced by Southeast Asian countries. These problems render democratisation an arduous task for an overwhelming majority of ASEAN countries. Consequently, Paul contextualises these intra-national struggles within the region-wide problems of integration, identity construction, the possibility of ASEAN expansion, the role of 'great powers' such as China and the United States, and ecological scarcity and its political implications. Paul

concludes by reinforcing the argument that the nations in the region may find refuge in regional integration by regaining 'control of the state' and transforming 'ASEAN into a regional community' (p. 199).

Notably, the author succeeds in providing an empirically rich survey of the most contemporary key democratisation challenges in Southeast Asia. The presentation also hinges on occasional allusions to the rich historical heritage of the region and its countries dating back to the colonial era. Although remarkable in its empirically grounded explanations, the book regrettably lacks a coherent theoretical framework to provide a basis for the seemingly unsubstantiated assertions about the merits of EU-style regional integration, prospects for regional integration or the decline of the Western-oriented world order. Also, although the book will appeal as a reliable primer to graduate students and academics interested in contemporary Southeast Asia, it would have been of more value to the social sciences if it had presented a sound theory of democratisation and an extensive justification of regional integration as a panacea for the political ills of ASEAN countries.

Salvador Santino F. Regilme Jr
(University of Osnabrück)

China and India in the Age of Globalization by **Shalendra D. Sharma**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 321pp., £18.99, ISBN 978 0 521 73136 2

This book traces the trajectories of China and India from phases of 'economic backwardness, poverty, illiteracy and human misery' (pp. 5–6), via economic transformations to their subsequent integration into the global economy. Unlike most accounts that compare the two economic giants, it does not simply ascribe their poor economic performance (pre-reform era) to their distinctly different political inheritances but also to a 'state-guided, inward-looking strategy of import-substitution industrialization' (p. 6). Beyond the purview of describing the processes of change witnessed by both, Shalendra Sharma sheds light on the larger issue of the 'vagaries and uncertainties of globalization' and how economic growth ought to be made 'sustainable and inclusive' (p. 274).

Thematically well structured, the eight chapters in the book chronologically inform the reader of each country's

pre-reform period (India 1947–91; China 1949–78) and their guiding ideologies, political actors and policies. This is followed by a detailed analysis of how the two countries embarked upon different developmental trajectories (China's 'transition to the socialist market economy' and India's 'economic liberalisation') and how the newly introduced pro-market policies have adapted to the changing domestic/global economic landscapes.

The book takes the reader back to the haunting Maoist period in China, outlining the impact of the Cultural Revolution on China's society, polity and economy and dexterously capturing the transformation under Deng Xiaoping's reforms post-1976 up to China's membership of the WTO. In the Indian context, the transition from the pursuit of a self-reliant economy after 1950 to partial liberalisation in the 1980s and the near collapse of the economy due to foreign debts and fiscal deficits followed by liberalising reforms in 1991 is well presented. A historical account of Indo-US relations is also provided, from estrangement during the Cold War to more recent engagement via the Nuclear Deal.

What implications does China's emergence pose for the US? What is the possible future trajectory of Sino-Indian relations? Will the two economic powerhouses cooperate or compete, and how will their simultaneous emergence, this 'seismic shift in the balance of global economic and political power' (p. 9) influence the regional and global order? The book adds a new dimension to these 'not so new' questions.

In sum, *China and India in the Age of Globalization* provides a chronological and well-researched overview of the historic transformation of the two economies and a detailed deduction of what their future could entail for the global economy. Equally important, it is well written and well timed.

Anandita Bajpai
(University of Leipzig)

The Killing of Cambodia: Geography, Genocide and the Unmaking of Space by **James A. Tyner**. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 209pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7096 4

Geographer James Tyner has much the same dilemma as the narrator of Laurence Sterne's classic novel *Tristram Shandy*, who embarks to tell his own life story but consistently makes detours to provide background

information, so much so that he only arrives at his own birth some third of the way into the book. Tyner sets as his goal 'to understand the geographic imaginations constructed by state actors and how, in turn, these are used to justify "genocidal" practices' (p. 3), with a specific focus on the Cambodian genocide of the 1970s. However, reading through *The Killing of Cambodia*, this goal seemingly retreats into the distance as Tyner provides chapter upon chapter of context and theory. He opens by laying out a Foucauldian approach to the production and deployment of knowledge and then summarises Cambodia's colonial history before detailing the improbable rise of the Khmer Rouge. Once Tyner has provided the historical context, however, he retreats into a discussion on the evolution of Marxist ideas concerning revolution, noting that the revolution engineered by the Khmer Rouge 'represents an elitist movement that co-opted the grievances of the masses' rather than the spontaneous uprising Marx had envisioned (p. 88). Only more than halfway through the book does Tyner touch again upon his thesis, noting that 'the spatial practices of the Khmer Rouge leadership reflect a desire not to *return* to a past geography, nor to build upon existing geographies', but rather to erase all previous spaces, all cultural context, in order to facilitate a great leap forward (p. 114). This geographical imagination sanctioned the genocidal policies implemented in Cambodia; just as old place names and maps were erased in favour of new, 'objective' ones, so too were people seen as retrograde or counter-revolutionary similarly 'erased.'

The Killing of Cambodia succeeds in demonstrating the linkage between geographical imagination and genocidal praxis. Unfortunately, however, the author occasionally loses sight of his main story while explicating Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre and other theorists, and his propensity to quote extensively from various authorities gives the impression that his relationship to the subject is more vicarious than personal. That said, the able summary of the many academic strains that undergird modern cultural geography, and their application to the case study of Cambodia, will likely motivate scholars of genocide to consider how people's relationship to place plays a role in the formulation of such inhumane policies.

Guy Lancaster
(Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture)

Party System Change in South India: Political Entrepreneurs, Patterns and Processes by **Andrew Wyatt**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010. 226pp., £80.00, ISBN 978 0 415 40131 9

Andrew Wyatt's book discusses how political leadership affects party system change in India. Following extensive empirical research and collection of field data, Andrew Wyatt focuses on political entrepreneurs in Tamil Nadu, a southern state in India, where the party system has matured enough to show a good number of political entrepreneurs forming parties (p. 12). Wyatt borrows the Schumpeterian notion of political 'entrepreneurs' to show how the leaders shape political preferences and change the pattern of party competition in India (pp. 5–6). Taking sociological and institutional variables into account and using a qualitative approach, Wyatt analyses political parties in transition in Tamil Nadu. Using this single case method he interrogates the large-n comparison and witnesses abundant examples of success and failure in the process of party formation in this state.

By and large, the party system in Tamil Nadu has transformed from a two-and-a-half to a bipolar multi-party system. It is intriguing to find that Duverger's solid law – 'the simple-majority single-ballot system favours the two-party system' – is broadly applicable in this case. One of the reasons for this is that many parties working in the bipolar alliance system in Tamil Nadu are able to survive through an alliance led by skilful political entrepreneurs (p. 9, p. 183). Wyatt's main argument is that political entrepreneurs change the party system by establishing and developing cleavages along lines of caste, religion, language, region, class, gender and the town–country divide (pp. 17–48). He also emphasises the skills and strategies of political leaders in negotiating institutional obstacles and taking advantage of opportunities offered by institutional configurations. In short, maintaining the party system depends on the adroit political entrepreneurs.

Above all, this book offers a detailed historical account of party politics in Tamil Nadu by delineating the success and failure of many regional parties. It extensively discusses the emergence, split and alliance of parties such as Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, which represents Dravidian identity, and Dalit Panther Iyyakkam, which represents the untouchable caste. Although the theory part of the book is insufficient, it is worth highlighting that the book is enriched with

empirical and historical data. The detailed history of party politics in Tamil Nadu as explained in *Party System Change in South India* will be of great help for students of Indian politics.

Sojin Shin
(National University of Singapore)

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

Other Areas

Princes, Brokers, and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia by **Steffen Hertog**. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2010. 297pp., £21.95, ISBN 978 0 8014 4781 5

Oil Wealth and the Poverty of Politics: Algeria Compared by **Miriam R. Lowi**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 228pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 521 11318 2

When attempting to explain patterns of economic and political development in late-developing economies dominated by external rent, particularly oil rent, the theory of the rentier state is typically applied. This holds true for the case studies examined by Steffen Hertog and Miriam Lowi, Saudi Arabia and Algeria, respectively, as they have been treated as quintessential rentier states in the extant literature. The rentier state framework posits that 'when governments gain most of their revenues from external sources, such as resource rents or foreign assistance, they are freed from the need to levy taxes. As a result, states become less accountable to the societies they govern and more autonomous in their decision-making and behaviour. Moreover, awash with capital, their principal activity is distribution and not the promotion of productive activities, while the availability of rents diverts attention away from wealth-creating activities and into rent-seeking activities' (Lowi, p. 34). Hence the rentier state framework is used to understand

phenomena considered common among late-developing oil-exporting countries such as institutional incapacity, poor regulatory oversight, systemic corruption and political instability.

The rentier state theory provides compelling broad-brush macro-level understandings of the general developmental problems that such states tend to experience. However, both authors claim that this theory is overly simplistic and fails to identify specific causal mechanisms, tends to treat the state as a monolithic and unitary actor, and cannot readily account for variations in political outcomes. In their examinations of Saudi Arabia and Algeria both Hertog's *Princes, Brokers, and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia* and Lowi's *Oil Wealth and the Poverty of Politics: Algeria Compared* offer solid critiques of structuralist political economy accounts, in particular of the rentier literature. While not wholly disregarding the key insights offered by the rentier theory concerning oil-based development, these scholars offer frameworks for understanding that combine structure and agency within a historical institutional approach. The significance of leadership choices for political outcomes is considered pertinent in both cases.

Hertog's detailed study of bureaucratic politics in Saudi Arabia starts with an interesting empirical puzzle. Beginning in the late 1990s the Saudi elite embarked upon a far-reaching modernisation programme to counter economic stagnation. A decade later it appears that their reform efforts have met with mixed success. The puzzle in light of the heterogeneity of reform outcomes is that Saudi Arabia clearly does not constitute a clear case of developmental failure, as the rentier state theory predicts, nor has the kingdom achieved its reform goals across the board (there were quite dramatic variations along sectoral lines, indicative of very uneven state capacities). Hertog argues that the lack of uniformity in the impact of oil rents upon the Saudi kingdom can be explained by analysing the actual power structures and social relations that mediate rents and distribution. Specifically, oil wealth is considered to have led to the creation of oil fiefdoms and clients.

The book charts the Saudi state's modernisation from the 1950s and 'traces the causal path from external rent outcomes, via the interaction of rent with local social structures, to policy outcomes in the 2000s as conditioned by these structures' (p. 3). In doing so, Hertog finds that in some cases the Saudi elite has used the state's fiscal resources to build personal fiefdoms,

while in others they have chosen to build efficient administrative bodies. This has produced a state apparatus with highly varied components, and with institutional legacies that have compounded over time and become difficult to reverse. Hence the crux of Hertog's argument is that oil rents do not automatically produce the outcomes predicted by the rentier state theory. He shows that 'pre-oil social structures' and elite decisions along Saudi Arabia's road to modernity influence how oil rents are used, and provide a better account of the uneven capacity of the Saudi state to implement policy and enact reforms.

Lowi also contextualises the Algerian case within the broader state-building experience in order to explain the country's post-independence trajectory, rather than relying solely on rentier insights. Oil doubtless plays an important role in Algeria's development, but Lowi claims that the impacts of oil rents are far from inevitable. Lowi investigates how structure and agency combine in the case of Algeria to produce political outcomes, with a wider comparison to the ways in which Iran, Iraq, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia have responded to economic shocks. She finds that leadership choices at critical junctures have gone a long way toward mitigating the challenges of rent-induced phenomena and managing economic crises. These choices of course occur within institutional structures that limit the range of policy options available, and Lowi clearly acknowledges this interplay of structure and agency: 'Decisions are shaped in part by the structural features of the context leaders find themselves in, but also by the degree to which leaders can envisage institutional change – that is, changes to the distribution of power and resources' (p. 184). In the case of Algeria during the 1990s Lowi shows how the country's leaders were able to transform an apparent structural constraint (the ongoing violence) into an opportunity to consolidate its power and obstruct challengers. Oil rents played a role in the sense of providing the financial resources to enable leaders to carry out strategies. Ultimately this reveals that leadership decisions produce political outcomes, rather than oil revenue alone.

Both Hertog and Lowi have produced meticulously researched and well-written studies that address the problems associated with oil-based development in a comprehensive fashion. They successfully demonstrate the deficiencies of the rentier state explanations that dominate this research area, and show the importance

of context and leadership decisions for political outcomes. In doing so, they reveal that oil is an important variable, but not sufficient in and of itself to explain the developmental trajectories of hydrocarbon economies. The only weakness of this approach is that the authors have set up frameworks that sacrifice parsimony in the effort to combine multiple explanatory factors, and which have little predictive capability.

Monique Taylor
(University of Queensland)

Humanitarian Intervention and Conflict Resolution in West Africa: From ECOMOG to ECOMIL by **John M. Kabia**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009. 219pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7444 3

Acknowledging the post-bipolar rise in violent civil conflict, John Kabia focuses on West Africa and the development of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to detail the challenges presented by contemporary complex political emergencies (CPEs) to humanitarian intervention and conflict resolution. Noting that the expansion of ECOWAS into this conflict arena was born out of necessity following the failures of an overstretched UN, Kabia lays out the territory of humanitarian intervention for those intent on imposing the 'liberal peace', the thesis for which can be traced back to Kant (p. 4).

Kabia's fundamental argument is clearly laid out when he asserts that, whatever the arguments against the liberal peace thesis, his own theoretical approach is spoken to by the fact that 'inaction' is 'not an option' when conflicts in far-flung corners of the globe have profound effects on international security in our increasingly interconnected world (p. 5). First, attempting to resolve the contradictions between human rights and sovereignty, Kabia suggests a 'middle ground' between universalism and cultural relativism (p. 11). The argument is then made that CPEs warrant a redefining of humanitarian intervention along with a broadening of its remit to include forcible and non-forcible strategies for safeguarding populations and building lasting peace.

The 'solidarist' stance taken (p. 5), along with the author's insightful analysis of the roots of CPEs that goes beyond Collier's greed assertion, allows Kabia to outline principles for humanitarian intervention that can be used to assess its success. Once these factors have been defined and analysed and principles set, the case

studies are used to gauge the effectiveness of the humanitarian operation. This is where the strength of the study lies and utilising this moves the subject matter forward academically. This, of course, has a positive pay-off in the practice of humanitarian intervention.

Taking a look at exogenous as well as indigenous factors, Kabia is able to draw case- and context-specific conclusions as well as identifying 'common themes' (p. 55). By taking a practical viewpoint based on a humane need for intervention, Kabia disentangles himself from the complex debate on intervention/non-intervention and is able to offer an analysis of previous conflicts, interrogate the intervention efforts made, postulate on the future evolution of ECOWAS as a security community and offer hypotheses on ways to enact viable future humanitarian interventions.

Refreshingly, Kabia abstains from an over-reliance on language that obstructs non-academics from accessing the study and, instead, has produced a work for actors at any level. Ideal for scholars and field workers alike, this informative work has much to offer the humanitarian arena.

Adrian Gray
(Lancaster University)

Algeria since 1989: Between Terror and Democracy by **James D. Le Sueur**. London: Zed Books, 2009. 239pp., £16.99, ISBN 9781842777251

Interest in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), especially in the Maghreb and Algeria, has been growing in recent years. Algeria in particular used to be the subject of much scholarly interest until internal conflict prevented opportunities for research, and James Le Sueur is a leading researcher on Algerian issues with many published works on the subject.

This latest monograph offers a comprehensive history of Algeria since 1989 and the onset of civil war, and it stands out from other works on Algeria's history with its thorough analysis and interesting conclusions. The book consists of five chapters, which not only consider different stages of the civil war and Bouteflika's presidency, but also present these events within the broader context of socio-political transformation and economic developments. Le Sueur analyses the contribution and role of different social groups and political actors both during the conflict and in the process of developing new political structures after its end. One omission, however, is that

the book does not present the position of ethnic minorities (e.g. Berbers) or the religious elite (*ulama*). Also, while the history of the Algerian conflict is presented within an interesting international perspective, for a complete picture it would have needed to consider the position of Algeria's neighbours and of important actors on the political scene.

In the conclusion, Le Sueur deplores the current republican government's process for dealing with reconciliation, but Algeria is not unique in this matter; as he notes, there are many countries that still experience problems dealing with the recent past, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe. However, this comparison is not ideal. Even if the basis for change implementation seems deceptively similar in both cases, the ideological background is more significant, since communism was imposed on Central and Eastern European countries as a totalitarian ideology and it was the efforts of the people that led to change and the overthrow of the system. Algeria, on the other hand, was never governed by a communist party and the governing system did not match the system under Stalin in the Soviet Union. Therefore, reference to the 'FLN's Stalinist tactics' (p. 55) seems an exaggeration.

These criticisms do not lessen the value of Le Sueur's work, which offers a basic source of knowledge for anyone interested in Algeria's most recent past. The book's composition is clear and readable and the calendar of events from 1827 to 2009 plus short biographical notes about the most important actors on the political scene are useful additions. Altogether, *Algeria since 1989* is a stimulating and pleasurable read which will be of interest to academics in history, political science and international relations, and particularly those engaged in the analysis of Middle East and North African domestic policies at the turn of the twenty-first century.

Katarzyna Jarecka-Stepień
(Jagiellonian University, Krakow)

Conflict Management and African Politics: Ripeness, Bargaining, and Mediation by **Terrence Lyons and Gilbert M. Khadiagala (eds)**. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. 154pp., £70.00, ISBN 978 0 41544301 2

Inspired by the concepts of I. William Zartman, the contributors in this book seek to continue Zartman's lead in bridging the gaps between sub-disciplines in

political science. Interconnecting questions within international relations, conflict resolution and negotiation theory all get a rigorous investigation. Viewing the 'art of government and politics as conflict management', the contributors expand Zartman's conceptual frameworks to offer a deeper understanding of the arenas of negotiation, mediation, conflict resolution and African studies (p. 2).

Fundamentally, for the authors, Zartman's work is defined by its elasticity. Kuperman, for example, takes the controversial interlinked theories of 'mutually hurting stalemate[s]' and the notion of 'ripeness' – when negotiation becomes the only escape from conflict – to show that they are applicable to protracted conflicts (p. 12). He then delimits the boundaries of ripeness, distils the theory further and uses the product to offer 'lessons for mediators' (p. 18). Chasek and Wagner take Zartman's concept of negotiations as being sequential, moving from diagnosis to formula to details, and modify it into a six-phase continuum designed to reduce the 'opportunities for the emergence of corruption' (p. 35).

The editors themselves focus on how Africa's place in the international system shapes the outcomes of conflict and negotiation. Rothchild then expounds on the conditions for mediation success and uses Zartman's concepts to explain the 'indirect mediation' by the United States in African conflicts (p. 114), while Gwarazimba analyses the 'mutually hurting stalemate' in former Rhodesia, detailing how 'simply extracting a settlement' allowed the land issue to be glossed over without addressing 'deep-seated' hurt (p. 131). She further asserts that the international community's policy of isolation is not creating the stalemate it seeks and asks if the time is now ripe for a 'multitrack and multidimensional' approach based on Zartman's work to find a just resolution for blacks *and* whites in Zimbabwe (p. 132).

In terms of innovation, the chapters by Spector and Fred-Mensah stand out. Spector analyses the links between the notion of ripeness and bribery to demonstrate how Zartman's concept can be expanded beyond its initial focus on international relations by 'tinkering' and experimenting with the negotiation process to attack the root causes of corruption (p. 35). Indigenous conflict resolution principles are the attention of a noteworthy essay by Fred-Mensah that takes Zartman's work on traditional African models for con-

flict resolution beyond its rather narrow focus on 'dealing' with the subject of culture to a point where it becomes an integral component of conflict resolution (p. 135).

Lively and engaging, the collection of essays presented here is theoretically sharp and empirically sound. The book would be valuable for policy makers, fieldworkers and students. Studies such as this one that move the original concepts into new territory combine well with those of a more practical perspective such as that by John Kabia elsewhere in this section.

Adrian Gray
(Lancaster University)

Africa's Turn? by Edward Miguel (ed.). London: MIT Press, 2009. 161pp., £9.95, ISBN 978 0 262 01289 8

From the mid-1970s the economic and political development of the African continent has been largely characterised by failure and missed opportunities. For many in the West, Africa conjures negative perceptions of a continent stricken by poverty, stagnant economies, war and poor governance. Although these stereotypes do hold some resonance, a new 'wind of change' has spread across Africa. In *Africa's Turn?*, economist Edward Miguel charts the modest but not insubstantial improvements witnessed across Africa since 2000. Utilising his work in a Kenyan border town called Busia, Miguel argues that the town's steady development is being mirrored continent-wide (p. 6).

Opening with an essay by Miguel, the book investigates some of the successes that Africa has experienced, prompting him to raise the pertinent question: 'will Africa be the world's next development miracle?' (p. 7) Miguel applies a number of indicators such as economic growth, rising political freedoms and the increasing role of China (which is not always beneficial, as he correctly asserts) to illustrate how Africa has made tentative steps forward. Usefully, Miguel offers some proactive suggestions of how the continent might actually build upon its recent progress, such as the creation of an insurance pool to assist drought-afflicted farmers (pp. 35–8). Miguel is cautiously optimistic that Africa can genuinely transform itself.

The remainder of the book comprises nine short academic responses to Miguel's own, perhaps deliberately, undeveloped essay. The consensus is that Africa

has certainly made developmental progress, yet each author highlights a number of factors that they argue Miguel has overlooked. For example, Ken Banks argues that informal economies, a feature of most African states, are ignored by analysts and governments, despite the economic growth they generate; while the importance of new mobile technology has been crucial for changing the way of life for many Africans (pp. 57–63). Another concern, which Smita Singh raises, is the serious challenge of climate change to vast regions of the continent, and the urgent need for an ‘equitable and adaptive capacity for coping’ (p. 106).

The book does leave some themes undeveloped and extrapolates conclusions far too easily across the whole continent. For example, comparing the economic development of China and India (two sovereign nations) to that of the entire African continent is not particularly fair or accurate. However, *Africa's Turn?* is an accessible and engaging read which casts a cautious yet positive light on the progress of Africa, counteracting the traditional negativity that surrounds this vibrant continent.

Matthew Graham
(University of Sheffield)

Democracy in Modern Iran: Islam, Culture, and Political Change by **Ali Mirsepassi**. London: New York University Press, 2010. 224pp., £30.99, ISBN 978 0 8147 9564 4

The objective of this book is to provide a sociological and historical account of the development of democracy in modern Iran. Questioning the viability of essentialist and culturalist arguments regarding the level of democratic development in Islamic countries, Ali Mirsepassi argues that in Iran Islam and democracy ‘are both socially rooted and can be best understood and reconciled within a sociological and institutionally grounded perspective’ (p. 1). This perspective is based on a radical displacement and questioning of watertight assumptions regarding concepts like ‘culture’, ‘democracy’, ‘modernity’ and ‘secularism’. It also prioritises ‘fixed and mutually reinforcing’ institutional arrangements guaranteeing instrumental freedoms.

After underlining the need for developing a pragmatic attitude towards secularism and modernity, Mirsepassi focuses on major trends within contemporary intellectual thought in Iran. He sees the domi-

nance of Platonic/Hegelian philosophy (which seeks ‘the absolute Truth’) over pragmatic approaches as the main predicament of the Iranian intellectual field. Iranian intellectuals must embrace a democratic thought tradition that conceives ‘truth’ as an outcome of ‘open public discussion and debate’ (pp. 163–4). This inquiry is carried on by ‘public intellectuals’ who must be local and global at the same time. For Mirsepassi, American pragmatism may provide Iranian ‘public intellectuals’ with a productive framework for building a democratic discourse in Iran.

Mirsepassi’s study is a valuable contribution which questions the legitimacy of hypothetical and textual generalisations about the relationship between secularism, religion, culture and politics. In particular, the section on ‘religious intellectuals’, which is based on interviews with Iranian intellectual figures such as Alireza Alavi-Tabar, Mustafa Tajzadeh, Hadi Khaniki, Reza Tehrani and Abbas Abdi (who played a major role in the reform period of the late 1990s and laid the ideological foundations of the Green Movement in Iran, according to Mirsepassi), illustrates the open-ended and dynamic character of the interaction between Islam and democracy.

However, Mirsepassi moves away from the promised sociological analysis in the sections where he deals with the virtues of American pragmatist philosophy, and where he argues that Iranian intellectuals must embrace that pragmatist outlook. In his search for the most appropriate democratic model for Iran, he does not provide the reader with a proper discussion of the historical and sociological conditions of existence of such a democratic transition. Finally, the reader might have difficulties in following Mirsepassi’s arguments since the book seems like a collection of related but independent essays, and the connections between chapters are not elaborated in a detailed manner.

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The Politics of Property Rights Institutions in Africa by **Ato Kwamena Onoma**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 227pp., £50.00, ISBN 978 0 521 76571 8

The topic of property rights continues to be a significant and contentious issue in Africa. Land holds both economic and cultural value across the continent and

the exploitation of land rights has led to conflict on varying scales. Some political leaders have 'arbitrarily enforced' or 'abrogated' rights, whereas others have fastidiously worked towards their enhancement and building the institutions that enforce and secure such rights (p. 3). Ato Kwamena Onoma takes the cases of Ghana, Botswana and Kenya to explain why leaders have created differing institutions to harness the potential power and financial wealth of land.

Onoma's core argument is that strong institutions for securing rights are dependent on whether a leader directly or indirectly profits from land. Indirect profiteering – through the productive capacity of land – requires stable and strong institutions to secure and enforce land rights. However, not only do leaders who gain directly from land fail to secure land rights, but also the weak institutions they create facilitate their activities. Furthermore, the very functioning of rights institutions may contribute endogenously towards their decline (p. 4).

The significance of land rights is no new phenomenon but it still continues to offer a window on to the political economy of African countries. The economic ramifications of land rights aside, political repercussions have led to intra-state conflict all over the continent. Kenya in the post-election aftermath of 2008 is a prime case.

Onoma takes national and sub-national units of analysis, over space and time, to show succinctly how leaders utilise or avoid land rights for political purposes at all levels. Although choosing only three cases, Onoma has chosen well. All three countries studied here have developed relatively successfully but exhibit marked differences in how rights-based institutions have been handled.

Onoma's theoretical arguments are clearly laid out in Chapter 2. The following three chapters cover the divergent case studies of Ghana, Botswana and then Kenya. The middle of these is of note, as it is a sub-national unit that is analysed, namely, the actions of traditional chieftains who – although initially with the same subversive roots towards land rights and their institutions – have taken differing paths: one a path of continuity, the other a change of tack (pp. 105–6).

For anyone studying African political economy this study will add to their body of knowledge. Although none of the arguments are particularly new, they have a

fresh face in the angle from which Onoma approaches and analyses them.

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Getting to Pluralism: Political Actors in the Arab World by Marina Ottaway and Amr Hamzawy (eds). Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2009. 118pp., £14.99, ISBN 978 0 87003 244 8

Events in the international arena initiated by the attack on the US on 11 September 2001 awoke global interest in issues of the Muslim and Arab world, broadly understood. Similarly, developments in this region, especially their scale and gravity, led to the initiation of much new research on countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).

There is a lack of detailed and approachable books about the political systems in MENA countries, and Marina Ottaway and Amr Hamzawy's *Getting to Pluralism: Political Actors in the Arab World* fills this gap. In an extremely simple and clear way the authors present the actors of the Arab political scene and most of the countries of the region – from Morocco through Egypt and Jordan to the oil monarchies of the Persian Gulf.

Marina Ottaway is a senior associate in the Democracy and Rule of Law Program and director of the Carnegie Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Amr Hamzawy is a senior associate at the Carnegie Middle East Center in Lebanon. Both authors are among leading researchers of the modern Arab world and their book offers another stage in 'experiencing' the Middle East. *Getting to Pluralism* provides a clear picture of political relations in the Arab world. It concentrates on problems of political pluralism and seeks answers to questions concerning political parties, the democratisation process and the modernisation of political systems in the Middle East.

The book is composed of three detailed chapters, an introduction and conclusions. Each chapter presents actors of the Arab political scene: ruling elites, secular parties and Islamist parties. The presentation is quite detailed and is the result of penetrating political analysis of the region finishing with apt remarks and conclusions. The book provides an interesting voice in discussions about the Middle East undergoing trans-

formation. In order to make the problem easier to understand for readers, each element is presented in a comparative perspective across different countries in the region. All this and the approachable language give a full picture of modern MENA political relations.

Altogether, *Getting to Pluralism* is a stimulating and pleasurable read. The book's focus serves as an asset and strength in making an intellectual contribution that will be of interest particularly to academics in political science and international relations. Ottaway and Hamzawy's study is recommended, or even necessary, reading for the analysis of current domestic politics in the Middle East and North Africa.

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Securing Africa: Post-9/11 Discourses on Terrorism by **Malinda S. Smith (ed.)**. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 247pp., £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7546 7545 7

Taking Marx's assertion that we ruthlessly critique our world and Robinson's plea that we do not accept things as natural or inevitable, these essays investigate the territory of discourses on Africa and terrorism post-9/11. Within a critical theoretical perspective, Smith 'historicises' and 'interrogates' issues from the 'metropolitan centre and the periphery' in order to, in a Foucauldian manner, imagine 'alternative futures' (p. x). Utilising genealogy, this study also historicises 9/11 and its relationship to other 9/11s: those of Ghandi in 1906 and Chile in 1973.

Alongside showing the 'contested' territory of terrorism (p. 3), Smith historicises the meta-narrative of the barbarian against civilisation to show the articulation of a 'state of exception' which took us from the concept of transforming the 'noble savage' to pursuing the annihilation of the 'existential' threat of the barbarian (pp. 9–10). Others follow suit by questioning whether interest in terrorism was ever about securing Africa. Intellectual activity, implicated in the production and performance of the barbarian, is interrogated to

uncover the uncertainties masked by uniform scripts of inevitable outcomes and stereotypical characters. Marrouchi points out that discourses on terror have 'canonised' an 'ideology of destruction' which institutionalises the 'denial and avoidance' of history (p. 31). Ayinde asks to what extent Africa's past experiences of terrorism are 'reflections[s] or refraction[s]' of the present (p. 51). Jhazbhay warns of turning the war on terror into a new Cold War that draws Africa in as a 'battleground' (p. 76). Tamin and Smith show how anti-terrorism initiatives have the consequence of 'undermining democracy and respect for human rights' (p. 99).

Broadly, the authors here invite us to think critically – an act considered 'traitorous' in the aftermath of 9/11 – on the implications for Africa of the mobilisations post 9/11 (p. xiii). Intellectuals – through Said's inextricable link between culture and imperialism – were used to legitimise the war on terror. Discourses on terror produced a climate of fear and Ignatieff even placed terrorism outside politics to conclude that the outcome was inevitable. What we have in this collection are incisive and pellucid alternative narratives that not only deconstruct Western discursive hegemony but also 'play' Benjamin's 'detective', ending the 'double-speak' of an academy preaching openness while censoring debate (pp. xiv–xvi).

Critically, if brutally, honest, this collection is essential reading for students wishing to explore critical thinking on security and to understand how discourses on terrorism objectify, form and perform Africa.

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